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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Continued risk of an upset from Donald Trump looms on the final day of campaigning as Clinton pours last-minute resources into industrial midwestSupport our fearless, independent journalism by making a contribution or becoming a member

The US presidential campaign ended on Monday where the fiercest nomination battles began – in the rust belt – as Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump spent the last hours of a bitter election focused on the country’s deep economic divide.

Democrats gained a late confidence boost as a final series of national opinion polls confirmed a small but steady lead for Clinton. Early voting numbers point already to record turnout among Latino voters stirred into action by Trump’s anti-**immigration** rhetoric.

Related: Donald Trump calls FBI 'disgraceful' on frantic final day of election campaign[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/07/donald-trump-fbi-hillary-clinton-emails-final-day-campaign]

But the continued risk of an upset that would send shockwaves around the world was underlined by state-level polling suggesting several possible paths to victory also remain for Trump. He hopes to galvanise white working-class anger over jobs and trade in the traditionally Democratic manufacturing regions, though also needs an almost clean sweep of battleground states including Florida and North Carolina to win outright.

Sensing possible danger, the Clinton campaign poured last-minute resources into the industrial midwest, a region where she struggled against a similar anti-establishment surge for Bernie Sanders during the primary election season. Both Clinton and Barack Obama held afternoon rallies in Michigan before planning to finish the night on stage together in Philadelphia with Bruce Springsteen.

Trump was also headed to Michigan where he planned to end the night, before returning to New York, where he will vote. The Republican candidate took aim at Clinton’s use of celebrities to amplify her final pitch to voters, with a loaded jibe at Jay Z and Beyonce: “Were they talking or singing?”

“What’s happening is a disgrace,” he told his first rally in Florida after the FBI confirmed overnight[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/06/fbi-director-hillary-clinton-email-investigation-criminal-james-comey] it would not be changing its decision not to charge Clinton over her private email use. “With what’s happening with our justice, our country is a laughing stock all over the world. They’re laughing.”

Related: Who is leading the polls the day before voting? Not a clear 'Clinton' or 'Trump'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/07/polls-us-election-accuracy-margin-error-clinton-trump]

“We are going to bring back the jobs and the wealth that have been stolen from you,” Trump told a later rally in Raleigh, North Carolina. “We are going to bring back the miners and the factory workers.”

Under the crisp blue skies forecast[http://www.accuweather.com/en/weather-news/election-day-2016-weather-battleground-states/61213031] for much of the country on election day, his opponent began her last full day of campaigning with a more personal moment: one that highlights the historic opportunity ahead of her to become the first female president and role model for a generation of young women.

Pausing beneath the plane that has carried her through the closing months of a sometimes interminable-feeling campaign, she stopped to show the scene to her two-year-old granddaughter Charlotte via her phone’s FaceTime application.

Related: Hillary Clinton focuses on healing national divide on campaign's last day[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/07/hillary-clinton-campaign-last-day-us-election]

“I wouldn’t have worked as hard as I have over 18 months … if I did not believe in my heart that we can do this,” she later told supporters in Pittsburgh. “We don’t have to accept a dark and divisive vision for America. Tomorrow you can vote for a big-hearted America.

“Our core values are being tested in this election,” Clinton added. “I know a lot of people feel frustrated and left behind. There is fear and anger in our country, but anger is not a plan. We have got to start talking to each other again.”

Amid continued Democratic rancour over the late role of the FBI[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/06/fbi-director-hillary-clinton-email-investigation-criminal-james-comey] and Trump’s threat to refuse to recognise an election result he claims may be “rigged”, it will a tough battle whoever wins.

The Department of Justice announced on Monday that its Civil Rights Division plans to deploy more than 500 personnel to 67 jurisdictions in 28 states to monitor voting. There is particular concern that changes to voting rules in states such as North Carolina may have deliberately depressed African American turnout.

Related: What is the voter turnout in your state? An election quiz[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/ng-interactive/2016/oct/11/voter-turnout-presidential-election-states-2012-2016]

Though stock markets rebounded on Monday in the wake of better national polls for Clinton, Democrats fear the unnecessary cloud cast by the FBI could cost them control of Congress and prolong Washington gridlock even if she wins the White House.

“I think I have some work to do to bring the country together as I’ve been saying in these speeches in the last few days,” Clinton acknowledged to reporters on her plane. “These splits, these divides that have been not only exposed but exacerbated by the campaign on the other side are ones that we really do have to bring this country together.”

Obama urged Americans to focus on the big picture as he began his last day of campaigning warning that Tuesday’s election could be close-fought.

“I want you tune out all the noise and I want you to focus because the choice you face when you step into the voting booth could not be clearer: Donald Trump is temperamentally unfit to be commander in chief,” he told a rally in Ann Arbor, Michigan. “Just think, over the weekend his campaign took away his Twitter account. Now, if your closest advisers don’t trust you to tweet, why should we trust you with the nuclear codes?”

Defending his economic record, and a Democratic sponsored bailout for the auto industry, the president reserved his harshest comments for the notion that a wealthy Manhattan property developer was portraying himself a blue-collar champion.

“Don’t be bamboozled. Don’t fall for the okey-doke,” blasted Obama. “I don’t think Trump knows any working people apart from the folks who work on his golf course and clean up in his hotel.”

Trump has spent his final days barnstorming throughout states that have long leaned Democratic such as Michigan and Minnesota in attempt to strike electoral lightning and pull off an upset as he kept up a frenetic schedule of rallies. The Republican nominee seemed aware the odds are were against him, telling a crowd in Virginia, a state that has long been considered to be safely in Clinton’s column that election day “will be Brexit times 50”.

His closing message remained little changed from the themes which had defined his campaign since launch on 16 June 2015, railing against targets like **immigrants** and the media.

In Minnesota, home to the US’s largest Somali-American community, Trump took aim at that minority group[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/06/donald-trump-minnesota-somali-migrants-isis] to deafening cheers in a Minneapolis airport hangar. “Here in Minnesota, you’ve seen first-hand the problems caused with faulty **refugee** vetting, with very large numbers of Somali **refugees** coming into your state without your knowledge, without your support or approval,” Trump told the crowd.

Related: Somali migrants are 'disaster' for Minnesota, says Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/06/donald-trump-minnesota-somali-migrants-isis]

He added: “Everybody’s reading about the disaster taking place in Minnesota,” he added, before falsely claiming: “You don’t even have the right to talk about it.”

Trump has long made **refugees** from Syria targets of his scorn, using his pledge to prevent any from being admitted into the United States as a regular applause line at this rallies. However, adapting his message in a state which was last won by a Republican in a presidential election in 1972, he added Somalis to his target list.

The Republican nominee though seemed most energized by Jay Z and Beyoncé, who appeared in a concert on behalf of Hillary Clinton in Cleveland on Friday. He repeatedly bashed the two over weekend. Trump boasted that he didn’t need celebrities to draw a crowd. “I don’t need Beyonce and I don’t need Jay Z,” he told a cheering crowd in a late night rally in Denver on Saturday.

The Republican nominee, well known for a host of controversial and vulgar comments, including a leaked recording in October where he boasted of grabbing women “by the pussy” , also criticised the pop stars for the language in their songs. Trump told the crowd in Minneapolis: “Jay Z and Beyonce use the most filthy language you’ve ever heard,” while making clear, “I like Jay Z and I like Beyonce but the language is terrible.”

With the sound of far-harsher words from Trump ringing in their ears, Americans take the polls poised to banish his rhetoric from the political realm or usher in an angry four years.

What’s the mood where you are?[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/08/us-election-voting-polls-mood] Share your pictures and views with us

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Human Rights Commission president says she would consider replacing the terms ‘offend’ and ‘insult’ with ‘vilify’. Follow it live...

block-time published-time 12.56am GMT

On the backpacker tax, Bill Shorten wants us to wait for Chris Bowen, shadow treasurer who have a press conference coming up shortly. But in general terms, Shorten says:

They have a situation where they have taken themselves hostage, where from 1 January, they haven’t repaired their own 32 cents tax in the dollar, we will see further problems with getting backpackers to Australia. New Zealand has a system of just over 10%.

block-time published-time 12.55am GMT

Bill Shorten says he takes no comfort from the lifetime ban bill having a ministerial discretion clause.

He says if the government has third country agreements which require that particular ban, he will hear what the government says at that time.

block-time published-time 12.52am GMT

Bill Shorten says he specifically asked the prime minister “Are there discussions about third party nations? How is that process going”.

He has refused to tell me point-blank. I have no idea how their discussions are going.

block-time published-time 12.50am GMT

Labor will not try to amend the **refugee** bill.

Shorten :

This is rushed legislation and the government said they’re not interested in amendments, so we will vote it down.

block-time published-time 12.48am GMT

Bill Shorten is asked about Labor’s various changes on its asylum seeker policies.

Labor’s policy, which the Liberals have subsequently adopted, is working. We believe that the people smugglers are pernicious, cynical criminals.

I recognise that hundreds upon hundreds of people drowned making that dangerous voyage.

This has been a difficult issue in the Labor Party but I took the restatement of our policy to the July 2015 national conference and what we said there is we don’t want the people smugglers back in business and we will maintain strong policies to deter them.

But what I don’t accept is that this government’s created an almost arbitrary equation, where it says the only way to stop people smugglers is to keep people on Manus and Nauru in seemingly indefinite detention.

block-time published-time 12.45am GMT

Shayne Neumann, Labor’s **immigration** spokesman, said while Labor had been briefed on the issue, he saw nothing that would warrant changing.

There is no credible evidence from the department in the briefing that we had that any country had sought this legislation or any requirement covered by this legislation. The government also has failed to provide us with any evidence there that they have got any arrangement spending in respect of a third party arrangement as well.

block-time published-time 12.42am GMT

Bill Shorten is speaking now.

He says Labor is on a unity ticket with the government to stop the people smugglers, they are not on a unity ticket to stop the tourists.

Under the laws which the government is proposing and seeking Labor’s support for, someone who is found to be a genuine **refugee**, who subsequently settles and becomes a Canadian or an American citizen can never even visit Australia in 30 or 40 years time, a lifetime ban on genuine **refugees** who become citizens of other countries from ever visiting Australia as a tourist or as a teacher or as a business person.

block-time published-time 12.31am GMT

Labor to try to amend backpacker tax from Coalition's 19% to 10.5% From Gareth Hutchens, Labor will amend the tax rate and they will oppose the $5 increase on the passenger movement charge paid by all people as they leave Australia.

The Coalition’s backpacker bill has passed the lower house and is sitting, waiting for the report of a Senate committee.

The report is due out tomorrow after it was delayed from yesterday.

Labor’s decision means Labor will try to amend the bill in the Senate.

But the bill has to go back to the lower house for the tick off. Unless someone changes their mind in the lower house, such as a couple of stray Nats crossing the floor, any amended 10.5% tax rate would fail.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.35am GMT

block-time published-time 12.23am GMT

enltrLabor to move amendments on #backpackertax[https://twitter.com/hashtag/backpackertax?src=hash] to lower tax rate from 19% to 10.5%

Ping @stephanieando[https://twitter.com/stephanieando]

— Shalailah Medhora (@shalailah) November 8, 2016[https://twitter.com/shalailah/status/795781397151498240]block-time published-time 12.16am GMT

Bill Shorten and the Labor **immigration** spokesman, Shayne Neumann, are holding a press conference on the decision to oppose the lifetime ban on **refugees**at 11.30am.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.23am GMT

block-time published-time 12.15am GMT

The Greens caucus has met and decided they will back Labor’s censure of the attorney general, George Brandis, on the basis he misled the Senate. Brandis claims he did consult the solicitor general but the Greens disagree with his definition of the word.

They will also push for a new select committee to consider government claims for public interest immunity, citing Brandis releasing a heavily redacted version of Gleeson’s letter to him.

The Greens also think there’s a chance they, Jacqui Lambie and others can block or amend the backpacker tax in the Senate. It could cause fireworks if the bill goes back to the lower house proposing an even lower rate of tax. Will the Nationals push for an even better deal for farmers or stick to the government’s line?

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.22am GMT

block-time published-time 12.13am GMT

Scott Ryan: if anyone wants to come to me on the plebiscite... The government is open to talking to Jacqui Lambie and Pauline Hanson or anyone else for that matter on any future same-sex marriage plebiscite.

enltrScott Ryan says he's open to negotiations with crossbench in the future on same-sex plebiscite #AMAgenda[https://twitter.com/hashtag/AMAgenda?src=hash] https://t.co/JrrOhODbVQ[https://t.co/JrrOhODbVQ]

— Sky News Australia (@SkyNewsAust) November 8, 2016[https://twitter.com/SkyNewsAust/status/795778304296960000]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.21am GMT

block-time published-time 11.56pm GMT

Peter Dutton: no matter Labor, we have crossbench support on lifetime ban Phil Coorey of the Fin[http://www.afr.com/news/politics/labor-to-oppose-asylum-bill-coalition-claims-crossbench-support-20161107-gsk5sr] has got his first take off the blocks:

Labor will vote against the government’s legislation to impose a lifetime ban on asylum seekers who arrived by boat after July 2013 but the government says it has the support of the Senate crossbench anyway.

As caucus met to formalise its opposition to the bill, **immigration** minister Peter Dutton confirmed what had long been speculated – the measures in the bill were linked to pending deals with other countries to resettle[http://www.afr.com/news/politics/asylum-crackdown-driven-by-resettlement-hopes-20161030-gse96r] a significant number of those languishing on Nauru and Manus Island.

“We are going to land a deal,” Mr Dutton said.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.07am GMT

block-time published-time 11.47pm GMT

Gillian Triggs open to inquiry and overhaul of section 18C The president of the human rights commission Gillian Triggs has flagged she is open to overhauling the Racial Discrimination Act, including replacing the terms “offend” and “insult” with “vilify”.

Triggs said in an interview with the ABC on Tuesday morning she was open to the parliamentary inquiry that has been telegraphed by the prime minister[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/28/broaden-free-speech-debate-beyond-racial-discrimination-act-says-liberal-senator] and believed inserting “vilify” into the legislation would represent a strengthening of the current regime.

She also said the commission had been asking governments for the past five or six years to overhaul their statute to allow complaints to be knocked out sooner, so would welcome that procedural change.

“At the moment, once we receive a written complaint alleging a breach of anti-discrimination law, I must as president investigate and attempt to conciliate. That’s our role,” Triggs said on Tuesday.

“ We would welcome an inquiry. We would welcome an attempt to moderate our statute that would make it al little easier for the commission to say these matters are coming to us and we don’t think they’ve got any real legs at all. We’ve long argued for this. ”

On the parliamentary inquiry that now seems to be looming after months of agitation by government conservatives, Triggs said she was “open to seeing what the inquiry might suggest — whether the language could be clarified and in our view strengthened that enables us to support the multicultural society that we are.”

Asked specifically about replacing offend and insult with the word vilify, Triggs said: “I would see that as a strengthening, it could be a very useful thing to do.”

With the government running a procession of attacks both on her conduct as president of the commission, and the commission’s oversight of discrimination cases, Triggs also hit back at the criticisms.

She told the ABC the prime minister’s commentary after the federal circuit court’s recent dismissal of a racial discrimination complaint made against three Queensland University of Technology students was “wrong.”

Turnbull in an interview on Monday said the judge in the case had made negative reflections on the commission in the case, and he urged the organisation to reflect on whether it was acting in a way that was undermining public support for its work.

Triggs said the prime minister’s comments were factually wrong.

“The commission never prosecutes, never brings a case, never pursues any matter. Once we have declared that the parties cannot conciliate the matter we will terminate it and that was done about 15 or 16 months ago [for the QUT case],” Triggs said on Tuesday.

“So we had nothing whatever to do with the federal circuit court and indeed contrary to the prime minister’s statement, the federal district court said nothing whatever about the human rights commission or its role.”

block-time published-time 11.43pm GMT

It would appear there are duelling tweets between Coalition and Labor party rooms.

enltrAs nothing much is happening in Canberra atm, here is a photo of the carpet from the Coalition Party Room. #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/TV6VbUySUj[https://t.co/TV6VbUySUj]

— James McGrath (@JamesMcGrathLNP) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/JamesMcGrathLNP/status/795765199705808896]enltrOh come on. We want a photo of George and Russell sharing tea and bikkies. https://t.co/ssM2x4L9i3[https://t.co/ssM2x4L9i3]

— Murray Watt (@MurrayWatt) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/MurrayWatt/status/795768636082241536]enltr @JamesMcGrathLNP[https://twitter.com/JamesMcGrathLNP] Coalition party room carpet leans right, Labor's leans left. This can't be a coincidence. pic.twitter.com/IRBC6Ds28r[https://t.co/IRBC6Ds28r]

— Murray Watt (@MurrayWatt) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/MurrayWatt/status/795771932960399360]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.53pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.33pm GMT

Stand by for every government question in question time.

enltrToday's visa legislation is a matter of national security. A test for @billshortenmp[https://twitter.com/billshortenmp]. Does he stand for strong borders?

— Peter Dutton (@PeterDutton\_MP) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/PeterDutton\_MP/status/795770214226874368]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.35pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.32pm GMT

Lyle Shelton of the Australian Christian Lobby says the death of the plebiscite “might work to secure the preservation of marriage in the long term”.

Australians have had enough of the same-sex marriage debate. After six years of relentless activism in the parliament, it should be time to move on. I think that’s what most people want – it is not a high-priority issue.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.37pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.27pm GMT

The independent senator Jacqui Lambie had dinner with Pauline Hanson last night. No halal snack packs.

They want multiple plebiscites.

I was fortunate to have dinner last night with Senator Pauline Hanson – and after our conversation I believe there’s an opportunity to put a private member’s bill before the Senate which gives the people at the next federal election – to have their say on three very important social and moral issues, Lambie says.

\* Same-sex marriage

\* Indigenous recognition

\* Euthanasia for the terminally ill

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.13am GMT

block-time published-time 11.17pm GMT

Labor has unanimously voted to oppose a lifetime ban on **refugees** Labor caucus has debated the government’s proposed lifetime travel ban[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat] for **refugees** currently in Manus Island and Nauru offshore detention.

Paul Karp reports that opposition leader, Bill Shorten, spoke against the bill in the party room and it will be voted down.

No amendments, no compromise - just voted down.

It’s an action in search of a problem, says one MP from the party room.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.18pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.14pm GMT

Steve Ciobo on Gillian Triggs: "there seems to be a pattern of deceptiveness" Trade minister Steve Ciobo has doubled down on Human Rights Commission president Gillian Triggs, saying “there seems to be a pattern of deceptiveness”.

enltr. @StevenCiobo[https://twitter.com/StevenCiobo] says there seems to be a lot of deception coming from @AusHumanRights[https://twitter.com/AusHumanRights] https://t.co/W4ioxrJEsC[https://t.co/W4ioxrJEsC]

— Sky News Australia (@SkyNewsAust) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/SkyNewsAust/status/795756328102694912]block-time published-time 11.07pm GMT

Our press gallery Financial Review colleague Laura Tingle has a good column today[http://www.afr.com/news/coalitions-lack-of-curiosity-about-bob-day-a-serious-concern-20161107-gsjwcl#ixzz4PMYOwBQ7] in which she ponders the lack of curiosity within the Coalition regarding the Bob Day electorate office deal. She writes One Nation had similar signals that Culleton was not a viable candidate for the senate.

Statements from the current special minister of state, Scott Ryan, and his predecessor, Mathias Cormann, reveal the details of a seriously concerning lack of curiosity about Day’s circumstances.

Cormann told the Senate that ‘a few hours’ after he had been sworn into the job on December 29 last year, Day emailed him quizzing him about whether the government would be paying him rent on his offices.

While Cormann insisted that queries kept being made of Day, and suggested the former senator was less than forthcoming in his answers, the Department of Finance became aware some time in February or March that ‘the bank account to receive the rental payments was an account linked to the then Senator Day’.

That is, at least three months before the federal election, the government knew Day’s business arrangements were highly suspect but did nothing to stop him standing.

Cormann told the Senate at ‘at no point did I received any advice’ the arrangements could be a potential breach of section 44 of the Constitution (which is the matter the High Court is now expected to be asked to consider).

And one suspects the Coalition thought it might all go away since Day wasn’t regarded as all that likely to be returned.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.10pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.02pm GMT

The **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, says the Guardian and activists are encouraging asylum seekers to stay in Manus and Nauru rather than go to third countries or go home.

Peter Dutton talks to the media in the press gallery. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian Monsieur Pomme de Terre has his angry eyes on today.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.11pm GMT

block-time published-time 10.43pm GMT

This from the ABC national rural reporter Anna Vidot[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-11-08/backpacker-tax-set-for-senate-showdown/8004258#.WCD-dPa\_KfU.twitter] :

The Senate is gearing up for a showdown on the backpacker tax, amid the strongest sign yet that Labor will join with crossbenchers and the Greens to block the Coalition’s compromise proposal.

Independent Tasmanian senator Jacqui Lambie claims she has the numbers to amend the Government’s 19% backpacker tax proposal to 10.5%.

ABC Rural understands she has reason to be confident, with Labor expected to finally announce its position on backpacker tax rates today.

Opposition leader Bill Shorten earlier indicated Labor was “open to” a 10.5% backpacker tax, in line with New Zealand.

Anna has done the numbers.

enltrEven if Labor & crossbench amend #backpackertax[https://twitter.com/hashtag/backpackertax?src=hash] in the Senate, they'd need to flip 2 Coalition MPs in HoR to make it law. Unlikely: #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] https://t.co/JxAQQAMHFf[https://t.co/JxAQQAMHFf]

— Anna Vidot (@AnnaVidot) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/AnnaVidot/status/795754047764512768]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.54pm GMT

block-time published-time 10.38pm GMT

After the Russell Broadbent intervention, Labor MP Tim Watts reminds us that the former National senator Ronnie Boswell named his fight against One Nation as his biggest achievement in politics.

enltrGeorge Christensen is no Ron Boswell.

Why are the Qld Nats so weak these days? pic.twitter.com/2HEvnZnvdN[https://t.co/2HEvnZnvdN]

— Tim Watts MP (@TimWattsMP) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/TimWattsMP/status/795754058518708224]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.54pm GMT

block-time published-time 10.34pm GMT

Oh Lord, give me strength

Deputy PM Barnaby Joyce rocks up to the Senate doors after his jog. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian We hear rumblings that Labor may have finalised a different position on the backpacker tax...

enltrDPM Barnaby Joyce on Labor and #backpackertax[https://twitter.com/hashtag/backpackertax?src=hash] just now: "All they want to do is open the wound up, pull the scab off." #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash]

— Anna Vidot (@AnnaVidot) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/AnnaVidot/status/795729080679206912]After an original 32.5% backpacker tax proposal, the government legislation has a 19.5% tax, with a 95% tax on superannuation as backpackers leave the country. Not to mention a $5 increase in the passenger movement charge.

Deputy PM Barnaby Joyce talks to the media at the Senate doors. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian The last thing Barnaby would want is a new war on that front, given the twists and turns of that policy debate[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/27/lifes-a-beach-as-backpacker-tax-fiasco-descends-to-new-lows].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.38pm GMT

block-time published-time 10.17pm GMT

Radical, Russell, radical! Stand in the elite corner, says George Christensen George Christensen, unplugged on Facebook[https://www.facebook.com/gchristensenmp/]. The big man of Queensland hits back at his colleague Russell Broadbent, who gave Christensen a character reading yesterday.

Victorian Liberal Russell Broadbent told parliament last night that I had given a speech recently that was a ‘diatribe about the rise of Islam’.

It seems Mr Broadbent is suffering the same problem many other politically correct hand-wringers suffer: they do not hear the word ‘radical’ when I talk about ‘radical Islam’.

Islam is a religion and we have freedom of religion in this country. Radical Islam or Islamism is an ideology and a dangerous one at that.

Nowhere in the speech Mr Broadbent has criticised me for will anyone find any criticism of Islam.

Mr Broadbent is part of the elitist set here in Canberra that we find on all sides of politics. This is confirmed by the fact he told parliament last night that MPs shouldn’t reflect the concerns of their electors but instead should be ‘leading’ them.

The last time I checked I sat in the House of REPRESENTATIVES not the House of Lords.

This is why many people are coming to the conclusion that politics is broken: MPs of all political persuasions don’t listen much at all to the public’s concerns and they hardly ever act upon them.

If in doubt, yell elites!

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.39pm GMT

block-time published-time 10.09pm GMT

Some housekeeping first.

Remember there were cabinet and shadow cabinet meetings last night and there will be party room meetings this morning.

You could reasonably assume that cabinet discussed 18C and senator Dean Smith’s proposal for some sort of parliamentary committee.

Labor’s shadow cabinet discussed the plan to ban all asylum seekers who have ever arrived by boat. All the noises and smoke signals suggest they will actually vote against the Coalition’s bill but let’s not count our chickens etc etc.

Labor may also (finally) announce a position on the backpackers tax.

The house will sit at 12pm.

The Senate will sit at 12.30pm.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.14pm GMT

block-time published-time 9.44pm GMT

As I said yesterday, the Liberal moderates are coming out slowly, slowly. Which places Malcolm Turnbull between a rock and a hard place. Turnbull is firmly entrenched in the NSW moderate position. He has the conservatives continuing their fulsome contributions and the moderates increasingly pushing back.

Last week Fairfax reported that the new Berowra Liberal MP, Julian Leeser, told the Chinese Australian Services Society [http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/liberal-mp-julian-leeser-proposes-18c-fix-to-throw-out-junk-race-hate-complaints-20161103-gshr8z.html] there was no case for change to 18C. He said there is a procedural fix to the problem such as a part-time judicial member of the commission to initially consider complaints so those with little prospect of success could be stopped.

There were the unsourced articles in the Australian Financial Review on Monday morning.

By yesterday afternoon, new Liberal Mackellar MP Jason Falinski had spoken to Murph[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/07/ken-wyatt-leaning-towards-supporting-a-review-of-section-18c], saying the government should look instead to procedural changes.

Falinski said it was important any 18C parliamentary inquiry should be broad-ranging, looking at curbs on free speech such as defamation, not just the RDA provisions.

We’ve got to look at this systematically.

This morning, the Bennelong MP, John Alexander, has told ABC AM that 18C is a “fringe issue”.

If you did a ranking of the top 10... it wouldn’t be in the top 100.

Alexander has John Howard’s old seat, which has turned into one of the most diverse in Sydney, as Howard found to his chagrin in 2007, when he not only lost government but lost his seat.

[The party has] a broad church. We have a range of opinions. I dare say there will be big discussion about it but for my money I am happy where [18C] is at.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.48pm GMT

block-time published-time 9.20pm GMT

You may have already seen Katharine Murphy’s story[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/08/pauline-hanson-damages-australias-standing-in-asia-penny-wong-to-warn] on the intervention by the Liberal MP Russell Broadbent overnight, chastising those who seek to divide.

He helpfully suggests LNP MP George Christensen, who shares his party room. Broadbent, who has a long history of opposing hardline asylum seeker policies, said the Coalition would hurt if it took the low road towards One Nation.

Broadbent warned that “diatribes” against Islam, such as interventions from the LNP backbencher George Christensen , would only hurt the Coalition in the long run.

“Those propositions and policies will only hurt the Coalition parties in the long run in the same way the once great Labor party now is the captive of the Greens, relying on their preferences to win 31 of their seats in this House,” Broadbent told the chamber on Monday night.

“Right here, right now, we can turn to the high road. Let this nation be the circuit breaker and travel the road of the wise, leaving the foolish to perish in division.”

Broadbent said the government needed to show empathy and consideration for people doing it tough. “If not, we further push those that feel **alienation** and disaffection by economic and social exclusion into the arms of the One Nations of this country.”

Coincidentally, Penny Wong is giving her own version of the low road speech at the National Press Club. The Labor foreign affairs spokeswoman will say Hanson is damaging our reputation in Asia.

In 1996, Pauline Hanson claimed, falsely, that Australia was being swamped by Asians. Now she claims, falsely, that Australia is in danger of being swamped by Muslims. One Nation wants to shut down migration to Australia based on racial and religious prejudice. It wants to turn back history, to restore Australia to some imagined earlier state as a uniform, homogenous, static society. This is not just a narrow-minded and impoverished vision for the future. It is also based on a myth about Australia’s past.

Wong will argue the myth of a culturally homogenous Australia “airbrushes out of our history the Afghan camel drivers, the Chinese working the gold fields, the Japanese pearl divers and the hundreds of thousands of Irish migrants who came here during the 19th century”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.31pm GMT

block-time published-time 8.58pm GMT

Good morning,

The plebiscite bill is dead. The votes, 29 to 33. If you are confused over the numbers, given there are 75 senators (with Bob Day gone), there were lots of pairs for completely unrelated reasons. The Liberal senator Dean Smith abstained – a position he has flagged well ahead of the vote. He called the plebiscite an attack on parliamentary sovereignty.

Those voting for a plebiscite:

\* Government:

\* Lambie

\* 4 One Nation (including Culleton)

\* Leyonhjelm

Those voting against a plebiscite:

\* Labor

\* Greens

\* Hinch

\* 3 Xenophon

George Brandis was cranky.

The attorney general, George Brandis, during the vote for the same-sex marriage plebiscite bill. Photograph: Mick Tsikas/AAP Stop playing politics with gay people’s lives, because that is all that you are doing. A vote against this bill is a vote against marriage equality. And those who claim to believe in marriage equality but nevertheless, for their own cynical, game-playing reasons, are determined to vote against it, should hang their heads in shame.

But, as you can see from the top picture, there was a very relieved Penny Wong in the chamber.

This morning, the Labor deputy, Tanya Plibersek , says it is time for old Malcolm to reappear.

This is not where the fight for marriage equality ends. We now need Malcolm Turnbull to do what the old Malcolm Turnbull would have done... a free vote.

There is a whole lot more going on. Mike Bowers has just wandered in with sweaty pictures of your deputy prime minister – the Barnaby – so grab a towel. In fact, maybe it is the warm weather but this morning, the grassy hills of parliament are full of people running up and down in active wear. It looks like my childhood ant farm.

Talk to me on the Twits @gabriellechan or Facebook[https://www.facebook.com/gabriellechanbushmail/] and @mpbowers.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.14pm GMT

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With less than 24 hours before election day, Tom McCarthy predicts and considers five possible results – each named after an imaginary electoral cocktail

The Clinton Crush In which Donald Trump loses every state with even a hint of Democratic flavor and drops a few big Republican ones too – the fantasy scenario for every American who yearns for his/her sense of shock and offense at Trump’s candidacy to be reflected in the electoral result.

Trump not only loses the big battleground states of Florida, North Carolina and Ohio, he hemorrhages support everywhere, losing Iowa, losing Colorado, and then – in the stroke that places the election among the all-time routs – losing in states where Republicans have simply never lost in the modern era. African American voters in Georgia turn out in Obama-era numbers to defeat him; Hispanic voters do the same in Arizona. In Texas, second- and third-generation Mexican **immigrants** unite with educated white voters, including a lot of moderate Republicans, to deliver the first Democratic presidential victory in the Lone Star state since Watergate.

Clinton even beats Trump in Utah, where pious Mormon voters decide at the moment of truth that no, they cannot vote for a candidate who wants to “grab them by the pussy”. Republican leaders get on TV the day after the election and declare that the nomination of Trump was a historic mistake. Thousands of words are spilled haranguing Republicans for nominating a candidate whose appeal to the base may have been strong but who obviously was not a serious contender to lead so great and diverse a nation. Final electoral tally:

The Trump Bank Shot In which Trump wins the 270 electoral college votes he needs to grab the keys to the White House with a surprise victory in the upper midwest, despite failing to convert in the more familiar battleground states of Nevada, Colorado, Virginia and Pennsylvania.

In this squeaker scenario, Trump owes his electoral life to white voters – especially rural white voters. As the night grows late, Trump realizes that he has lost Nevada and Colorado, owing to a strong Hispanic vote against him both places. He has lost Virginia because there are too many people in the DC suburbs who have some actual experience of the federal government and who are horrified to their teeth at the idea of his taking the White House. Surprisingly strong turnout among Trump supporters in the white working-class communities of Pennsylvania has failed to push Trump over the Democratic wall of Philadelphia and its suburbs. But Trump has performed strongly all night in the battleground states that count, winning Florida, Ohio, North Carolina and Iowa.

And then, luck strikes: Trump picks up a single electoral vote in northern, rural Maine, one of two states that split their electoral votes. Finally, against all odds and the predictions of most polls, he pulls off an upset win in Wisconsin, which has not gone Republican in a presidential election since 1988, but which is more homogeneously white than its neighboring states, where Hillary Clinton ends up having failed to inspire African American voters in Milwaukee to turn up on election day, and where Republican governor Scott Walker’s political machine has once again succeeded. Final electoral tally:

The Clinton Cliffhanger In which Democrats’ blood pressure climbs to 220/140 before Florida finally reports a conclusive win for Clinton at 3am, handing her 29 electoral votes and the White House.

This one won’t be pleasant. Clinton has had some nice, expected victories over the course of the evening, bagging Pennsylvania and Virginia and the states she was supposed to win in the upper midwest, and seeing all the talk of a strong early vote for Democrats in Nevada come true. The people who were supposed to vote for her are voting for her – women, nonwhite voters, educated white voters – and there’s no reason she won’t win. But the night has been interrupted, over and over, by signals that have made Democratic eyes twitch. First, the independent voters of New Hampshire have responded to Trump’s late-race momentum, and concluded that no, they’d really rather not have a Clinton dynasty in American politics. They give Trump four electoral votes. Then Trump wins North Carolina, where there admittedly are plenty of white Republican voters, where Republican efforts to quash voting have succeeded and, let’s be honest, if Barack Obama lost it in 2012, how was Hillary Clinton supposed to win it?

It gets really white-knuckle, however, when the Colorado result comes in. A large share of voters in Denver’s suburbs are registered independents, and maybe they’ve had the same kind of feeling New Hampshirites have had: enough with the Clintons. So Clinton stalls out at 266 electoral votes. Trump gets to 243. And all eyes are on Florida. Nonwhite voters in Miami haven’t turned up at the polls as they might have. Meanwhile, turnout among white voters in retirement communities has proven absolutely crushing. The Puerto Rican vote around Orlando seems to have failed to materialize. And they’re still counting Tampa and St Petersburg. Then final results in Broward County, where Obama won by more than 260,000 votes in 2012, come in, and the state is clearly Clinton’s. Trump cries foul but nobody can hear him through the cacophony of popping corks. Final tally:

The Al Gore In which America gets the constitutional crisis implicitly promised the moment Donald Trump, who has been involved in more than 4,095 lawsuits, according to one analysis[http://www.usatoday.com/pages/interactives/trump-lawsuits/], set foot on his golden escalator. The election turns out to be close – closer than anyone would have thought. Maybe Trump wins New Hampshire and makes a sweep of the other battleground states, save Colorado, to produce a 269-269 electoral vote tie. Or maybe Florida, which even in the relatively placid year of 2012 took four days to report its election result, comes down to a razor-thin margin like the one that separated Al Gore and George Bush in 2000, resulting in recounts, fights over absentee ballot postmarks[http://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/15/us/examining-the-vote-lieberman-put-democrats-in-retreat-on-military-vote.html], a refusal to concede on either side and, ultimately, the mother of all legal battles.

The 2016 election cycle has proven its ability to soar beyond the human imagination, and surely no mere mortal can comprehend how hairy things could get. The most horrible scenarios appear to lie down the path of an electoral tie. What happens then? Nobody really knows. While the constitution prescribes that Congress shall step in to resolve such a tie, and while a couple of early 19th-century elections[http://www.leinsdorf.com/House.htm] were close enough for Congress to get involved, there really are no applicable precedents. Since presidents are technically chosen by electors who meet to cast formal votes in December, it is conceivable that a so-called “faithless elector” might break a tie in favor of, say, Clinton, by going against the will of his or her state’s voters. But then Congress must formally count the ballots in January, and if but one senator and one representative disagree with the result, each chamber must vote on the validity of the count. You see where this is going. This is a Congress that cannot so much as tie its shoes, much less leap constitutional hurdles.

Would a result ever emerge on the other side? Would the supreme court get involved, again? (When they’re still one justice down? What if they tied, too?) Who would ultimately prove more litigious, Trump or the Clintons? Eesh. Some bridges are better left uncrossed until necessary. Final tally: pass the Scotch.

The Make America Great Again Britain Brexited. The Cubs won the World Series. And guess what? These things happen in threes. It’s 2016. The age you thought you were living in is yesterday. This is the age of reality television, the era of entertainment uber alles, the time of Trump. And any fool not foolishly attached to her or his notions of the false-glorious yesterday could see it coming. American voters unbothered by the worst of what Trump had to say simply voted for him. But millions of additional voters – suburban moms, second-generation **immigrants** who have already paid their dues, Republicans who came to their senses, and men everywhere – found that when they stepped into the polling booth, they either couldn’t check the box for a relic of America’s political past – a woman, no less – or they weren’t as bothered by Trump’s words, and by the actions of his supporters, as they thought. After all, he’s not serious about wanting to deport millions of American residents, just as he wasn’t serious when he said what he did about women, wasn’t serious when he impugned American democracy, wasn’t serious when he said Mexicans were rapists and Muslims were terrorists, wasn’t serious when he called for a nuclear Saudi Arabia and wasn’t serious when he said journalists should be silenced and when he said, over and over, that Hillary Clinton should be in prison.

Trump’s big night begins in New Hampshire, continues shortly thereafter in Virginia and North Carolina, rolls through Iowa and Ohio and then – earlier than anyone could have thought – through Florida, where he maintains a second home. Nobody can believe it when Trump wins Pennsylvania – it turns out that African American voters in Philadelphia stayed home, and a surprising number of centrists in the Philly suburbs decided that no candidate who loved golf so much could be so bad. Trump wins Colorado, maybe misses in Nevada and misses in the upper midwest – but by then he’s over 300 electoral votes, so who cares? Hang the White House with a big gold T, and brace yourselves for whatever may be. Final tally:

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Writer says the rightwing thinktank is the ‘foremost organ in Australia for spreading climate change denial and doubt’ • Naomi Klein: Climate change is intergenerational theft. That’s why my son is part of this story

Naomi Klein delivered a stinging rebuke to Australia’s approach **refugees** and climate change, as well as criticising interventions from the Institute of Public Affairs, in a fiery episode of ABC’s Q&A on Monday night.

The Canadian journalist, author and winner of the 2016 Sydney peace prize appeared on the panel alongside two panellists from the free-market thinktank the IPA, Anthony Albanese and writer Don Watson.

A dispute on climate change policy was provoked by a question from audience member Jim Sandford, an economist with the leftwing thinktank the Australia Institute.

When will your government accept that our energy system has to change? @SenPaterson[https://twitter.com/SenPaterson] responds #QandA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/QandA?src=hash] https://t.co/hEdd2eEAHs[https://t.co/hEdd2eEAHs] — ABC Q&A (@QandA) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/QandA/status/795588343958339584]

Sandford asked James Paterson, a Liberal senator and former deputy executive director of the IPA: “When will your government accept once and for all the energy system has to change and start to lead that change rather than standing in the way of it?”

Paterson responded by saying he thought Australia should “take an agnostic approach to energy sources”.

Klein interrupted Paterson and asked, “Do you believe climate change is real?” to which Paterson said he did. Klein continued: “How can you be agnostic about which energy source you use if you believe in that?”

Interesting that @SenPaterson[https://twitter.com/SenPaterson] didn't try to paint #climate[https://twitter.com/hashtag/climate?src=hash] change as a hoax. IPA will retract his life membership. #qanda[https://twitter.com/hashtag/qanda?src=hash] — Peter Hannam (@p\_hannam) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/p\_hannam/status/795587733406158848]

She continued, laying into the IPA itself:

“I asked you if you believe in climate change and I asked you that because you’ve been associated with IPA. We have two people from this thinktank and this is the foremost organ in Australia for spreading climate change denial and doubt. You may personally not agree with that but the IPA publishes discredited climate change deniers, this year, in your facts book, and this is slowing us down.”

Kudos @NaomiAKlein[https://twitter.com/NaomiAKlein] for calling our TWO #IPA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/IPA?src=hash] panellists out of 5 on #qanda[https://twitter.com/hashtag/qanda?src=hash] — Anne Summers (@SummersAnne) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/SummersAnne/status/795589031241232384]

Georgina Downer, an adjunct fellow at the IPA, responded, saying: “The IPA is absolutely committed to research and discussion of the facts.” She then went on to question how settled the science of climate change is.

Downer said: “The IPA is, we don’t have an IPA opinion on climate change per se. We have a committed line of research into the facts.”

But Klein, who has written widely on the role of free-market thinktanks and neoliberalism in stopping the world acting on climate change said: “The reason why that free markets thinktanks like IPA are so determined to raise questions, raise doubts about this issue where there is overwhelming scientific consensus that climate change is real … If it is true, your whole world view collapses. This whole idea of pushing deregulation and privatisation and ‘government get out of the way’ falls apart because we need to manage this decline.”

Klein said Australia was virtually alone in its inaction on climate change.

“Among wealthy industrialised countries, Australia now stands alone raising the middle finger to the world and saying that we’re not going to act and we will build massive new coalmines, huge natural gas pipelines in the Northern Territory, opening up vast fracking fields. These are carbon bombs. This is unburnable carbon. If we’re going to live up to the sacred promise we made in Paris, to countries like your home country.”

She said the public “have to stand up to the extraordinary power of coal, oil and gas”.

Watson, an author and former speechwriter for prime minister Paul Keating, had a dry take on the same issue.

“It’s fairly simple to explain,” he said. “You do have a problem with the fossil fuel industry. No one wants to take them on. So you don’t. That’s it.”

Don Watson nails it on #qanda[https://twitter.com/hashtag/qanda?src=hash] : the fossil fuel industry is strong, so they don't challenge them #ActOnClimate[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ActOnClimate?src=hash] — Market Forces (@market\_forces) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/market\_forces/status/795590534643392512]

Klein won applause for her rebuke of Australia’s policy on asylum seekers and **refugees** also.

Following a discussion of Donald Trump and his plans to build a wall on the border wiht Mexico, she said pointedly: “I think that Donald Trump talking about building the wall with Mexico is insane and racist. But I think what Australia is doing on Manus and Nauru is as well.”

Naomi Klein offered this answer before: the difference between offshore **refugee** camps & Trump's wall is that our atrocities are real #qanda[https://twitter.com/hashtag/qanda?src=hash] — Holly Creenaune (@hollycreenaune) November 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/hollycreenaune/status/795591291102892032]

Klein said: “I think it’s outrageous. The New York Times called this proposal cruel, short-sighted and shameful. I hear this, I hear this argument that it’s ‘We can’t send a message to the people smugglers’. What about the message you’re sending to **refugees** around the world? What message are you sending about Australia? And the implication that the only way people die is at sea. They die in war zones when they can’t flee. That’s why we welcome **refugees**.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The shadow foreign minister will use a speech to say that One Nation’s ‘monocultural myth’ must be rejected

The shadow foreign affairs minister, Penny Wong, will use a policy speech to warn One Nation’s return to the political scene has the potential to damage Australia’s key relationships in the region.

Wong will use a speech to the National Press Club on Tuesday, which is about the importance of maintaining openness in an atmosphere of rising xenophobia and protectionism, to argue that Pauline Hanson’s rhetoric resonates negatively in Asia, and it erodes Australia’s reputation in the region.

Wong’s intervention follows a strong speech from the Victorian Liberal backbencher Russell Broadbent in the House of Representatives on Monday night in which he blasted some colleagues for “cuddling up to Hansonite rhetoric”[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/03/cory-bernardi-warns-one-nation-will-rise-if-migration-not-halved].

Related: Rod Culleton and Bob Day referred to high court – as it happened[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/live/2016/nov/07/malcolm-turnbull-human-rights-commission-should-look-at-18c-process-politics-live]

Broadbent warned that “diatribes” against Islam, such as interventions from the LNP backbencher, George Christensen, would only hurt the Coalition in the long run.

“Those propositions and policies will only hurt the Coalition parties in the long run in the same way the once great Labor party now is the captive of the Greens, relying on their preferences to win 31 of their seats in this House,” Broadbent told the chamber on Monday night.

“Right here, right now, we can turn to the high road. Let this nation be the circuit breaker, and travel the road of the wise, leaving the foolish to perish in division.”

Broadbent said the government needed to show empathy and consideration for people doing it tough. “If not, we further push those that feel **alienation** and disaffection by economic and social exclusion into the arms of the One Nations of this country.”

The interventions come as Labor appears poised to reject a controversial proposal from the Turnbull government that would ban asylum seekers from ever entering Australia.

The shadow cabinet was deliberating on the asylum bill on Monday night, and the Labor caucus will debate the proposal on Tuesday morning.

The government has been building its political attack on border protection given Bill Shorten has been signalling the opposition will likely vote against the asylum proposal, and Labor has accused the government of attempting to pander politically to One Nation supporters.

Ahead of Labor’s likely rejection of the proposal on Tuesday, the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, said he would look to the Senate crossbench to back the government’s legislation.

One Nation also exhibited a public schism on Monday[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/07/pauline-hanson-agrees-rod-culleton-case-eligibility-high-court], when Hanson agreed that Rodney Culleton’s eligibility as a senator should be referred to the high court – a process that could render him ineligible to sit in parliament.

Wong will use her speech at the press club to argue Hansonism has the potential to damage Australia’s standing in the region.

“Leaders from both major political parties have worked to build and strengthen Australia’s relations in Asia,” Wong will say in the speech. “Their work, over time, has enhanced our standing in the region.

“So it damages us all when these voices undermine the positive reputation so many Australians, in government, business, academia and cultural institutions, have worked to build.”

Wong will argue that politicians, business leaders and community leaders need to speak out against Hansonism to try and prevent Australia’s domestic politics being refracted into the region.

She will also argue it is important to reject the mythology of a monocultural Australia.

“In 1996, Pauline Hanson claimed, falsely, that Australia was being swamped by Asians. Now she claims, falsely, that Australia is in danger of being swamped by Muslims,” Wong will say at the press club.

“One Nation wants to shut down migration to Australia based on racial and religious prejudice. It wants to turn back history, to restore Australia to some imagined earlier state as a uniform, homogenous, static society.

“This is not just a narrow-minded and impoverished vision for the future. It is also based on a myth about Australia’s past.”

Related: Pauline Hanson leaves Coalition at crossroads – and all roads lead north | Katharine Murphy[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/28/pauline-hanson-leaves-coalition-at-crossroads-and-both-roads-lead-north]

She will argue the myth of a culturally homogenous Australia “airbrushes out of our history the Afghan camel drivers, the Chinese working the gold fields, the Japanese pearl divers and the hundreds of thousands of Irish migrants who came here during the 19th century”.

“It blots out the Pacific Islanders brought here to work the cane fields. And it ignores the Holocaust survivors and **refugees** who made a new life in Australia after the second world war, let alone the centuries of shared history, trade and cultural links between Indigenous Australians and the Macassan traders of the Indonesian archipelago.”

Wong will argue the vast majority of Australians are not racist, xenophobic or intolerant.

“However, fear of change, fear of the unknown and the unfamiliar, is an understandable human instinct, especially when it is fanned by xenophobes pushing a political agenda,” she will say.

“Yet prejudice rarely survives personal connection. World Bank researchers have shown that people who know a **refugee** are significantly more likely to say that their country has a responsibility to help **immigrants**.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Glenn Palmer, a three-term incumbent linked to the Patriot movement, is among the west’s most controversial local officials and could stay in office after Tuesday

There’s an election on Tuesday, and voters in Grant County, Oregon, face a stark choice. They have to choose their sheriff, and the result of that race will resonate far beyond the county. Many observers will see it as a referendum on the gains made in the west last year by the Patriot movement.

Just as in the presidential race, those involved see it as having an almost existential significance. “This is a pivotal moment in the history of Grant County, and the entire west,” says Todd McKinley, the wiry, clean-cut contender who’s hoping to dislodge the three-term incumbent, Glenn Palmer.

The Guardian spoke with McKinley in a coffee shop in the main street of John Day (population 1,707). He chose a window table at the far end of the coffee house. When told that other interviewees had asked to meet here, he said with a smile, “it’s a good spot. You can watch your back.”

Even more than in other small towns, people here seem to have a sense that they are being watched and listened to closely. Some feel the need to hold their political opinions close to their chests.

Not so for McKinley, who has spent his whole policing career in the Grant County sheriff’s office, working alongside his opponent from 2001 onwards. But over the years, his relationship with Palmer grew strained, due in part to his former boss’s unusual political connections with the Patriot movement, which refers to a range of anti-government groups, including militias, tax protesters and so-called “sovereign citizens”.

“I believe the sheriff’s office [should be] more about policing and less about politics,” he said.

This year, Palmer has become one of the most controversial local officials in the west after his support for “ constitutionalist[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/05/us/in-oregon-law-enforcement-faces-dilemma-in-confronting-armed-group.html] ” and militia groups became a topic in Oregon’s media, as well as the subject of complaints by those working alongside him.

After a group of armed men led by Ammon Bundy occupied the Malheur wildlife **refuge** in neighboring Harney County on 2 January 2016, this remote corner of Oregon became the center of a national story[http://www.bluemountaineagle.com/Local\_News/20160113/members-of-armed-group-occupying-refuge-meet-with-grant-county-sheriff-in-john-day\_]. Palmer praised them as “Americans” and “patriots” in local media and argued that the government was “ going to have to concede something[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/27/us/oregon-armed-group-arrest-bundy.html] ”.

When members of the Malheur occupation’s leadership were finally arrested on 26 January, they were on their way to John Day to address a public meeting, which Palmer attended. One of those leaders, Lavoy Finicum[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/27/oregon-militia-standoff-lavoy-finicum-killed-police-malheur-wildlife-refuge], was shot dead after he left the car and appeared to reach for a sidearm. Among his last words were: “I’m going over to meet the sheriff in Grant County.”

Earlier in the occupation, on 12 January, two occupiers – anti-Islamic[http://america.aljazeera.com/watch/shows/america-tonight/articles/2015/12/2/jon-ritzheimer-anti-islamic-muslim-fbi-manhunt.html] activist John Ritzheimer and Ryan Payne[https://www-thenation-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/12-scariest-parts-new-report-bundy-ranch-standoff/], alumnus of the 2014 Bundy ranch standoff[http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/24/us/politics/rancher-proudly-breaks-the-law-becoming-a-hero-in-the-west.html] in Arizona – met with the sheriff at a group lunch in John Day. Ritzheimer told reporters[http://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/01/post\_2.html] at the time that Palmer had “a practical plan for helping unravel the federal government”, and that he had asked the two men to autograph his pocket constitution.

During and after the occupation, Palmer received pushback from a group of local residents, calling themselves Grant County Positive Action, who organised protests against the occupation and took out ads in local newspapers demanding that Palmer explain his actions.

Related: How the Oregon militia acquittals reflect the appeal of white nationalist agitators[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/29/oregon-militia-bundys-acquittals-anti-government-right-influence]

John Day’s 911 dispatch manager, Valerie Lutrell, wrote a complaint to Oregon’s department of public safety standards and training about Palmer, in which she mentioned[https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/2715684-Complaint-Valerie-Luttrell-dispatch-manager.html] the support he was showing for the militia occupying the Malheur **refuge** as well as his “disregard for the potential consequences of pushing his personal agenda”. She also claimed that he was “viewed as a security leak” by his own staff, as well as local and state authorities.

This complaint and others triggered an ongoing investigation by the Oregon department of justice into allegations against Palmer, including tampering with police records[http://www.bluemountaineagle.com/Local\_News/20160524/palmers-legal-woes].

So far, Palmer has avoided publicly detailing the precise nature of the relationship he had with the occupiers. He has fought attempts[http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2016/07/the\\_oregonian\\_seeks\\_order\\_stop.html] to get access to his email exchanges with the Bundys during the occupation. The sheriff has long refused to speak with local outlets such as the Oregonian, and reportedly threatened its reporter with legal action for attempting to contact him.

Indeed, he’s not inclined to explain himself publicly at all.

The Guardian repeatedly endeavored to speak with him about the election with in-person visits and phone calls to his office. Palmer’s only response was a curt “no thank you” to an email request.

The Malheur standoff revealed just one dimension of Palmer’s relationship with the so-called Patriot movement. He has also had a long association[http://www.bluemountaineagle.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?avis=BE&date=20110622&category=NEWS&lopenr=306229963&Ref=AR&profile=1418&template=printart] with the Arizona-based sheriff Richard Mack.

Mack founded the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA), a group resolved[https://cspoa.org/2014-resolution/] to assert the authority of local sheriffs in the face of any federal attempt to register or seize firearms, arrest or search individuals, or use military force against citizens. They argue that federal agents should not arrest people or seize property “without first notifying and obtaining the express consent of the local sheriff”.

In short, they believe that the county sheriff is the highest legal authority in the land (they even claim[https://cspoa.org/about/] that “the power of the sheriff even supersedes the powers of the president”). In that, they share the same basic hostility to the federal government, and the same reading of the constitution, as the Malheur occupiers.

Mack is also a board member of the Oath Keepers[https://www.oathkeepers.org/], a group founded in 2009 whose goal is to defend the constitution – and in particular the second amendment right to bear arms – against what they see as federal government overreach.

More disturbingly for locals, Palmer has according to local press appointed 65 “special deputies” – far more than any other Oregon sheriff – who report directly to him. In the letter of complaint written by Lutrell, the 911 dispatch manager, she complained that Palmer had provided no list of the people he had deputized, but had said that “anyone that I deputize” should be given access to the town’s dispatch systems.

Odd incidents have been reported involving these special deputies. In October 2015, according to Lutrell’s letter, Palmer asked a forest service officer to release a man he had detained because he was a special deputy. In September this year, another deputy shot a dog dead[http://www.bluemountaineagle.com/Local\_News/20160923/gcso-investigates-its-own-special-deputy-who-shot-a-dog-she-says-attacked-her] in the street in Canyon City, saying it had attacked her.

Because of this lack of transparency, some local residents were not willing to be named after talking to the Guardian, fearing possible intimidation.

One who is less reticent is Dan Becker, a local McKinley supporter who has retired from the US Forest Service.

“There’s a lot of anger here,” he says of his community, explaining that Palmer, his local supporters, and his Patriot connections are trying to harness it. For them, “this is Lexington or Boston Square. This is their moment to take back what they believe America has lost or left behind. They’re serious people.”

Like other local residents the Guardian talked to, he emphasizes that Palmer’s hardcore supporters are small in number – the inner circle is around 20 people, including some outsiders drawn to Grant County by Palmer’s reputation.

And their biggest opportunities seem to arise from disaster.

‘Palmer knows what’s right and wrong’

On 14 August 2015, the Canyon Creek Complex became one of the most destructive wildfire in Oregon’s history.

In a few hours it gutted 43 homes and incinerated numerous cars, RVs, and outbuildings. It burned up 110,000 acres of giant Ponderosa pines and Douglas firs in and around Grant County’s share of the Malheur national forest.

Of those events, McKinley says: “I ran the operations. We got it done and we didn’t have a life lost.”

McKinley says the success in preserving local lives is evidence that cooperative relationships between between county and federal agencies help everyone. But the trauma of lost homes further soured local politics, and many ended up blaming changes in the US Forest Service’s fire management practices. Old school strategies – such as thinning out trees with logging and clearing undergrowth – have become less prevalent as environmental values have exerted greater influence.

In August 2015, the Guardian was present at a meeting in neighboring Prairie City at which US Forest Service officials who were preparing the community for possible evacuation were subject to sustained, hostile questioning from some residents about fire prevention.

This blame game played into the hands of Palmer and his tight group of local, rightwing allies, who, in keeping with Patriot movement ideology, see federal land management and ownership as a usurpation of local prerogatives.

Specifically, according to a report by the social justice thinktank Political Research Associates, Palmer and other Patriots adhere to a particular doctrine of “ coordination[http://www.politicalresearch.org/2016/10/29/coordination-how-the-patriot-movement-re-imagines-governmental-ties/] ”, which is interpreted by those hard-right groups to give local governments an equal position at the negotiating table with federal and state government agencies.

After the fires, in September last year, Palmer deputized 11 Grant County residents to draft a natural resources plan[http://www.eastoregonian.com/eo/local-news/20151009/grant-county-sheriff-demands-coordination-with-forest-service] for county-level land management. Such a plan, developed outside county processes, is in keeping with Patriot tactics of establishing bodies which are intended to function as shadow governments pushing their own agenda.

The plan calls for negotiations between the United States and the county “on a government-to-government basis” in determining public land use, not mere consultation. This means the county is seen as having equal or greater authority than the federal government.

One of those deputised to write the plan was Jim Sproul, of Prairie City.

Sproul told the Guardian that the plan was intended for “use in the coordination process, which is federal law and allows local government agencies to have a meaningful say in these land use decisions”. Sproul describes the writing committee as “a citizens’ group”, adding that “Glenn [Palmer] supports us 100% because he knows what’s right and wrong.”

The group was small, though, and neither elected not formed by any recognized process. Members wanted to put it to a ballot, but county commissioners rejected it.

Still, Sproul believes that if the plan were put to a ballot, it would be successful – adding: “That’s why you’re seeing so much of a push against our sheriff.” He claims the plan was shot down by commissioners because of the power of the existing consultative management body, Blue Mountains Forest Partners.

Like his plan, Sproul thinks Palmer will prevail. “He’s a constitutional sheriff – he represents the people, all of the people. He’s a damn good sheriff, he’s well liked, he will win this election.”

He says Palmer edged McKinley out of the sheriff’s department because “Todd has a problem with authority. He doesn’t follow orders,” pointing to his political disagreements with Palmer.

McKinley says: “I find it interesting that [Sproul] is accusing me of having an issue with authority when he was supportive of the Malheur occupiers.”

The natural resources plan was the culmination of a longer history of conflicts between Palmer and the federal government. In 2011, he terminated a contract with the Forest Service which had seen deputies patrolling federal land in exchange for payments and the use of Forest Service facilities, such as a search and rescue helicopter.

In his own letter[https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3010967-GPalmer20110321.html]] terminating the arrangement, Palmer cited[http://www.annenbergclassroom.org/page/article-i-section-8] Article I, Section 8 of the US constitution, which in part reads:

The federal government shall exercise authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings.

Many in the Patriot movement believe that these are the only purposes for which the federal government can acquire land. National parks, forests, wildlife reserves and public land are, they believe, simply unconstitutional.

It is also the same fragment quoted by the occupants of the Malheur national wildlife **refuge** to underpin their demands that the federal government hand over control of public lands to counties.

Unemployment in the ‘timber belt’ Palmer’s letter also cites “socio-economic” issues as a reason for breaking off the agreement – like the Bundy group, Palmer attributes the long-term decline of Grant County, and by extension the western interior, to the refusal of federal agencies to allow unbridled economic exploitation of public land.

A public break between Palmer and McKinley arose from the latter’s decision to write a letter to the local newspaper disagreeing with the sheriff’s decision not to renew that contract. Palmer put him[http://www.bluemountaineagle.com/free/20110421/sheriff-puts-undersheriff-on-leave] on administrative leave.

The truth involves a bigger story. Grant County is in the “timber belt”, an area stretching from northern California to Washington which has suffered from the disappearance of logging and milling jobs over the last four decades.

Related: Extremist militias recruiting in fear of Clinton winning election, activists say[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/18/us-militia-recruiting-clinton-trump-election-patriot-movement]

Almost every county in rural Oregon has shown some degree of recovery from the depths of the last recession. But according to figures from Oregon’s office of economic analysis, employment in Grant County peaked in 1992, and is still around 15% down on 2003, with very few signs of improvement.

Whereas some timber belt towns have increased in size as retirees and others move in, Grant County’s demographics look a lot more typical of the rest of rural America[http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/business/archive/2016/06/the-graying-of-rural-america/485159/]. In 1980 there were 8,210 people there; in 2035 it’s projected there will be just 6,785, while Oregon as a whole will have practically doubled its population to almost 5 million over the same period.

Grant County is still dependent on its remaining timber mill as a private sector employer, but the future may be even bleaker than its immediate past.

Environmental protections and more stringent management of public lands have played some role in this, but only some – more efficient milling, cheap imports, the disappearance of the “low-hanging fruit” of old growth timber, and the decline of the US labor movement have also badly affected the logging industry.

This complex misfortune heightens the temptation to blame federal agencies for local problems, says McKinley. “There’s less logging, unemployment – people want to blame someone, so they blame the Forest Service.”

According to Becker, the disappearance of timber jobs from the 1980s on led many unionised, Democratic-voting mill workers to leave town. This tipped the balance further toward conservatism in a now deep-red county.

Glenn Palmer’s politics, though, go beyond mere conservatism. He’s part of a gathering movement that wants to challenge the very idea of federal public lands, and Democrats have few incentives to challenge such candidates in conservative areas.

Some of Grant County’s problems come down to the fact that is it a long way from anywhere – but versions of this political dynamic are visible everywhere, to the extent that they have come to define the political landscape of 2016. In the face of change and decline, Palmer, politicians like him throughout the west, and the Patriot movement as a whole are offering their own version of the promise to make America great again.

There aren’t any polls in Grant County. We won’t know until tomorrow whether it’s people have finally decided that those promises are hollow.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Despite higher than usual early voting among Latin communities, Trump could still succeed. Even if he doesn’t, he’s made racism against us fashionable again

The nightmare truly began when Donald Trump threw[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/aug/26/donald-trump-in-iowa-obama-esque-campaign-but-the-same-mouthy-mogul] Jorge Ramos out of a press conference in August last year. Some might argue it was when he called Mexican **immigrants** “ rapists[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/02/donald-trump-racist-claims-mexico-rapes] ” the month before, but the beast hadn’t yet emerged, hadn’t yet been given a clear face or features.

“Go back to Univision!” Trump shouted as Ramos was escorted out of the room. The familiar syntax was not lost on us Latinos, who have been told to “go back” for as long as we’ve been in the United States, whether we were born here or not.

Before he was forcibly removed, Ramos was criticizing Trump for effectively saying he would deport 11 million undocumented people and build a 1,900-mile border wall. Well, Trump skirted those specifics, but that was the reality of what he was proposing. We Latinos were put in a familiar place – where we are merely numbers or parasites to the economy, seen not for our worth as human beings but for our worth as laborers.

Al mal tiempo, buena cara, goes an old Mexican proverb. “To the bad times, good face.” When I first delved into the world of activism, I used to hold the saying in contempt. It seemed to feed into the bottomless humility of the Mexican American in the face of oppression, the **immigrant** family, the Chicano who doesn’t want to make a fuss. It painted us, I thought, as a people who merely stood by while bad things happened to us.

Watching the Trump campaign, being its first scapegoats, I felt we were in that helpless place where our only option was to endure. The slogan Make America Great Again encapsulated exactly how we are seen in this country. We are the unclean other, our culture dilutes the purity of America’s white citizens who must be protected from us. Make America great again – by kicking us out.

Violence against Latinos surged[http://americasvoice.org/trumphatemap/], at Trump rallies and across the country. Xenophobia and racism were whipped into a fever pitch by the demagogue’s rants, his constant attacks on our families and our neighbors. “Send them back” was a phrase I heard more in those months than I ever had in my life. “You have to go back” became a common response to everything I wrote. Something had changed.

It was Trump’s attack on US district court judge Gonzalo P Curiel, born in Indiana and of Mexican descent, that saw our worst fears begin to take shape in reality. Trump, then the presumptive Republican nominee, accused Curiel, who was overseeing a class action lawsuit against Trump University, of being biased simply because of his Mexican heritage.

I remember watching the debacle unfold and thinking: “So this is how he’ll silence us as president.” All of us. For Trump, it has never been about **immigration**. It’s been about stoking racism against brown people, against black people, against the “other”. “He’s a member of a club or society very strongly pro-Mexican,” Trump said of Curiel. “Which is all fine. But I say he’s got bias.” It harkened back to McCarthyism. This is what he meant when he said he would make America great again.

Things took a dip into the absurd with the infamous Cinco de Mayo taco bowl tweet.[https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/728297587418247168?lang=en] Trump, smiling and without irony, as if he hadn’t advocated for the mass deportation of our people and hadn’t called us criminals and thugs, tweeted: “I love Hispanics!”

It was beyond parody.

Today, many hope that the long nightmare is about to draw to a close. But Trump could still pull off a win. And even if he doesn’t, the Trump machine will roll on, with or without him. We have on our hands a significant population of angry white citizens who blame us for all their frustrations. Things are about to get worse for us, not better.

It happens in cycles. America’s last mass deportation[http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/09/08/437579834/mass-deportation-may-sound-unlikely-but-its-happened-before] of Latinos and Mexican Americans happened during the Great Depression. Approximately 2 million Mexicans and Mexican-Americans were rounded up and ejected from the country. And leading up to Trump, xenophobia in the Republican party was already the norm. Trump merely brought the subtext to the fore, bolded it and added several exclamation points. It’s a recipe for disaster.

Al mal tiempo, buena cara. I used to hate the phrase, but now I think of it daily. It helps me survive the daily inanities of the election cycle, the daily ways we are dehumanized. It’s not putting on a smile and pretending the bad times aren’t happening. It is a radical act of survival. It is a resolute affirmation in the face of adversity: I will make it through this. I will live to see the better days.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The US position in the global financial world, and the fact that many investors have bet on Clinton, means a Trump election could bring a cataclysmic shockWhat you need to know before voting Clinton or Trump

President Donald J Trump. Imagine, if you can, beginning the trading day on Wednesday with those words ringing in your ears. It’s a scenario that has a lot of investors worried.

“I think we’d have to brace for tremendous volatility and an initial drop in the market,” says Timothy Fisher, a New York-based tax attorney and an investor with retirement savings invested in stocks and bonds, and in whose eyes this election involves both high political principles and economic arguments.

Like his peers, Fisher has been watching the last-minute shifts in the polls anxiously. Trump, he argues, simply wouldn’t be a good president for financial markets or for investors – or for the economy as a whole, given that his adversarial approach to dealing with trading partners could dampen export earnings for US businesses and hurt the country’s GDP.

Related: Asian shares slide again after market's 'fear index' spikes for eighth day[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/nov/04/asian-shares-slide-again-after-markets-fear-index-spikes-for-eighth-day]

Fisher and other investment strategists and economists have been burning the midnight oil of late, analyzing what a Trump victory would mean for the United States. Their response? Think Brexit[http://money.cnn.com/2016/06/26/investing/markets-brexit-reaction-monday/] and multiply.

Hundreds of US economists working in academic institutions (including several Nobel laureates) have warned against electing Trump[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/economics/2016/11/01/prominent-economists-including-eight-nobel-laureates-do-not-vote-for-donald-trump/], precisely because of what they referred to, in a public letter, as his propensity to misinform the electorate and promote “willful delusion over engagement with reality”.

“It would be the US version of Brexit,” says Mark Zandi, chief economist of Moody’s Analytics. The election of the Republican candidate for president would be, like the British vote to leave the European Union[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/23/george-osborne-brexit-won-majority-hard-brexit-did-not], an event that “is not expected, but that is very consequential, while also being very uncertain in terms of precisely what it means for us all, now and into the future”.

Given that stock markets loathe uncertainty above all else, the initial reaction to a Trump victory – as with the Brexit vote – would be a stock market selloff[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/economics-blog/2016/jun/24/the-day-brexit-pushed-the-markets-into-freefall]. “This kind of wave of emotionally fuelled selling could lead to the market losing between 5% to 10% in a couple of weeks or a couple of months,” says Jack Ablin, the chief investment officer at BMO Private Bank.

Following that poll, we saw a kind of Brexit bounce[http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-eu-economy-idUKKCN11B0TQ], when investors realized that Britain’s departure from the United Kingdom wouldn’t happen overnight and that it would take years to negotiate a new relationship with its trading partners in Europe.

But the United States is a different kind of animal. It’s a much larger market, for one thing: about a quarter of global GDP and some half of the value of all the stocks traded in the world are US companies, changing hands on US stock exchanges. Add to that the fact that a lot of investors have already placed big bets[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/10/donald-trump-wall-street-effect-markets-230164#ixzz4PATlxIQy] that Trump’s Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton, will prevail in Tuesday’s presidential election, and you’ve got all the makings of a nasty market shock. The starting point for a selloff in the stock market could be 10%, and it could get worse from there, some suggest – and that shock would almost certainly be a global one, rippling outward from the peso and the Canadian dollar to the yen and European markets.

Simon Johnson, an economist at the MIT Sloan School of Management, has argued that the kind of “big adverse surprise” that Trump’s election would pose to the system, causing the stock market to crash, could prove cataclysmic[https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/economic-consequences-of-trump-victory-by-simon-johnson-2016-10]. Trump, whose promises to boost economic growth immediately to between 4% and 5% are “pure fantasy” – in Johnson’s opinion – has advocated anti-trade policies that would lead to anything but growth, the economist argues. And a Trump victory? Well, that might just be enough to cause a worldwide recession, Johnson says.

Nonetheless, some investors are preparing for the heightened risk of a Trump presidency, stocking up on cash, gold and such hedges against the US market as German bonds[http://fortune.com/2016/11/02/donald-trump-investors-safe-havens-german-bonds/] in their portfolios. They have done so as the political situation has become more fraught and Trump has succeeded in narrowing the polling gap[http://www.newsweek.com/trump-narrows-polling-gap-rigged-message-512682] between Clinton and himself and making a Trump presidency more likely.

Should Trump actually triumph, the immediate market shock isn’t the only factor that these investors will have to consider, however.

“In the near term, I think a Trump administration would affect business investment and hiring decisions,” says Zandi, a former adviser to Republican presidential candidate John McCain. “No one is sure what kind of specific policy decisions president Trump would make and businesses would pause until they got more clarity. That would slow economic growth.”

Longer term, Zandi adds, the outlook depends on what choices a president Trump would make. What form would his anti-**immigration** stance take? If Trump chooses to follow through on all his policies – deporting undocumented **immigrants**, building a wall along the Mexican border – it could shrink the size of the US economy or trigger a trade war.

“This is what markets will worry about most,” says Stuart Hoffman, chief economist of PNC Financial Services. “If we were to impose tariffs or quotas on imported goods, our trading partners would likely retaliate, and our exports to those countries, like China and Mexico, would suffer.” There would be no winners; global growth would slow.

Trump has promised that he would cut taxes if elected, which sounds appealing to voters. That has the potential to give the consumer sector at least a brief jolt, to the extent that those tax cuts are significant enough to register for individual taxpayers, and if those people choose to spend their windfall.

But Hoffman notes that Trump’s tax plan is set up to benefit wealthy Americans most[http://www.thefiscaltimes.com/2016/09/26/Trump-s-Tax-Plan-Would-Benefit-Wealthy-Most-Study-Finds]. Many economists believe that changes in tax policy have less effect on spending by affluent households. There’s also the pesky question of how Trump would pay for those tax cuts. “He is not at all clear how he would do that,” says Hoffman. “Do you just run higher deficits? That would be a longer-term negative.”

Related: Why a surging stock market isn't making ordinary investors happy[https://www.theguardian.com/business/us-money-blog/2016/aug/21/stock-market-records-ordinary-investors]

Still, investors who confront a Trump-induced market selloff on Wednesday morning shouldn’t imagine that there are no economic upsides to his election. Trump has promised to take a light approach to regulating businesses – that could be good for corporate profits, and for stock prices, when the shock is over. “Many of his ideas are pro-market policies,” Ablin says.

And if you shudder at the idea of a President Trump, remember that some of what he is able to accomplish will be governed by the makeup of Congress. He can’t abrogate existing trade treaties, like the Nafta trade pact between the US, Canada and Mexico, single-handedly; he could find working with Congress to pass some of the more protectionist measures that investors find so terrifying to be far harder than he expects.

The idea of President Hillary Clinton is one that investors have had plenty of time to accustom themselves to, and the Democratic candidate’s policies are clearly articulated and by now offer few surprises to anyone who has been paying attention. Trump? He’d bring nothing but surprises with him, starting with the astonishment of his victory. So, buckle your seatbelts – just in case.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump catalyzed a movement that has destroyed the conventional wisdom – and the establishment – that has led the GOP for a generation

Not long after he launched his rocket of a campaign last summer, Donald Trump walked into a gathering of hardcore conservative activists in Nashville, Tennessee. Meeting a Manhattan businessman with no clear ideological discipline, the crowd could have been skeptical at best and hostile at worst.

The National Federation of Republican Assemblies casts itself as the keeper of the flame of modern conservatives, claiming a big role in the Goldwater and Reagan revolutions that defined the party for a generation. “We are the Republican wing of the Republican party,” the group likes to say.

The group would go on to endorse Ted Cruz, but at the time members happily ignored Trump’s flip-flops on abortion and his lack of religious roots to cheer on his anti-establishment war cry.

“You know, I’m a Republican. I’m a conservative,” he claimed. “But I’m just as angry with the Republicans because they go to Washington, something happens – they become weak … Then they walk into these magnificent buildings with those incredible vaulted ceilings, and they go: ‘Oh, I made it, darling, I made it. I vote for you. I vote for you. I vote for Obamacare expansions. I’ll do whatever you want me to do. I’m in Washington.’ It’s amazing. Isn’t it amazing? Don’t you agree? It won’t happen to me, I promise. And if it does, you can let me know about it. But it won’t. I promise. I promise.”

Midway through a rant about “phony statistics” and free trade, Trump spotted a sign in the crowd and stopped in his tracks.

“You know, this is a movement, folks,” he said. “This is not, like, maybe even about me. I don’t want it to be about me. This is about common sense. It’s about doing the right thing.”

As his explosive campaign draws to a close, Trump is claiming once again to lead something even bigger than his own ego. In one of its rare positive commercials, called simply Movement, the Trump campaign mixes scenes of the Republican convention and the new Trump hotel in Washington to claim: “It’s a movement, not a campaign. Its leader, Donald Trump, dreaming big, building bigger.”

Of all the outlandish assertions to emerge from Trump’s mouth, this one is by far the most credible. Win or lose, Trump has catalyzed a movement that has destroyed the conventional wisdom – and the establishment – that has led the Republican party for a generation. Whether he built the movement or simply rode its wave, Trump has profoundly reshaped the politics of the Grand Old Party. From his opposition to trade to his admiration for Putin, from his authoritarian tendencies to his anti-Nato stance, Trump has trampled across several red lines of Republican politics. In many ways, the biggest unknown in American politics is not about the winner of Tuesday’s election; it’s about the future of the Republican party and the power it continues to wield.

Related: My year with Trump: covering a curiosity that became a dark phenomenon[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/06/my-year-with-donald-trump-campaign-2016-election]

There are several GOP establishment types who believe that Trump’s hold on the GOP is weak. Without any national network of his own, Trump has no loyal hacks holding on to the party apparatus. In that thesis, the party’s leadership – the RNC, congressional officials, major donors, thinktanks and chief strategists – can wrest back control just as soon as Trump shuffles off stage.

Other campaign veterans think that is wishful thinking.

“The sooner we come to terms with the fact that Trump is not going away, the sooner we can confront the very real threat he represents to the profile and long-term prospects of the party,” says Kevin Madden, who served as senior adviser and spokesman for the last Republican presidential nominee, Mitt Romney. Madden says Trump’s tenacity and love of the limelight – as well as his own campaign infrastructure of mailing lists, donors and volunteers – will give him longevity, no matter what happens in the general election.

Related: World looks on anxiously as US makes a fateful choice[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/06/us-election-world-anxious-wait-clinton-trump]

“I believe two worldviews will emerge amongst Republicans on 9 November,” says Madden. “One worldview will look to replicate the Trump model of defining the party as a vehicle for grievances against the so-called establishment. The other worldview will look to confront the Trump effect on the party, separating the Trump voter from Trump himself, and look to rebuild the party as one of reform, with a real agenda and message that connects with the anxieties and concerns that were on display this year.

“So, yes, it’s reasonable to expect there will be a civil war within the party. If I had to handicap it, I’d even say that Trump and his supporters are winning that battle right now.”

This civil war has been a long time coming.

Trump was not the first to understand the potency of **immigration** as a defining test for the new Republican party. That moment came at a high point of President George W Bush’s power, soon after his re-election in 2004.

At the time, the establishment consensus was clear about the rise of Latino voters. Republicans could not afford to concede them to Democrats, and instead could win them over with an agenda of family values, faith and support for small business.

So when Bush pushed for **immigration** reform in 2005, he fully expected his political capital to pay dividends. Instead, he found himself outflanked and outgunned by House Republicans and nativist hosts on conservative talk radio. A comprehensive approach died that year and a more limited version was killed two years later, just as the financial crisis was beginning to emerge.

The crash of 2008, and the Great Recession that followed, transformed a political landscape that was already shifting against the pro-business, pro-**immigration**culture that once represented mainstream Republican opinion.

Steve Schmidt was a senior staffer on Bush’s 2004 re-election campaign and in effect campaign manager of McCain’s 2008 effort as the economy collapsed. He sees the emergence of Trump and Bernie Sanders as part of a far bigger shift in global politics that threatens the security and economic order we have known since the second world war.

“The absolute acquiescence of the Republican establishment, who discarded a generation of conservative ideology at the knees of an authoritarian wannabe, and the fact that someone so manifestly unprepared intellectually, emotionally and morally came this close to achieving real power in this country is a historic event that is truly unprecedented,” says Schmidt.

Related: What I learned after 100,000 miles on the road talking to Trump supporters[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/nov/03/trump-supporters-us-elections]

“The notion that there’s a snap-back to normal is naive in my view. It has exposed at a really massive level the profound hypocrisy of the Christian right leaders – not good people of deep faith, but the Falwells and Perkins and Robertsons.”

For Schmidt, the decision of those Christian conservative leaders – Jerry Falwell Jr of Liberty University, Tony Perkins of the Family Research Council and Christian Broadcasting Network founder Pat Robertson – to support Trump undermines their preaching about family values, given the candidate’s personal conduct and life choices.

He added: “And it has demonstrated the intellectual bankruptcy of the movement – the Republican party of the 80s and 90s as the party of ideas.”

Schmidt sees this election as the second of four global contests fought along the same lines, along with this year’s Brexit vote on EU membership in the UK[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum] and next year’s presidential elections in France and federal contests in Germany. Across Europe, and some parts of the world like the Philippines, Schmidt sees the troubling rise of rightwing populism based on blue-collar job losses[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/nov/03/trump-supporters-us-elections], stagnating middle class wages, and poor job prospects for the young.

“We’ve seen in this campaign the emergence of this underbelly of American nativism, of white nationalism, the alt-right movement,” he says. “If you have any sense of history it’s not difficult to look at this and be very disturbed by it. There’s always been a question in America of: could it happen here?”

For now, the party’s elected leaders seem dazed and confused about the path forward. Take Jason Chaffetz, the Utah congressman and conservative star, who was disgusted by Trump’s comments about assaulting women just a few short weeks ago. “I’m out,” he told the Washington Post. “I can no longer in good conscience endorse this person for president.”

Last week he decided he was not totally out, after all. “I will not defend or endorse @realDonaldTrump,” Chaffetz tweeted, “but I am voting for him. HRC is that bad. HRC is bad for the USA.”

This is just the kind of political weakness Trump was lampooning last year. In which case, the future of the party after next week belongs not to the non-endorsers but to the harder-core conservatives supported by groups like FreedomWorks, the Tea Party-fuelled grassroots group promoting a libertarian-style agenda.

Related: 'Mr Brexit' meets Mr Brexit: Nigel Farage to stump with Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/24/nigel-farage-donald-trump-mississippi-rally-appearance]

Jason Pye, director of communications, says the group is pinning its hopes on anti-Trump senators like Rand Paul, Ben Sasse and Mike Lee, alongside the House Freedom Caucus that helped oust the last House speaker, John Boehner.

“These guys are the thin red line that protects the constitution from Hillary Clinton,” says Pye. “These are the guys who fight for economic freedom and personal liberty and we’re supporting them.”

That makes at least three Republican splinter groups in the wake of a Trump defeat: the old main street GOP, the libertarian wing, and the diehard Trump loyalists.

For some conservatives, the only silver lining is the age profile of those Trump fans. “The one hope is that all the crazy people in the Republican party are older and the crazy people in the Democratic party are younger,” says Schmidt.

It’s not much to cling to, but it’s all they can do to hope this movement dies of natural causes.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As the presidential campaign has gathered speed, the Guardian has gathered together the lies the Republican candidate has told. What have we learned?

Donald Trump lies like he tweets: erratically, at all hours, sometimes in malice and sometimes in self-contradiction, and sometimes without any apparent purpose at all. The Guardian has catalogued more than 100 falsehoods made by the Republican nominee over the last 150 days, and sorted them according to theme.

Hillary Clinton has been caught in more than a dozen falsehoods of her own, for instance about her email practices[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/06/hillary-clinton-email-investigation-fact-check] and her past support[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/19/third-presidential-debate-fact-check-trump-clinton] for the Trans-Pacific Partnership. But Clinton often makes her falsehoods in dense legalese, making them hard to pin a motive on: many could as easily be errors as lies, careless exaggeration or deliberately misleading claims.

Trump, on the other hand, will say “ wrong[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b2Ec\_oHjEFM] ” when he hears his own quotes. His own lawyers met him in pairs[https://twitter.com/nycsouthpaw/status/783914466379464704?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw] to counteract his lying, court documents[https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/2016-election/trump-lies/] show. He has invented false statistics, fictional videos[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/03/trump-attacks-clinton-scandal-us-400-million-iran-nuclear-deal] and sex tapes and a nonexistent man named “John Miller” to talk about his sex life. Months of fact-checking, however, reveal methods and, whether he means to or not, Trump’s guide to success through lying.

Related: FBI director: new Hillary Clinton emails show no criminal wrongdoing[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/06/fbi-director-hillary-clinton-email-investigation-criminal-james-comey]

Degrade and destroy For decades, Trump has described America and its leaders in apocalyptic terms. He thought Ronald Reagan weak[http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/10/donald-trump-ronald-reagan-213288] and “ a disaster[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-reagan-tax-cuts\_us\_56cf5c95e4b03260bf75fcbd] ”, he lambasted[https://www.buzzfeed.com/andrewkaczynski/trump-spoke-against-nafta-at-1993-convention] George HW Bush[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-the-trump-bush-melodrama-decades-of-tension-and-discomfort/2015/08/27/419b0686-4be6-11e5-902f-39e9219e574b\_story.html] and Bill Clinton’s policies, and after supporting George W Bush’s Iraq invasion, quickly dismissed that war as “ a mess[http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2016/sep/07/donald-trump/trump-repeats-wrong-claim-he-opposed-iraq-war/] ”.

In Trump’s world, crime is always rising (the national rate fell for decades[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/rate-murder-fbi-increase] ), and African Americans are “living in hell” ( they are not[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/debate-fact-check-trump-clinton-live-quotes-hofstra] ). Migrants are flooding in ( more Mexicans are leaving than arriving[http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/11/19/more-mexicans-leaving-than-coming-to-the-u-s/] ), and they bring violence ( there is no evidence[https://www.factcheck.org/2016/08/factchecking-trump-on-immigration/] that they do). Civilian and military leaders are always clueless (Trump received five deferments[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/02/us/politics/donald-trump-draft-record.html?\_r=0] from Vietnam), except when they love him. We have no idea who **refugees** or undocumented migrants are, and they take our jobs ( we know very well[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/donald-trump-syria-refugees-us-immigration-security-terrorism] who they are; they include his wife[http://www.cbsnews.com/news/melania-trump-modeled-in-u-s-prior-to-getting-work-visa/] ).

Trump’s vision of the US has been, for decades, one of dystopia – he even described the 1990s as a crisis worse than the Great Depression[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-lies-this-week-taxes-bankruptcy]. But amid all this desolation Trump gains three things. He fuels doubt and fear, leaving people vulnerable; he denigrates his opposition en masse, blaming the world on them; and he raises himself up above the nonexistent wreckage.

Embiggen big league Like a man who once took a joke[http://money.cnn.com/2016/03/04/media/donald-trump-fingers-hands/] about the size of his hands too hard, Trump spends a lot of time trying to look as large as possible, from his never-proven $10bn worth (Forbes estimates[http://www.forbes.com/sites/jenniferwang/2016/09/28/the-definitive-look-at-donald-trumps-wealth-new/#3d4c500d7e2d] $3.7bn) to crowds at his rallies and his success in meaningless[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/30/donald-trump-fact-check-debate-polls-us-jobs] internet polls.

This self-inflation is pierced throughout by paperwork. In March, the Guardian found that Trump valued a New York golf course at $50m in one document and at $1.4m in a court filing[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/12/donald-trump-briarcliff-manor-golf-course-tax] (he sued to pay lower taxes). On Thursday, the New York Times reported similarly huge discrepancies[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/04/us/politics/donald-trump-money.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&\_r=0] in his reported income. The Washington Post has shown repeatedly[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-foundation-lacks-the-certification-required-for-charities-that-solicit-money/2016/09/29/7dac6a68-8658-11e6-ac72-a29979381495\_story.html] that Trump’s boasts of charitable giving have virtually nothing behind them.

He has also falsely[http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2016/oct/10/donald-trump/trump-says-ice-endorsed-him/] bragged of endorsements from federal agencies and claimed “ many environmental awards[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/14/donald-trump-lies-this-week-fact-check-climate-change-crime] ”, and tried the ploy in reverse: he has called the millions his father gave him[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/debate-fact-check-trump-clinton-live-quotes-hofstra] as “a small loan” and portrayed his $916m loss in 1995[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/02/us/politics/donald-trump-taxes.html] as an example of “smart” tax avoidance.

This sort of exaggeration is a common sales technique: overstate the value of a product to make it more attractive and assume it will be bargained downward. In February Trump confessed “everything’s negotiable[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/02/29/trump-on-nyt-interview-leak-everythings-negotiable/] ” about his statements, then quickly said building a wall on the southern border was “not negotiable” – the equivalent of a liar saying, “Everything I say is false, but not that.”

Shout at the messenger Whenever in doubt, Trump attacks what he calls “the dishonest media”, accusing reporters (without evidence) of bias, inaccuracy and a failure to show the size of his rallies. He ignores that reporters quote him extensively, call his campaign for comment, interview his supporters, his rival’s campaign and independent voters and experts. He often cites news stories about Clinton, and even praised fact-checkers in a presidential debate for catching her in a falsehood.

At every rally, Trump says the cameras refuse to show his audience, even though his campaign forces cameras to stay within a small pen[https://www.buzzfeed.com/kyleblaine/how-donald-trump-bent-television-to-his-will], where they pan to show the crowd – as anyone at his rallies or watching online can see. Only one camera at each event stays fixed on Trump: the shared “pool” camera, whose footage networks share and which stays on Trump so as not to miss his speech.

Last week, NBC’s Katy Tur, a target for criticism from the podium, noted[https://twitter.com/chrisgolden/status/794024376496553985] that Trump “has joked in private with reporters about how he understands how the pool camera works”.

“This is a shtick that he does to rile up his base,” she said, “to give them an excuse for polls that might not be in his favor, to give them an excuse to berate someone that’s not Donald Trump.”

Trump’s scorched earth insults, like his attacks on other institutions, try to delegitimize authority and leave only himself in its place. But while most Americans still respect other institutions [http://www.gallup.com/poll/7177/americans-respect-military-honor-veterans.aspx] that Trump[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/09/trump-suggests-fire-the-generals-227862] has[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/19/donald-trump-john-mccain-vietnam-prisoner-of-war] demeaned[http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/donald-trump-father-fallen-soldier-ive-made-lot/story?id=41015051], the press was vulnerable. Decades of cable news punditry had already diminished opinion[http://www.gallup.com/poll/185927/americans-trust-media-remains-historical-low.aspx] of the press, and the internet has sapped major newspapers of their powers to compete with openly partisan sites, fake news and social media networks. Trump tried to fill the vacuum.

Conspiracy smoke, fire not required Trump’s most famous false conspiracy, about Barack Obama’s birthplace and who started birtherism[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/09/presidential-debate-fact-check-donald-trump-hillary-clinton], is only one of many.

There was Ted Cruz’s father and JFK’s assassin[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/29/donald-trump-lies-this-week-russia-ted-cruz-dnc], drawn from a tabloid with ties to Trump[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/national-enquirer-shielded-donald-trump-from-playboy-models-affair-allegation-1478309380] ; the climate change “hoax” [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/14/donald-trump-lies-this-week-fact-check-climate-change-crime] that was “invented by the Chinese”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/14/donald-trump-lies-this-week-fact-check-climate-change-crime] ; the Muslims who cheered September 11[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/11/donald-trump-9-11-comments-since-2001] ; the vaccines that cause autism[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/185734595864563712?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw] ; the Miss Universe “sex tape”[http://www.snopes.com/alicia-machado-adult-star/] ; the political correctness[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/19/trump-fact-check-iraq-war-san-bernardino-nato] of San Bernardino; the secret Muslim [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/251382918960783361?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw] president and his secret terror agenda[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/13/trump-obama-secret-agenda-pulse-nightclub-shooting-orlando] ; and the antisemitism-tinged plot of bankers and the media[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/14/us/politics/trump-comments-linked-to-antisemitism.html].

This category includes what the Toronto Star’s Daniel Dale calls “ pointless[http://www.cnn.com/videos/tv/2016/10/30/the-man-who-fact-checked-trump.cnn] ” lies, the oddest of Trump’s falsehoods. These claims include an invented letter from the NFL[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/early-lead/wp/2016/07/30/nfl-refutes-trump-claim-that-it-sent-him-a-letter-bashing-debate-schedule/] about debates, the authorship of the poem “ The Snake[http://www.cbc.ca/radio/asithappens/as-it-happens-tuesday-edition-1.3769348/oscar-brown-jr-s-daughter-wants-trump-to-stop-reading-her-dad-s-snake-lyrics-at-rallies-1.3771185] ”, and that Frank Sinatra didn’t hate [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB124389543795174079] My Way his entire life.

Trump himself seems to get lost in the intrigue, and sometimes slips into a Dadaist jumble of anti-Clinton allusions – Whitewater[http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/politics/archive/2016/10/tracking-the-clinton-controversies-from-whitewater-to-benghazi/396182/], cattle futures[http://www.vanityfair.com/news/2016/06/clinton-scandals-donald-trump], Benghazi[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/29/benghazi-report-finds-no-smoking-gun-and-hillary-clinton-happy-to-move-on], uranium[http://www.snopes.com/hillary-clinton-uranium-russia-deal/], Blumenthal[http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2016/sep/20/hillary-clinton-and-birther-movement-still-no-ther/], “ bleaching[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/28/donald-trump-lies-this-week-fact-check-mosul-clinton-emails] ” 33,000 emails[http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2016/oct/09/donald-trump/donald-trump-says-hillary-clinton-deleted-33000-em/] – that sound sinister when put together. This is apparently the desired effect: a haze of noxious sentiment, even if no one has found fire for all that smoke.

For more than 20 years, journalists and congressional Republicans have tried. The latter have spent tens of millions[http://benghazicommittee.com/benghazi-by-the-numbers/] of taxpayer dollars[http://edition.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1999/04/01/counsel.probe.costs/] investigating the Clintons’ associations and careless email practices[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/06/fbi-director-hillary-clinton-email-investigation-criminal-james-comey] but have yet to find criminal conduct.

Arguably Trump’s worst conspiracy is his insistence that voter fraud has “rigged” the election, which merges his fringe claims with his attack on institutions. No evidence supports the claim of widespread fraud and the decentralized electoral college makes such a conspiracy functionally impossible[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/21/donald-trump-fact-check-rigged-election-voter] – but the claim gives Trump something to blame failure on besides himself. Like his other conspiracies, it sows doubt and distrust, diminishing the nation so that Trump can portray himself as an authority.

Trump’s favorite escape from this maze is the phrase “ there’s something going on[https://www.washingtonpost.com/video/politics/trump-suggests-theres-something-going-on-with-obama/2016/06/13/4b10e990-317f-11e6-ab9d-1da2b0f24f93\_video.html] ”, which lets Trump suggest malevolence, claim ignorance and say nothing of substance at all.

Deny everything

When cornered by his own quotes or something he doesn’t know, Trump often lies with blunt denials – “wrong!” – or variations of the phrases “that’s very important” or “we’ll look into it”.

Related: Inside a Donald Trump rally: good people in a feedback loop of paranoia and hate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/donald-trump-voters-rally-election-crowd]

He also tries to wriggle out of uncomfortable situations with this tactic, most notably when he claimed ignorance of David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader who has professed approval for his policies, and white supremacists. Trump had disavowed Duke a few days earlier and denounced him in 2000[http://partners.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/021400wh-ref-trump.html], but in February he refused to condemn like-minded supporters, saying[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/28/donald-trump-former-kkk-leader-david-duke] : “I don’t know anything about what you’re even talking about with white supremacy or white supremacists.”

On the edge of pointless self-inflation and denial is Trump’s fixation with Vladimir Putin, whom he has claimed to know “ very well[http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/07/watch-trump-brag-of-speaking-to-vladimir-putin] ”, to have spoken with “ indirectly and directly[https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\_continue=2909&v=dKkKQmbyECw] ”, and to have never met and “know nothing” about. Trump also falsely insists that Putin called him “a genius” ( Putin called him “flamboyant”[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/18/vladimir-putin-donald-trump-striking-america-superpower] ).

Distortions Not all Trump’s falsehoods are exotic. Like Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/debate-fact-check-trump-clinton-live-quotes-hofstra] and many career politicians, he sprinkles misleading statistics into speeches, including on the murder rate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/14/donald-trump-lies-this-week-fact-check-climate-change-crime], African American unemployment[http://www.politifact.com/virginia/statements/2016/jun/20/donald-trump/trump-misleadingly-puts-black-youth-unemployment-r/], poverty among Hispanic Americans[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/16/lyin-trump-fact-check-deplorables-flint-refugees-clinton], the deficit[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/01/donald-trump-fact-check-trade-immigration-campaign] and taxes[http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2016/may/08/donald-trump/donald-trump-us-not-highest-taxed-nation-in-world/].

Trump also takes the tactic a step further, condensing whole arguments into outrageous soundbites. This is how a conservative argument about military presence in Iraq transformed into the claim that Obama “founded” Isis[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/12/donald-trump-fact-check-obama-isis-veterans-hillary-guns] and how Clinton’s support for **immigration** reform became “open borders” [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/19/third-presidential-debate-fact-check-trump-clinton].

Clinton has similarly oversimplified arguments into claims, for instance linking Bush-era tax cuts to the financial crisis[http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2016/oct/02/hillary-clinton/hillary-clintons-base-linkage-tax-cuts-and-great-r/].

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Republican presidential candidate holds rally in deeply Democratic stateTrump promises to ‘pause admissions from terror-prone regions’Minneapolis senator accuses Trump of launching antisemitic TV ad

Donald Trump on Sunday warned darkly of the danger posed by Somali migrants in Minneapolis, a deeply segregated city that has the largest Somali-American community.

Related: FBI director: new Hillary Clinton emails show no criminal wrongdoing[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/06/fbi-director-hillary-clinton-email-investigation-criminal-james-comey]

“Here in Minnesota, you’ve seen first hand the problems caused with faulty **refugee** vetting, with very large numbers of Somali **refugees** coming into your state without your knowledge, without your support or approval,” the Republican nominee told a rally in the solidly Democratic state, two days before the presidential election.

He then claimed: “Some of them [are] joining Isis and spreading their extremist views all over our country and all over the world.”

“Everybody’s reading about the disaster taking place in Minnesota,” he added, before claiming, falsely: “You don’t even have the right to talk about it.”

Trump has made warnings about **refugees** a staple of his stump speech, though he has most commonly targeted Syrians fleeing the five-year civil war that has devastated their country.

Three Somali Americans, two US citizens and one a lawful resident, plead guilty[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/03/somali-americans-isis-syria-convicted-minnesota] in June to trying to join the terror group Islamic State, or Isis. Law enforcement officials have said that more than 30 young men from Minnesota have left the county to join Isis or al-Shabaab, which operates in East Africa.

According to the 2010 census, more than 85,000 Somali Americans lived in the US with the largest concentration living in the Twin Cities. Despite integration campaigns[http://www.startribune.com/somalis-in-minnesota-still-misunderstood/247927831/] by the community – a former **refugee** is poised to win office[http://bigstory.ap.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/131e7e7d591c4ca691288873d0aba972/somali-activist-wins-minneapolis-district-democratic] as a state lawmaker, for instance – the area remains one of the most racially segregated[http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/business/archive/2016/07/twin-cities-segregation/490970/] in the US.

The Republican nominee has said he would bar **refugees** from settling in places without the approval of local governments. A federal court ruled against Trump’s running mate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/03/indiana-refugee-resettlement-mike-pence-court-decision], Indiana governor Mike Pence, in October, when he tried to block Syrian **refugees** from settling in his state.

In that decision, judge Richard Posner said Pence’s actions were discriminatory, and “the equivalent of his saying (not that he does say) that he wants to forbid black people to settle in Indiana not because they’re black but because he’s afraid of them, and since race is therefore not his motive he isn’t discriminating”.

In Minneapolis on Sunday, Trump said blocking **refugees** would be “the least [government] can do for you”.

“You’ve suffered enough in Minnesota,” he said, “and we will pause admissions from terror-prone regions until a full security assessment has been performed and until a proven vetting mechanism has been established.”

The US has some of the strictest vetting procedures in the world, requiring multiple stages of interviews with security agencies, background and health checks, and the process can last two years. Trump has not specified which countries he would bar migration from, nor many details of what he calls “extreme vetting”.

Related: Hillary Clinton retains edge over Donald Trump in election's final sprint[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/06/trump-campaign-clinton-panic-losing-blue-states]

Trump argued that these methods would prevent terror attacks in the US, citing “the recent terrorist attack in St Cloud”. In that Minneapolis city, in September, a 20-year-old Somali American man stabbed eight people in a mall[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/18/several-peope-injured-in-minnesota-mall-stabbings], before being fatally shot by a police officer.

The next day, leaders of the Somali community condemned the attack[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/18/minnesota-stabbing-somali-americans-suspect-name] and the FBI said it was investigating it as a “potential act of terror”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/minnesota-stabbing-dahir-ahmed-adan-college-security-guard]. It released few details.

“It’s horrible what they’re doing and if you want people to pour in Minnesota all you have to do is vote for Hillary Clinton,” Trump said on Sunday.

Somali Americans have become a target for domestic terrorists. In September, three members of a militia group in Garden City, Kansas, were arrested for allegedly plotting to bomb[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/14/bomb-plot-somali-immigrant-kansas-militia-charged] an apartment building with a number of Somali-American residents and where one apartment was used as a mosque.

The three men arrested[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/17/kansas-terrorism-plot-somali-immigrants-trial] could face life in prison.

According to the FBI complaint filed against the suspects, the men called themselves “the Crusaders” and Muslims “cockroaches”, and said that they wanted to “wake people up” with “a bloodbath”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**These days some activists seem to get angrier about agreements with friendly countries such as Canada than about mass slaughter

Justin Trudeau[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/oct/20/canada-voted-politics-anti-austerity-justin-trudeau-liberals] ’s Canada offers a liberal, progressive face to the world, one that surely should be applauded in an era of rising bigotry and populism. If Donald Trump is elected, European democrats may increasingly turn to Canada as an important interlocutor across the Atlantic. So how is it that the European Union’s trade dealings with Canada ended up becoming such a focus of anger? Surely Canada, with its solid democracy, its tolerance and openness, stands out as a haven of decency. As Canadian trade minister Chrystia Freeland[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/21/eu-canada-ceta-trade-deal-meltdown-canadian-minister-walks-out] said, Canada is a “country that shares European values”.

Related: The transatlantic trade deal TTIP may be dead, but something even worse is coming | George Monbiot[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/06/transatlantic-trade-partnership-ttip-canada-eu]

But friendliness to Canada has not been readily on offer among parts of Europe’s radical left. Instead, the Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (Ceta) – a 1,500-page document seven years in the making – became the target of a spectacularly hostile campaign. For those who waged it, this was a battle in which democracy itself was at stake, not just the question of whether Europe would suddenly be swamped with chlorinated chicken or hormonally altered beef (which it won’t). That Justin Trudeau called the text “progressive” mattered little.

Across social media, warnings were rife that the deal was a “Trojan horse”. Belgium’s Wallonia region (3.5 million inhabitants), which set out to oppose Ceta[https://www.theguardian.com/world/shortcuts/2016/oct/21/wallonia-eu-latest-rogue-element-walloons], was heralded as a champion defending the rights of all European citizens (508 million people). In the end, the treaty was signed[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/30/eu-canada-sign-ceta-free-trade-deal-trudeau-juncker], after an “interpretative” document was added to it – but without a single word of the treaty itself being changed.

Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the EU commission, stated an uncomfortable fact. “Nobody protests when we sign an agreement with Vietnam, which is a great democracy. But there are protests when we sign with the terrible Canadian dictatorship,” he said. That did little to sway Ceta critics. These days, anything that smacks of officialdom or of “the establishment” gets swiftly disqualified.

I’m not saying Ceta is perfect, nor that it shouldn’t be scrutinised. Of course, in the negotiation of free trade deals, interests can collide. Finding the right compromise is essential. The anti-Ceta movement in Wallonia and elsewhere was worried about a system of arbitration courts not being independent enough from the pressures of big business. What the objectors overlooked was that Ceta introduced more government oversight than any prior EU trade agreement.

Ceta has been maligned as a dangerous step towards TTIP, even after that deal was put on hold

Rather, I’m asking why so much wrath came down on an EU agreement with a country whose friendliness and proximity to European social-democratic principles should have inspired more trust. Ceta has been maligned as a dangerous step towards the EU-US TTIP agreement[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/06/transatlantic-trade-partnership-ttip-canada-eu], even after that deal was put on hold, if not buried. Ceta also suffered from the Brexit vote, which made governments in Paris and Berlin worry about demands to “repatriate” powers from Brussels. As a result, Wallonia, where the ruling socialists were under pressure from the anti-globalisation radical left, got its 15 minutes of fame. It temporarily blocked the deal with Canada, making the EU look dysfunctional.

These days, the question of what triggers outrage and what doesn’t could be a good topic for academic research. There are so many daunting international issues, from mass slaughter in Syria to **refugees** drowning off European shores, yet these tragedies fail to produce the same kind of grassroots mobilisation that free trade agreements do.

This is not to say that holding multinationals to account isn’t important – it is. But when looking at the crowds that gather in European cities on trade issues (300,000 demonstrated in Berlin a year ago against TTIP, and other, if smaller, public protests were held against Ceta), I’m reminded of another episode of selective indignation.

This was during the 2009 Copenhagen summit on climate. Tens of thousands of activists demonstrated to exert pressure on negotiators, and rightly so. But one of their key slogans was in support of the G77 group of developing nations, which that year happened to be chaired by Sudan – a country whose government had been carrying out atrocities in Darfur, and whose president had just become the object of an international arrest warrant issued by the international criminal court. None of this awkwardness got much mention at the time from climate protesters.

Related: There is a vision of what a progressive Britain could be. It’s called Canada | Gaby Hinsliff[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/31/vision-of-progressive-britain-called-canada-justin-trudeau-trudeaumania]

That said, the anti-Ceta movement has served a purpose. It has forced EU officialdom to think much harder about how it needs to convince citizens of the benefits of free trade, at a time when trade has almost become a byword for evil. It has also helped ingrain the notion that transparency and pedagogy (the task of explaining, tirelessly) are essential to the very survival of the European project. At least citizens have stopped ignoring what Brussels is up to.

Trade is a key area where the EU must act as a bloc if it is to be effective globally (if it doesn’t, then China will set the rules). But now, Ceta will likely be held hostage to 38 national and regional assemblies across Europe[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/29/britain-must-learn-from-the-eu-canada-ceta-trade-deal-saga]. This kind of local “vetocracy” is also what happened to the EU-Ukraine association agreement, blocked by a Dutch referendum in which just 300,000 people took part. Those who think such trends are good for the anti-globalisation struggle should reflect on how they also affect efforts to forge a decent EU policy on **refugees** – basically, shattering them.

What’s perhaps most disturbing is that Ceta has been as much criticised by Europe’s far left as it has by the far right. This uneasy but real convergence of some progressives with constituencies that applaud Donald Trump and other nationalist populists should be scrutinised. No doubt it will have been noticed in friendly, democratic Canada.

• Comments will be turned on later this morning

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Attention is focused on the Racial Discrimination Act but whistleblowers who speak out on matters of public interest face serious penalties

Dark forces have been gathering against freedom of speech in Australia. They have been gathering for a very long time, but not quite where you might think.

As parliament enters its last few weeks of the year some politicians and news organisations have once again taken up the attack[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/07/malcolm-turnbull-says-qut-case-hurt-human-rights-commissions-credibility-on-18c] againstsection 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act, which prohibits offending, insulting, humiliating or intimidating someone on the grounds of race.

Related: Malcolm Turnbull says QUT case hurt Human Rights Commission's credibility on 18C[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/07/malcolm-turnbull-says-qut-case-hurt-human-rights-commissions-credibility-on-18c]

The referral of complaints about Bill Leak’s now infamous Indigenous cartoon[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/nov/07/second-bill-leak-cartoon-cleared-by-australian-press-council] and the summary dismissal of a case brought by a Queensland academic have led to the latest round of the fight. The prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/07/malcolm-turnbull-says-qut-case-hurt-human-rights-commissions-credibility-on-18c], appears to be gauging support for a parliamentary committee to examine the section as conservative forces rally to wind it back.

Reams of column inches and television segments have been devoted to the topic. The sheer volume of content could make you think that people are being locked up left, right and centre by the Australian Human Rights Commission.

There are plenty of legal experts who agree that the section could do with changes. But is it the threat some politicians and commentators are suggesting? These are civil, not criminal cases and complaints are rarely successfully invoked. Most cases do not get to the federal court. The Queensland federal circuit court’s decision to summarily dismiss the academic’s case shows that frivolous cases will not be taken up.

So where does the real battleground lie for free speech in Australia?

1. Offensive language

Most states and territories have sweeping offences that allow police to summarily charge Australians with offensive language and behaviour. These powers are used so frequently in New South Wales alone that on average in 2015 four people were charged every day with offensive language.

These charges can be applied capriciously. Indigenous Australians are disproportionately impacted; 567 out of the 1,600 charges brought by police were made against Indigenous Australians in 2015.

And they can also target legitimate expressions of speech. Police frequently charge protesters with using offensive language. Last month a magistrate threw out a charge against a protester[https://theconversation.com/is-it-ok-to-use-the-f-word-in-political-protest-67705] who said the word “fuck” during a marriage equality protest against Fred Nile’s supporters.

2. Defamation laws

Defamation laws remain one of the biggest threats to freedom of speech in Australia. Journalists face major impediments in their reporting owing to limited protections and defences under defamation laws, as well as the absence of any express constitutional protection for speech. The former treasurer Joe Hockey’s defamation case[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/jun/30/joe-hockey-wins-200000-from-fairfax-in-treasurer-for-sale-defamation-case] against the Sydney Morning Herald would never have made it through the door in the US, but in Australia it led to a $200,000 payout by Fairfax Media. The laws are out of reach for most Australians owing to costs and so are often used by those with deep enough pockets to afford the legal fees.

It’s not just news organisations who bear the brunt. Australians who use social media are increasingly being prosecuted for defamatory posts. Without meaningful reform of the current uniform defamation laws, these cases will only increase in their frequency.

3. Gags on **immigration** detention staff

The Australian Border Force Act bans staff within the detention system[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/jul/01/detention-centre-staff-speak-out-in-defiance-of-new-asylum-secrecy-laws] from speaking out on matters of public interest. Under the act a former detention staff members could be prosecuted for disclosures to news organisations. Even the mere act of making a recording could see them in breach. In September the secretary of the **immigration** department issued a determination excluding doctors from this offence[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/20/doctors-freed-to-speak-about-australias-detention-regime-after-u-turn]. This was a positive move but many other workers remain within its scope.

4. Limited whistleblower protection

The Australian Border Force Act is dwarfed by the sweeping scale of a little-known section of the Crimes Act that criminalises “unauthorised disclosures” by all commonwealth officers.

Related: QUT, racial discrimination and why the Liberals' fight over 18C will lead to a sequel | Katharine Murphy[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/04/qut-racial-discrimination-and-why-the-liberals-fight-over-18c-will-lead-to-a-sequel]

This offence is so broad that almost any government officer – and any disclosure they make – could be captured by it and face two years in jail. It has been used to prosecute whistleblowers. And a number of journalists’ stories relating to the **immigration** detention regime have been referred for prosecution to the Australian federal police[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/jan/22/journalists-reporting-on-asylum-seekers-referred-to-australian-police] under this section. There’s no public interest defence or requirement that the disclosure has actually caused harm.

The Australian Law Reform Commission has recommended substantial changes to how it operates. These changes have been largely ignored by successive governments.

5. Restrictions on news organisations reporting on intelligence operations

There are heavy criminal penalties in place against news organisations reporting on special intelligence operations. It’s an offence for anyone to disclose the details of such an operation by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, irrespective of the public interest or whether the disclosure exposed wrongdoing.

6. Suppression orders and secret hearings

Australian courts have a peculiar affinity for suppression orders. It’s common for judges to issue sweeping orders that lock the public out of hearings or reporting on key details of cases. Victoria is particularly renowned for the aggressive use of non-publication orders. Studies have shown a staggering rate[http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/court-suppression-orders-still-issued-in-their-hundreds-in-victoria-20151010-gk611a.html] of orders being made.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Senate starts debating the plebiscite bill as cartoonist Bill Leak meets MPs to talk about Racial Discrimination Act. Follow the day live …

block-time published-time 7.43am GMT

Asked if Pauline Hanson ’s senior staffer James Ashby wants to parachute into his Senate seat told Sky News, One Nation senator Rodney Culleton said :

Well he probably wants to parachute into a lot of places. But at the moment it would be very difficult to parachute into my seat because the West Australian people want me to stay there as a Senator.

Is he accusing Ashby of being a political opportunist or was there a slur intended by that remark? You decide.

Culleton was far more civil about Hanson agreeing to the referral of his eligibility to the high court:

It is a different playing field here. I have to respect the party leader and the other senators.

block-time published-time 7.23am GMT

The prime minister has commissioned an independent review into Australia’s intelligence agencies.

This is an opportunity to assess whether our current intelligence arrangements, structures and mechanisms are best placed to meet the security challenges we are likely to face in the years ahead.

Consistent with previous reviews conducted in 2004 and 2011, this process will examine how our intelligence community serves Australia’s national interest. The review will consider the ongoing suitability of legislative and oversight provisions.

I have asked Professor Michael L’Estrange AO and Mr Stephen Merchant PSM to conduct the review and report to the Government in the first half of 2017.

The terms of reference are here [https://www.dpmc.gov.au/news-centre/national-security/2017-independent-intelligence-review].

block-time published-time 7.17am GMT

Culleton says it would cost a lot of money to go to the high court.

Everyone is confused [over the eligibility issue], it’s all a belief, I don’t want to be sent to an abattoir with a blunt knife, it’s got to be a clean kill.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.24am GMT

block-time published-time 7.14am GMT

One Nation Rod Culleton is speaking to Laura Jayes on Sky.

He calls the government referral an “ambush”. He says George Brandis has ambushed him.

He says the whole senate process to refer his eligibility was rushed and did not represent procedural fairness.

block-time published-time 7.01am GMT

Today is the first day of new senate rules to allow photographers to take pictures of senators on the benches - in line with lower house rules.

Bowers was not like the dog that caught up with the car. When the senate opened the doors , Bowers was there with bells on.

enltrMy first photograph under the new @AuSenate [https://twitter.com/AuSenate] open photo rules @gabriellechan [https://twitter.com/gabriellechan] open photo rules @murpharoo [https://twitter.com/murpharoo] open photo rules @lenoretaylor [https://twitter.com/lenoretaylor] open photo rules @GuardianAus [https://twitter.com/GuardianAus] open photo rules pic.twitter.com/16zfMMM4js [https://t.co/16zfMMM4js] open photo rules

— Mikearoo (@mpbowers) November 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/mpbowers/status/795519606462889984]block-time published-time 6.57am GMT

One Nation senator Rod Culleton addresses the senate on his eligibility to sit in the senate. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian I thought you might like a substantial chunk of Pauline Hanson’s speech.

It is a very difficult time for me and the party but even more so for Senator Culleton. He has been a man who has stood up to represent his electorate, the farming sector and many other issues. But this motion is on the floor now and I must address it. I have always stood for honesty, integrity and the truth. The people deserve no less, especially from this chamber. It goes to the very heart of our democracy. With this at hand, it is a question over Senator Culleton’s eligibility to hold his seat in this place.

I was of the opinion when he was nominated for Pauline Hanson’s One Nation as a Senate candidate that he stated that he was eligible to stand under the requirements of section 44 of the Constitution. I took that to be his oath, and his signature was witnessed by a JP.

My fellow colleagues and I support Senator Culleton, but we have seen on too many occasions politicians in this place and the other place who have not been accountable to the Australian people and I will not stand here and be of the same ilk.

I believe that it should go to the High Court to make their ruling on this matter. I hope their findings are in his favour and I would dearly love to see Senator Culleton take his place here again as a One Nation senator. I believe that they have the support of my other senators. I know that Senator Culleton will not be too happy with what I have just said, but I think that my integrity and my honesty

I have fought for 18 years to be on the floor of this parliament as a representative of the people and I cannot sit back and disregard what may have been a wrong judgement. But I will leave it up to the court to make the final decision.

She could make no other decision in my opinion. But it was a well executed.

block-time published-time 6.30am GMT

Just on the plebiscite bill, we are expecting a vote on this either late today or tomorrow.

block-time published-time 6.30am GMT

One Nation Rod Culleton wants to adjourn the senate until all evidence relating to the case is brought before the chamber. (He wants to pursue the aforementioned judges.)

Given he has a vote of one, his attempt fails.

The senate is back onto the plebiscite bill.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.35am GMT

block-time published-time 6.27am GMT

Rod Culleton to moves to amend government motion Pardon me. I may have lapsed into semi-consciousness.

The motion regarding Day and Culleton is back in the Senate now.

Nick Xenophon is speaking.

He and the other Xenophones are supporting the high court referral.

He notes that the One Nation senator Rod Culleton plans to move an amendment to the government’s motion.

The Senate needs some more bodies in the chamber and the president rings the bells.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.31am GMT

block-time published-time 5.53am GMT

The report into the backpacker tax was expected today but the committee is seeking an extension until Wednesday. It is expected to go through the chambers shortly.

block-time published-time 5.30am GMT

The LNP MP George Christensen wants citizenship to be revoked for new residents who break Australian law to comply with Sharia law.

Special consideration should be given to anyone who, having signed up to Australian citizenship and Australian law, breaks that Australian law out of compliance with a foreign religious law, such as forcing a child into marriage or female genital mutilation. They should forfeit their citizenship and their residency and return to where Sharia is the law of the land because there is no room for Sharia law in Australia.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.03am GMT

block-time published-time 5.20am GMT

To cabinet and beyond.

Tony Abbott leaves question time in the House of Representatives. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.04am GMT

block-time published-time 4.57am GMT

To infinity and beyond.

Malcolm Turnbull with the second man on the moon, Buzz Aldrin. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.04am GMT

block-time published-time 4.41am GMT

Mr Speaker, on weirdness...

**Immigration** minister Peter Dutton and the prime minister Malcolm Turnbull during question time. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.17am GMT

block-time published-time 4.37am GMT

I’m sweeping up here after the flurry of the day.

enltr @gabriellechan [https://twitter.com/gabriellechan] Today, you have my sympathies. #Whataday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Whataday?src=hash] Today, you have my sympathies. pic.twitter.com/2i5YK2FRD4 [https://t.co/2i5YK2FRD4] Today, you have my sympathies.

— The Matt Hatter (@MattGlassDarkly) November 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MattGlassDarkly/status/795465720272273408]Thank you Matt. Regards, Cluck Trent.

block-time published-time 4.35am GMT

Liberal senator Dean Smith: a plebiscite will irretrievably undermine parliamentary sovereignty Smith spoke earlier on the plebiscite bill.

I shudder to think that we may see a day in this country where determinations about our right to freedom of speech and freedom of worship or on whether or not Australia accepts **immigrants** from a particular nation are made by a popular vote of the people at the expense of our parliamentary system of government. It sounds like a ridiculous notion. Indeed, I hope it is a ridiculous notion. But I would prefer that we in this parliament do not expose future generations to that real risk. That is why I am passionate about protecting the foundational principle of parliamentary sovereignty. I believe we as parliamentarians have a responsibility to seek the best way to resolve difficult issues rather than the easy way to resolve them. I do not believe a plebiscite is the best means for resolving this question, and I believe it will forever and irretrievably undermine the principle of parliamentary sovereignty which has served our country so well.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.36am GMT

block-time published-time 4.30am GMT

OK I missed this bit because of the Rod Culleton matter earlier.

It happened before question time.

A government MP, the whip Scott Buchholz no less, seconded a motion that the government was shortchanging pensioners. It was one of those procedural motions that go through in the general hubbub.

As a result, Labor tried to suspend standing orders.

Burke moved that the house:

(1) Notes that:

(a) The Senate is today sitting while it remains unclear which senators were validly elected under the constitution; and

(b) The government has not revealed how long it has known there were questions over the validity of the composition of the Senate and why it has kept this information secret from the Australian people;

(2) Therefore, calls on the prime minister to immediately attend the chamber to provide a full and honest account of the government’s knowledge and involvement of the potential constitutional issues concerning the composition of the Senate;

(3) Notes the chaos in the Senate has today extended to the House of Representatives, when for the first time a government MP has seconded a private members’ motion which condemned the government for “shortchanging Australian pensioners” ;

(4) Congratulates the member for Wright in joining the minister for revenue and the minister for justice in their willingness to condemn the Turnbull government on the floor of the House; and

(5) Condemns the government for its failure to manage the parliament where every week there is a new stumble in the house and we now know the Senate has been sitting with a cloud over whether its composition is valid under the Australian constitution.

Labor lost on the numbers. But they made their point on the record.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.18am GMT

block-time published-time 4.20am GMT

I forgot to pack my angry eyes....

undltr #qt [https://twitter.com/hashtag/qt?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/gDD7lvC4lF [https://t.co/gDD7lvC4lF]

— Tim Watts MP (@TimWattsMP) November 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/TimWattsMP/status/795477376700280832]block-time published-time 4.17am GMT

George Christensen bones up on Time To Get Tough by Donald Trump.

Labor MP Tim Watts holds up a book he found on George Christensen’s seat during a division in question time. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 4.13am GMT

Labor’s Tanya Plibersek to Greg Hunt, representing the education minister: I refer to reports that the grants to a trades training centre college linked to former senator Bob Day was equivalent to $92,000 for each of the 20 students enrolled in the program, despite the fact that an equivalent qualification could have been completed at Tafe for just $3,000 per student. Does the minister agree that this grant was excessive?

Hunt says:

\* The liquidation of Bob Day’s building and construction company, Home Australia, will not have an impact on North-East Vocational College’s student builder pilot.

\* The pilot is being delivered currently and in accordance with the agreement.

Thirdly,

I’m also advised that the senator has resigned as a member of the college board and I’m advised that board members do not receive any payment and I am also advise that the former senator does not have a financial interest in the North East Vocational College and so the advice we have is that it is being delivered on time and in accordance with the grant.

So Hunt does not answer the question as to the appropriateness of the $92,000 grant.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.15am GMT

block-time published-time 4.06am GMT

Labor’s Anthony Albanese gets up to take a point of order.

Mr Speaker, on weirdness....

It is a very strange answer from Dutton.

block-time published-time 4.03am GMT

Another government **immigration** question, on CFMEU and visas. This is a Peter Dutton stream of consciousness.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.04am GMT

block-time published-time 4.02am GMT

Labor loses suspension motion.

Back to question time briefly.

The Labor huddle. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 3.53am GMT

The Coalition wins the gag.

Labor’s Tony Burke gets up to second the motion.

Burke yells:

They held it because they wanted his vote! They wanted his vote!

That is, Labor says Turnbull did not act earlier on Bob Day (even though he knew in August this year) because they wanted his vote on other bills.

Turnbull says he did not act earlier because the matter had to fully investigated.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.03am GMT

block-time published-time 3.49am GMT

Malcolm Turnbull during question time. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 3.45am GMT

Labor is moving to suspend standing orders on the Bob Day matter.

The Coalition employs the gag – to shut down Labor.

A vote is called.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.47am GMT

block-time published-time 3.43am GMT

Labor to Turnbull : How can it be that for every single day that the 45th parliament has sat, the PM has been aware that the composition of the Senate was potentially illegitimate, and why did the PM decide to keep this information secret from the Australian people?

Turnbull:

The reality is simply this: as you know, as we all know, senator Ryan, senator Ryan became aware that there was an issue concerning the nature or the extent, the character of senator Day’s interest in his office. He investigated that. He did so diligently. He sought advice. The idea that any member of the government, the special minister of state or any other, would have gone out and made allegations or made conclusions until the facts had been thoroughly investigated and advice sought is absurd and reckless.

Labor moves to suspend standing orders.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.48am GMT

block-time published-time 3.39am GMT

Pyne is losing his voice.

block-time published-time 3.39am GMT

The defence industry minister, Christopher Pyne, gets a question on new senator Kimberley Kitching and the CFMEU.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.48am GMT

block-time published-time 3.38am GMT

Sanctamonious humbug! Turnbull says government acted with diligence Shorten to Turnbull : The PM has just confirmed that he was aware in August that senator Day’s election possibly contravened the constitution. How can it be that since then, for every single day that the 45th Parliament has sat, the PM has been aware that the composition of the Senate was potentially illegitimate, and why did the PM decide to keep this information secret from the Australian people?

The PM says:

We have yet another example of the sanctimonious humbug we get time and time again from the leader of the opposition... The fact is that as senator Ryan and senator Cormann have set out, as the facts emerged concerning senator Day’s office, they then investigated it, taking great care to do so diligently, seeking legal advice from the Australian government solicitor, seeking legal advice from senior counsel, and then when that advice was received, provided it to the president of the Senate. The government has acted with the utmost integrity and with diligence.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.50am GMT

block-time published-time 3.32am GMT

Treasurer Scott Morrison gets a government question on the CFMEU.

block-time published-time 3.31am GMT

Senator Nick McKim has been on the attack in Senate question time, asking the attorney general, George Brandis, about the government’s openness to reform section 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act.

Brandis rejects the idea that 18C is part of a rightwing culture war, pointing out that Guardian Australia columnist David Marr – who he described as a “lion of the left” – could not said to be engaged in a culture war when he called for its reform. Even the right’s bette noire Gillian Triggs has suggested she is open to reform of the way 18C claims are processed, he said.

Brandis concludes by saying the government are “determined defenders of free speech” of both people that agree and disagree with them.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.36am GMT

block-time published-time 3.30am GMT

Burke to Turnbull : The special minister of state has today told the Senate that he informed the PM’s office on 18th August this year, that there was a potential issue under section 44 of the constitution in relation to former senator Day. On what date was the PM personally aware of this information?

Several days thereafter, says Turnbull.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.35am GMT

block-time published-time 3.26am GMT

A government question allows foreign minister Julie Bishop to update the house on the Mosul offensive.

block-time published-time 3.25am GMT

There is a government asylum seeker question.

Shorten to Turnbull : In light of the PM’s refusal to endorse the Coalition government’s handling of Bob Day’s electoral office in 2014, has the PM made any inquiries as to whether senator Ronaldson advised the finance minister or the then PM that senator Ronaldson was rejecting the department’s advice in order to assist Bob Day?

No dramas, says Turnbull, because there was no net cost to the commonwealth from Day’s office. See finance minister Mathias Cormann’s answer in the Senate, he says.

What about Kimberley Kitching, Shorten’s “handpicked senator”?

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.27am GMT

block-time published-time 3.20am GMT

Greens to the energy and environment minister Josh Frydenberg : A number of eminent Australians including the head of AGL, a former governor general and a former head of Telstra have urged the government to facilitate the phased and controlled closure of coal-fired electricity. Now that Hazelwood, Australia’s dirtiest power station is to be closed, will the government agree to put into law a plan for the orderly retirement of coal-fired power stations so he that workers, communities and clean energy investors can plan for the future, or will you continue to leave it to the chaos of the market so that Australia’s future energy security and welfare of places like the Latrobe Valley are left to the boardrooms of Paris, Tokyo and Hong Kong?

Shorter Frydenberg: Greens are hypocrites and driven by ideology. The Coalition is worried about energy security.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.27am GMT

block-time published-time 3.18am GMT

Extraordinary, that last answer. It is the same as George Brandis’ formula to 7.30 last week.

Essentially, he is saying, the Turnbull government is not responsible for what the Abbott government did – even though it remains the same Coalition government.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.20am GMT

block-time published-time 3.15am GMT

Malcolm Turnbull : I don't know what happened in 2014 re Day's office Bill Shorten to Malcolm Turnbull : Is the PM satisfied that the government’s handling of Bob Day’s electorate office in 2014 was appropriate?

Malcolm Turnbull :

The circumstances of 2014 are not matters that I have any personal knowledge of.

Well, they were matters handled by the then special minister of state, senator Ronaldson. The important thing to recognise is that when the issues relating to senator Day’s office came to the knowledge of senator Ryan, the matters were thoroughly investigated, advice was dutifully and diligently sought and the actions that followed, including providing those conclusions to the present of the Senate were carried out. Mr Speaker, I’m satisfied that my government has conducted itself with respect to this matter with great diligence and great integrity and great thoroughness.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.19am GMT

block-time published-time 3.10am GMT

enltrOne nation Sen. Rod Culleton addresses issues around his eligibility to be a senator @gabriellechan [https://twitter.com/gabriellechan] @GuardianAus [https://twitter.com/GuardianAus] pic.twitter.com/xMoBVFRYdy [https://t.co/xMoBVFRYdy]

— Mikearoo (@mpbowers) November 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/mpbowers/status/795463014287753216]block-time published-time 3.09am GMT

Will the PM update the House on the government’s efforts to counter people smuggling? Are there any impediments to keeping Australia’s borders secure?

Turnbull answers but everyone is just drawing a breath until the next question.

Labor to Morrison again : My question is to the minister representing the special minister of state and goes to items that are not covered in the document he just tabled. On May 2014, the special minister of state accepted Bob Day’s advice that he sold his interest in the taxpayer-funded electoral office, but if the minister, his office or his department had checked available land title records, they would have discovered that senator Day still owned the property. Has the government conducted any investigation as to why basic due diligence was not performed?

Morrison says Ryan’s statement “makes note of the fact that in November 2014, the Department of Finance undertook a title search which confirmed that the property was transferred to Fullerton Investments in September 2014”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.12am GMT

block-time published-time 3.04am GMT

Question time.

Labor to Scott Morrison representing the special minister of state Scott Ryan : On 24 February 2014, the department finance advised the special minister of state to reject former Senator Day’s request to establish his taxpayer-funded electoral office in a property he owned saying, “Finance has concerns about how such a transaction might be perceived.”

Why did the minister ignore this advice?

Morrison tables Ryan’s speech and sits down again.

He refuses to answer the question.

block-time published-time 3.01am GMT

Hanson to vote to refer her own senator Culleton to high court Pauline Hanson has supported the referral of her own senator Rod Culleton to the high court to determine his eligibility.

Hanson says he provided a signed statement telling One Nation he was eligible to stand.

She says she knows Culleton will not like her stand but politicians have to be accountable.

Rod Culleton has stated vested interests are out to get his Senate seat.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.09am GMT

block-time published-time 2.57am GMT

Pauline Hanson supports Culleton referral to high court Pauline Hanson says Culleton stated he was eligible to stand for parliament and he signed to that effect in front of a Justice of the Peace.

She supports Culleton but says it should be sent to high court.

block-time published-time 2.55am GMT

Rod Culleton promises to table government's legal advice on him The Coalition has refused to table legal advice from the solicitor general regarding Culleton’s eligibility.

Culleton has just told the chamber he would table it himself.

Hanson is up now.

block-time published-time 2.53am GMT

I really can’t keep up with this but here are a few points:

\* Rod Culleton is not perfect, only Jesus was perfect but even he was beaten and crucified.

\* Rod Culleton requests a full jury trial as is his “right in the nation’s Constitution”.

block-time published-time 2.46am GMT

Rod Culleton says vested interests are out to get him Certain parties believe they have the vested interests in the Senate seat. Their actions and reactions today reflect that vested interest in securing this West Australian Senate seat through which I was elected to serve my constituents in WA for the next three years.

block-time published-time 2.44am GMT

Rod Culleton :

This very nature of this situation confirms to me what Australians have seen in the Parliamentary representation for far too long. Parliamentary representatives who actually stand up and represent their constituents will always be under attack from within and without.

block-time published-time 2.43am GMT

Rod Culleton :

In my discussions with the clerk of the Senate this morning, I was clearly informed that I have the right to exercise my vote in the Senate and continue to represent the people of WA as I was elected to do. I intend to dutifully and responsibly fulfil my commitment.

block-time published-time 2.41am GMT

Rod Culleton has just started speaking. Josh Butler of the Huff Post with a lunchtime summary of the tsunami – bless him.

enltrParliament has been going for just 3.5 hours today, here's a list of what has happened already since this morning: pic.twitter.com/rCJqUuA0Qm [https://t.co/rCJqUuA0Qm]

— Josh Butler (@JoshButler) November 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JoshButler/status/795453357708054528]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.50am GMT

block-time published-time 2.37am GMT

The attorney general, George Brandis, is now moving onto the Rod Culleton matter, specifically the details around the challenge to his eligibility by a former associate.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.50am GMT

block-time published-time 2.25am GMT

Human Rights Commission : we had no role in law suit against QUT students The Human Rights Commission has issued a statement.

There has been considerable public interest in the commission’s complaint handling processes under the Australia Human Rights Commission Act 1986. There has been particular interest in the commission’s handling of complaints under the Racial Discrimination Act 1975.

In relation to the recent QUT case, it is a matter of public record that the commission terminated this matter in August 2015. The commission has had no role in the subsequent law suit in the federal circuit court.

At no stage does the commission initiate or prosecute a complaint. If the commission receives a complaint in writing alleging a discriminatory act, the act provides that the commission must investigate the facts and attempt to conciliate the matter.

The commission’s focus is on resolving disputes so parties can avoid court proceedings. Of complaints where conciliation was attempted, 76% were successfully resolved in 2015-16.

Only 3% of complaints finalised by the commission were lodged in court. For example, of the over 80 complaints finalised under the racial hatred provisions of the Racial Discrimination Act last year, only one proceeded to court at the initiation of the complainant.

In the 2015-16 reporting year the average time it took the commission to finalise a complaint was 3.8 months. In that same reporting year, 94% of surveyed parties were satisfied with the Commission’s service.

The commission has no judicial powers and it makes no legally binding determinations as to whether unlawful acts have occurred. The commission has no statutory power to prevent a complainant proceeding to court once the commission terminates the complaint.

The commission has provided advice to successive governments and attorneys general on amendments to the Australian Human Rights Commission Act. In particular, the commission has asked for amendments to streamline the process by raising the threshold for accepting complaints.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.57am GMT

block-time published-time 2.18am GMT

Senator Derryn Hinch told the Senate he would support the referral of Bob Day and Rod Culleton but he wants to look at the eligibility of all senators.

Crikey. This could go a long way... just checking with Hinch’s office on exactly what that might mean.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.23am GMT

block-time published-time 2.14am GMT

Labor urges Coalition to release legal advice on Day's eligibility The Labor leader in the Senate, Penny Wong, has said the opposition supports the referral of Day’s eligibility for election to the high court.

But she criticised the government for not providing legal advice it received on 27 October from lawyer David Jackson that concluded Day was ineligible.

She noted the referral is broad and includes any potential bar to Day’s eligibility. That means his solvency and the issue of a grant to a training school linked to Day [http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/fresh-questions-emerge-over-2m-coalition-grant-to-bob-day-school-20161103-gsh52c.html] could be considered.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.23am GMT

block-time published-time 2.12am GMT

Senator David Leyonhjelm objects to the Greens’ characterisation.

He says he thinks the link between Bob Day’s arrangements regarding his electoral office to section 44 of the constitution is too remote.

But he does not signal which way he will vote on the high court referral motion.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.23am GMT

block-time published-time 2.10am GMT

The Greens’ senator Larissa Waters says a federal independent commission against corruption may have helped in matters of the constitutional matters.

Her point is that any perception of stinky business would be closely watched.

Her point is also around the speed camera argument. That just having the Icac would have a chilling effect on potentially allegedly dodgy deals.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.24am GMT

block-time published-time 2.03am GMT

Penny Wong speaks to the Day/Culleton matters. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian It’s complex... the courts will decide.

The special minister of state, Scott Ryan, addresses the Senate on the validity of the election of senator Bob Day. The finance minister, Mathias Cormann, waits for his turn. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.25am GMT

block-time published-time 1.57am GMT

Mathias Cormann: I was not advised of potential breach re Day until last month The finance minister, Mathias Cormann, has explained that he believed that the non-payment of rent meant that there was no constitutional issue with Bob Day’s electorate office.

“At no time” was Cormann advised by his department that the commonwealth’s lease “absent rental payments” could constitute a breach of the constitutional section on eligibility, he said.

That is, until the government received advice on 27 October from David Jackson QC that the lease – even without rental payments – was a breach. For the basis of that advice, check the post lower about the case as set out by special minister of state, Scott Ryan.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.06am GMT

block-time published-time 1.50am GMT

Government didn’t give me clear advice about Fullarton Road, Bob Day says A bundle of documents has landed in the Senate relating to the affairs of the former Family First senator Bob Day and (in so far as we know) the current One Nation senator Rod Culleton.

In the Day documents, a couple of things are interesting immediately.

The first thing is he is corresponding with the government via an email address – bobday@77fullarton.com.au [mailto:bobday@77fullarton.com.au]

Fullarton Investments is the company that bought the building Day used to own – the building in which he wanted to situate his electoral office in Kent Town.

Day says he sold the building to avoid a conflict of interest; by this he presumably meant a problem with the constitution.

Section 44 of the constitution prohibits parliamentarians from having “any direct or indirect pecuniary interest in any agreement with the public service of the commonwealth”.

So, in that context, interesting email address.

The bundle of emails also yields some other interesting facts. Day told an official of the finance department on January 25 2016 that, in the complicated financial arrangements surrounding the building, that he, Day, retained the loan from the National Australia Bank .

He told the department that Fullarton Investments was to receive rent from the commonwealth to cover Day’s occupancy in the building “then make vendor payments to me using those funds. No rent, no vendor finance payments,” Day tells finance official Shane McGaughey on 25 January.

Then there is correspondence between the special minister of state, Scott Ryan, and Day in early August.

In this correspondence Day characterises the arrangements with the building in the following terms: “I have an agreement with someone else who has an agreement with the crown.” This explanation is provided by Day to Ryan in the event “the department pulls the pecuniary interest card”.

In this email on 7 August, Day says he has spoken to finance about the pecuniary interest issue, and told them it isn’t relevant.

Ryan clearly disagrees with this and seeks further advice. Day also furnishes him with further particulars.

In this email exchange on 29 August, Day says he has not been given clear advice by either the department, or by the special minister of state when he was elected in 2013 (which was Michael Ronaldson ) on the problems associated with him having some kind of financial relationship with the building which houses his electoral office.

Bob Day :

Their advice basically centred on the principle that it was “not a good look” for a senator to own his or her own office. That was basically it. I was told there was no law against it but that it “ wouldn’t look good” or “pass the pub test”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.58am GMT

block-time published-time 1.46am GMT

Here is a summary from Paul Karp :

The special minister of state, Scott Ryan, has explained the basis of the referral of former senator Bob Day ’s eligibility to the high court.

First, he runs through a chronology, including that he was only alerted to the possible constitutional issue on 7 August, after which he and the attorney general promptly got legal advice.

The nub of the referral is that Day’s family trust was liable for the mortgage over Fullarton Road, which he had sold to a business associate. Day gave a guarantee to the bank over the mortgage so that essentially if the commonwealth doesn’t pay rent to the company that owned the building, Day or his trust has to pay.

Ryan said that may lead to the conclusion that Day has an indirect pecuniary interest in the lease, which would make him ineligible to be in the Senate. But only the high court can decide and legal advice is only preliminary, Ryan warns. Hence the referral.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.56am GMT

block-time published-time 1.44am GMT

The SMOS, Scott Ryan, on former senator Day and his referral to his eligibility :

This is a complex legal and constitutional... this issue does not relate to a direct pecuniary interest because Senator Day disposed of his interest in the building. It relates to the financial arrangements for the building and the lease for the electoral office with the owners...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.54am GMT

block-time published-time 1.38am GMT

Roberts hits back.

enltrI am not surprised that. @adambandt [https://twitter.com/AdamBandt] is running away from evidence with this little sideshow.

Why won’t the @greens [https://twitter.com/Greens] debate me on facts? pic.twitter.com/G1AoNqr8Fb [https://t.co/G1AoNqr8Fb] debate me on facts?

— Sen. Malcolm Roberts (@SenatorMRoberts) November 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SenatorMRoberts/status/795438076772237312]block-time published-time 1.36am GMT

SMOS (special minister of state) Scott Ryan is giving chapter and verse on his dealings with former senator Bob Day relating to his offices.

block-time published-time 1.35am GMT

Cartoonist Bill Leak meeting MPs on 18C The News Corp cartoonist Bill Leak is meeting with Coalition MPs in Canberra on Monday to talk about plans to change section 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act.

He is being chaperoned through Parliament House by the executive director of the Menzies Research Centre , Nick Cater.

It comes as conservatives within the Coalition continue to push for 18C to be overhauled and as Malcolm Turnbull said he was open to the idea of considering changes.

Leak is at the centre of the push to remove the words “offend” and insult” from the act. He is being investigated by the Human Rights Commission for breaching 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/22/bill-leaks-lawyers-say-triggs-playing-politics-with-childrens-welfare] for a cartoon he drew for the Australian newspaper.

The cartoon shows an Aboriginal policeman returning an Indigenous boy by the scruff of the neck to the boy’s father, who is also Indigenous. The father is holding a beer can and cannot remember his son’s name.

Leak says he drew his cartoon in response to a Four Corners story on the Don Dale detention centre in the Northern Territory and its treatment of Indigenous children.

“A lot of these kids are coming from the most desperate circumstances,” he told the ABC’s Lateline program this month.

“I thought to myself, ‘Well, it comes back ultimately to parents.’ We all know that’s true.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.53am GMT

block-time published-time 1.33am GMT

The special minister of state, Scott Ryan, is now speaking to the Day/Culleton referrals to the high court.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.53am GMT

block-time published-time 1.31am GMT

Liberal MP Craig Kelly appears to link renewable energy policies to child drownings It is descending into the basement here. Mark Di Stefano of Buzzfeed reports [https://www.buzzfeed.com/markdistefano/climate-kelly?utm\_term=.gqowDm7wl#.ghOQOKlQe] on the chair of the backbench committee on environment [https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/aug/31/coalition-environment-committee-chairman-takes-aim-at-solar-subsidies] :

The backbencher, who was speaking in parliament during a motion on the number of child drownings in Australia, said renewable energy policies would drive up the cost of electricity, which meant public pools would raise the prices of swimming lessons and therefore fewer children would be taught to swim.

“We cannot ignore that fact in this parliament that there are policies being put in by governments, both state and federal, that are increasing the costs of electricity, and by doing so we increase the cost of swimming lessons. That is a fact,” said Kelly, to howls of condemnation from the opposition.

Kelly cited a local swimming centre operator who had complained to him about the cost of electricity under the previous government.

“He looked at the increases that were projected on electricity costs and he projected under previous policies if we allowed electricity costs to increase in this country, he would be paying … an extra $100,000 in electricity costs up to the year 2020.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.54am GMT

block-time published-time 1.25am GMT

Is gravity real? We are entering the twilight zone in parliament...

enltrGravity: is it even real? Time for One Nation's Malcolm Roberts to show some ambition. pic.twitter.com/u5ngkmRK9t [https://t.co/u5ngkmRK9t]

— Adam Bandt (@AdamBandt) November 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AdamBandt/status/795434898437746688]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.29am GMT

block-time published-time 1.22am GMT

One Nation senator Rod Culleton alleges widespread contempt of parliament though no exact deets One Nation senator Rodney Culleton has written an explosive and highly legally questionable letter to the president of the Senate, Stephen Parry, claiming widespread and systematic contempt of parliament and the constitution.

Culleton takes aim at high court rules written 64 years ago in which he said judges reserved the right to decide which cases come to the high court. This amounted to an “unelected aristocracy” engaged in “sabotage” of the constitution, he said.

He claims that twice in October courts in Queensland and Perth breached a requirement not to proceed where a case raises constitutional issues without notification first being given to the attorney general. I am seeking proof of this and whether it relates to legal proceedings against Culleton.

In the letter, Culleton says he will raise a privileges matter and alleges misbehaviour by judges which may result in their removal (if there were any case to answer, which, on my reading, there is not). He said the contempt “seriously deprives people of the political and physical liberty” guaranteed by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

The letter rattles off two other sections of the Criminal Code and Crimes Act which relate to imprisonment but, as far as I can tell, have no application whatsoever to his complaint.

This contempt creates two classes of people. Those who can afford lawyers and those who cannot.

Culleton described the matter as one of urgency because “people are losing their homes and lives because this parliament is held in contempt”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.30am GMT

block-time published-time 1.15am GMT

Gotta love #politicslive readers.

Aruna Sathanapally, a barrister at the Sydney bar and visiting lecturer at Sydney University, has clarified more on the process of complaints under section 18C.

To recap, Malcolm Turnbull seemed to suggest that the Human Rights Commission was pursuing the QUT case under 18C.

Turnbull said:

I think the Human Rights Commission has done a great deal of harm to its credibility by bringing the case against the Queensland students ...

Now, frankly, what the Human Rights Commission needs to do is reflect on whether, in making its decisions as to which cases to pursue and which cases not to pursue, it has been doing so in a manner that enhances the reputation both of the commission and respect for the Racial Discrimination Act.

It seemed to me (no lawyer) that Turnbull was at odds with the commission’s advice on the website that it does not pursue the cases so I asked for a clarification of the process.

This is from Sathanapally:

In short, the process is the same across all grounds of what is referred to as “unlawful discrimination”, which includes age discrimination, sex discrimination and race discrimination. The commission’s role, as you’ve identified, is to conciliate. Complaint to the commission is required before a person can proceed to either the federal circuit court or federal court. The commission’s role is to inquire into and attempt to conciliate the dispute, in a private and informal way.

It does not make determinations, nor does it bring legal proceedings (though it may seek to intervene). The relevant provisions are sections 46P-PN of the Australian Human Rights Commission Act.

The AHRC has, and employs, the power to terminate (dismiss) complaints on various grounds, including that they are trivial or vexatious.

The AHRC does not make any determination on whether unlawful discrimination is made out, that is the job of a court... The AHRC cannot stop a court proceeding...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.31am GMT

block-time published-time 12.52am GMT

enltrNews Corp cartoonist Bill Leak is meeting MPs in Canberra today as momentum builds for an inquiry into 18c #auspol [https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] https://t.co/MMyZcKfVZF [https://t.co/MMyZcKfVZF]

— Jane Norman (@janeenorman) November 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/janeenorman/status/795422227445391360]block-time published-time 12.52am GMT

Day and Culleton documents tabled The documents related to senators Bob Day and Rod Culleton and their eligibility or otherwise have just dropped on the parliamentary website.

We are still trawling through them but if you want to crowd check, feel free [http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary%20Business/Chamber%20documents/Tabled%20Papers/7Nov2016]. We are combing through them as we speak and I will bring you the guts of it shortly.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.02am GMT

block-time published-time 12.32am GMT

Staying classy in here at all times.

David Leyonhjelm was asked earlier today about whether he may bargain his vote on Australian Building and Construction Commission, in return for some movement on 18C.

How could you say I’m holding the government to ransom? I’ve got them by the balls and squeezing. That’s not holding them to ransom. What are you talking about?

block-time published-time 12.30am GMT

One Nation senator Rod Culleton to make a statement to Senate at 12.30pm Rod Culleton is going to grab the tiger by the tail – as he likes to say – and make a statement when the motion is moved to send the question of his eligibility to the high court.

Questions at issue:

Pauline Hanson has been ambiguous on her senator. There have been weird statements, no comments and then shutting down of a press conference today.

Culleton has said he will continue to support the West Australian Australian people.

Will he go independent?

Will he be pushed by One Nation?

We may know at 12.30pm.

Earlier today, the Coalition and Labor had agreed to postpone the high court motions on senators Day and Culleton until 12.30pm so that crossbench senators could comprehend what is being proposed.

This is what the attorney general, George Brandis, said earlier in the senate:

The government proposes to move referral to the disputed court of returns in relation to both the qualifications of Senator Culleton and in relation to the vacancy created by the resignation of Mr Day. The ordinary time to do that would be now but, given the volume of material that has been tabled, and following informal discussion between was myself and Senator Wong, of which the crossbench have also been apprised, what we propose to do is to move those motions sequentially at 1230 or to seek leave of the Senate to do so. The motion concerning Mr Day’s vacancy will be moved first by Senator Ryan and upon that motion being disposed of I will move a motion in relation to Senator Culleton.

This is what the Labor leader in the Senate, Penny Wong, said :

I indicated the opposition is broad agreement with the approach taken by the government. We think it is reasonable given the documents that you have just tabled for senators who may only have been reading about these matters in the press to be able to, should they wish, appraise themselves of the documents which have been tabled prior to the motion is being discussed. I thank the government for taking up that suggestion and we indicate our agreement to proceeding with the debate at 12.30.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.39am GMT

block-time published-time 12.02am GMT

The Cloak is Green but don't mention CONSPIRACY! The One Nation senator Malcolm Roberts just held a bizarre press conference in Parliament House.

He did not tell the media what the press conference was for, so roughly 20 journalists from the press gallery turned up, and a dozen cameras, expecting an announcement about Rod Culleton’s fate.

But he had two scientists with him, who had flown here from North America.

Senator Malcolm Roberts with a geologist, Tony Heller, right and Timothy Ball, a professor in climate science at a press conference. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian It turns out he’d called the press conference to say the CSIRO could not be trusted when it comes to climate science.

They then talked for 20 mins about the global scientific community’s perpetuation of the climate change hoax.

As the minutes ticked by the press became increasingly frustrated.

Crikey’s Bernard Keane eventually asked:

Senator Roberts, you’ve spoken a lot about the work or the involvement of the Rothschilds in this global conspiracy, can you tell us a little bit more about that because you’ve written about this before haven’t you?”

Roberts replied:

I have never used the word conspiracy. People who are using the word conspiracy, no hang on just a minute here. People who are using the word conspiracy are people like you and it’s quite often used to denigrate because the facts are clear.

Timothy Ball, a professor in climate science holds The Cloak of Green at a press conference. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian The press conference then unravelled.

When reporters wanted to know about Culleton’s fate, One Nation’s senior adviser James Ashby interjected:

We’re not on the subject of Rod Culleton this morning. We have a different agenda this morning.

Fairfax reporter Amy Remeikis shot back:

Well I think it’s a press conference, so we can ask whatever questions we want to.

The press conference was then cut off.

Malcolm Roberts walks out of his press conference with geologist Tony Heller, left and Timothy Ball. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.39am GMT

block-time published-time 11.32pm GMT

Wong said she went through a lot of soul searching when considering a plebiscite. She concluded it would be damaging.

She says major reforms like the abolition of death penalty, native title rights, the Racial Discrimination Act, the Sex Discrimination Act did not require a plebiscite.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.43pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.29pm GMT

Penny Wong addresses arguments about the tradition of marriage, that it is not set in stone.

She says “marriage has endured precisely because it has evolved and adapted”.

Wong goes to religion.

Personally speaking, I don’t think the god of my faith would be affronted by who I am.

She says her children are no different, her relationship is no different, her feelings for her family are no different.

Wong says the debate has shifted from the merits of marriage equality to the method of addressing the issue. It is a shift that should not be underestimated.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.43pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.25pm GMT

On to Labor’s Senate leader, Penny Wong.

Wong says Malcolm Turnbull has made a Faustian pact for the leadership to support a position (a plebiscite) he previously opposed.

Wong is recapping the history on the decriminalisation of homosexuality.

Whilst our nation once led the world on reforms, now we are laggards.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.43pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.18pm GMT

A reminder as to the guts of the plebiscite bill from the explanatory memo [http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary\_Business/Bills\_Legislation/Bills\_Search\_Results/Result?bId=r5728] :

\* The Plebiscite (Same-Sex Marriage) Bill 2016 (the bill) would establish the legislative framework for a compulsory, in-person vote in a national plebiscite that would ask Australians if the law should be changed to allow same-sex couples to marry. Under clause 5 of the bill, the question to be asked would be ‘Should the law be changed to allow same-sex couples to marry ?’. The result of the plebiscite would be determined by whether more than 50% of the votes cast are in favour or not in favour of the plebiscite proposal under clause 6 of the bill. The bill would also provide that, should this bill become an act, the writ for the plebiscite must be issued within 120 days after the act commences.

\* Clause 15 of the bill would require the establishment of two committees, each comprising five members of Parliament and five citizens. These committees will be known as the Committee for the Yes Case and the Committee for the No Case and will be appointed jointly by the attorney general and the special minister of state. Each committee will have two government members (one of whom will be the chair), two opposition members and one crossbench member. Each committee would receive $7.5m in public funding to conduct official yes and no campaigns and the ability to receive up to $1,500 in tax deductible gifts from donors.

\* The Electoral Commission will be responsible for overseeing the vote under clause 7 to ensure Australian voters are informed about the procedural elements of the plebiscite, the Electoral Commission will prepare and distribute to households in Australia general information about how to vote in the plebiscite. This is appropriate given the role of the Electoral Commission as an independent impartial body responsible for overseeing parliamentary elections.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.35pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.13pm GMT

The special minister of state, Scott Ryan, is now speaking to the marriage equality plebiscite bill.

It is mostly mechanics but makes a quick political point that this is the first government to bring this (marriage equality) matter to the parliament. The former Labor government never did.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.32pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.12pm GMT

Penny Wong has concurred. The Day and Culleton matters have been delayed until midday-ish.

block-time published-time 11.10pm GMT

George Brandis is speaking to the referrals to the high court.

He says the government has reached agreement to delay the high court motions until midday to give other senators time to digest the referrals which have just been tabled.

block-time published-time 11.07pm GMT

Labor senator Kimberley Kitching has been sworn into the Senate.

Now the Bob Day and Rod Culleton referrals.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.08pm GMT

block-time published-time 11.00pm GMT

Herewith, the speakers list of senators on the marriage equality bill.

\* Liberal Chris BACK

\* Labor Penny WONG

\* Greens Nick MCKIM

\* LNP Ian MACDONALD

\* Labor Sue LINES

\* Liberal Democrat David LEYONHJLEM

\* Liberal Dean SMITH

\* Labor Anne URQUHART

\* Greens Jane RICE

\* Labor Louis PRATT

\* Justice party Derryn HINCH

\* Labor Jenny McALLISTER

\* NXT Stirling GRIFF

\* Labor Malarndirri McCARTHY

\* Murry WATT

\* Labor Carol BROWN

\* Labor Catryna BILYK

\* Liberal Scott RYAN

block-time published-time 10.46pm GMT

Marriage equality plebiscite bill in the senate: where to from here? The government’s bill to hold a plebiscite on same-sex marriage on 11 February is the first bill up in the Senate.

My colleague Paul Karp updated the current state of play in an article on Saturday about more than 100 allies of LGBTI people calling for a free vote [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/05/public-figures-call-on-government-to-hold-free-vote-on-same-sex-marriage].

Paul reports this morning:

The plebiscite bill is expected to be defeated [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/11/marriage-equality-plebiscite-will-not-go-ahead-after-labor-unanimously-decides-to-block-it], with Labor, the Greens, Nick Xenophon Team and Derryn Hinch against it. The Coalition’s Dean Smith will abstain, but is prepared to vote against it if he has the casting vote.

If the bill is defeated as expected, attention will turn to whether the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/malcolm-turnbull], will advocate or allow a free vote on same-sex marriage, which he has not ruled out [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/11/marriage-equality-malcolm-turnbull-wont-rule-out-a-free-vote-for-coalition-mps], or whether the government will maintain its policy for a plebiscite, as conservatives in the Coalition have demanded [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/13/coalition-conservatives-fail-to-blink-in-same-sex-marriage-plebiscites-game-of-chicken].

There are two same-sex marriage bills currently in the lower house: one from Labor and one from a cross-party group.

Labor’s equality spokeswoman, Terri Butler, told Guardian Australia Labor would join the cross-party bill if a Coalition MP joined. But Coalition MPs have steadfastly maintained there is no “plan B” if the plebiscite bill is defeated and said marriage equality could be delayed for years [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/25/blocking-marriage-equality-plebiscite-could-delay-it-for-years-liberals-warn-labor].

Labor, the Greens and others in favour of same-sex marriage may also introduce a Senate bill to increase pressure for a free vote.

On Thursday, Turnbull said the bill was up for debate next week because it was “very, very time-sensitive legislation” that had to pass before a plebiscite on 11 February.

That contrasted with his approach to the Australian Building and Construction Commission bill, about which Turnbull said the government would not commit to a vote unless it could win.

On Friday, he recognised the plebiscite bill was unlikely to pass on current numbers and called on Labor to support it.

block-time published-time 10.36pm GMT

Back to the prime minister’s suggestion on ABC AM that:

I think the Human Rights Commission has done a great deal of harm to its credibility by bringing the case against the Queensland students.

The Commission does not bring the case. If conciliation breaks down, it is up to the person making the complaint to decide what happens after that. In the QUT case, Cindy Prior decided to take the case further.

This is from the Commission’s website [http://www.humanrights.gov.au/complaints/complaint-guides/making-complaint/complaints-under-racial-discrimination-act] :

What will happen with my complaint?

When the Commission receives a complaint about something that is covered by the RDA, the President of the Commission can investigate the complaint and try to resolve it by conciliation.

The Commission is not a court and cannot determine that discrimination has happened. The Commission’s role is to get both sides of the story and help those involved resolve the complaint.

Commission staff may contact you to get further information about your complaint.

Generally, the Commission will tell the person or organisation the complaint is against (the respondent) about your complaint and give them a copy of the complaint. The Commission may ask the respondent for specific information or a detailed response to your complaint.

Where appropriate, the Commission will invite you to participate in conciliation. Conciliation is an informal process that allows you and the respondent to talk about the issues and try to find a way to resolve the complaint.

If your complaint is not resolved or it is discontinued for another reason, you can take your complaint to the Federal Court of Australia or the Federal Circuit Court.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.37pm GMT

block-time published-time 10.28pm GMT

This is the thrust of the Malcolm Roberts press conference.

enltrThe CSIRO has not done required due diligence on the data it relies on from BOM, NASA and the UN IPCC.

— Sen. Malcolm Roberts (@SenatorMRoberts) November 6, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SenatorMRoberts/status/795388873740124161]block-time published-time 10.26pm GMT

Some housekeeping before the derp:

Parliamentary chambers start at 10am today.

The House has private member’s business (where individuals can talk about their stuff).

But the Senate is where it is at.

\* ( Stephen Conroy’s replacement) Kimberley Kitching will be sworn in as a senator for Victoria

\* The president will table a letter from Senator Day resigning his place as a senator

\* The president will present information about the qualification of former Senator Day and Senator Culleton

\* Joko Widodo, the president of the republic of Indonesia, was going to speak to the parliament but he had to cancel his visit.

We know that Labor had intended to support the referrals but they only saw the documents late last night so I am really not game to predict anything this morning.

Government business for debate in the Senate is the plebiscite.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.31pm GMT

block-time published-time 10.16pm GMT

There is no line of sight on One Nation (in terms of televisual feasts) so we shall have to wait. It looks like some climate change denial extravaganza.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.18pm GMT

block-time published-time 10.11pm GMT

Regular watchers will know 18C has been a totemic issue for the conservatives in the Coalition. They have been pushing relentlessly on the issue recently – along with the Australian newspaper – with nary a peep out of the other end of the Coalition, some of whom represent some diverse seats.

For example, Craig Laundy, the Liberal MP for Reid, represents one of the most diverse seats in Australia. He spoke out at the time [http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/liberals-break-ranks-against-george-brandis-race-hate-law-20140409-zqsrt.html] against changes to the Racial Discrimination Act but, in more recent times, moderates in the Libs have been trying not to give the cons oxygen on the issue.

Now the mods are getting restless. This morning Phil Coorey of the Australian Financial Review reports [http://www.afr.com/news/politics/nsw-libs-threaten-revolt-if-race-hate-laws-diluted-20161105-gsiz6v?login\_token=4uaqsBjdh1y2cigqScTsPt23GeRvdc0uvptwu0u\_bDm0U83CNtzoy9iocarjXWCIRFIgq6na59LxepFnD3y4vg&expiry=1478469100&single\_use\_token=fjOKt1Q4Md3kNLjEbT4SGEcMLuG2\_7p0YcsPNYsyfe2jEz8A6z3e2hhKF2-q0KLXU3YW-fKdy9DGadwgIBKqUQ] unsourced comments suggesting the mods are not going to take the push on 18C any more.

In an escalation of tensions inside the Coalition, NSW Liberals, speaking on condition of anonymity, said their state was the most multicultural and, apart from Tony Abbott , no one from NSW was willing either to amend or repeal section 18C of the act.

“There’s no NSW people who support this. It says a lot about this,” said one of several NSW Liberals. “This is the most ethnically diverse state. This is not an issue in NSW that people care about.”

A colleague concurred, saying 18C was a niche issue being pushed by either “ideologues in the Senate” or MPs “who don’t come from multicultural parts of Australia”.

“We’re the most multicultural state in Australia,” he said. “The NSW people have no appetite to go there. We’re comfortable with the laws.

“We all preside over ethnically diverse communities except the member for Warringah [Mr Abbott].”

One of the leading mods, the education minister, Simon Birmingham , has just been interviewed on Sky News by Kieran Gilbert.

He says the Liberal senator Dean Smith’s proposal to have a joint committee examine section 18C was on the table.

Ultimately this is not the government’s No 1 priority, we are not seeking to rush legislative change through.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.17pm GMT

block-time published-time 9.45pm GMT

More Malcolm.

The PM was asked whether the Queensland University of Technology case brought by an Indigenous staff member against three students [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/04/qut-computer-lab-racial-discrimination-lawsuit-thrown-out] showed the law was working.

Turnbull said:

What is shows is that the Human Rights Commission must urgently review the way in which it manages these cases. To have a case like that, which will have involved the expenditure of considerable commonwealth money, taxpayers’ money, considerable money on behalf of the students, imposed enormous stress on them, and have it chucked out, struck out as having no reasonable prospects of success – what the court was saying, what the judge was saying to the Human Rights Commission is, ‘You’ve been wasting the court’s time. You’ve been wasting government money.’

He spent a bit of time on the process of complaints made under 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act.

I think the Human Rights Commission has done a great deal of harm to its credibility by bringing the case against the Queensland students.

The commission undertakes the process for administering section 18C but, in this case, the conciliation broke down. The Indigenous staffer Cindy Prior was suing the students so I did not think the commission brought the case against the students.

I am sure the prime minister, formerly known as the smart young Spycatcher barrister, would not be wrong on a legal point.

But I have put a call to the Human Rights Commission seeking clarification on the process. If any human rights lawyers happen to be blog readers, send me a message via the thread or the Twits or Facebook .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.50pm GMT

block-time published-time 9.27pm GMT

Good morning to a mini festival of democracy,

There is a whole lot going on this morning in the third-last sitting week of the year. (Who is counting?) Members are streaming back into the House. As I fell in the Senate doors in a mess of earphones streaming Malcolm Turnbull from ABC AM, I almost ran into the other Malcolm, smiling sweetly next to the security check. Malcolm Roberts ’ office has released an alert for a press conference for One Nation at 9am. This causes reporters to prick up their ears because One Nation senator Rod Culleton is expected to be referred to the high court this morning for a ruling on his eligibility. Former Family First senator Bob Day will also be referred. Will One Nation be talking about the future of Culleton, shearer of sheep and key collector? We shall await the hour of nine.

Meanwhile, your prime minister has been on ABC AM.

There are a couple of news points.

Turnbull says if he accepted that the boats had stopped he would fall into the complacency that hit Kevin Rudd . It’s a more challenging environment – with social media – than John Howard faced, says Turnbull.

Bill Shorten is pandering to the left of his party on speaking out against the lifetime ban on asylum seekers who have come by boat, says the prime minister. (Shorten has yet to commit to voting against the legislation).

Turnbull moves on to 18C. His words are a bit mashed but I will relay as much as possible so you can see the nuance.

There... has been, and I have sympathy for this argument... there is a view... the bar that is set is too low. In other words, in particular that prescribing conduct which insults and offends is too much a restriction on free speech. You’re obviously trying to get the balance between ensuring that we maintain the courteous discourse and debate that again, mutual respect that underpins our strong multicultural society and, on the other hand, freedom of speech, which is of critical importance in a democracy. I think the Human Rights Commission has done a great deal of harm to its credibility by bringing the case against the Queensland students.

There was a lot more in that interview which I will bring you shortly but let’s get this wheel spinning. Mike Bowers has been chasing the PM down corridors. You can speak to both of us in the thread or on the Twittersphere, or indeed on my Facebook page [https://www.facebook.com/gabriellechanbushmail/].

Onwards... upwards... downwards... sideways.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.34pm GMT

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Prime minister says current system is ‘generous enough’ in a move which could hamper Delhi trade talks

Theresa May has dashed Indian hopes for a more liberal visa system for its nationals wanting to work in the UK by arguing that the current offer is generous enough.

Speaking on the way to her first bilateral meeting in Delhi, the prime minister argued that Britain was already able to attract the “brightest and best” from outside the EU. “The figures show that we issue more work visas to India than I think US, Australia and China put together. Nine out of 10 visa applications from India are already accepted. We have, I believe, a good system,” she said.

The comments will prove disappointing for some in the Indian government and business community who have argued for more of their highly skilled professional workers to be able to get six-month visas for the UK and other European countries.

Related: India warns UK **immigration** policy could wreck trade deal[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/06/india-warns-uk-immigration-policy-wreck-post-brexit-trade-deal]

The demand for more freedoms for Indian workers moving abroad was a part of trade negotiations with the EU, which stalled because of failure to agree on it and other issues.

Vince Cable, the former Lib Dem business secretary, said May’s refusal to agree to any such liberalisation in the past was a key stumbling block to trade talks between the EU and India. Although he admitted they were complex negotiations, he claimed that her unwillingness to budge was down to an obsession over getting the net migration numbers down as home secretary.

May said she hoped that her three-day visit to India would pave the way for a future trade arrangement after Brexit as she sought to break down barriers. However, she suggested she did not think a more generous visa system was necessary.

“Trade is an important part of our relationship with India. India is the third-biggest investor into the UK – second-biggest creator of private sector jobs in the UK. And the UK is the biggest G20 investor into India, but there is more we can do,” she said.

May was joined by a delegation of business representatives for a trip during which she attended the India-UK tech summit in Delhi with Prime Minister Narendra Modi before a bilateral meeting.

Modi used a speech to heavily hint that he wanted young people to be more able to travel abroad to study, after stricter rules in Britain on how long graduates can stay contributed to a halving of the number of Indian students coming to the UK to study over five years.

“Education is vital for our students and will define our engagement in a shared future. We must therefore encourage greater mobility and participation of young people in education and research opportunities,” he said.

May used her speech to the tech summit to insist she wanted an open relationship with India, laying out plans for India to become the first visa country to be put on a registered traveller scheme which helps speed up the experience of visitors in British airports.

“That means for Indian nationals who frequently come to the UK – and who fuel growth in both our countries – the entry process will become significantly easier. Fewer forms to fill out, access to EU/EEA passport control, swifter passage through our airports,” she said.

Despite the reluctance to increase migration numbers from India to the UK, the prime minister delivered a passionate argument for free trade between the two countries arguing that it “creates a rising tide that lifts all boats”.

She said Britain was determined not to turn its back on the world, adding: “Because we know from history what happens when countries do not embrace the opportunities of the world; they stagnate, they get poorer, they don’t protect their people, they make them worse off.”

Adding that while countries like India did not owe Britain a living, she said working together meant the greatest chance of success.

May also said she did not need to wait to leave the EU to start discussions on how trade and investment could be boosted between the countries.

However, she had earlier made clear she was aware of sentiment in the UK about **immigration**, and her promise to stick to an ambition of reducing the net migration figure to the tens of thousands would require cutting the numbers from all over the world.

Related: Trade between UK and India to suffer double hit, says business chief[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/05/trade-uk-india-suffer-double-hit-theresa-may-visit-brexit-sterling]

The response could disappoint those of Indian origin in the UK and those with links to other Commonwealth countries, after Brexit campaigners suggested they would benefit from an **immigration** system that no longer discriminated in favour of Europeans. Out campaigner and president of the Bangladesh Caterers Association, Pasha Khandaker, said he was “very disappointed” by the government saying it is ruling out an Australian-style points-based system as promised by Vote Leave during the referendum campaign.

May has attempted to deflect any row with an offer to make India the first visa country to be added to the Registered Traveller Scheme, under which business travellers can clear border control more quickly in British airports. It will allow passengers to come through the e-Passport gates, usually reserved for Britons and Europeans, and without a requirement to complete a landing card.

Only nine other countries currently benefit from the scheme, including the US, but they are not places where travellers need visas.

The government will also offer a group of high net-worth Indians access to a bespoke visa and **immigration** service called the Great Club. That doesn’t offer any guarantees but means individuals – and their immediate family members – are provided with a personal account manager to help them secure visas more quickly and smoothly.

However, the offer falls short of a pilot set up by the prime minister during a recent trip to China for a G20 meeting that cut the price of two-year tourist visas from £330 to £87.

Ahead of this trip, Chandrajit Banerjee, the director of the Confederation of Indian Industry, told the Financial Times that he was “very, very hopeful” that the prime minister would offer a similar liberalisation to Indian visitors.

Related: Theresa May 'obsessed' with **immigration** control, says Vince Cable[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/theresa-may-obsessed-with-controlling-immigration-says-vince-cable]

It followed a letter from senior executives including the heads of Heathrow airport and Virgin Atlantic calling on the government to cut the cost of tourist visas for India – saying that 400,000 Indians visited Britain last year spending £433m. However, they warned that France had become a more popular destination.

May is likely to address this issue during her talks but a source played down the issue, stressing that the Chinese price cut is a pilot scheme.

The registered travellers scheme will initially be offered to Indians travelling on a work visa, with the possibility of rolling it out to other routes in the future. The government estimates that up to 10,000 Indians could benefit from it within the first two years.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Deputies of sheriff with record of ethnic profiling will be ‘stationed around the valley’ as activists raise concerns for Latino community

Joe Arpaio, the controversial sheriff of Maricopa County, Arizona who has been charged with criminal contempt[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/26/joe-arpaio-arizona-sheriff-contempt-court-racial-profiling] in a racial discrimination case, is preparing to deploy his deputies at polling stations on election day in a move that voting rights activists warn amounts to intimidation.

Poll workers assigned to the county’s 640 polling places have been instructed by the election recorder, Helen Purcell, to contact Arpaio’s office for all non-life threatening police needs on election day. Principals whose schools have polling places have also been told that Arpaio’s deputies will be “stationed around the valley for easy dispatch should there be any need for an officer”.

But voting rights activists warn that deploying Arpaio’s officers will itself serve as intimidation, given the sheriff’s track record of ethnic profiling, harassment and organized raids directed against undocumented Hispanic people. Arpaio is locked in a tense re-election fight on 8 November, as a growing number of Latino citizens and allied progressives seek to oust him as sheriff after 23 years in the post.

“The presence of Arpaio’s deputies would be intimidation,” said Samantha Pstross, president of the Arizona Commission for Election Accountability, a coalition of non-partisan voting rights groups. “They consistently treat voters differently based on the color of their skin, so why would they do any differently on election day, especially given that their boss is running for re-election?

“This is a recipe for disaster,” she added.

Arizona is one of several states where activists fear potential intimidation and vigilantism at polling stations, whipped up by the rhetoric of Donald Trump, who has falsely claimed widespread voter fraud[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/21/donald-trump-fact-check-rigged-election-voter] and a “rigged” election. The activists fear that the Republican presidential candidate is promoting hostility[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/05/election-day-violence-donald-trump-poll-watchers] by repeatedly exhorting his followers to act as poll watchers, particularly in areas with large African American[http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-trump-racial-politics-20161102-story.html] or other minority populations.

Related: Arizona asks 'the unprecedented': could Democrats sweep the west?[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/21/arizona-swing-state-west-democrats-clinton]

Arizona is one of nine states where federal election monitors will be present in significantly depleted numbers on Tuesday, as a result of a 2013 supreme court ruling, Shelby County v Holder[https://www.oyez.org/cases/2012/12-96], which gutted a key provision of the Voting Rights Act[https://www.theguardian.com/law/2013/jun/25/supreme-court-voting-rights-act-obama]. The judgment freed the states, most of which are in the deep south, from federal controls designed to prevent disenfranchisement of minority voters stretching back to Jim Crow era of racial segregation.

As a result of Shelby, election monitors from the Department of Justice will be spread much thinner on the ground in Arizona on Tuesday, and their powers to enter and monitor polling places sharply curtailed. Voting rights campaigners fear that will leave voters vulnerable to potential intimidation.

Arpaio is now acting as a lightning rod for many of those fears. A passionate supporter of Trump’s insurgent bid for the US presidency, the 84-year-old styles himself as “America’s toughest sheriff” and has a long history of run-ins with the federal courts to prove it.

Last week, federal prosecutors charged Arpaio[http://www.12news.com/news/federal-prosecutors-file-proposed-charges-against-sheriff-joe-arpaio/337022713] with criminal contempt of court, for allegedly violating an order by continuing to arrest **immigrants** with no evidence they had broken any state law. That came on top of a 2007 civil lawsuit that found against him in a claim that he racially profiled Latinos.

Related: 'Born and raised' Texans forced to prove identities under new voter ID law[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2014/oct/27/texas-vote-id-proof-certificate-minority-law]

One of his most contentious techniques over the years has been to conduct mass raids of factories[http://archive.azcentral.com/news/articles/2011/07/14/20110714mesa-sheriff-arpaio-raid-bread-abrk.html] where undocumented Latinos are suspected to be working, rounding them up and then detaining anyone lacking appropriate **immigration** paperwork.

“He is hated and feared by the Latino community here,” Pstross said. “Especially hated, which is why the very presence of a sheriff’s deputy in a high-Latino population neighbourhood will cause problems on election day.”

Arizona has voted Republican in every presidential election since Bill Clinton’s re-election bid in 1996. But this year, the race gave Democrats enough hope[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/az/arizona\_trump\_vs\_clinton\_vs\_johnson\_vs\_stein-6087.html] that they sent in a stream of high-profile figures to campaign in the state, from Hillary Clinton herself to her vice-presidential pick, Tim Kaine, and Michelle Obama. Arpaio has insisted he is still investigating[http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/arizona/2016/09/21/arizona-joe-arpaio-still-investigating-obamas-birth-certificate/90743412/] Barack Obama’s birthplace, although even Trump gave up his five years of conspiracy claims[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/16/trump-obama-birth-certificate-clinton] about the president in September.

Pollsters attribute the race’s tightening to a surge in Latino voter[http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/elections/2016/11/03/arizona-leads-nation-early-voting-surge-latinos/93129112/] registration and interest. In early voting, Hispanics now form 13% of the early ballots cast, compared with 11% in 2012.

Outside money has also poured into Arpaio’s race for re-election, as his detractors have sensed a chance to finally unseat him. The progressive philanthropist and financier George Soros invested $2m[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/11/george-soros-joe-arpaio-arizona-230724] into the Super Pac Maricopa Strong to pay for a series of TV attack ads on the sheriff.

In the light of the revelation that Arpaio’s office will have a leading role in controlling poling stations on Tuesday, one of the supervisors of county affairs in Maricopa, Steve Gallardo, has written to Purcell, the election recorder, asking her to reconsider her decision to call on sheriff’s deputies.

“Neither the sheriff nor his office has a good relationship with segments of our communities and voters,” the letter says. “It is unfortunate, but the reality of using Maricopa County deputies when the sheriff himself is in a very contentious re-election race and given his proven actions against citizens’ rights may be perceived as voter intimidation.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Republican’s long road to election day took in insults, adulation, violence and outlandish claims as the press pack was progressively corralled and vilified

In the beginning, Donald Trump simply wouldn’t allow the press to eat cold meats from the buffet.

Trump was holding a house party in suburban New Hampshire in late June 2015. The main event was around a backyard swimming pool under a fickle summer sky.

Related: A-Z of Trump: 26 illustrators imagine a 'ghastly' future – in pictures[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/gallery/2016/nov/02/a-z-of-trump-26-illustrators-picture-a-ghastly-future-in-pictures]

The family hosting the presidential candidate had a 22-year-old son who was a Trump superfan. He had somehow coaxed the candidate to appear at the backyard event. Before the speech, there would be a reception for invited guests with hors d’oeuvres stacked on the family’s dining room table. But this was for invited guests only. Reporters, let alone more plebeian Trump supporters, were not permitted to partake.

Otherwise, there were no press pens as reporters stood intermingled in the crowd with ardent Tea Partiers and curious onlookers there to see a television celebrity who had somehow ended up in Bedford, New Hampshire, for the evening.

Trump delivered a long, winding monologue of the sort that would later become his trademark as he veered from dire warnings about illegal **immigrants** to praise for executives at Comcast and an extended and impassioned anecdote about how professional politicians couldn’t recognize low-quality highway guardrails.

The event, with more than 200 people was one of the rare times that Trump attempted anything approaching traditional retail politics. As he soared in the polls, Trump became a phenomenon who packed arenas and stadiums across much of the south. By September 2015, even the gesture of a retail stop at a tailgate outside an Iowa v Iowa State football game turned into a mob scene. The candidate was swarmed by people chanting his name and reaching out to somehow touch him as a pack of bodyguards protected Trump from getting too close to the masses outside the stadium.

It was during this period that the Guardian interviewed Trump in a New Hampshire hotel conference room after he had addressed a non-partisan event designed to focus on “problem solving”. He was gracious and soft-spoken if vague on policy detail. He broadly endorsed several progressive priorities like federal funding for police body cameras and rail transit while striking his typical isolationist notes on foreign policy. The interview was filmed and it was noteworthy how keenly aware he was of the camera and how carefully he positioned himself for it.

Instead, Trump became a candidate of big venues and big speeches. Once or twice a day in high school gyms or a convention center in Iowa or New Hampshire, the Republican nominee would put on his show. By the autumn of 2015, Trump had acquired secret service protection and all the other accoutrements of a general election candidate, despite the fact that he was a political novice who had never appeared on a ballot. Reporters were caged in a press pen, unable to freely roam and mingle with voters once the nominee was in the vicinity.

His campaign stops became must-see events, especially in states where visits from presidential candidates were rarities. Trump rallies seemed to resemble rock concerts more than anything previously seen in presidential politics. In a January 2016 rally in the Bernie Sanders heartland of Burlington, Vermont,[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/08/donald-trump-burlington-vermont-bernie-sanders-home-turf] lines stretched for blocks in the bitter cold as thousands of people congregated to see Trump in a downtown theater. Many were taking their minds off the weather by drinking steadily as they waited and the street was soon littered with empty beer cans.

The atmosphere was just as unusual inside the Trump rallies. The Republican candidate’s events became ground zero for protests over a variety of issues, ranging from his vehement anti-**immigrant** rhetoric to his advocacy of a ban on Muslims entering the United States. In Burlington, a liberal college town, Trump staffers were eagle-eyed at the door, requiring attendees to take loyalty pledges to enter. That wasn’t enough to stop the event from being repeatedly interrupted, with the candidate urging: “Take him out. Get him out of here. Don’t give him his coat!” as one heckler was ejected.

Repeated disruptions became routine, along with actual outbreaks of violence. The disturbing trend culminated in a cancelled rally in Chicago, which descended into chaos. The candidate didn’t take the stage as the venue in the heart of deep Democratic blue, ethnically diverse Chicago was filled with protesters. When the announcement came that Trump was not taking the stage, fights quickly broke out throughout the arena. Such scenes of political violence had not been seen in decades in the United States.

The next day, Trump’s rally in Cleveland had about a dozen interruptions from protesters, something which would have been astonishing had it happened in any other year to any other candidate. Instead, there was no violence and no attempt by Trump to encourage violence and it just seemed like the new normal as he sneered at those who were escorted out, claiming that they were sent by “our communist friend”, Bernie Sanders.

But it wasn’t just the crowds at Trump’s events, which were unusual. It was the candidate’s rhetoric. On a daily basis, Trump made statements that were just astonishing by any traditional standard, comparing a rival to a child molester, or linking another’s father to a plot to kill President Kennedy. In the course of a single day on the campaign trail in South Carolina, Trump both attacked the pope[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/18/donald-trump-pope-francis-christian-wall-mexico-border] and accused[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/19/trump-appears-to-endorse-executing-terrorists-citing-questionable-history] one of the most decorated American soldiers in history of committing war crimes. The statements had no effect on his standing in the polls and he won a commanding victory only a few days later in the South Carolina primary.

Trump finally clinched the Republican nomination in early May when Ted Cruz dropped out after the Indiana primary. His next event was a raucous rally in a grim brutalist arena in Charleston, West Virginia. It had been scheduled in advance of the state’s primary. Hours before it started, the crowd outside formed a disorderly horde in red and white Make America Great Again hats. Once Trump finally took the stage in the dank 60s-era construction in the dilapidated downtown, he strutted about the stage triumphantly, suggesting to attendees that they didn’t need to bother to vote in the primary any more as he boasted about his abiding love and affection for coal and coalminers.

In the weeks that followed, there was no pivot to a general election. Instead, Trump seemed nostalgic for the intra-Republican contest as he travelled the length of California in advance of the state’s June primary, as well as taking a bizarre trip to Scotland to see his golf course in the aftermath of the Brexit referendum.

When Trump officially became the nominee in July, it was at a convention in Cleveland that was more banal than anyone could have imagined. Although Trump had promised star-studded festivities and there were fears that protests in the surrounding streets would rival the dramatic scenes outside the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago, it was instead a grim, depressing slog.

In lieu of celebrities, there was former Happy Days actor Scott Baio and, instead of graceful concession speeches, former rival Ted Cruz urged Republicans to “vote their conscience” in what was widely viewed as a snub to Trump. Much of the effort seemed to be focused on stopping anti-Trump rebels from forcing any vote or coming close to any open display of dissatisfaction. No one had any illusions that Trump could somehow be thwarted.

The nomination was secured after more than a week of grinding procedural warfare replete with the type of tactical chicanery that one would have expected from smoke- not iPhone-filled rooms. Anti-Trump petitions mysteriously disappeared, wavering delegates were subjected to intense pressure and every available scrap of procedure was put to good use. For a moment, he was just like any other candidate overseeing a political organization.

Paul Manafort, the shadowy veteran campaign aide who had finally elbowed out Trump’s longtime campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, after an intense turf war, oversaw all of these efforts. For his reward, he was unceremoniously fired less than a month later after growing reports of his ties to Russia and acrimony within the highest ranks of the Trump campaign.

At that point, the campaign came under the control of Steve Bannon, the editor of the rightwing site Breitbart. Working in concert with veteran GOP pollster Kellyanne Conway, Trump abandoned his unscripted rallies and began using a teleprompter exclusively. He also hunkered down, avoiding the media outside of deeply conservative talk radio and Fox News.

In personal unguarded interactions, Trump was genial with the press. When the Guardian accompanied him on his personal plane in September as a pool reporter, he chatted freely with handful of journalists who accompanied him and went out of his way to be gracious. But these were few and far between as the Republican nominee became increasingly distant outside of his rallies and his omnipresent Twitter account.

The rallies began to take on darker tones. There was no more open violence or unruliness. Protesters had become rare. Instead, they became venues for Trump to share his rage over the “rigged system” and stir up an angry crowd – against the media, against Hillary Clinton, against “globalists” and a host of other villains.

Attendees showed up in bitter T-shirts proclaiming that they were “deplorable” and took up Trump’s invitation to deride reporters.

At one rally in Cincinnati in October, the traveling press was booed by a crowd of roughly 15,000 as it entered the arena.

Trump had stopped trying to be a normal candidate but he was no longer being Trump. It was a dark hybrid. He had lost much of the freewheeling joie de vivre that had taken him to strange, albeit controversial places. Instead, he had become a relatively coherent figure, articulating a clear world view – but one that was deeply paranoid and out of the mainstream, where the press was no longer a stalking horse but simply the enemy.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Young Syrian **refugee** girls are being married off by desperate parents – and finding themselves in abusive relationships or worse

Dalia was 16 and living in a **refugee** camp in Lebanon when she was married. She agreed to marry a man she had only met once before because she knew her family, who had fled their home in Homs, Syria, could not survive financially unless she did so.

Now 18 with a young daughter, she regrets the decision – although, as with many girls in the same position, it wasn’t really hers to make. “I am one of five sisters and my father is a labourer,” she says. “He couldn’t afford to provide for us all, so when my husband’s family came to propose, I had to accept because I felt it was better for my family.” Her husband is 27.

Dalia’s education was interrupted when they had to leave Homs. She says: “I was in the 11th grade, expecting to go to university in two years. If it was to happen again, I wouldn’t get married at 16. I won’t let this happen to my daughter.”

Child marriage is far from unusual. According to new research from Save the Children, one girl under 15 is married every seven seconds[http://www.savethechildren.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=8rKLIXMGIpI4E&b=9357115&ct=14926603¬oc=1]. But it’s a problem felt more acutely by **refugees**: 6% of Syrian girls in Lebanon aged 12–17 are married, according to UNHCR data.

Related: Kidnapped by Isis at 15: 'I never thought I'd see the day when I was free'[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/mar/17/kidnapped-by-isis-at-15-i-never-thought-id-see-the-day-when-i-was-free]

Child marriage among Syrians is not new, but the five-year war has accelerated the practice. “Our members working in the region tell us that child marriage is becoming an ever-growing problem, particularly among girls in **refugee** communities in Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq and Egypt,” says Lakshmi Sundaram, executive director at the charity Girls not Brides[http://www.girlsnotbrides.org/].

“For most families, marrying off daughters is a last resort and a desperate response to extreme circumstances,” Sundaram adds. “Faced with an increasingly unstable and impoverished situation, many parents believe that marriage is the only way they can ensure that their daughters are safe. However, they do not necessarily realise the violence that girls face within the context of marriage.”

The cycle of violence in which girls find themselves caught up, according to UNFPA, is horrifying. NGO workers say that many young girls think getting married sounds better to being stuck in a **refugee** camp tent with their family members – where, at best they will have little privacy and at worst they suffer abuse. This can come from other residents or their own family members.

But once faced with the reality of what it means to be a wife – no school, no playing, staying at home, and having to have sex and bear children – they find their young bodies and minds are not ready to cope.

During the four months that I was married he always hit me

'Zada', Syrian **refugee** child bride

Zada, 18, first met her husband when he came to propose. She was 16 and living in a **refugee** camp in Erbil, in Iraqi Kurdistan, and he was 23. Zada told the Guardian via an interpreter: “I thought that my life with him would be so beautiful, as when we were engaged he was so kind to me and he showed me love. But after marriage I discovered that everything he told me was a lie. He was having sex with other girls, he raped me many times, when he was not at home his brother would sexually harass me and when I told my husband, he did not believe me – instead he hit me. During the four months that I was married he always hit me.”

Now Zada lives with her family and can’t go outside because her husband – from whom she is now separated – has threatened her. “I can’t leave the house, I can’t work and the only thing that I want is to go back to school and am not allowed because I am under threat,” she says. United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) case workers say that, because of the trauma, Zada has twice tried to kill herself.

Related: 10 steps to stop violence against female **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/jul/27/10-steps-to-stop-violence-against-female-refugees]

Nour, 18, from al-Qamishli in Syria, is also living in a **refugee** camp in Erbil. Two months into their marriage, Nour’s husband began to shout at her, hit her and even bite her. She had willingly entered into the marriage, thinking she would be happy.

Now separated from her husband, Nour has a baby daughter by him who was taken away from her as her parents believe she is incapable of caring for a young child. She wants a divorce, but is not allowed one. She wants an education, but is not getting one. “My family tells me that it’s shameful to be divorced,” she says. “Also they said that every man at the beginning is like that but with time he will be good and treat you well.”

Both Zada and Nour are supported by the UNFPA, which is working with the Kurdistan regional government to break the misconception that a marriage secures a girl’s future. The idea is to make sure girls can make informed choices on marriage – with opportunities for economic, social and psychological development before marriage. “We also invest in empowering the girls to say no to child marriage,” says Ramanathan Balakrishnan, UNFPA representative. “Often, girls do marry due to lack of alternative life options when they are in the camp.”

It is one of the most depressing situations I have ever seen

Nagore Moran-Llovet, Plan International

But **refugee** girls are not the only ones affected. Plan International found that early marriage changes the culture in host countries such as Jordan and Lebanon. “The pressure to get married for, say, Jordanian adolescent girls, increases because of the Syrian **refugees**,” says Nagore Moran-Llovet, Plan International UK’s gender in emergencies programme officer.

“In Jordan, men from rich Arab countries come and take their pick of the girls in **refugee** camps. It’s believed that Syrian girls are the most beautiful ones and these men come over and see the **refugee** girls they like best.”

In effect, she says, the girls are made to compete with each other. “The girls tell me the men do it just to have fun. After a few months the men just leave them and the girls can’t come back to live with their families because of the shame attached, so they go into prostitution or transactional sex to survive.”

The girls picked by these wealthy visitors can be as young as 10 years old, Moran-Llovet says. “It is one of the most depressing situations I have ever seen.”

Related: 'Nearly half of my life has been war – I want to go back and rebuild Syria'[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/may/17/syria-war-rebuild-country]

Apart from raising awareness, Plan International provide safe spaces where they help the girls continue with education. “We help the girls to go to school and provide sessions for the parents.”

Save the Children runs awareness-raising sessions to reach Syrian girls who have married early or are at risk of doing so.

“The sessions tackle the harmful impact of early marriage on girls, be that physical, psychological or social,” says Sandy Maroun from Save the Children in Lebanon, adding that married women are encouraged to share their experiences with potential child brides to persuade them to delay until they reach a reasonable age. “Children should be allowed to be children, not wives.”

All the girls’ names in this piece have been changed.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Despite its conspiracy theorist reputation and policy hotchpotch, Five Star is a force to be reckoned with, appealing to both right and left

When the mayor of Rome and star of the Five Star movement, Virginia Raggi, recently suggested that the large number of refrigerators and furniture being dumped on the city’s streets was potentially a plot by her political enemies to undermine her, it was met with ridicule and anger.

It did not take long for observers – already unhappy with Raggi’s performance since her sweeping electoral victory[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/20/rome-mayoral-crisis-could-hurt-five-stars-national-chances-italy-virginia-raggi] in June – to point out that Rome’s contract with rubbish collectors [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/02/romes-reform-minded-mayor-under-pressure-to-bin-rubbish-tsar] to pick up fridges and other large items had expired shortly before the election.

#Frigogate[http://www.repubblica.it/politica/2016/10/25/foto/virginia\_raggi\_e\_il\_frigo-gate\_l\_ironia\_corre\_sui\_social-150562032/1/#1], or #fridgegate, created an easy political opportunity for Italy’s centre-left prime minister, Matteo Renzi, who is fighting a tough battle before a critical referendum[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/06/could-italys-renzi-be-next-victim-of-an-unwanted-referendum] on 4 December on constitutional reform[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/20/italian-pm-renzi-electoral-reform-m5s] that could end his political career. He never misses an opportunity to paint his toughest political rivals – the populist Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S) – as incompetent conspiracy theorists.

Related: How Rome's mayoral crisis could hurt Five Star's national chances[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/20/rome-mayoral-crisis-could-hurt-five-stars-national-chances-italy-virginia-raggi]

“Honesty in politics is about being capable, and not playing around with demagoguery and indifference,” Renzi said. “If you’ve forgotten to renew the contract for large refuse removal, it’s not a conspiracy.”

Since its founding in 2009, M5S has been seen as a “post-ideological” protest party giving voice to disaffected Italians[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/mar/06/italians-beppe-grillo-five-star-movement] who were attracted to its vehement positions against corruption and crony capitalism. Its founder, Beppe Grillo, a comedian, had a loud megaphone, but was not seen a contender to run the country.

But today M5S is no longer on the sidelines of Italian politics. Instead, it is the second most popular party in the country and leading the campaign against Renzi’s referendum, which it says poses a threat to the country’s constitution. If Renzi loses, it could hasten the call for general elections before 2018, putting M5S within striking distance of the prime minister’s seat in Palazzo Chigi.

“The chances of the Five Star winning the next election are quite high, whether the referendum passes or not,” said Federico Santi, an analyst at Eurasia Group.

While it is clear that M5S is a force to be reckoned with, just what the party stands for – beyond its championing of “transparency” and “direct democracy” – is a much murkier question. Just as it lacks a clear leader in the conventional sense – it is not clear, for instance, who would be in the prime minister’s seat if it did one day enter Chigi – it presents voters with a hotchpotch of policies from across the ideological spectrum.

Unlike other populist movements in Europe that are clearly associated either with rightwing politics, such as Ukip in Britain, or with leftwing politics, such as Podemos in Spain[https://www.theguardian.com/world/podemos], M5S has been able to attract votes across the political spectrum.

Leftwing voters are attracted to its pro-environment stance and its criticism of big business. Rightwing voters support its call for controls on migration and its attacks on the EU and the euro. Grillo has long been an admirer of the former Ukip leader Nigel Farage, and M5S has said it would seek to call a referendum on the euro if it came into power.

Alessia Morani, an MP in Renzi’s Democratic party and the chief attack dog against M5S, points to a paradox: that though M5S is associated with leftwing heroes in Italy, such as the late playwright Dario Fo[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/oct/13/dario-fo-nobel-winning-playwright-dies-aged-90], it has also stalled legislation in support of same-sex civil unions[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/19/italian-same-sex-couples-face-setbacks-in-fight-for-equal-marriage-rights], regularly attacked the press for being biased, and enjoyed a close relationship with the WikiLeaks founder, Julian Assange[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/news-blog/2016/oct/22/wikileaks-clinton-leaks-julian-assange-sean-hannity-david-duke], whose leaks of Hillary Clinton’s campaign emails have recently made him a hero of the right in the US.

Related: Will Italy be Europe’s next casualty as Renzi risks all on referendum?[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/06/matteo-renzi-italy-referendum-banks-brexit]

“The right in Italy is imploding, it does not exist. [Silvio] Berlusconi is gone and the rest is a diaspora, and they are trying to win these voters. For us, they are in the same category as [rightwing politicians] Giorgia Meloni[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/15/silvio-berlusconi-rome-mayor-mother-giorgia-meloni-sexism] and Matteo Salvini[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/01/northern-league-gains-italian-elections-matteo-salvini],” said Morani.

Jacopo Iacoboni, a political journalist at La Stampa who covers M5S, said the party’s ties to the right have become more evident following Raggi’s election as mayor of Rome, when she decided to fill top posts with officials associated with a previous rightwing administration.

“I don’t want to say they are like a cult, but they repeat a kind of mantra when they talk about direct democracy and how you should only believe what you see on the internet, and not the newspapers,” he said, pointing out a similar distrust of traditional media outlets expressed by Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/24/donald-trump-attacks-media-pollsters-florida], the Republican US presidential nominee.

“I think there is a sort of cultural tie that connects the things that are happening abroad, in the USA and the UK and Italy and Russia,” Iacoboni said.

At the heart of it lies not only anger at the status quo, but distrust of elites and a tendency to “see plots everywhere and in everything”, he added.

Among some of the theories that have been expressed by M5S officials is that the forthcoming referendum on the constitution is part of a capitalist plot hatched by the US bank JP Morgan[http://www.ilfoglio.it/politica/2016/09/19/referendum-banche-report-jp-morgan-di-battista\_\_\_1-v-147681-rubriche\_c318.htm], that vaccines are linked to autism[http://www.lombardia5stelle.it/2013/10/18/vaccinazioni-pediatriche-incontro-a-senago/], that the moon landing never happened[http://www.huffingtonpost.it/2014/07/20/carlo-sibilia-sbarco-luna-farsa\_n\_5603390.html], and that Renzi’s party may have lost the Rome mayoral contest[http://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2016/05/19/elezioni-roma-2016-se-vince-la-raggi-il-piu-contento-e-renzi/2746407/] on purpose in order to set Raggi up to fail.

Laura Ferrara, an MEP for M5S, where the movement is part of the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group[http://www.efddgroup.eu/about-us/our-presidents] along with Farage and Ukip, insists her party has been misunderstood and given unfair treatment in the Italian media.

“We are not on the leftwing or the rightwing. We are for what is logical and better for citizens. For instance, on the management of migrant flows, it is absolutely wrong that we are close to the rightwing,” she said, pointing to calls by Italy’s rightwing parties for all migrants and **refugees** to be expelled.

Ferrara said the M5S position was that more needed to be done to determine the differences between economic migrants and **refugees** fleeing war and to “protect the fundamental rights of citizens” who were unemployed. She said one solution favoured by M5S would be for **refugees** to obtain “humanitarian visas” from EU and other embassies in their countries of origin so they could avoid the dangerous passage across the Mediterranean. Creating “hotspots” to relocate **refugees** in other countries, she said, would “protect Italian citizens”.

Related: Italy’s Five Star Movement now has to translate protest into problem-solving | Francesco Grillo[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/21/italy-five-star-movement-protest-problem-solving-elections]

Asked about some of the less mainstream theories the party has supported, Ferrara denied M5S opposed vaccinations, but said it wanted to urge parents to be more vigilant about which vaccines they gave their children, saying that both the flu vaccine and varicella[http://www.who.int/wer/2014/wer8925.pdf?ua=1] – or chickenpox – vaccine were portrayed by doctors as obligatory even though they were not mandatory by law. Both vaccines are recommended by the World Health Organisation.

“Well, it depends on the situation of each individual and we need to be aware of that,” she said, referring to the flu vaccine.

For political history professor Giovanni Orsina at LUISS University in Rome, the M5S phenomenon, much like the rise of Trump and Brexit, points to a general failure of mainstream politics.

“I think 20% of their supports believe in them, and 80% despise all the others,” he said. “Italian voters should start getting a greater sense of responsibility and reality. M5S is contributing to a sense of catastrophe, this is the first problem. The second is that the quality of their administrative elite is very low. So they are both miseducating the electorate and not governing well, and that causes real damage.”

Santi at Eurasia, which follows Italian politics, said the big question facing Italy now was not whether M5S could put the country on a Brexit-like track to abandon the euro, because that was likely to be too difficult procedurally and politically.

“The real problem is that they are highly inexperienced,” he said. Santi said he would worry about M5S’s response to economic challenges if they came into power, particularly since they seem to oppose any public intervention when it comes to saving troubled banks, and that their anti-austerity policies would put Italy on a collision course with the European commission.

“I think the Five Star movement didn’t come out of nowhere. They have a huge following in part because the traditional political class is completely inadequate for the job and people have real grievances,” Santi said. “So while I sympathise with those ideas, I think so far they have struggled to articulate a convincing response.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Labor’s official response is expected this week but the Labor leader says the Coalition’s plan seems ‘ludicrous’

The Labor leader, Bill Shorten, says the government’s plan to ban asylum seekers who arrive by boat from ever being allowed into Australia looks like it was designed to appease the Coalition’s right wing.

Labor is expected to have an official response to the plan this week. Shorten said on Sunday he thought the Coalition’s proposal was “ludicrous on face value” but he had to let his party go through its normal decision-making processes.

Shadow cabinet will meet on Monday evening and the Labor caucus will meet on Tuesday morning. Labor is expected to decide the matter on Tuesday.

Related: UN official criticises Australia's plan for lifetime ban on **refugees** who travel by sea[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/01/un-official-criticises-australias-plan-for-lifetime-ban-on-refugees-who-travel-by-sea]

The Coalition said last week that it wanted to ban adult asylum seekers who had previously tried to enter Australia by boat[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat] since 19 July 2013, and who had been sent to detention centres on Nauru or Manus Island[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/manus-island], from ever being allowed into the country.

It means adults who have previously tried to enter Australia by boat since 19 July 2013, but who have chosen to return home, will never be allowed to get a visa to Australia – as a tourist, for business, or as a spouse.

The controversial proposal was welcomed by the One Nation leader, Pauline Hanson[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/pauline-hanson], who tweeted: “Good to see that it looks like the government is now taking its cues from One Nation. Just like last time.”

But the UN high commissioner for **refugees** said he was “ profoundly concerned” by the plan[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/01/un-official-criticises-australias-plan-for-lifetime-ban-on-refugees-who-travel-by-sea].

Greg Barns of the Australian Lawyers Alliance said if the bill were passed it was “likely to be scrutinised critically by the high court” and could be ruled unconstitutional.

On Sunday, Shorten said the Turnbull government had given Labor a copy of the legislation on Friday afternoon, five days after announcing it.

He said the proposal looked like it had been designed to keep the right wing of the Liberal party, and rightwing elements of the Senate, “from eating [Turnbull] alive.”

“On its face, the idea you will deter people smugglers by saying a genuine **refugee** who becomes a citizen of another country couldn’t visit Australia in 2056 – it’s just ridiculous,” Shorten told the ABC’s Insiders program.

He also said he had not seen any signs that the Turnbull government was working on a resettlement deal for asylum seekers in detention on Nauru and Manus Island to complement its proposed lifetime visa ban.

“We see no signs that the government has got any resettlement plans to conclude,” he said.

“I thought maybe this might be part of an architecture of a bigger deal, but they’ve rushed out and denied that.

“I also wondered, when this legislation, which I think most sensible people think is over the top, was floated, I thought maybe they have a deal with New Zealand... but John Key, the prime minister of New Zealand, a conservative prime minister, has said the idea they would create New Zealand citizens with different standing to be able to travel around the world, he wasn’t up for.”

According to a News Corp report[http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/asylum-seekers-in-detention-centres-the-targets-of-scheme-to-send-them-elsewhere/news-story/1184b91bb57ff6fef238fdbf08406389] on Sunday, the Turnbull government is in resettlement talks with Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and central American countries, but no deal is imminent.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Amid a bitter split between the cities and provinces of America, the Republican and the Democrat are each pushing hard in the other’s backyard

As millions nervously refresh polling websites[http://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/2016-election-forecast/?ex\_cid=rrpromo] to assess Donald Trump’s chances of catching Hillary Clinton on Tuesday, it can be a shock to see how much of the election map is already coloured red. But while the sight of large Republican swaths easily exaggerates the party’s likely share of voters, it also highlights another, more meaningful, trend.

Of the many dividing lines in this bitterly fought election – race, gender, education – few are as stark[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/03/upshot/why-republicans-dont-even-try-to-win-cities-anymore.html] as that between metropolitan America and its less densely populated suburbs, towns and countryside. The reason Clinton’s islands of blue look so small, particularly in county level maps[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/19/upshot/what-this-2012-map-can-tell-us-about-the-2016-election.html], is that her supporters are clustered together in large, cosmopolitan and overwhelmingly Democratic cities. More than most Republicans, Trump appeals to those in the rest of the country who view such urban populations with disdain.

It is most obvious when comparing coastal enclaves like New York with conservative “flyover” territory such as Kansas. But what is more interesting is to contrast two inland states that are on the target list for each party to flip – to look at a small town and a big city at opposite ends of the metropolitan-provincial divide:

Related: Specter of election day violence looms as Trump spurs vigilante poll watchers[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/05/election-day-violence-donald-trump-poll-watchers]

Ripon, Wisconsin The state of Wisconsin is an ambitious target for Republicans. Reliably Democratic in eight of the last 10 presidential elections, it nonetheless feels a long way from Washington DC or Clinton’s Brooklyn campaign headquarters.

Employment is not the problem in what still feels a relatively prosperous part of the midwest. As Friday’s national jobs report showed, finding work is less and less of a challenge. What are harder to come by are jobs that pay well. While the cost of living has traditionally been lower in places like Ripon, voters face the same soaring bills for essentials such as healthcare and college tuition.

In the Democratic primary, Wisconsin was one of the 22 mostly provincial states that rejected Clinton in favour of Bernie Sanders. Unusually, voters were also wary of Trump. His campaign is hoping to change that on Tuesday.

In Ripon, a small town about an hour or so north of the state capital, there is a small 19th-century schoolroom that underlines just how far the Republican party will have come if Trump does pull off a surprise win here on Tuesday.

On a chilly night in March 1854, several dozen local residents came together at the schoolroom to found the Republican party. Unlike the Democratic or Whig parties, this was a movement deliberately started outside Washington – to stand up for the common man and, most strikingly in the context of a 2016 campaign which has been accused of racism, to stop the spread of slavery.

“The current Republican party is considerably different to how it originated,” says Jason Mansmith, director of Ripon’s chamber of commerce, which looks after the Little White School House[http://www.littlewhiteschoolhouse.com/]. “Back then, the party was more progressive than it was conservative.”

Whether Mansmith’s remarks represent an anti-establishment grassroots spirit that a wealthy New York businessman such as Trump is capable of rekindling remains to be seen.

Clinton has not visited the state since April, but as polls have tightened in recent days, particularly in a crucial Senate race, Democrats have sprung into action, eager to shore up a crucial component of their so-called “firewall” strategy to block Trump from the 270 electoral college votes he needs to take the White House.

Last weekend, the Clinton campaign started to air TV commercials in Wisconsin. On Tuesday, Clinton’s running mate, Tim Kaine, was sent to Madison to campaign. He returns on Sunday for events in Milwaukee, Green Bay and La Crosse. Joe Biden, the vice-president, was in Madison on Friday, telling supporters: “We have to win Wisconsin, and we will with Russ [Feingold, the Democratic Senate candidate] leading the way.”

One poll had Trump cutting Clinton’s lead to just two points, but an eagerly anticipated survey on Tuesday suggested it will still be a tough slog for Republicans to take back their birthplace.

Related: The Big Con: what is really at stake on election day[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/05/the-big-con-what-is-really-at-stake-on-election-day]

Instead, Democrats are worried that former senator Russ Feingold’s chances of winning back his seat from Ron Johnson in the Senate race appear to be slipping away. Sanders rushed out an alert to supporters: “Dire news from Wisconsin. A poll released this afternoon has Russ Feingold only up by one point – meaning he’s in a virtual tie. This is too close.”

Clinton’s director of state campaigns, Marlon Marshall, drew solace from early voting data which suggests Democratic strongholds are outvoting Republican counties in suburban Milwaukee by two to one.

For Trump, the hope is that traditional boundaries blur as the provinces rise against Washington. “If you try to apply conventional political wisdom to Donald Trump you lose every time,” said his campaign manager, Kellyanne Conway, this week. “Michigan and Wisconsin have been elusive to Republican candidates, but his message on illegal **immigration**, trade and jobs, and patriotism is different.”

Phoenix, Arizona Just as winning Wisconsin on Tuesday would mean Trump was having a very good night, Democrats will know they are heading for a blowout win if they can flip Arizona.

The desert state has voted for a Republican president in nine of the last 10 elections – making it an even more uphill struggle on paper for Democrats than Trump faces in Wisconsin. Unlike there, the Senate race has not flipped back and forth between parties but is dominated by a Republican incumbent, John McCain, who has represented the state for three decades.

But Arizona, and in particular its largest city, Phoenix, is changing fast – an emblem of the modern and metropolitan America to which Clinton hopes to appeal. This sprawling desert metropolis is in many ways a rebuke to everything that Trump says is wrong with the country. Though it was hit hard by a property boom than turned to bust during the banking crisis, it has a modern and diverse economy and an even more diverse workforce – swollen by internal and external **immigration**, as workers move from the rust belt to the sun belt and the population steadily becomes more Hispanic.

The state’s other Republican senator, Jeff Flake, was one of the first to distance himself from Trump’s divisive rhetoric on **immigration**. McCain himself was to flip-flop over endorsing Trump as he sought to win a difficult nomination battle before pivoting to a much more diverse general electorate.

On Thursday, at a community centre in Phoenix, Kaine gave a speech entirely in Spanish. Michelle Obama and Chelsea Clinton have visited and Sanders is also being dispatched to help, campaigning in Phoenix on Sunday.

Related: Rise, sisters, rise. Defeat Donald Trump | Eve Ensler[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/05/eve-ensler-defeat-donald-trump-us-election]

According to aides, he intends to address “Clinton’s plans to build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top, and Donald Trump’s plans, which would benefit himself and other millionaires and billionaires like him.

“Sanders will say ‘Let’s raise the minimum wage to a living wage, let’s make public colleges and universities tuition-free, let’s end a broken criminal justice system, and let’s defeat Trump and make Clinton our next president.’”

The candidate herself was here on Tuesday[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/02/hillary-visits-arizona-in-unprecedented-show-of-bravado-for-democratic-nominee]. In many ways, Arizona is the sole survivor of a so-called “expansion” strategy that saw her target vulnerable Republican states like Arizona, Georgia and Utah when her national lead over Trump looked more robust. The policy had to be scaled back when Trump looked more of a threat again back east in the rust belt, but cities like Phoenix and Atlanta remain a big future hope for Democrats.

“Arizona ain’t an indulgence,” said campaign spokesman Brian Fallon[https://twitter.com/brianefallon/status/792043601463283713]. “It’s a true battleground. Perhaps even more favourable-looking right now than some other places we’ve been on TV.”

If Clinton wins here, it would not only signal that Trump’s presidential hopes were over, but that the Democrats were right to favour the demographics of the new America over the grievances of the old.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Founding father Alexander Hamilton has become the unlikely star of a hit hip-hop Broadway musical. Coming to the UK next year, its portrayal of **immigrant**inclusiveness could not be more timely

On the evening of 23 June, I happened to be in a theatre in New York, watching a musical about a man who exhorted his country first to revolution and then into a federal union. While King George III was singing, “Oceans rise, empires fall / We have seen each other through it all”, across the ocean, Britain was voting to leave the European Union. When Hamilton: The Musical brings its story of the American revolution to London next year, its certain triumph is going to create all kinds of historical ironies.

Related: Sixteen ways Hamilton transformed theater – and the world[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/may/03/hamilton-tony-awards-broadway-lin-manuel-miranda]

Hamilton is the kind of transformative theatrical experience that has only happened a few times in the history of American musicals. It joins the likes of Show Boat, Oklahoma! and West Side Story as game changers, innovative productions that forever redefined what came after them. Unlike most of its predecessors, however, Hamilton was created by one man, Lin-Manuel Miranda, who wrote the music, lyrics, and book about the musical (only Stephen Sondheim can claim as much, and none of his shows were such blockbusters). Hamilton fuses American history with current politics, using a soundtrack of American popular music and one of the most inventive librettos ever written. The result is that nearly every song in the show works as a complex historical concert, layering musical pasts with the musical present, just as the historical past mingles with the political present. In less than two years, it has exploded all box office records – it has sold $1bn worth of tickets – and won every theatrical prize (including the Pulitzer prize for drama), garnering the kind of hyperbolic praise that no production can possibly live up to. But Hamilton exceeds its own acclaim.

Miranda had already created a successful musical ( In the Heights ) when he impulsively decided to read Ron Chernow’s prize-winning biography Alexander Hamilton on holiday (Miranda’s whim has made Chernow, who reportedly gets 1% of Hamilton’s profit, a very wealthy man). Hamilton represents something of an anomaly in American history, a founding father who never transferred from official histories into popular mythology. There are many reasons for this, not least that Hamilton’s positions were incompatible with many of our myths – he was avowedly elitist, for example, and supported the idea of a president for life – while his expansion of the federal government prompted the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, which he brutally suppressed. Neither of these facts makes it into Miranda’s musical, which is the story of a “young, scrappy and hungry” **immigrant** from the West Indies who became the quintessential American success story through a combination of brains, hard work and audacity. Miranda creates a myth for Hamilton by celebrating him as a symbol of **immigrant** inclusiveness, egalitarianism and meritocracy: historically it’s a stretch, but theatrically it’s genius.

Eventually Hamilton became a hero of the American revolution, George Washington’s right-hand man, the nation’s first secretary of the treasury, the co-author (with James Madison) of The Federalist Papers, and the primary proponent for federal government over state government. He argued for a national bank, created the national reserve as well as the national debt, and laid the foundations for the US’s economic success. His dramatic life came to a melodramatic end when he was killed in a duel by the sitting vice president, Aaron Burr. And yet, despite all these achievements and dramas, Hamilton has been marginalised by most popular accounts of American history. Washington[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2001/sep/28/culture.peterbradshaw3], Jefferson, John Adams[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2012/jul/26/john-adams-next-box-set] have been the subject of countless books, films, miniseries and even their own popular musical, 1776. But 1776, which tells the story of the battle over writing the Declaration of Independence, does not even mention Hamilton.

That sidelining resonated with Miranda, himself the son of Puerto Rican **immigrants**, as an emblematic instance of the nation’s treatment of **immigrants**, both as individuals and as a collective part of the nation’s history. Those twin intuitions sparked a musical about historical, cultural and political inclusion, in which an almost entirely non-white cast plays the founding fathers (and a few of the mothers, although the cast is also overwhelmingly male). The result is the most unexpected of phenomena: a Broadway hit that is about political, economic and racial history while also offering an implicit but acidic running commentary on the racial and cultural politics of the US today. Everything about the show is “meta”, as layered references compound meaning like interest: Hamilton is metatheatrical, metahistorical, metamusical, metamorphic.

Much has been written about Miranda’s wide-ranging but acute musical references, from a Britpop-inflected George III (“When you’re gone, I’ll go mad / So don’t throw away this thing we had / Cause when push comes to shove / I will kill your friends and family to remind you of my love”) to the three Schuyler sisters singing about New York in the manner of Destiny’s Child; from the Notorious BIG[https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2015/dec/16/the-notorious-big-biggie-smalls-10-of-the-best] to Kander and Ebb. Miranda is conducting a magisterial conversation with musical theatre, which is a kind of microcosm of American popular history, marked in important ways by the mainstream’s appropriation of minority cultures ( Show Boat, West Side Story ). Hamilton reverses that process, exploring mainstream history through the music of subcultures. Lines about racism from Rodgers and Hammerstein’s South Pacific (“you’ve got to be carefully taught”) rub shoulders with Busta Rhymes; Sondheim’s experiments in perspective from Pacific Overtures meet Snoop Dogg[https://www.theguardian.com/music/snoopdogg]. There is a running gag about Adams, in which Miranda riffs on 1776 ; its opening number is the resounding “Sit Down, John!” in which the Continental Congress tells him to shut up. Miranda is doing the same, telling Adams and the Anglocentric American history he embodies to step aside. He sidelines Adams, waiting until the second act to mention him, and then has Hamilton sing, “Sit down, John, you fat motherfucker!” Less explicit (in every sense) is Miranda’s decision to give Hamilton a signature refrain – “I will never be satisfied” — that echoes Adams’s line from 1776, “I have always been dissatisfied, I know that.”

Miranda’s lyrics are dizzying: he rhymes Socrates with mediocrities, before linking manumission, abolition and ammunition. Gilbert and Sullivan are not only sampled, they are schooled; Miranda gleefully told a journalist he felt he’d improved the rhyme in Gilbert’s famous patter, which becomes George Washington’s rap: “Now I’m the model of a modern major general / The venerated Virginian veteran whose men are all / Lining up, to put me up on a pedestal.” Puns abound with the exuberant energy of a word-drunk writer: “Local merchants deny us equipment, assistance / They only take British money, so sing a song of sixpence.”

Almost all of Hamilton is sung through, as opera: there is very little spoken dialogue, and much less rap than some accounts might suggest. When rap comes in, it is with “practical tactical brilliance”, as when Miranda turns cabinet debates into rap battles, in which Jefferson and Hamilton face off and drop the mic, in reference to Eminem’s 8 Mile[https://www.theguardian.com/film/8-mile]. Hamilton and Burr’s fatal duel is likened to gang violence by sampling the legendary “Ten Crack Commandments” by Notorious BIG, himself notoriously the victim of gang violence. “It must be nice to have Washington on your side,” sung by Burr, Jefferson and Madison, is ostensibly about President Washington’s patronage of Hamilton, but it also becomes about modern disenfranchisement, **alienated** citizens who feel that Washington DC is not on their side. A song called “Wait for It” is about Burr’s character, but it is also about – wait for it – how destructive it has been for communities of colour to be told to wait their turn.

As with the lyrics, the music is used to make historical points, rather than simply to score points. Jefferson and Burr each have a standout solo in the second act. (Miranda is markedly generous, giving his co-stars most of the best songs.) Returning from Paris, Jefferson sings “ What’d I Miss?[http://genius.com/Lin-manuel-miranda-whatd-i-miss-lyrics] ” over boogie-woogie piano with riffs on other Dixieland jazz sounds, including stride and ragtime. Its invocations of the origins of jazz as the kind of grandfather of rap are at once facetious – as performed by Daveed Diggs, Jefferson even uses “jazz hands” – and serious. Because Jefferson was considerably older than Hamilton and his contemporaries, Miranda gives the younger characters hip-hop influences, while Jefferson sings old-school jazz, which also lets Miranda tip his hat to classic performers such as Cab Calloway, whose vocals pointed the way to rap. As the act progresses, Jefferson’s influence on Burr deepens. By the time Burr breaks out into his great second act number, “The Room Where It Happens”, his musical style has subtly shifted, as he picks up Jefferson’s Dixieland jazz. Burr’s song is the kind of gospel-inspired, choir-backed showstopper that composers have used for more than a century in American musical theatre to get audiences on their feet, from Cole Porter’s “Blow, Gabriel, Blow” to Frank Loesser’s “Sit Down, You’re Rockin’ the Boat”. But unlike those songs, which are great fun but almost entirely meaningless, “The Room Where It Happens” is a foot-stomping, barnstorming, surge-to-your feet instant classic about – the historical record.

It’s a turning point in the show in many senses: Burr stops waiting for it, and the gaps in the historical record become a metaphor for political exclusion. “The Room Where It Happens” is about the way in which historiography constructs mythologies of power, and it’s about realpolitik, how politics gets done. Burr sings, “No one really knows how the / Parties get to yes / The pieces that are sacrificed in / Ev’ry game of chess / We just assume that it happens / But no one else is in / The room where it happens”, before launching into his power verse: “I wanna be in / The room where it happens / The room where it happens.”

Miranda is putting **immigrants** and the descendants of slaves, black people, Latinos and Asians, low-income kids with little hope for the future, in the room where it happens. The ambitious individual left out of the “smoke-filled room” becomes the emblem of entire groups excluded from power. “We want our leaders to save the day – / But we don’t get a say in what they trade away / We dream of a brand new start – / But we dream in the dark for the most part.” The song encapsulates the entire musical, which continually raises questions of historiography and the power to shape a national narrative. Hamilton’s wife, Eliza, initially wants to take her place in history – “Oh, let me be a part of the narrative / In the story they will write someday” – but when Hamilton betrays her, she burns their letters, to control the narrative. And then in the end, when Hamilton has died far too young, Eliza sings, “I put myself back in the narrative”. Miranda returns in closing to the question of competing historical versions in a song in which Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Eliza all admit that what matters is, “Who lives, who dies, who tells your story? Will they tell your story? … Who tells your story?”

Related: Hamilton's teenage superfans: 'This is, like, crazy cool'[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/jun/22/hamilton-teenage-superfans-this-is-like-crazy-cool]

The question of what gets left out of the narrative is one that can also be asked of Hamilton ’s own mythmaking, however. Although Miranda invokes popular histories to accuse them of colour blindness, the fact is that even 1776 confronted the question of slavery far more directly back in 1969 than Hamilton does today. To be sure, 1776 features an all-white cast arguing about whether slavery is bad; Jefferson terribly misses his terribly blond wife and can’t write the Declaration of Independence until she joins him, while his slave Sally Hemings, who probably mothered six of his children, is never mentioned. But 1776 also ends on “Molasses to Rum”, a startlingly frank and brutal account of the triangle trade, and an indictment of the north’s hypocrisy about slavery. Hamilton does mention Hemings – once – and has some other references to slavery, but strongly implies that only Jefferson owned slaves, while suggesting that Hamilton was a far more dedicated abolitionist than the record shows. In fact, Washington and Madison also owned slaves, while Hamilton bought and sold slaves for his wife’s family, and was inconsistent in regards to manumission.

Hamilton features black and brown actors, but its story never depicts a slave. That said, it’s also true that minstrelsy is crucial to Miranda’s project: he takes the long American minstrelsy tradition of white people in blackface on stage and reverses it. He appropriates its music, rewrites its lyrics, turns its politics on its head, and fashions the whole thing into a show that is simultaneously an excoriation of current American political realities, an encomium to American revolutionary energies, and a celebration of American musical theatre history. If you live in Britain, you will have to wait until next November for it, but when it comes, believe me, you’ve gotta be in the room where it happens.

• Hamilton opens at the Victoria Palace theatre, London SW1E, in November 2017. Tickets go on sale in January. hamiltonthemusical.co.uk[http://www.hamiltonthemusical.co.uk/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**While some head for Dunkirk **refugee** camp Grande-Synthe, many sleep in ditches near the coast and continue trying to reach UK

For the past two months, Sattar, 22, has been living in a ditch 30 miles (48km) inland from Calais, attempting to return to Reading, where he spent nine years of his life, studied for his GCSEs and earned distinctions in a college course in business, travel and tourism.

The ditch where he was sheltering last week is so well hidden behind blackberry bushes, in a dip between two fields, that most people in the nearby village are unaware it is home to about 25 Afghans. Most of the **refugees** are new arrivals in Europe, fleeing instability in Afghanistan in the hope of finding jobs and security in Britain. Some, like Sattar, are making the journey for a second time, caught up in the labyrinthine complexities of the UK **immigration** system.

Related: What the Calais **refugees** left behind – in pictures[https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2016/oct/31/what-the-calais-refugees-left-behind-in-pictures]

With Calais authorities declaring the **refugee** camp closed[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/02/calais-refugee-children-evacuated-as-camp-clearance-winds-up] this week, and demolition crews bulldozing the remaining shacks on the sandy wasteland, the crisis has not been solved, merely shifted to other locations[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/29/wine-village-burgundy-refugees-temporary-home-france-calais]. Clusters of **refugees** remain hidden from authorities across northern France, determined to continue their attempts to reach the UK.

Sattar arrived in Britain as a 13-year-old **refugee** sent across Europe by his parents, away from Taliban-related violence in Afghanistan’s Logar province. He was given discretionary leave to remain and settled with a foster family, whom he loved and who supported him through the considerable difficulties of going to secondary school without speaking English.

He worked hard at Chiltern Edge school in Oxfordshire, where he says he received extra lessons in English, got through his GCSEs and passed his BTecs with distinction. But when Sattar reached 17-and-a-half, at which age the government routinely reviews longer term applications to remain, officials ruled that since Kabul was relatively safe, he would be fine to return home.

“The judge told me ‘You have GCSEs, you are educated, you will easily find a job there’,” he said. By the time the decision was made, Sattar had been in the UK for six years, spoke the language flawlessly and felt English. His family in Afghanistan told him it would not be safe to return home, so he appealed the judgment, but was rejected and obliged to leave Britain.

He briefly went to Italy, where he was shocked to see **refugees** sleeping in railway stations, before returning to France, determined to get back to the UK and launch a fresh appeal. He has settled in a tent in this muddy gully in rural France so he can make nightly attempts to get on UK-bound lorries parked next to the motorway nearby.

Despite attempts by French and British authorities to resolve the buildup of **refugees** near the ports of northern France, thousands remain in the area, committed to joining family and friends in Britain.

Many are hidden in small camps like Sattar’s, in fields, garages or derelict buildings. Others are based at an official camp near Dunkirk, at Grande-Synthe, the population of which increased from about 800 people three weeks ago to an estimated 1,400 this week, as camps in Paris and Calais were shut down.

Camp officials would not release the precise number of inhabitants and the formal position is that the site is closed to newcomers. But volunteers distributing food and aid say there has been a sharp rise in the number of people arriving and note that huts designed to accommodate four people are often housing twice as many.

Christian Salomé, the president of **refugee** charity L’Auberge des Migrants, who has been working on the issue for the past 24 years, said clearing the Calais camp did not mean the crisis was over. “It will come again. about 97% of the people who come are fleeing war, and those wars continue, particularly in Iraq. Until the demolition, 40 people were arriving every day. They will continue to come,” he said.

This week, there was a heavy police presence guarding motorways around Calais, and police in Paris were making checks on people without papers trying to board trains and buses for northern France. But Salomé expects a surge in the number of people arriving in Calais a month from now, by which time the 6,000 taken by bus to temporary accommodation last week have been told they must move on, either by claiming asylum or returning home.

Although the Calais camp has been demolished, it is not possible to extinguish the desire many **refugees** have to travel to the UK, Salomé said. “If they don’t want to claim asylum in France, they will have to leave the centres. They can’t be deported back to their countries if there is a war there. There is no possibility for them to work in France. They will continue to come to Calais,” he said.

For the moment, **refugees** who chose not to take buses to French reception centres are at pains to stay hidden from authorities. The camp in the ditch is remote enough to avoid the attention of police. The Afghans who live there have no desire to claim asylum in France.

“In Paris, I saw people who have been given 10 years leave to remain in France, who are still sleeping in the park and sitting outside churches asking for money. That’s not a life,” Sattar said. His belief that he stands a better chance of working in the UK has fuelled his determination to return. So far, he has twice climbed into lorries on the motorway, but was discovered at the port both times.

Sattar is very attached to England. “In Reading, I had the best time of my life. I grew up there,” he said. After college he got a job at a poultry factory in Birmingham. “It was a very good job,” he said. Sattar has not told his family in Afghanistan that he has had to leave Britain.

“It would break their hearts. Whenever I call them, I say I am safe, having a good life,” he said. But living in the ditch could not accurately be described as such. “It’s not good here. When it rains, your clothes get wet, it’s muddy everywhere,” he said, warming himself against the cold, sitting by a small open fire made of branches collected from nearby woods.

He has also not told his foster family or friends where he is. “I didn’t want to make them upset. They think I am in Birmingham,” he said. “Nobody knows what I went through and what I am going through.” Sattar despairs at the UK asylum system, which first embraced and then expelled him.

But his situation is not particularly unusual. Namitullah Echkzei, 23, from Kunduz in Afghanistan, came to Britain as a child **refugee** and was educated at Waltham Forest college in north-east London. He is also living in the dip between the fields. His brother was granted asylum in the UK, but for reasons he does not fully understand, his application was not accepted.

“The Taliban threatened our family. We faced the same problems. They rejected me, but my brother was accepted,” he said. “They say it is safe, but Kunduz is not safe.” He is also hoping to return to the UK, to the flat where his brother lives in Walthamstow, to contest the decision.

Doctors of the World makes weekly visits to the ditch to see how people are coping. Staff at the charity regularly have to take people from the camp to hospital with broken bones and sprains, particularly ankles and wrists, the result of falls from moving lorries during their night-time attempts to get to the UK.

Food is distributed by local volunteers. The men, some of whom have been living here for a year, look unhealthy and exhausted, and complain of brutal treatment at the hands of police whenever they are picked up near the motorway. “We had our own lives in Afghanistan, we had families, houses, jobs. Now we are in a ditch – with no future, no job. We want a solution quickly,” said a former baker who left his home in Afghanistan after receiving death threats.

Steve Bedlam, one of the founders of **Refugee** Community Kitchen, which has been providing food in the area for the past year, said volunteers were aware of a few informal camps popping up, but **refugees** were so anxious to avoid police attention that they usually refused offers of help. “Volunteers are wonderful, but they bring attention and authorities. Mostly they say they don’t want any help, because they don’t want the attention, but some people are taking small food parcels to them,” he said.

Volunteers at Grande-Synthe said they had seen a “steady trickle” of arrivals from Calais, Paris and elsewhere. Until recently, the population was mostly Kurdish, with many families, and more than 120 children, living in about 300 wooden shelters on a patch of land sandwiched between a motorway and a railway line. Recently there have been arrivals from Pakistan and Vietnam. Conditions are better than they were in Calais, but there is no electricity and the health of residents, particularly children, is deteriorating as winter arrives.

With conflicts continuing in the Middle East and Africa, the flow of people escaping violence is unlikely to let up, said Florence Vanderborght, a field supervisor at Doctors of the World. “Last year, the population of asylum seekers in Dunkirk rose from 300 to 3,000 between August and October. We didn’t see it coming. It can be very quick,” she said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Eltham rally, held by the far right Party for Freedom, opposes plans to house up to 120 Syrian **refugees** in a section of the Eltham aged care home

A large counter-protest has turned out in the Victorian town of Eltham, in opposition to far right “out of towners” demonstrating against an aged care home housing Syrian **refugees**.

A heavy police presence was on hand for the planned anti-**refugee** rally, organised by Nick Folkes, the Sydney-based chairman of the far right organisation Party for Freedom, and residents had been urged to stay away. Several businesses had reportedly closed, in fear of violent clashes similar to those seen at previous rallies.

Folkes, who is against **immigration** and Islam, and has demanded the sterilisation of **refugees**, called the protest in response to plans to house up to 120 Syrian **refugees** in a disused section of the Eltham aged care home.

Related: Man secretly deported to Nauru from Melbourne detention centre, say lawyers[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/04/man-secretly-deported-to-nauru-from-melbourne-detention-centre-say-lawyers]

The Syrian women and children will be housed in the centre for up to two years, as part of the Australian government’s one-off humanitarian intake of 12,000 **refugees** from the war-torn nation.

The rally was preceded by a reportedly larger group of counter-protesters, many holding anti-fascist and pro-**refugee** placards, declaring Folkes’ rally did not represent them.

You look beatiful #Eltham[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Eltham?src=hash] ! pic.twitter.com/y1oCC72iyL[https://t.co/y1oCC72iyL] — Kieran Bennett (@KieranBennett) November 5, 2016[https://twitter.com/KieranBennett/status/794704094959022080]

Earlier in the week, Eltham residents had spray-painted butterflies around the area, as a symbol of welcome to the **refugees**.

The founder of the Welcome to Eltham committee, Nina Kelabora, said the anti-**refugee** protesters were “definitely out of towners”, and did not reflect the wishes of the Eltham residents.

“We know there’s a handful of local residents who have concerns, but this is something else,” Kelabora told Guardian Australia.

“This is not anything to do with the sentiments in our community, which is a peaceful, safe and welcoming area … the overwhelming sentiment in the community is one of welcome.”

At risk of repeating myself: vast majority of anti-mob not from #Eltham[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Eltham?src=hash] but #Sydney[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Sydney?src=hash], #Bendigo[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Bendigo?src=hash], #Melton[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Melton?src=hash]. #antifa[https://twitter.com/hashtag/antifa?src=hash] #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] #**refugees**[https://twitter.com/hashtag/refugees?src=hash] — Andy Fleming (@slackbastard) November 5, 2016[https://twitter.com/slackbastard/status/794721993685803008]

Kelabora did not attend the rally, instead spray-painting butterflies and tying butterfly symbols around the park earlier..

“We knew the protest was coming up and we knew we wanted to respond in some way but didn’t want to partake in what they were labelling as a battle,” she told Guardian Australia.

“We needed to make sure the community’s voice of welcome was heard.”

The group adopted as its symbol the Eltham Copper Butterfly, which almost disappeared in the 1980s until the residents rallied together to save it, she said.

Related: Australia resettles only a sixth of promised Syrian **refugee** intake[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/02/australia-resettles-only-a-sixth-of-promised-syrian-refugee-intake]

She said the Eltham people had contributed more than 700 submissions to a welcome book, which the group planned to give to the **refugees** when they arrived.

“From the community perspective it’s really clear that the vast majority are welcoming.”

Up to 200 anti-**refugee** demonstrators descended on the town’s Andrew Park on Saturday for what Folkes had dubbed “the battle of Eltham”, with support from other organisations including the Soldiers of Odin, a self-styled “street patrol” patriot group.

Fairfax reported that about a dozen people at the rally had identified themselves as locals.

The Australia First party and United Nationalists group staged a mock beheading last week[https://www.facebook.com/australiafirstvictoria/videos/vb.1576532949302022/1786462518309063/?type=2&theater] in the park as some form of protest against the plan.

Early on Saturday morning, the Party For Freedom Facebook page announced that the rally had been delayed until Saturday afternoon “due to both weather and security concerns”.

Aerial news footage showed a large number of police officers at the rally, including on horseback.

A spokeswoman for Victoria police told Guardian Australia they were there to maintain public safety.

“Victoria Police respects people’s right to protest peacefully, but will not tolerate those who break the law,” she said.

“Victoria Police advises anyone attending that we will not tolerate any anti-social behaviour or violence. Urging violence and hatred within our community is not a form of free speech and is illegal.”

St Vincent’s Health, a Catholic Care organisation that runs the aged care centre, thanked the Welcome to Eltham supporters, and said it was proud to house the Syrian **refugees**. It said employees were supporting the existing residents of the centre, who had been worried by the protest outside.

“There are people in Eltham who have been unsure of what’s happening, so we’ve been working very hard to get the facts out into the community around what is happening,” the organisation’s deputy chief executive, Sheree Limbrick, told the ABC.[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-11-05/eltham-rally-scores-turn-out-to-support-syrian-refugees/7997934]

“Once they do understand some of the facts around how the project’s going to operate, the support that’s being offered, the sorts of families that will be coming into the accommodation, a lot of peoples’ fear and anxiety has diminished.”

The photos don't do it justice - an amazing display of welcoming butterflies for #**refugees**[https://twitter.com/hashtag/refugees?src=hash] outside our building. Thank you @WelcometoEltham[https://twitter.com/WelcometoEltham] pic.twitter.com/YknRTbwFZg[https://t.co/YknRTbwFZg] — St Vincent's Health (@StVHealthAust) November 5, 2016[https://twitter.com/StVHealthAust/status/794691162128805892]

The protest coincided with larger rallies around the country, against the federal government’s **immigration** policies.

Large crowds gathered in cities including Sydney, Melbourne, Hobart and Cairns, and in smaller towns around the country, calling for the government to close its offshore processing camps and bring asylum seekers and **refugees** to the Australian mainland.

Big crowd building in #Sydney[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Sydney?src=hash] at the start of the @Drs4Refugees[https://twitter.com/Drs4Refugees] rally. #CloseTheCamps[https://twitter.com/hashtag/CloseTheCamps?src=hash] #BringThemHere[https://twitter.com/hashtag/BringThemHere?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/fXK4B9V6Ao[https://t.co/fXK4B9V6Ao] — Catherine (@catherinemaths) November 5, 2016[https://twitter.com/catherinemaths/status/794723482357510144]

#Bringthemhere[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Bringthemhere?src=hash] Melbourne rally well attended #**refugees**[https://twitter.com/hashtag/refugees?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/PTCfCM7jAD[https://t.co/PTCfCM7jAD] — Lea Campbell (@leacampbell76) November 5, 2016[https://twitter.com/leacampbell76/status/794726505783799810]

ship stop @Gove[https://twitter.com/gove] in Arnhem Land town of Nhulunbuy #bringthemhere[https://twitter.com/hashtag/bringthemhere?src=hash] rally>end the secrecy>end the abuse>end Dutton #closethecamps[https://twitter.com/hashtag/closethecamps?src=hash] #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/uwnCYr2ObU[https://t.co/uwnCYr2ObU] — muamatt (@mattmua72) November 5, 2016[https://twitter.com/mattmua72/status/794708439289053188]

It followed revelations on Friday that Australian **immigration** officials had deported a **refugee** in the middle of the night[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/04/man-secretly-deported-to-nauru-from-melbourne-detention-centre-say-lawyers], from a Melbourne detention centre to Nauru, without warning.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Stephen Phillips, who voted to leave the EU , quits in protest at government approach to parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit Read the latest summary

block-time published-time 2.52pm GMT

Summary Here’s a summary of the latest developments:

\* A Conservative MP who has resigned after criticising Theresa May’s handling of the Brexit process has told friends that the Tory party has become “Ukip-lite”. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/04/stephen-phillips-resigns-over-undemocratic-brexit-process] Stephen Phillips, who voted for Britain to leave the EU , blamed “significant policy differences” between himself and the government for his decision to quit as MP for Sleaford and North Hykeham, in Lincolnshire.

\* Last month Phillips told the Guardian he was angry about the way the government was handling Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/10/tory-mp-anna-soubry-concerned-rush-hard-brexit]. In an article for the paper he wrote: “Not giving parliament the chance, before article 50 is invoked, to say where it thinks these negotiations should end up is, at its core, undemocratic, unconstitutional and likely to exacerbate the divisions in our society to which the referendum gave rise.”

\* There has been mounting speculation that Phillips’ resignation will prompt an early election. But Downing Street said the PM’s position that there should not be a general election before 2020 remained unchanged.

\* Theresa May has reassured Angela Merkel and Jean-Claude Juncker that she is determined to stick to her timetable of triggering article 50 to leave the EU by the end of March, despite the ruling. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/04/brexit-may-tells-merkel-and-juncker-timetable-remains-the-same] “She confirmed that the timetable remains the same,” a spokesman said

\* Foreign secretary Boris Johnson has urged Europe to ignore “sturm und drang” in parliament over the high court ruling. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/nov/04/may-to-tell-juncker-brexit-is-still-on-after-article-50-ruling-politics-live?page=with:block-581c8a09e4b07ceadb3a272d#block-581c8a09e4b07ceadb3a272d] Speaking in Berlin after meeting his German counterpart Johnson also insisted that the ruling would not interfere with the timetable for triggering article 50.

\* There is widespread alarm about press hostility to the judges who ruled that parliament should trigger article 50. [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/nov/04/labour-condemns-newspaper-attacks-on-judges-after-brexit-ruling] LibDem leader Tim Farron said today’s front pages are as “depressing as they are irresponsible”. Labour called on justice secretary Liz Truss to condemn “hysterical” attacks on the judiciary. Brendan Cox , the husband of the murdered Labour MP Jo Cox , tweeted that “inciting hatred has consequences”.

\* A narrow majority now wants the UK to remain in the EU, according to a new poll by BMG. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/nov/04/may-to-tell-juncker-brexit-is-still-on-after-article-50-ruling-politics-live?page=with:block-581c5d66e4b029b92ca45777#block-581c5d66e4b029b92ca45777] It found that 45% now back remain compared to 43% for leave [http://www.bmgresearch.co.uk/tories-best-party-handle-brexit/], with 12% saying they don’t know.

\* Ukip leadership candidate Suzanne Evans has announced that she is seeking the party’s nomination for the Sleaford byelection. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/nov/04/may-to-tell-juncker-brexit-is-still-on-after-article-50-ruling-politics-live?page=with:block-581c8e9ce4b07ceadb3a2749#block-581c8e9ce4b07ceadb3a2749] She told BBC Radio 4’s World At One: “I would like to throw my hat into the ring.”

\* One of the other contenders to replace Nigel Farage as leader of Ukip has pulled out of the race. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/04/peter-whittle-pulls-out-ukip-leadership-contest] London assembly member Peter Whittle declared he was withdrawing his candidacy and offering his support to the frontrunner Paul Nuttall [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/01/ukip-leadership-favourite-farage-anti-migrant-poster-paul-nuttall].

block-time published-time 2.31pm GMT

Germany has urged Britain to set out its negotiation position over Brexit as soon as possible. Speaking alongside his counterpart Boris Johnson , Germany’s foreign minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier , said: “Brexit is the clear and unmistakable position of your government. We regret that but of course we respect this decision.”

He added: “we should create the conditions as soon as possible for the negotiations to begin,” even if Britain’s Parliament does need a say.

“A stalemate won’t do either side any good,” he added.

enltrFM #Steinmeier [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Steinmeier?src=hash] on #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] : Important to set out conditions for negotiations asap. Stalemate is of no benefit to anyone. @BorisJohnson [https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson] : Important to set out conditions for negotiations asap. Stalemate is of no benefit to anyone. pic.twitter.com/PRkcvktA45 [https://t.co/PRkcvktA45] : Important to set out conditions for negotiations asap. Stalemate is of no benefit to anyone.

— GermanForeignOffice (@GermanyDiplo) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GermanyDiplo/status/794542201804115970]block-time published-time 2.24pm GMT

The Welsh government decision to take part in the supreme court hearing on a parliamentary vote on article 50 has sharply increased the prospects that Nicola Sturgeon ’s Scottish government could also join the legal action, writes Severin Carrell.

Sturgeon, Scotland’s first minister, has been poised to seek formal representation in the action if Holyrood’s ability to give legislative consent to the final Brexit deal becomes part of the legal arguments in next month’s hearing.

She told the Scottish parliament yesterday she would actively consider joining the case: “The job of this government is to protect Scotland’s interests; Scotland voted to remain in the EU and my job is therefore to protect our place in Europe and the single market as far as I possibly can.”

This is a contentious area: Theresa May ’s UK government argues that leaving the EU is wholly reserved to Westminster as it deals with foreign affairs and treaties. Scottish and now Welsh ministers argue that their devolved powers are directly affected by leaving the EU .

Sturgeon has stopped short of stating Holyrood will try to block Brexit by withholding legislative consent but insists that Scotland’s specific interests are intimately wrapped up in the Brexit deal. Her officials admit that legislative consent is a convention, not a legal right.

Scottish government lawyers have already been sitting in on the high court hearings as observers in case that became an issue. Scottish sources said the statement on Friday by Mick Antoniw, the counsel general for Wales, now made a live prospect.

Antoniw said the article 50 hearing “raise[s] issues of profound importance not only in relation to the concept of Parliamentary Sovereignty but also in relation to the wider constitutional arrangements of the United Kingdom and the legal framework for devolution.”

block-time published-time 2.20pm GMT

A friend of Phillips said he has resigned because the Conservatives have become “Ukip lite”, writes Rajeev Syal.

“It’s about values. The values of this government are not his values. “They’ve lurched to the right and become UKIP lite. He is not,” the friend said.

“Their failure to honour their promises on child **refugees**; the decimation of international aid to the poorest and most vulnerable in the world” are two of the key issues, the friend said.

“Brexit is part of it, because they think they can do what the hell they like without asking parliament. But it’s only a small part of it. It’s the fact that he is not a Conservative in this mould,” the friend added.

Related: Stephen Phillips quits as MP as friends say he labelled Tories Ukip-lite [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/04/stephen-phillips-resigns-over-undemocratic-brexit-process]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.21pm GMT

block-time published-time 2.17pm GMT

Here’s video of EU commission spokeswoman Mina Andreeva failing to suppress a smile as she described the “fairly short conversation” between Theresa May and Jean-Claude Juncker over the timing for triggering article 50 in the wake of yesterday’s ruling.

enltr. @Mina\_Andreeva [https://twitter.com/Mina\_Andreeva] Deputy Chief Spokeswoman of @EU\_Commission [https://twitter.com/EU\_Commission] about the phone call between Theresa May & Juncker - More https://t.co/HWWMHwVNAD [https://t.co/HWWMHwVNAD] & Juncker - More pic.twitter.com/OvPJME9nCE [https://t.co/OvPJME9nCE] & Juncker - More

— Pablo Pérez (@PabloPerezA) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PabloPerezA/status/794503416554934278]block-time published-time 1.50pm GMT

The Bar Council has added to the growing chorus of those condemning the hostile media coverage of the judges involved in Thursday’s ruling.

Chantal-Aimée Doerries chairman of the Bar Council said: “If we do not respect the independent judiciary we put at risk our democracy. All the parties in the case accepted that it was right that the judges should determine this issue.”

Speaking to BBC News she said: “What concerns me about the headlines is the attack on judges and the attack effectively on their role, in other words not recognising that they are independent in upholding the rule of law, not simply expressing their own views.”

A selection of the front pages of British newspapers taken on November 4, 2016 following the High Court ruling yesterday that the Conservative government do not have the power on their own to trigger Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty. Photograph: Benjamin Fathers/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 1.39pm GMT

Evans wants to contest Sleaford byelection for Ukip Suzanne Evans Photograph: Ray Tang/REX/Shutterstock Ukip leadership candidate Suzanne Evans has announced that she is seeking the party’s nomination for the Sleaford byelection.

She told BBC Radio 4’s World At One: “I would like to throw my hat into the ring.”

Evans is one of three remaining contenders to replace Nigel Farage as leader of Ukip.

block-time published-time 1.31pm GMT

Steven Morris has more on the response of the Welsh government to the high court ruling and subsequent challenge ( see earlier [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/nov/04/may-to-tell-juncker-brexit-is-still-on-after-article-50-ruling-politics-live?page=with:block-581c6a75e4b0d073c27d16e5#block-581c6a75e4b0d073c27d16e5] ).

The first reaction of the Welsh first minister, Carwyn Jones , to the Brexit high court judgement was to urge the UK government not to challenge the ruling.

It was not that he thought the ruling could scupper Brexit – which he opposed. Jones said there was no doubt in his mind that the UK would leave the EU .

But he argued that debating the terms of Brexit in parliament would help the people of the whole of the UK to understand the strategy of Theresa May ’s government. He also repeated – for the umpteenth time since the referendum – that votes should take place in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland to endorse the UK government ’s position.

But it was inevitable that there would be a supreme court hearing. Having considered overnight, the counsel general for Wales, Mick Antoniw, the government’s law officer, has said he wishes to attend that hearing – and address the judges.

Antoniw, an assembly member for Pontypridd, is concerned at how the UK government had hoped to use prerogative powers to trigger article 50 without consulting MPs and peers – and believes this could have “profound” implications for the relationship between Westminster and the devolved assemblies.

A fear is that future use of those powers may undermine the status of the Welsh assembly and the fundamental legal and constitutional relationships of the Welsh government to the UK government .

There has been some concern that Wales will find it hard to get its voice heard during the build-up to Brexit. Antoniw’s appearance at the supreme court, if it is allowed, will help build Wales’ profile.

block-time published-time 1.23pm GMT

The foreign secretary, Boris Johnson , has urged Europe to ignore “ sturm und drang ” (storm and stress) in parliament over the high court ruling.

Asked about Phillips’ resignation during at a press conference in Berlin with his German counterpart, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Johnson said:

He should really not read too much into the legal decision that you have just seen or indeed the sturm und drang, if that’s the word I want, that is going on in parliament at the moment.

The direction is very clear the will of the British people was expressed very clearly and it is the decision of Theresa May and her government to get on and make that process work.

And that is what is going to happen. It is very important for our European friends and partners... to get on with delivering a solution that works for both our great economies.

Johnson also insisted that the ruling would not interfere with the timetable for triggering article 50.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.42pm GMT

block-time published-time 1.03pm GMT

Owen Bowcott has more on the political reaction to the press hostility over the high court ruling.

Related: Labour condemns newspaper attacks on judges after Brexit ruling [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/nov/04/labour-condemns-newspaper-attacks-on-judges-after-brexit-ruling]

block-time published-time 12.59pm GMT

Brendan Cox , the husband of the murdered Labour MP Jo Cox , has added his voice to those condemning press hostility to the high court’s ruling.

In a tweet he pointed out that “inciting hatred has consequences”.

enltrWhatever our views on the court ruling I hope we can take a step back & debate it soberly. Inciting hatred has consequences.

— Brendan Cox (@MrBrendanCox) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MrBrendanCox/status/794476727431004161]enltr @PaulineMoorhou2 [https://twitter.com/PaulineMoorhou2] completely understand where people's frustrations come fm,but directing hatred at individuals should play no part in debate

— Brendan Cox (@MrBrendanCox) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MrBrendanCox/status/794481323066982400]block-time published-time 12.43pm GMT

Summary Here’s a summary of what’s happened so far today:

\* Conservative MP Stephn Phillips, who voted to leave the EU but has criticised Theresa May for failing to include parliament in the process has resigned [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/04/stephen-phillips-resigns-over-undemocratic-brexit-process]. He blamed “significant policy differences” between himself and the government, as he announced he was quitting as MP for Sleaford and North Hyekham, in Lincolnshire.

\* Phillips told the Guardian he was angry about the way the government was handling Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/10/tory-mp-anna-soubry-concerned-rush-hard-brexit]. In an article for the paper he wrote: “Not giving parliament the chance, before article 50 is invoked, to say where it thinks these negotiations should end up is, at its core, undemocratic, unconstitutional and likely to exacerbate the divisions in our society to which the referendum gave rise.”

\* There has been mounting speculation that Phillips’ resignation will prompt an early election. But Downing Street said the PM’s position that there should not be a general election before 2020 remained unchanged.

\* Theresa May has told the president of the European commission Jean-Claude Juncker and the German Chancellor Angela Merkel of her determination to stick triggering article 50 by the end of March [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/04/brexit-timetable-article-50-ruling-theresa-may-jean-claude-juncker-eu]. She also expressed her disappointment at Thursday’s ruling.

\* There is widespread alarm at how the press has covered the high court ruling. LibDem leader Tim Farron said today’s front pages are as “depressing as they are irresponsible”. Labour called on justice secretary Liz Truss to condemn “hysterical” attacks on the judiciary.

\* A narrow majority now want the UK to remain in the EU , according to a new poll by BMG. It found that 45% now back remain compared to 43% for leave [http://www.bmgresearch.co.uk/tories-best-party-handle-brexit/], with 12% saying they don’t know.

\* One of the contenders to replace Nigel Farage as leader of Ukip has pulled out of the race. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/04/peter-whittle-pulls-out-ukip-leadership-contest] London assembly member Peter Whittle declared he was withdrawing his candidacy and offering his support to the frontrunner Paul Nuttall [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/01/ukip-leadership-favourite-farage-anti-migrant-poster-paul-nuttall].

block-time published-time 12.26pm GMT

Gina Miller Photograph: Johnny Armstead/REX/Shutterstock Lawyers for Gina Miller, one of those who successfully challenged the government on parliament’s right to trigger article 50, are not commenting on whether she plans to make a complaint to the police about death threats in the wake of Thursday’s ruling.

A spokesman for Mischon de Raya said: “We are not commenting on whether any complaints have been made to the police. But I can confirm that both Mischon and Gina have received some abuse.”

There have been online calls for Miller to be publicly hanged [https://www.facebook.com/DailyExpress/posts/1351447314915524?comment\_id=1351477048245884&comment\_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D] and for a price to be put on her head. [https://www.facebook.com/DailyExpress/posts/1351447314915524?comment\_id=1351466884913567&comment\_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R3%22%7D https://www.facebook.com/DailyExpress/posts/1351447314915524?comment\_id=1351466884913567&comment\_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R3%22%7D] and for a

The Metropolitan Police said it could not comment until a complaint had been made.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.44pm GMT

block-time published-time 12.12pm GMT

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block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.23pm GMT

block-time published-time 12.09pm GMT

There’s been a sharp spike in traffic to an article Stephen Phillips [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/11/we-voted-brexit-keep-parliament-sovereign-wont-be-gagged] wrote for the Guardian last month.

It explains why he has “irreconcilable policy differences with the current government”.

The campaign to give parliament the right to determine our future relationship with the EU is not about reversing the referendum result. Nor is it about subverting the will of the British people, or having a second bite of the cherry. It’s about the sovereignty that I and others cherish, a sovereignty that resides principally in the House of Commons [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/houseofcommons] and in its ability, when given the opportunity, to inform and direct the government of the day.

Not giving parliament the chance, before article 50 is invoked, to say where it thinks these negotiations should end up is, at its core, undemocratic, unconstitutional and likely to exacerbate the divisions in our society to which the referendum gave rise. It also ignores the views [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/07/marching-mad-brexit-someone-speak-48-per-cent] of nearly half the people who voted in the referendum, who were perfectly content with our place in the EU .

Ignoring them, even though they were (just) in the minority, is not merely divisive but plain wrong.

Related: We voted for Brexit to keep parliament sovereign – we won’t be gagged | Stephen Phillips [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/11/we-voted-brexit-keep-parliament-sovereign-wont-be-gagged]

block-time published-time 12.02pm GMT

No hint yet from Downing Street on any early general election...

A No 10 source said Stehpen Phillips did not speak to May before resigning and that the PM’s position that there should not be a general election before 2020 remained unchanged.

block-time published-time 12.01pm GMT

PA has more on May’s Brexit diplomacy and the government determination to appeal against the article 50 ruling.

As well as her talks with Juncker, the prime minister also called German chancellor Angela Merkel and is expected to speak to other European leaders later in an effort to reassure them that her Brexit plans remain on track.

Downing Street said it did not accept the High Court judgment and was “confident” of victory in the Supreme Court.

A Number 10 spokesman said May explained to Juncker and the German leader that “while the government is disappointed by the judgment yesterday, we remain of the firm belief that we have strong legal arguments ahead of the case which will be moving to the Supreme Court next month”.

“The prime minister also confirmed that the planned timetable for notification of article 50 remains the same,” the spokesman added.

Downing Street refused to say whether legislation was already being drawn up for triggering article 50 in case the Supreme Court upheld the ruling, stressing that it was focused on winning the case.

Asked if May agreed with Cabinet minister Sajid Javid that the judgment was “unacceptable”, the spokesman said: “The very fact that we are appealing that decision means very clearly that we don’t accept that decision.”

block-time published-time 11.54am GMT

Labour is calling on justice secretary Liz Truss to condemn “hysterical” attacks on the judiciary in the press.

Labour shadow justice minister Richard Burgon said headlines in some of today’s papers were unacceptable and urged Truss to uphold the independence of the judiciary.

enltr'Some of the headlines attacking judges are unacceptable. @TrussLiz [https://twitter.com/trussliz] as Lord Chancellor must speak out against attacks on British justice.' pic.twitter.com/yuS3LVh5uo [https://t.co/yuS3LVh5uo] as Lord Chancellor must speak out against attacks on British justice.'

— Richard Burgon MP (@RichardBurgon) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RichardBurgon/status/794501954588332032]Labour chairman of the Justice Select Committee Bob Neill tweeted that personal attacks on judges threatened the independence of the judiciary.

enltrPersonal attacks upon Judges by media & politicians threaten the independence of our Judiciary. They are have no place in a civilised land

— Bob Neill (@neill\_bob) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/neill\_bob/status/794494203984310272]block-time published-time 11.46am GMT

The Conservative Party has expressed its sorrow over the resignation of Stephen Phillips.

enltrTory spokesman: "Stephen Phillips has been a valuable member of Parly since 2010 and we are sorry that he has chosen to step down...

— Anushka Asthana (@GuardianAnushka) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka/status/794504338467094528]enltr...We thank him for his hard work and we wish him every success in the future."

— Anushka Asthana (@GuardianAnushka) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka/status/794504364278894592]block-time published-time 11.40am GMT

May tells Merkel of disappointment over ruling Theresa May has also called German Chancellor Angela Merkel to express her disappointment over the high court’s decision, lobby correspondents have been told.

enltrPM has spoken this morning on phone to German Chancellor Angela Merkel & @JunckerEU [https://twitter.com/JunckerEU] to explain the shambles that is also known as #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] to explain the shambles that is also known as

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/794502004857012224]enltrTheresa May told Angela Merkel & @JunckerEU [https://twitter.com/JunckerEU] she was 'disappointed' by High Court ruling but insisted her #Article50 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Article50?src=hash] deadline of March stays

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/794502772360179712]block-time published-time 11.36am GMT

Political analyst Mike Smithson does the maths on May’s dwindling parliamentary majority as speculation mounts about an early general election.

enltrCORRECTION

The Tories had theoretical majority of 12 at GE2015. Zac took it down to 10 and Philips makes it 8 if CON don't hold his seat

— Mike Smithson (@MSmithsonPB) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MSmithsonPB/status/794502019365081088]enltrHow long can a by-election be delayed? Best to combine the Sleaford and North Hykeham contest with a full general election.

— Tim Montgomerie ? (@montie) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/montie/status/794498815667662850]enltrOdds slashed on another General Election in 2017 as Theresa May urged to take Britain back to the polls after shoc… https://t.co/Po8y8DKpTa [https://t.co/Po8y8DKpTa] urged to take Britain back to the polls after shoc…

— Sun Politics (@SunPolitics) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SunPolitics/status/794499433090183168]block-time published-time 11.30am GMT

Phillips secured a majority of more than 24,000 over Labour in the Sleaford and North Hykeham seat at the last election. It was also one of the most pro-Brexit constituencies in the country.

enltrThe lay of the land ahead of Sleaford & North Hykeham by-election pic.twitter.com/AWP1BjR47c [https://t.co/AWP1BjR47c]

— Jason Keen (@Jason\_Keen) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jason\_Keen/status/794500196826804224]block-time published-time 11.23am GMT

May makes 'short call' to Juncker on article 50 timing Meanwhile, Theresa May has made that call to Juncker about the timing of triggering article 50 still being on track.

It was a short call, according to the commission.

enltrIt was a rather short phone call, says Commission spokeswoman about Juncker's phone discussion with May.

— Jennifer Rankin (@JenniferMerode) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JenniferMerode/status/794497736695578625]enltrJuncker appreciated prime minister’s call and repeated his respect for the legal and constitutional order of the United Kingdom, says EC.

— Jennifer Rankin (@JenniferMerode) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JenniferMerode/status/794498030963752960]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.24am GMT

block-time published-time 11.20am GMT

Phillips said he was resigning because of “irreconcilable policy differences with the current government”.

enltrStephen Phillips - a lawyer/judge who voted out but believes parliament should be involved - stepping down!

— Anushka Asthana (@GuardianAnushka) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka/status/794498597245059072]enltrEarly general election must now be on the cards after Stephen Phillips quit.

— Christopher Hope (@christopherhope) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/christopherhope/status/794498977311969280]enltrStephen Phillips - pro leave but not pro leaving the single market - wanted greater scrutiny of Brexit

— iain watson (@iainjwatson) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/iainjwatson/status/794498867169558528]block-time published-time 11.17am GMT

Stephen Phillips MP triggers byelection Phillips has now resigned from his Sleaford and North Hykeham seat with “immediate effect”.

enltrStephen Phillips to stand down with immediate effect pic.twitter.com/6j1y2LqwV4 [https://t.co/6j1y2LqwV4]

— Ross Hawkins (@rosschawkins) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rosschawkins/status/794497432612732928]block-time published-time 11.14am GMT

'Tory MP to resign' Stephen Phillips Photograph: Stephen Phillips There is widespread speculation that Tory MP Stephen Phillips is about to resign over the government’s reaction to the high court ruling.

enltrOne source says Stephen Phillips resigning "with immediate effect", another says he may stand down at next election. Statement imminent.

— Guido Fawkes (@GuidoFawkes) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuidoFawkes/status/794495964186890242]enltrStephen Phillips QC MP, who voted out, resigning in protest at the government’s approach to parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit

— James Forsyth (@JGForsyth) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JGForsyth/status/794494098744950784]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.14am GMT

block-time published-time 11.06am GMT

The Welsh government has announced it is to back the complainants against the UK government during next month’s supreme court appeal against Thursday’s high court ruling.

In a statement Mick Antoniw, Counsel General for Wales

Having considered the judgments in both matters, I consider that they raise issues of profound importance not only in relation to the concept of Parliamentary Sovereignty but also in relation to the wider constitutional arrangements of the United Kingdom and the legal framework for devolution.

They raise questions about the use of the prerogative power to take steps which will or may impact on:

Therefore, in accordance with my power under section 67 of the Government of Wales Act 2006, I intend to make an application to be granted permission to intervene in the proposed appeal before the Supreme Court. My intention is to make representations about the specific implications of the government’s proposed decision for Wales.

The Scottish government is considering a similar move. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/nicola-sturgeon-scotland-mps-joining-article-50-legal-battle-brexit-high-court]

block-time published-time 10.56am GMT

The legal ruling may complicate the UK leaving the EU , but the referendum result was clear. And woe betide the MP or peer who stands in the way of it, warns Simon Jenkins.

Related: The judges’ ruling confirms it – Brexit must go ahead, no ifs or buts | Simon Jenkins [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/04/court-ruling-reinforces-brexit-withdraw-eu]

block-time published-time 10.38am GMT

There’s even been a call for military coup to enforce Brexit [https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1555421614486109&set=a.216852455009705.65237.100000548570386&type=3].

enltrOver on Facebook , Neale from Chipping Norton is calling for a military coup #Article50 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Article50?src=hash], Neale from Chipping Norton is calling for a military coup pic.twitter.com/REUSQoC2qM [https://t.co/REUSQoC2qM], Neale from Chipping Norton is calling for a military coup

— Ian Fraser (@Ian\_Fraser) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Ian\_Fraser/status/794487290051563520]block-time published-time 10.27am GMT

Hard Brexiteer Jon Redwood MP has suggested the wording for an article 50 motion (rather than a bill).

In a blog post he writes [https://twitter.com/johnredwood/status/794485130228363265] :

I hope the government will now table a motion saying

“This House approves the sending of an Article 50 letter in accordance with the wishes of the people as expressed in the referendum, any judgement of the courts notwithstanding”

The government should then send the letter.

I would expect the motion to pass easily, as I cannot believe Labour will impose a 3 line whip to expressly go against the results of the referendum. If they did the government should still win the vote, given Labour rebels, some Northern Ireland MPs and most Conservatives voting for.

block-time published-time 10.18am GMT

A number of Labour MPs have insisted they won’t block the referendum results but that they want the article 50 bill to include amendments setting out more details about what Brexit will entail.

Shadow Brexit minister Matthew Pennycook tweeted that the vote should be about the terms of Brexit not whether the UK leaves the EU .

enltrTo those constituents asking me to vote against #Article50 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Article50?src=hash] : vote will be about the terms of Brexit, not whether or not we leave the EU .

— Matthew Pennycook MP (@mtpennycook) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/mtpennycook/status/794480957730459648]Other Labour MPs have put out similar statements.

enltrMemo to my constituents: I will never vote to block Brexit. But I simply don't trust Boris Johnson to negotiate on behalf of the North West.

— Andy Burnham (@andyburnhammp) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/andyburnhammp/status/794456030323343360]enltrJust spoken to @BBCRadioManc [https://twitter.com/BBCRadioManc] about the Article 50 case. Got to respect the referendum result but will be v good to learn Govt strategy

— Jonathan Reynolds MP (@jreynoldsMP) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jreynoldsMP/status/794438451391242240]block-time published-time 10.11am GMT

A narrow majority now want the UK to remain in the EU , according to a new poll by BMG.

It found that 45% now back remain compared to 43% for leave [http://www.bmgresearch.co.uk/tories-best-party-handle-brexit/], with 12% saying they don’t know.

BNG tracker poll Photograph: BNG block-time published-time 10.01am GMT

There is widespread alarm at how the press has covered the high court ruling.

LibDem leader Tim Farron commented:

“The hyperbolic front pages from some of the more right wing newspapers today are as depressing as they are irresponsible. Personalised attack on our independent judiciary is a dangerous path to go down, unjustifiable and cultivates a nasty, divisive discourse around this debate.

“There can be no defence to plastering photographs of judges across the front pages of news stands like some depressive modern day version of a wild west poster.

“People need to take a step back, think more carefully about the language they are using and let our judges do their job. There is an irony that the same newspapers that argued we would ‘take back control’ are now complaining that the British people will have their views represented through the British parliament.”

The SNP’s Richard Lochhead an MSP for Moray noted that even the rule of law is being attacked by the press.

enltrWith a right wing Tory Gov in charge Europe, **refugees**, foreign nationals and now rule of law all fair game. #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/2OfnQGY2VJ [https://t.co/2OfnQGY2VJ]

— Richard Lochhead (@RichardLochhead) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RichardLochhead/status/794467218541211648]enltrIf you had forgotten that UK has some of the worst press in Europe, look at today's tabloids. Power without responsibility, as the man said.

— Martin Kettle (@martinkettle) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/martinkettle/status/794437344191451136]The treatment of Gina Miller, one of those who brought the case, is also causing concern.

enltrLook how the Sun has darkened Gina Miller's skin compared to the Times pic.twitter.com/Ln8uBMpR68 [https://t.co/Ln8uBMpR68]

— Chris Bertram (@crookedfootball) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/crookedfootball/status/794466438669041664]Shadow home secretary Diane Abbott notes that Miller has been subjected to death threats online.

enltrGina Miller led successful legal challenge on Article 50. Now subject to rape & death threats #brexitvote [https://twitter.com/hashtag/brexitvote?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/hufeA35RX8 [https://t.co/hufeA35RX8]

— Diane Abbott MP (@HackneyAbbott) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/HackneyAbbott/status/794474050752053248]block-time published-time 9.39am GMT

Peter Whittle pulls out of Ukip leadership race Peter Whittle Photograph: Matthew Horwood/Getty Images Another Ukip leadership contender has pulled out of the race. London Assembly member Peter Whittle announced his withdraw and backing for the favourite Paul Nuttall , the party’s former deputy leader.

In a Facebook post, Whittle wrote [https://www.facebook.com/WhittleAssemblyMember/photos/a.744150302307335.1073741828.741418185913880/1168044329917928/?type=3] :

To meet the new challenges which the future holds, UKIP needs a leader who knows the party inside out and who can command the loyalty of members across the board.

So after a great deal of thought, I have decided to withdraw from the leadership contest and recommend wholeheartedly that members vote for Paul Nuttall .

I would like to thank those members and supporters who planned to support me, but I have become convinced that the sheer breadth of Paul’s political experience, his dedication to the values of the party and the obvious affection in which he is held by members make him the person who is best placed to take us forward.

Ukip’s leadership contest is now down to a choice of three: Nuttall, Suzanne Evans, and John Rees-Evans.

Or as BuzzFeed ’s Jim Waterson put it: “It’s Nutall v Suzanne Evans v gay donkey man”.

enltrPeter Whittle quits UKIP leadership race (getting 80% of his deposit back). So it's Paul Nuttall v Suzanne Evans v gay donkey man. https://t.co/NL4gJ3iDFY [https://t.co/NL4gJ3iDFY]

— Jim Waterson (@jimwaterson) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jimwaterson/status/794474710155296768]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.44am GMT

block-time published-time 9.15am GMT

Reactions to the ruling and its coverage are still coming in from MPs on social media.

enltrThe bullying tone & deliberately false reporting of yesterday's ruling on #parliamentarysovereignty [https://twitter.com/hashtag/parliamentarysovereignty?src=hash] w some honourable exceptions is shocking

— Anna Soubry MP (@Anna\_Soubry) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Anna\_Soubry/status/794450905248763906]enltrTolerance must win over hate & scaremongering. I'm not alone in standing up for the #48% who also have the right to be heard & listened to

— Anna Soubry MP (@Anna\_Soubry) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Anna\_Soubry/status/794452773656023040]enltrCould we calm down? June 23 still stands.Narrow point of law under appeal. MPs will respect people's vote.Go to bed. https://t.co/VaGz2bEF9p [https://t.co/VaGz2bEF9p]enltrCould we calm down? June 23 still stands.Narrow point of law under appeal. MPs will respect people's vote.Go to bed.

— Alistair Burt (@AlistairBurtMP) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AlistairBurtMP/status/794306635275653123]enltrClegg and Lib-Dems now seeking 'soft Brexit' which would mean NO control over borders and NO UK trade deals.

This is NOT what we voted for!

— Michael Fabricant (@Mike\_Fabricant) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Mike\_Fabricant/status/794462518865494017]enltrDemocracy if it means anything must be respected & Britain must leave the EU 1/2

— Dr Dan Poulter (@drdanpoulter) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/drdanpoulter/status/794464216254185472]enltrBut remember that the court judgement has done what many voted for & upheld the sovereignty of UK Parliament to 'take back control' 2/2

— Dr Dan Poulter (@drdanpoulter) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/drdanpoulter/status/794464772876075008]enltrThis personal attack is deeply concerning. The courts are an impartial British value we should cherish. This is unacceptable. https://t.co/X22inRCWHJ [https://t.co/X22inRCWHJ]enltrThis personal attack is deeply concerning. The courts are an impartial British value we should cherish. This is unacceptable.

— Tim Farron (@timfarron) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/timfarron/status/794457007889780736]enltrPM was wrong to have attempted to sideline Parliament: now needs to subject her Brexit approach to proper scrutiny. https://t.co/cAqoaodoIk [https://t.co/cAqoaodoIk]enltrPM was wrong to have attempted to sideline Parliament: now needs to subject her Brexit approach to proper scrutiny.

— Keir Starmer (@Keir\_Starmer) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Keir\_Starmer/status/794328148481626116]enltrThose who want to know real implications of the judgement yesterday on use of prerogative powers should read it - https://t.co/eyLLbaNpWU [https://t.co/eyLLbaNpWU]enltrThose who want to know real implications of the judgement yesterday on use of prerogative powers should read it -

— Maria Eagle MP (@meaglemp) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/meaglemp/status/794461593954357248]enltrMemo to my constituents: I will never vote to block Brexit. But I simply don't trust Boris Johnson to negotiate on behalf of the North West.

— Andy Burnham (@andyburnhammp) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/andyburnhammp/status/794456030323343360]enltrThat is why I support Parliament's right to challenge our right-wing Government & get a deal that works for all of the UK, not just London.

— Andy Burnham (@andyburnhammp) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/andyburnhammp/status/794456895436292096]enltrA sovereign Parliament and an independent Judiciary were surely two of the Great British institutions that Brexit was supposed to protect?

— Owen Smith (@OwenSmith\_MP) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/OwenSmith\_MP/status/794449034425540608]enltrWait til Brexiters realise that Brexit means British judges applying British laws in British courts...

— Wes Streeting MP (@wesstreeting) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/wesstreeting/status/794452689488908288]block-time published-time 8.56am GMT

The former deputy prime minister Nick Clegg has said the Liberal Democrats will press for amendments to the article 50 bill to ensure that ministers pursue a soft Brexit and guarantee that the public have a say on the final deal.

He told Today that as the government had failed to spell out what Brexit means, “parliament now needs to help the government fill in the gaps”.

A bill will be presented to parliament which can of course, like all legislation, be amended. We will seek, with other parties, in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords to amend the legislation, such that parliament would say to government that it should pursue a soft Brexit, not a hard Brexit and that there should be some means by which the British people can have a say on the final deal when the negotiations with the European Union are finally completed.

Peers in the House of Lords will pursue exactly the same approach.

enltrIn an intelligent political world the gov would have made this decision, not a court. We now need a coherent #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] plan that works for all

— Nick Clegg (@nick\_clegg) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/nick\_clegg/status/794127611358310400] (@nick\_clegg) Theresa Villiers , the former Northern Ireland secretary and a prominent leave supporter, said the government should resist such amendments:

Parliament cannot expect the government to set out its negotiating hand because that would not be in the national interest, nor should it constrain the flexibility of the government to negotiate on our behalf to get the best deal.

Douglas Carswell , Ukip’s only MP, has insisted that Brexit is going to happen – even if it takes another general election. In a blogpost this morning he writes [http://www.talkcarswell.com/home/brexit-is-going-to-happen-come-what-may/3147] :

I receive a lot of angry emails from my constituents about these naked attempts to reverse the referendum result. The more obstructionism we see, the harder it is to reassure them that their votes won’t be subverted. If the prime minister has to call an election on article 50, so be it. Given that she has an 18 point lead in the polls, I doubt she’s quaking at the prospect. But obstructionist remainers should think very carefully about what that election will be like.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.28am GMT

block-time published-time 8.50am GMT

So the main story today is that the prime minister is due to telephone Jean-Claude Juncker , the president of the European commission, to say she still plans to trigger article 50 by the end of March. But senior Tories have welcomed the high court ruling as a boost to parliamentary sovereignty and signalled that it may delay the process.

The Conservative peer Lady Patience Wheatcroft told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme it would be impossible to trigger article 50 by the end of March:

I think it is only right to delay triggering article 50 until we have a clearer idea of what it actually entails. And I think there will be others in the Lords who feel the same way. How many I think it is hard to say, but I think there could be a majority who would be in favour of delaying article 50 until we know a little more about what lies ahead.

The communities secretary, Sajid Javid , said the ruling was “unacceptable”. Speaking on BBC Question Time, he said the decision was “an attempt to frustrate the will of the British people”. But Jesse Norman, a junior minister in the Department of Industry, appeared to welcome the ruling by tweeting that it was “a reminder that we live in a parliamentary and not a popular democracy”.

enltrWhatever one thinks of the Art 50 judgement, it is a reminder that we live in a parliamentary and not a popular democracy 1/2

— Jesse Norman (@Jesse\_Norman) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jesse\_Norman/status/794439003416199168]enltr2/2 and whatever people's views on Brexit, judicial independence is absolutely fundamental to democracy and the rule of law.

— Jesse Norman (@Jesse\_Norman) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jesse\_Norman/status/794439674026754048]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.29am GMT

block-time published-time 8.25am GMT

Here are a few Guardian articles on yesterday’s ruling which are worth reading for further information and analysis.

First, we have an interview with Gina Miller [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/gina-miller-the-woman-behind-the-article-50-legal-challenge], the businesswoman at the centre of the legal challenge against the government. Miller says the landmark case was motivated by her fear that the UK faced a “treacherous future”, and admits she knew the ruling would leave her unpopular with many voters. She has been exposed to vitriol and even death threats because of her challenge.

Victorious Gina Miller reacts to article 50 ruling: ‘this case was about process, not politics’ – video [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/nov/03/victorious-gina-miller-reacts-to-article-50-ruling-video]The Guardian’s political editor Heather Stewart The Guardian’s political editor warns remainers not to let the high court decision raise their hopes [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/ardent-remainers-dont-let-high-court-decision-get-hopes-up]. She says Brexit itself was not on trial – but Theresa May ’s bullish approach to it, and ultimately her political judgment.

Martin Kettle writes that after this ruling, MPs must seize their moment [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/03/brexit-ruling-mps-seize-moment-theresa-may-eu-plans-parliament]. In many respects it is to parliament’s discredit that it has done so little to force the issue and protect its rights, he says.

And check out our report on Nicola Sturgeon saying the Scottish government will “actively consider” whether it will formally join in the next legal battle [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/nicola-sturgeon-scotland-mps-joining-article-50-legal-battle-brexit-high-court].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.31am GMT

block-time published-time 8.10am GMT

Last night, a portion of the British media, unhappy with the high court’s decision, ran front pages attacking the judges behind the ruling [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/04/enemies-of-the-people-british-newspapers-react-judges-brexit-ruling]. The Daily Mail called them “enemies of the people”. The Express said the country “faces a crisis as grave as anything since the dark days when Churchill vowed we would fight them on the beaches”. The Sun, meanwhile, took a swipe at the “loaded foreign elite” who have defied the will of the British people. Slightly over the top? As they say in court, the jury’s out …

enltrDAILY MAIL: Enemies of the people #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/n5ynFalnEa [https://t.co/n5ynFalnEa]

— Neil Henderson (@hendopolis) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/hendopolis/status/794305335158853634]enltrHere's a reasoned piece of journalism (not): pic.twitter.com/Td2dZ3Yz8S [https://t.co/Td2dZ3Yz8S]enltrHere's a reasoned piece of journalism (not):

— James Turner QC (@JamesTurner37) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JamesTurner37/status/794319772636876800]enltrThis is getting completely out of hand. If The Daily Mail speaks of Judges as enemies of the people, democracy is being undermined. Shame!

— Nigel Pascoe QC (@nigel\_pascoe) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/nigel\_pascoe/status/794310001754066946]enltr"We want UK judges deciding on UK legal matters!"

- UK judges decide on UK legal matters.

"ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE!"

— Law and policy (@Law\_and\_policy) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Law\_and\_policy/status/794326509741895680]enltrThe opening paragraph is quite possibly the biggest overreaction in newspaper history. pic.twitter.com/VgUj6vr5bW [https://t.co/VgUj6vr5bW]enltrThe opening paragraph is quite possibly the biggest overreaction in newspaper history.

— Gary Lineker (@GaryLineker) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GaryLineker/status/794309267314642944]For a period, the Mail online also ran this headline:

enltrIf the worst they can say about you is you're an OPENLY GAY EX-OLYMPIC FENCER TOP JUDGE, you've basically won life. pic.twitter.com/j8tUTjODuP [https://t.co/j8tUTjODuP]

— J.K. Rowling (@jk\_rowling) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jk\_rowling/status/794217086599962624]enltrTHE SUN: Who do EU think you are? #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] think you are? #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] think you are? pic.twitter.com/WlOx5URDZa [https://t.co/WlOx5URDZa] think you are?

— Neil Henderson (@hendopolis) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/hendopolis/status/794309930635448321]The Telegraph opted for a double whammy of evil blue filter and accompanying opinion piece by the Brexit king of Britain:

enltr"Do they look evil enough?"

"I was thinking the same."

"Try a blue filter."

"There we go." pic.twitter.com/wk1EChkTzP [https://t.co/wk1EChkTzP]

— Jack Tindale (@JackTindale) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JackTindale/status/794301117765210113]The campaign to Stop Funding Hate is now calling out advertisers featured in this specific edition of the Daily Mail.

enltrTomorrow @StopFundingHate [https://twitter.com/StopFundingHate] will be calling out every single Daily Mail advertiser featured in \*this\* edition. Watch this space! pic.twitter.com/bhhx49BEcJ [https://t.co/bhhx49BEcJ] will be calling out every single Daily Mail advertiser featured in \*this\* edition. Watch this space!

— Stop Funding Hate (@StopFundingHate) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/StopFundingHate/status/794323852226678791]The Criminal Bar Association said the papers’ reaction was an attack on the rule of law.

enltrToday's a bad day for the constitution

Not because of #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] case but attacks on independent judiciary & rule of law pic.twitter.com/f1ohqkGXNi [https://t.co/f1ohqkGXNi] case but attacks on independent judiciary & rule of law

— The CBA (@TheCriminalBar) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/TheCriminalBar/status/794335421522132993]And to add fuel to fire, those pesky experts are at it again …

enltrEditors of @Telegraph [https://twitter.com/Telegraph] might want to ask (fired) colleagues in Hungary or Turkey what its like to run a paper in country w/o rule of law. https://t.co/GJnRSj22JK [https://t.co/GJnRSj22JK] might want to ask (fired) colleagues in Hungary or Turkey what its like to run a paper in country w/o rule of law.

— R. Daniel Kelemen (@rdanielkelemen) November 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rdanielkelemen/status/794303829764427777]enltrThe Telegraph versus Walter Bagehot https://t.co/v7XXtL2Dw8 [https://t.co/v7XXtL2Dw8]enltrThe Telegraph versus Walter Bagehot

— Jonn Elledge (@JonnElledge) November 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JonnElledge/status/794339684474306569]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.33am GMT

block-time published-time 7.47am GMT

Morning summary Good morning and welcome to our daily politics live blog. Andy Sparrow is off today, so my colleagues and I will be keeping you up to date with all the latest developments in the government’s fight to trigger article 50 by the end of March.

Yesterday, Theresa May suffered a massive setback in what was the most important development in the Brexit story since her election as prime minister, after a high court ruled that parliament should legislate on invoking article 50. That means there needs to be a proper bill, passed through the Commons and the Lords, with MPs given a chance to amend it. Up until now, May has refused to give parliament a vote on the terms of Brexit in order to retain as much control as possible.

To jog your memory of A-level politics, power in a democratic state such as Britain is conventionally shared by three bodies: the executive, which rules and proposes laws; the legislature, which passes laws; and the judiciary, which determines whether laws are being obeyed. Yesterday’s landmark ruling means MPs and peers have for the first time got a strong chance of shaping the start of the Brexit process.

Some key things that you need to know:

\* The government plans to appeal against the ruling, but informed commentators believe it is likely to lose again.

\* The chances of Brexit being overturned are still minimal, as most MPs and peers who voted to remain accept that the result of the referendum should be honoured.

\* The chances of a soft Brexit have increased significantly. If there is a bill, parliament will have the chance to exercise leverage.

\* There is a real possibility that May will not be able to trigger article 50 before the end of March, as the need to legislate could cause a delay.

\* We are more likely to see an early general election than we were this time yesterday - a vote some commentators have dubbed “the Brexit election”.

Today, the prime minister is due to speak to the European commission president, Jean-Claude Juncker , and tell him that she is going to press ahead with her plan to trigger article 50 by the end of March.

If you’ve seen anything you think we ought to cover, I’ll be reading your comments below the line, or you can reach me on Twitter @nadiakhomami [https://twitter.com/nadiakhomami].

Related: Article 50 ruling leaves Theresa May facing potential MP revolt [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/ruling-on-brexit-opens-way-to-mps-revolt]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.40am GMT

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Leave voters in Oldham feel let down by the decision to give MPs a say on Brexit, although some locals spoke of their relief

Maurice Wojtowycz, whose father was Ukranian, has been selling baked potatoes in Oldham town centre for the past 20 years. Most of his custom comes from young Asian men and women in headscarves.

He voted to leave the European Union due to fears about mass **immigration**. As he understood it he had done his duty, had his say, his vote had counted and Britain would Brexit. But Thursday’s high court ruling[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/parliament-must-trigger-brexit-high-court-rules] indicated that politicians could have the final say on the referendum and hold the power to trigger Britain’s departure from the EU. It has left some in Oldham feeling “betrayed”.

The north-west town was named by the Office for National Statistics this year as the most deprived area in England. The skyline is still dominated by the cotton mills that were once the powerhouses of the north. In the 1960s there were more than 300 working mills but the town has been in a steady decline ever since. Now many of those mills sit derelict and in disrepair – a stark reminder of Oldham’s lost industry and of why more than 60% of the borough voted to leave.

Wojtowycz says the judges’ ruling[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/-three-judges-mps-vote-brexit-article-50-high-court] will only increase anti-Westminster feeling in the town. “It’s always the people with a lot of money sat in London who think they know best for us. For once I honestly thought that we were being listened to and the will of the British public would prevail – but obviously not.

Related: 'I am fed up of the elite ignoring us': leave voters on article 50 ruling[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/04/leave-voters-on-article-50-ruling-brexit]

“By doing this, what they are saying is that our concerns about the EU are not valid. What we think doesn’t count. There are genuine problems here with mass **immigration** and a feeling that we have always been stifled by the EU in our courts – but when we say this we are branded racist. And we are told others know better than us – this is meant to be a democracy. It surely doesn’t feel like it right now.”

Patricia Binns, 64, does not share Wojtowycz’s political sentiment as she voted to remain, but does agree that politicians should bow to the will of the people. “Even though I wanted to stay in the EU and could appreciate the benefits of everything the EU has to offer, I don’t agree with the ruling,” she said. “It was the people that decided and it is not for the politicians to try and reverse this decision. You have to respect the way the people voted.

“And then of course there is all this money they are going to waste trying to stop it. We just need to get a plan in place now that the vote has taken place rather than scramble around trying to delay it.”

But others in Oldham are relieved by the decision, which is likely to slow the pace of Britain’s departure from the EU.

Eddie Wolinski, 66, who is of Polish descent, said: “I am in favour of the judgment. With Brexit people wanted power back within our courts and this is an example of that.

“I would like the decision to leave to be reversed. Since the vote it has been a very worrying time. Foreigners have been blamed for everything and it just doesn’t make sense. People were blaming foreigners for problems in their own lives. I would like to see an educated decision being made about the EU.”

Stallholder Mohammed Asad, 48, a Pakistani **immigrant** who lived in Belgium for 20 years before moving to the UK, says since the town voted leave he has been subjected to racist attacks.

“For me this is a good thing. My life changed after the vote and all of a sudden I became someone to target. We are not here to steal jobs or create any problems. We would like to live side by side with everyone else.

“The judges have made this decision and it is the right one. The problem here is not foreigners, and the problem with the EU is not **immigration**. We hope that maybe now things may go back to how they were or change for the better.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERERefugees** have been promised shelter, food and support, and help with asylum applications by the French authorities

French authorities have cleared nearly 4,000 people from Paris’s biggest makeshift migrant camp, insisting those moved would be given shelter, food and support, and helped with asylum applications.

In a pre-dawn operation, police sealed off the sprawling ad-hoc shanty town of tents and cardboard shelters that stretches for almost 1,000 metres (3,300 ft) from under the arches of the Stalingrad Métro bridge. A fleet of 80 buses took men, women, children and groups of unaccompanied minors out of the area.

The operation was jointly organised by the state and Paris city authorities. Officials said families and those considered vulnerable would be housed in and around the capital, while lone male migrants would be taken to “reception centres” around the country.

Humanitarian organisations said people were not being told where they were going and that they feared for those not eligible for asylum in France. However, those who jostled to board buses seemed relieved – even happy – to be going.

“It would be good to know where we are being taken, but it will be better than sleeping here,” said one woman, who did not wish to be named.

The loudest protests came from French campaigners, who shouted insults at police and City Hall chiefs, but the evacuation passed off without violence. Earlier in the week, fights had broken out [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/31/anger-paris-police-surprise-migrant-camp-clearance-metro] as tensions rose.

Hundreds of CRS riot police carrying shields and batons had arrived at the ad hoc camp at about 6am.

They found the camp’s occupants waiting for them. Word had already gone around that the camp would be broken up in an early-morning operation, and many of those living on the street, among them Afghans, Eritreans, Sudanese and Ethiopians, had packed their few belongings into battered suitcases and plastic bags. Some even folded up their tents and stood waiting, duvets draped around their shoulders to keep out the morning chill.

The scene was already bleak; then it began to rain. Locals and humanitarian organisations handed out baguettes and biscuits to women and toddlers, who were given priority on the buses.

Marine, 28, an actor living nearby, said she had been visiting the Stalingrad camp for six months. “It wasn’t possible to just sit at home while there was all this misery around me. I felt I had to do something. Many of the migrants were people my own age and we formed a strong bond. Today, I’m afraid for them.”

The mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, turned up to support the clearance and spoke to a group of Eritrean teenagers, standing out of the rain in a bus shelter waiting to be evacuated.

“Do you have houses for us?” one 16-year-old asked in broken English. The mayor reassured them they would be given a roof over their heads.

How on earth can **refugees** or migrants think about their futures if they've had no sleep and nothing to eat?

Anne Hidalgo, mayor of Paris

Hidalgo said breaking up the squalid open-air camp was essential. Finding accommodation for the thousands camped at Stalingrad would enable the authorities to start with a clean slate and control the flow of new **refugees** in the French capital – estimated at 80 a day – in a “humane manner”, she added. A new reception centre will open in the north of Paris next week.

“Paris attracts people, but the problem is one that the whole of France needs to deal with. We cannot have camps of this nature in the city. We cannot have people living in such dirty, undignified circumstances,” Hidalgo told the Guardian.

“These people need a proper place to sleep. How on earth can **refugees** or migrants think about their futures if they’ve had no sleep, or been sleeping on the street, and have had nothing to eat. Once they have a roof over their heads, they can reflect on what they will do.”

She also praised local residents for their “patience and solidarity”.

Alain Guillo, who lives in the 18th arrondissement, said residents and **refugees** had existed in “deplorable health conditions” in recent months.

The number of migrants living rough increased to a record number after the closure of the Calais camp last week[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/27/calais-camp-police-detain-young-people-amid-chaotic-scenes]. Despite around 30 attempts to move people on and clear the area in the last 18 months, they have always returned.

“In the end, it grew so large that it was no longer a **refugee** camp in a district, it was a district inside a **refugee** camp. What we wanted was dignity for all: residents and **refugees**,” Guillo said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**To do what they’re doing on this scale, and still score hit after hit, is quite the achievement

The Palace Hotel building has loomed over Manchester’s Oxford Street since the 1890s, a glum, Gothic monument to late-Victorian commerce. There’s no doubting the magnificence of the place: the former **Refuge** Assurance Company has soaring ceilings, ornate cupolas, acres of lugubrious, decorative tiling. But it always struck me as the hero of its own horror story, smelling for ever of ancient cabbage and gravy, and staffed by grey-skinned retainers in league with ghouls ready to pounce as you slept fitfully in your slightly mouldy bed.

Brrr. But no more: the exterior is still as powerfully gloomy as ever, but inside a transformation has taken place. As part of a multimillion pound restoration of the whole site, a new restaurant and bar have been created. When I first heard that Luke Cowdrey and Justin Crawford, aka DJs The Unabombers[https://www.facebook.com/unabombers/] and owners of West Didsbury’s neighbourhood favourite Volta[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2015/jun/12/olta-anchester-restaurant-review-marina-oloughlin], were going into the Palace, I thought: nuh-huh. This felt wrong, all wrong. Their signature is small, friendly, slightly batty – no way would that work in this cavernous space. But I couldn’t have been more wrong: it’s a jaw-dropping, dazzling tour de force, from the glittering bar with its many on-tap ales and beers and truly fine cocktails, to the twinkling, fairylit Winter Garden. The **Refuge**[http://www.refugemcr.co.uk/] is now less scary old crone and more dramatic, drop-dead glamourpuss. A vague echo of the Overlook Hotel from the Shining[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\_Stanley\_Hotel#The\_Shining.2C\_by\_Stephen\_King] only adds to the vaguely spooky allure.

Anyone who has eaten at the original will recognise the Volta style, careering all over the globe with decks in tow. They talk the local produce talk, but fling it about with the louchest abandon: South American ceviches, Middle Eastern mutabal, pak choi, chimichurri, preserved lemon – the whole polyglot shebang. Lamb shawarma, a Volta stalwart, brings a pile of meat with a massive thwack of flavour, some shreds pleasingly biltong-chewy, others moist and mutton-ripe, with a pool of harissa and thick, cooling yoghurt: no looker, but an appealing brute of a thing. Cooking fish for this size of operation is a brave move, but the kitchen nails it: whole sea bass is fragrant with lime, ginger and coriander, its belly pregnant with pine nuts, its cooking perfectly judged. A fat slab of flawless, crisp-skinned hake comes on a black “daal” made not of lentils, but of black-eyed beans, all murky with masala and topped with shards of fresh ginger. Stout bruisers of salt cod croquettes are crisp outside and fluffy with emulsified fish and mash within, plus a properly pongy aïoli flecked with parsley on the side.

There are nods to the US: buttermilk chicken (not hugely crisp, but succulent, brined meat) comes with cast-iron pot of cornbread seething with fruity, fiery jalapeño butter. And pear and hazelnut tatin, its crisp edges tarred with caramelised fruit juices, is a clever rethinking of a classic, its deceptively soothing espresso custard a bullet straight to the cranium.

Related: Grafene, Manchester: It breathes ‘massive, tumescent budget’ with every tile[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/aug/19/grafene-manchester-restaurant-review-marina-oloughlin]

Yes, there are teething issues: food seems to come from far, far away, occasionally turning up the wrong side of tepid; seasoning can be a little off. And there’s a truly lamentable ice-cream sandwich: cookies should be gooey enough to almost cuddle the ice-cream, not dry and dusty. But to do what they’re doing on this scale, and still score hit after hit, is quite the achievement. We’re seated at probably the worst table in the house, marooned beside a glaringly lit service corridor whose door chills us with every swing. The fact that I still feel well disposed to the place is testament to what the guys (with Robbie Bargh from the estimable Gorgeous Group[http://gorgeousgroup.com/gorgeous-family/robbie-bargh/] ) have done here. I’m even turning a blind eye to the fact that Cowdrey and Crawford are described as “curators”, which, for me, is quite something.

This is the kind of opulent space that, in other cities, would be chilly and exclusive; there are squads of the inevitable scenesters, sure, but also families with babies, balding, middle-aged businessmen and even a few fabulously coiffed pensioners. There’s a daily People’s Lunch for only £7.50.

“The Glamour Of Manchester” declares a revolutionary-style mural over the glazed-tile back wall. I can only agree: the Volta duo have tamed this monster of a place, this beast, and turned it into an absolute beauty.

• **Refuge** by Volta[http://www.refugemcr.co.uk/] The **Refuge**, Oxford Street, Manchester M60, 0161-233 5151. Open all week, noon-3pm, 5-10.30pm (11pm Sat, 10pm Sun). About £30 a head, plus drinks and service.

Food 7/10

Atmosphere 9/10

Value for money 7/10

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WhatsApp diplomacy is taking off as messaging app becomes vital tool for tactics, huddles, policy talk - and banter

When the world’s nations sit down to talk nowadays, there is a distinct difference to the way diplomacy is done. Influence is no longer defined only by special relationships and old alliances, but which WhatsApp group you are invited into.

The rise of WhatsApp diplomacy is transforming the negotiating chamber. There are countless groups of allies and virtual huddles, exchanges over policy statements and fine print, and fair amounts of banter and even emojis (Vladimir Putin is referred to by widespread use of a grey **alien** avatar).

“You can form small groups of like-minded allies, take photos of annotated documents, ask people what they think without the whole room knowing,” a senior western diplomat said.

The tool is useful for communicating with allies who might not be sitting close to them, diplomats say, as well as for agreeing negotiating tactics during difficult sessions and for organising break-out huddles in a way that avoids offending those left out.

One notable recent example of WhatsApp summitry occurred at last month’s breakthrough talks in Kigali, Rwanda, about banning HFCs[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/oct/15/hfc-greenhouse-gases-emissions-coolant]. At these talks the instant messaging tool owned by Facebook was used widely to coordinate meetings, discuss strategy during talks and drum up support for different policy positions, said a consultant who was present.

The adviser said the kinds of exchanges included: “Let’s meet outside to talk about x,” or “Make sure you interrupt now,” or “Speak at the plenary in support of x.”

“You might have a country making a proposition and then there’ll be another opposing proposition, so you’d line up your allies on WhatsApp to say ‘make sure you express your view’ so there’s a lot of support. And if there are a lot of voices in favour of a proposition it can get through.”

The consultant first started seeing WhatsApp used at high-level diplomatic events two years ago but said that recently she has seen more diplomats and lobbyists using it, because of the availability of Wi-Fi and the app’s convenience.

“You don’t have to leave the room to have a chat ‘outside’,” the consultant said. “It allows some discretion if you don’t have to be seen grouping in a corner.”

Used by a billion people worldwide, WhatsApp is tailor-made for modern diplomacy. It is as fast and intuitive as texting while the group feature, by which several users can share messages, allows for the formation of fluid informal alliances. And it is secure, with end-to-end encryption since April this year.

“You can send a more secure message through WhatsApp now than most government information systems,” said Jon Alterman, a former state department policy planning staff official now senior vice-president at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

WhatsApp use has flourished particularly in multilateral institutions such as the UN and at EU headquarters, where there are large numbers of diplomats needing to communicate rapidly and secretly. Furthermore a lot of business in these international settings is done inside large buildings with deep basements where there is no mobile phone reception but strong Wi-Fi signals, favouring WhatsApp over texting.

An internal report[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/09/internal-report-slams-culture-in-uk-foreign-office] at the UK’s Foreign Office this year found that rather than make use of specially tailored government encryption, many British diplomats use WhatsApp to discuss sensitive issues.

There is a WhatsApp group for British diplomats working around the world on Syria issues, for example.

“Even 10 years ago the standard form of diplomatic lobbying would often start with a note verbale, a heavily scripted and formulaic diplomatic message sent from an embassy to a foreign ministry,” said the report’s author, Tom Fletcher, a former British ambassador to Lebanon.

“The ambassador would then wait for the response, and follow up with a meeting or occasionally a telephone call. Now, all of that can be short circuited by text message – or, more favoured by diplomats as it is seen as more secure – WhatsApp.

“Most of my day-to-day communication with Lebanese leaders was done in this way. Of course there is no substitute for the rapport and trust built up by face-to-face encounters. But a huge amount of diplomacy can now be handled in this way, and any ambassador who doesn’t have the ability to WhatsApp key ministers will quickly fall behind.”

Fletcher, the author of Naked Diplomacy, that calls for a new generation of “digital interventionists” abroad, added: “The smartphone is now as essential a part of the modern diplomat’s armoury as courage, patience and a strong stomach. But it is also a threat to the diplomat – heaven forbid that leaders should start WhatsApping each other direct, without needing to go through their diplomatic envoys.”

The challenge with text is people read into what’s not there, and miss what is there

Jon Alterman

“When you are sitting around a table, negotiating a document, you are not necessarily going to be sitting next to like-minded countries. This is a way to communicate while the negotiations are under way,” a senior diplomat said.

“It can be used for practical organisational stuff, to say we’re meeting in a huddle outside this room,” the diplomat said. “Or for lighthearted venting, taking the piss out of a colleague or sending around a picture of someone who’s fallen asleep.”

WhatsApp conversations are increasingly punctuated by emojis, which are evolving as a diplomatic shorthand. The full array of flags are ideal for that purpose as are the dove, and of course, the shaking hands, symbolising a done deal. Vladimir Putin is frequently embodied as a grey **alien** face emoji.

In Brussels, WhatsApp is used for organising some of the EU’s many meetings. Messaging services have been used by officials for planning an out-of-town meeting for 28 national ambassadors or getting an EU leader from summit table to press podium without any glitches. One embassy started using WhatsApp after the Brussels attacks[https://www.theguardian.com/world/brussels-attacks] as a way of sharing information quickly.

However flexible, informal and secret WhatsApp may be, Alterman argues that no messaging system can ever be a substitute for eyeball-to-eyeball diplomacy.

“It still matters if you are in the room with someone. It’s hard to read body language from a text message. Text doesn’t communicate intonation at all,” he said. “The challenge of text-based communication is that people read into it what’s not there, and miss what is there.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The industry’s trade body believed Vote Leave’s promise that chefs from the Indian subcontinent would be welcome if the UK left the EU. More fool them

On the pin-board in my office in parliament is a letter from the BCA, the Bangladesh Caterers Association, “established 1960” as the letterhead points out, to fight for the rights of Indian restaurant workers – the nearest thing we have to a curry trade union. It thanks me for raising the “ curry crisis[https://amp.twimg.com/v/c76f5314-6c7c-4e34-b358-929f6b83abcf] ” in the House of Commons to George Osborne last November. At the time I lamented that two Indian eateries a week were closing[http://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/immigration-curbs-a-threat-to-thriving-curry-restaurants-a3272066.html] and declared it would be a national tragedy[http://parliamentlive.tv/event/index/20a8bef5-ab08-455c-9183-7aecd54e1ea2?in=15:04:18] if this much-loved staple of the UK high street were to disappear[https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2015-12-09/debates/15120945000028/Engagements#contribution-15120945000141].

A year later it seems so many more tragedies have unfolded – not least the referendum result. Osborne and David Cameron have gone; the latter has completely left the crime scene, and the leave supporting BCA, furious that it has been sold down the river by the Brexiteers[https://www.facebook.com/Oli.Khan.UK/videos/1067523666627127/], is spitting feathers in the FT and Mirror. I hate to say “I told you so” but we remainers were always sceptical when the pro-leave side promised that a vote to leave the EU would mean subcontinental chefs would be welcomed with open arms[http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/brexit-backing-curry-industry-furious-9190224#ICID=sharebar\_twitter]. Alas, the curry unions bought it.

The Economist has observed “The curry house is a British institution[http://www-economist-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/britain/21588077-future-curry-houses-looks-grim-giving-up-gosht] ”. At the high watermark of New Labour, Robin Cook declared chicken tikka masala was the national dish. Of course it is British Bangladeshis, not Indians, who are the main engine of the Indian restaurant industry, providing the UK’s balti, jalfrezi and korma dishes among others. I’m a product of the trade: my late father had two tandoori establishments at one time, and toiled tirelessly to support us. Even my mum did her share of unsociable hours for the Huqs’ curry career.

The contribution of the curry trade to the exchequer is substantial; it is estimated to be worth £5bn to the British economy, and annually employs 200,000 people – but it has staffing problems[http://www.goldstarchefs.co.uk/recruitment/]. The British Bangla population is now coming of age and branching out – the nation’s most famous Bengali is probably Nadiya Hussain, last year’s Great British Bake Off winner[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/14/bake-off-nadiya-hussain-bbc-paul-hollywood-channel-4], a title attained not by making naan but cupcakes. My siblings and I didn’t fancy working in the family business – one became a Blue Peter presenter, while I became a lecturer and am now an MP. Following a familiar **immigrant** trajectory, there’s also been diasporic shift from the inner cities to the leafier suburbs.

Back in 1971 George Harrison sang “Bangladesh, sure looks like a mess”. This description now applies to the situation unleashed by the self-destructive decision to leave the EU following the monumental miscalculated gamble of the referendum. Government back-of-a-fag-packet **immigration** policy aiming to reduce **immigration** down to the tens of thousands is not only a flop but it’s unworkable. Constrained by dogma, the Tories are intent on aping Ukip rather than addressing genuine skills shortages in our economy be it in fruit-picking, IT or curry cooking. Another unwelcome byproduct of a vote that centred on **immigration**is the attendant climate of emboldened xenophobia and rocketing hate-crime – and we haven’t even left the EU yet.

When I was growing up we were all Asians together. Now faith seems to be more clearly asserted, and those who are mixed race make up an ever-bigger demographic. No party can take Asian votes for granted. Perhaps it was for this reason that Priti Patel was chosen to woo the subcontinental chefs during the referendum campaign. On the Today programme and elsewhere curry leaders accordingly came out for Leave, believing this was the only way to save their industry from extinction. I doubt that the curry constituency could have swung the result, but it was sorely misled.

This week, addressing the Commons from the opposition frontbench for the first time as newly promoted shadow home affairs minister, I asked about that promise. I wanted to know when we could expect the red carpet to be rolled out for curry cooks from the subcontinent. I got a big fat raspberry. Theresa May’s **immigration**minister declared that there are no plans to deviate from the long-stated strategy to have our own home-grown curry chefs rather than to import them. Just as Osborne said 12 months ago. No change there then. The pledge had as much value as the NHS money promised on the side of that infamous bus.

My office has also received an invitation to the glitzy British Curry awards. This year it promises the Right Hon Priti Patel at the event as chief guest. It’s not made the pin-board, even if we so-called “remoaners” have had some wind in our sails after yesterday’s high court judgement[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/parliament-must-trigger-brexit-high-court-rules]. I’m giving the bash a miss – Brexit and its entanglement with curry has left a bit of a sour aftertaste.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Advocates allege the man was removed at night without warning and without being able to contact legal representatives

The **immigration** department has secretly deported a man to Nauru from a Melbourne detention centre, according to lawyers and advocates.

The man, who is understood to have been granted **refugee** status, was allegedly removed from the Mita facility on Thursday night without warning and without being able to contact his legal representatives.

It’s believed he was in Australia for medical treatment, but it’s not known if that treatment had ended.

Despite being in a similar situation, he is not part of the cohort of asylum seekers and **refugees** who have a commitment from the federal government that 72 hours’ notice would be given before any deportation[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/feb/03/high-court-upholds-australias-right-to-detain-asylum-seekers-offshore].

Legal cases have been filed on behalf of those individuals and the government gave a formal undertaking in the proceedings before the high court that there would be three days’ warning given to legal teams of any planned deportation.

“A decent and compassionate government which respects the rule of law doesn’t choose to secretively deport people found to be **refugees** in the middle of the night without any transparency, due process or access to legal advice,” said Daniel Webb, director of legal advocacy at the Human Rights Law Centre[http://hrlc.org.au/] (HRLC).

Webb said the man was not a client of theirs, but did have legal representation.

Related: AMA says attempts to help asylum seekers on Nauru frustrated by **immigration** department[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/04/ama-says-attempts-to-help-asylum-seekers-on-nauru-frustrated-by-immigration-department]

The Department of **Immigration** told Guardian Australia it did not comment on individual transfers.

The HRLC is representing 320 people currently in Australia after being transferred from Nauru for medical care.

Webb said the shock deportation, coupled with the government’s discussion of permanent visa bans on **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat] this week, had distressed those on Nauru and Manus Island, and in Australian detention.

“There are kids in our classrooms right now who in the space of the last few days have heard [the prime minister] Malcolm Turnbull[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/malcolm-turnbull] threatening lifetime bans and now seen someone in a similar situation to them secretly deported,” he said. “They are understandably afraid and really unsettled. What are they supposed to say to their friends at school? It’s fundamentally cruel.”

Migration experts have questioned the veracity of the government’s plan[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/03/peter-duttons-sham-relationships-claim-questioned-by-migration-experts] to introduce bans on anyone who was processed as a **refugee** on Manus or Nauru from ever returning to Australia, including as tourists, on business, or as the spouse of a resident.

The **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/peter-dutton], has said the new rules are essential to stop people coming into Australia “through the back door” and entering into “sham relationships”. However, he has failed to explain why current screening processes are not adequate.

Labor has ridiculed the proposal and criticised the government for changing its messaging from day to day, but refused to rule out supporting it as it had not been provided with any legislation to assess.

Related: Could a mild outbreak of humanity be behind the Coalition's cynical new asylum politics? | Katharine Murphy[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/could-a-mild-outbreak-of-humanity-be-behind-the-coalitions-cynical-new-asylum-politics]

On Friday morning, the leader of the House, Christopher Pyne, said the legislation would be released “as soon as it’s ready to be introduced, because it’s pretty straightforward”.

The government has maintained it is still in talks with several countries to act as third-party settlement destinations for the **refugees** processed offshore, but released no details.

There are suggestions the US and Canada may be involved. New Zealand’s prime minister, John Key, said there had been no new discussion with the Australian government and that New Zealand would not support the creation of “different classes of citizens”.

Key said Australia had “no obvious appetite”[http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/85913708/john-key-nz-wont-back-different-classes-of-citizens-to-allow-australia-refugee-deal] to take his country’s offer to resettle 150 **refugees** from Nauru and it was “increasingly unlikely” an agreement would be reached.

On Friday, Turnbull also defended the government’s slow processing of the 12,000 Syrian **refugees** it had pledged to resettle and said it was because it was “taking very thorough security checks”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Australian Medical Association says department’s processes complicated and lack transparency

Attempts by Australia’s peak medical association to assist sick asylum seekers detained on Nauru continue to be stymied by complicated **immigration** processes that “lack transparency”, a Senate inquiry has been told.

In September the Senate committee on legal and constitutional affairs launched an inquiry[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/13/the-nauru-files-labor-to-call-for-parliamentary-inquiry-into-abuse-allegations] into allegations of abuse, self-harm and neglect of asylum seekers in Australia’s offshore processing centres after the Guardian’s publication of the Nauru files. [https://www.theguardian.com/news/series/nauru-files]

In its submission to the inquiry, published on Friday, the Australian Medical Association said it was routinely contacted by asylum seekers with concerns about their healthcare but the process required by the department for them to assist was “complicated and lacks transparency”.

Related: Peter Dutton's 'sham relationships' claim questioned by migration experts[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/03/peter-duttons-sham-relationships-claim-questioned-by-migration-experts]

In several cases the AMA claimed the department provided advice on a person’s condition that contradicted their own information.

The AMA was also concerned there was “insufficient follow-up and reporting” from the department after it raised a number of concerning individual cases directly with it and the chief medical officer of Australian Border Force, Dr John Brayley.

“While the department does provide brief responses on some asylum seekers, the AMA is not always able to ascertain whether quality and appropriate health services, management and treatment is being provided as there is no independent, transparent body of clinical experts that can verify or report on this,” the submission said.

Among the cases cited, the AMA said it had contacted the department several times with concerns about the physical and mental health of one woman who had been in detention for more than three years and was possibly at risk of suicide.

According to the AMA the department’s response to its concerns included a finding that: “Whilst [redacted] did state that she continues to hear voices, these are much less than previously and the voices did not contain any derogatory or command hallucinations.”

The department increased the woman’s anti-psychotic medication and recommended another review in a month’s time, according to the response.

“At the time of writing this submission, the AMA has no further information about this asylum seeker, whether she continues to self-harm or if her hallucinations and ‘voices’ indicates more severe mental illness requiring specialist psychiatric care.”

In another case, first revealed at a conference in February[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/feb/21/prolonged-detention-is-state-sanctioned-child-abuse-says-head-of-doctors-group] by the then AMA president, Prof Brian Owler, a 70-year-old Rohingya man was brought to the organisation’s attention after he suffered extremely ill health on Manus Island. Owler recommended to Brayley that the man needed immediate healthcare or he was “likely to die”.

After being told that a transfer request “should have been put in train” the previous week, the AMA received no further information.

Another asylum seeker held on Manus Island spoke with an endocrinologist via teleconference in January. According to an account given to the AMA, the specialist hadn’t seen the man’s records and forgot to ask him about his symptoms until the man mentioned it.

When the AMA subsequently received the man’s records, they were on a password protected disc with no password supplied.

Related: Cory Bernardi warns One Nation will rise if migration not halved[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/03/cory-bernardi-warns-one-nation-will-rise-if-migration-not-halved]

The AMA said the cases listed were “some, but by no means all” of the asylum seekers who asked for its help and it acknowledge not all information could be independently verified.

However, it said: “The AMA does not believe those detained on Manus and Nauru, either within detention facilities or within the community, are able to access a healthcare service of the same standard that a person in the Australian mainland would receive.”

It said **refugees** and asylum seekers on Nauru were still not receiving adequate medical care and it reiterated calls for a national statutory oversight body.

In another submission to the inquiry, the Royal Australasian College of Physicians said it wasn’t consulted before the government’s recent change to the Border Force Act.

The change, made on the eve of a high court challenge, removed health practitioners from laws that made it a jailable offence to disclose information about conditions on Nauru, outside of internal channels.

The college said it received no formal communication about the change either before or after, and there remained “ambiguity” about what protections actually existed for health and medical professionals.

“The amendment to the determination was not subject to parliamentary process and does not represent a substantive legislative amendment,” it said.

The Royal Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists also called for the disclosure provisions to be repealed and recommended independent oversight, improved policies around reporting, investigating and transparency, and for allegations of abuse to be reviewed by the current royal commission into child abuse.

The inquiry is due to report in March and is taking submissions until Monday.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Leaving the EU is the greatest threat to British wellbeing since 1945. The ruling on article 50 will test the mettle of our MPs

A momentous constitutional decision was taken by the high court [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/parliament-must-trigger-brexit-high-court-rules] of England and Wales this morning. A prime minister’s absolute power to do what they like, when they like, regardless of laws and treaties, was struck down. Theresa May cannot tear up our right to be EU citizens without the authority of parliament. Those rights were bestowed by parliamentary votes in a series of treaties. She can’t high-handedly abandon them and trigger our exit from the EU without parliament’s agreement.

Judges, wisely, do not generally want to usurp the power of elected governments to govern. Laws made by judges are a poor substitute for those made by elected MPs in parliament. But this is a matter of the profoundest constitutional importance, with deep implications, controversial whichever way they had decided. They rightly pronounced that parliament is sovereign – which is what the Brexiters claimed we were voting on [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/11/we-voted-brexit-keep-parliament-sovereign-wont-be-gagged], until it no longer suited them.

What now? The government will appeal to the supreme court in December, though some suggest May should dash to the Commons immediately for a quick vote, before an as-yet hazy coalition of cross-party remainers has time to organise and solidify. If the appeal fails, will MPs galvanise? Leaving it to the unelected Lords is no answer.

Related: Will the article 50 ruling stop Brexit? | The panel [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/03/will-article-50-ruling-stop-brexit-high-court-parliament]

There are times when MPs need to rise above their party interests, their own interests and the views of their constituents. That may risk being voted out, but they may earn more respect by standing up for the national interest as best they can determine: that’s what representative democracy is for. In times of war or national crisis, defending the country from grave error, at whatever personal cost, is their duty. Brexit is the greatest threat to national wellbeing since the war, and this will test the mettle not just of individual MPs, but of the nature and purpose of a representative democratic system.

How difficult and brave that is: Labour MPs are painfully mindful that 70% of their seats voted in favour of Brexit [https://medium.com/@chrishanretty/most-labour-mps-represent-a-constituency-that-voted-leave-36f13210f5c6#.pbnipgjf2]. Raucous anger against any parliamentary attempt to let the country pause for thought is bellowed out daily by the Tory press denouncing all 48% of remain voters [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/12/daily-mail-bremoaners-brexit-mps-cbi-bbc-paul-dacre] as an anti-democratic remoaning metropolitan elite. Stifling all experts [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/09/michael-gove-experts-academics-vote] just for being experts, intimidating even the Bank of England governor [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/02/mark-carney-brexit-bolsheviks-new-target-chancellor], Mark Carney , is a bullying demagoguery that paralyses many who should speak out. A non-binding referendum, voted on amid a thicket of utterly cynical lies and promises [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/25/boris-johnson-michael-gove-eu-liars], cannot be a tombstone block to the judgment of MPs on this vital matter of national interest. It’s not anti-democratic to try to stop what so many other countries [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/21/eu-referendum-how-europeans-see-the-brexit-vote] see as an incomprehensible act of economic suicide.

Related: High court says parliament must vote on triggering article 50 - Politics live [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/03/article-50-high-court-ruling-high-court-set-to-rule-on-whether-mps-should-vote-on-triggering-article-50-politics-live]

Why does the government fight so hard against what would almost certainly be a parliament that folded instantly on an article 50 vote? Because during such a debate they would have to bring forward some kind of plan for how they will negotiate Brexit. No such plan exists, because the split cabinet [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/philip-hammonds-brexit-worries-point-to-cabinet-tensions] could not possibly agree even a vague outline to satisfy both Liam Fox and Damian Green. Even a wishlist of impossibilities would be impossible, with the demented John Redwood/Daily Express [http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/716484/brexit-britain-nissan-european-union-theresa-may-john-redwood-sunderland-eu-brussels] faction calling daily for an immediate crashing out, with no deals and no treaties.

Best news of the day came from a BBC interview with Lord Kerr, former head of the foreign office and ambassador to the US and the EU. It was he who drafted Article 50 and he says [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-37852628] : “It is not irrevocable. You can change your mind while the process is going on.”

The pound soared [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/03/bank-of-england-growth-inflation-interest-rates-brexit-business-live?page=with:block-581b12d7e4b07ceadb3a1f9d#block-581b12d7e4b07ceadb3a1f9d] following today’s high court news because markets are idiotic, shaped by punters second-guessing one another’s idiocy. This doesn’t suggest, alas, that Brexit is much closer to being reconsidered. Reality will take the pound back down, predicted to sink further with each step towards to the exit gate. Next year’s prices will rise, NIESR reckons [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-37838087], by 4%, hitting those who are “just managing” even harder.

Every day another bad effect is revealed before anything has even happened. Today reveals an acute labour shortage in the food processing industries [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/nov/02/worker-shortages-for-uk-food-industry-at-12-year-low], as east Europeans are reluctant to come here. The shrinking pound decreases the value of their pay, and they hear awful stories of racist attacks and abuse [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/05/death-arkadiusz-jozwik-post-referendum-racism-xenophobes-brexit-vote]. Without actually leaving, we are already keeping EU **immigrants** away. The damage is beginning already.

Related: High court Brexit ruling: what does it all mean? [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/high-court-brexit-ruling-what-does-it-all-mean]

The latest regreters are the £4bn curry house operators [https://www.ft.com/content/e72be378-a0ee-11e6-891e-abe238dee8e2?desktop=true], who voted out. They were lied to outright, as Priti Patel and others told them [http://www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/minister-priti-patel-quit-eu-to-save-our-curry-houses-a3251071.html] fewer EU migrants would open the door to the chefs they desperately need and promised a points-based system to let chefs in. This has now been reneged on. There will be massive closures, they say. How naive could they be? A public stirred by Mail and Sun anti-migrant [https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2016/jun/21/why-should-we-vote-to-leave-the-eu-its-migration-stupid] horror stories were made even more fearful of Muslim **refugees** pouring than of Poles: of course the government now says the screw is tightening and there will be no more Asian visas. Others too will find how badly they were lied to.

There is time for people to change their mind, and polls suggest opinion is on the move. The vote was narrow. But MPs can’t wait for public opinion to shift by itself. They have a role to play - as leaders not as followers. Today’s judgment tells them exactly that.

Once in a while, by mistake, Boris Johnson tells a truth: “Brexit means Brexit and we are going to make a titanic success of it”, he said last night at the Spectator awards [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/brexit-will-be-titanic-success-says-boris-johnson]. Yes, we are on the Titanic and he’s the captain. God help us. Can parliament help save us from him and the damage he has done before we sink?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Foreign secretary also compares himself to dog strangled by Michael Heseltine as he collects Spectator comeback of the year award

Boris Johnson has said Britain will make a “Titanic success of Brexit” and compared himself to the dog strangled by Michael Heseltine as he collected a comeback of the year at the Spectator Awards on Thursday night.

“We are taking the machete of freedom to the brambles of EU regulation,” he said. “And we are in the process of creating something immensely positive for both sides of the Channel, a new European partnership between a strong UK and a strong EU . Believe me, that’s what people of this great continent want to achieve.”

He said he believed that Europe was coming to terms with the UK’s departure. “In the words of our great prime minister, they understand that Brexit means Brexit and we are going to make a Titanic success of it.”

“It sank,” said former chancellor George Osborne , who was presenting Johnson with his award.

“Well, the Titantic exhibition in Northern Ireland is the single most popular attraction in the province,” Johnson said. “We are going to make a colossal success of Brexit.”

In his speech, Johnson said he had had “an extraordinary few months” and compared himself to Michael Heseltine’s mother’s dog Kim, which the former deputy prime minister admitted to strangling, but not killing [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/02/michael-heseltine-dog-kafka], in an interview earlier this week.

“There have been moments since June 23 when I have genuinely feared that I might be strangled by crazed, pop-eyed, Europhile remainers,” he said. “And like Kim, I am genuinely pleased to have this reprieve. Though the dog had a very brief reprieve, I hope my comeback will be a bit longer.”

Kim was put down by Heseltine the day after the strangling incident, which occurred after the Alsatian attacked the politician.

Later in the evening, Theresa May was named politician of the year, accepting the award from George Osborne [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/georgeosborne] while dressed in the hard hat and hi-vis jacket which the former chancellor was reputedly fond of wearing for photo-ops.

The former work and pensions secretary Iain Duncan Smith was given the award for resignation of the year “to recognise the art of going out forcefully, if not always gracefully”.

Accepting the award, Duncan Smith told Osborne: “The only difference between the two of us was that I had a prescient idea of what was going to happen and I resigned before Theresa could actually sack me. That’s the main difference.”

Labour politicians also took home their fair share of gongs. The shadow chancellor, John McDonnell , was named the campaigner of the year for the huge rise in party membership.

“Jeremy Corbyn was the face of this phenomenon, but the brains belonged to his shadow chancellor,” the Spectator editor, Fraser Nelson, said.

MPs Jess Phillips and Hilary Benn won backbencher of the year and parliamentarian of the year respectively, with Benn praised for his speech on intervention in Syria, which drew consternation from the Labour leader, Corbyn, who took the opposing view on strikes against Islamic State.

Rachel Reeves won speech of the year her moving tribute to her murdered colleague Jo Cox . Parliament would find another MP, she said, “but no one can replace a mother” of her two children.

Labour peer Lord Dubs, a former **refugee** who came to Britain on the Kindertransport, won peer of the year for his amendment to bring child **refugees** to the UK.

Sadiq Khan , Labour’s mayor of London, won the newly created Joseph Chamberlain award for politicians in local and devolved government.

Ukip’s Nigel Farage also took to the stage to collect his lifetime achievement award, described by Nelson as “the Marmite politician of our age – and that’s quite some compliment, seeing how expensive Marmite is nowadays”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**High court decision that MPs must have a vote on triggering Brexit ‘gives chance to scrutinise prime minister’s approach’

Theresa May is heading for a rebellion over her Brexit strategy after the high court ruled that the UK could not leave the European union without the permission of the British parliament.

Three senior judges ruled on Thursday that the government could not press ahead with triggering article 50 of the Lisbon treaty, the formal process for beginning Brexit, without first consulting MPs and peers in the Commons and Lords.

Related: Court ruling means act of parliament would be needed for Brexit, says May [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/theresa-may-concedes-triggering-article-50-will-need-act-of-parliament]

The decision, made after a legal challenge brought following the EU referendum result in June, is a dramatic setback for the prime minister, who had argued that she had the personal authority to begin the process without a parliamentary vote on the issue.

Downing Street has said they will challenge the judgment and an appeal with the supreme court is expected to be lodged. But David Davis, the Brexit secretary, acknowledged that the ruling [https://www.judiciary.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/judgment-r-miller-v-secretary-of-state-for-exiting-the-eu-20161103.pdf] (pdf) as it stood meant the UK’s departure from the bloc would require the consent of both MPs and peers through an act of parliament. “The judges have laid out what we can’t do, and not exactly what we can do, but we’re presuming that it requires an act of parliament and therefore both Commons and Lords,” he said.

Parliamentarians are unlikely to block Brexit outright, given that 52% of voters among the public opted, on 23 June, to leave the EU , but the need for legislation gives MPs the opportunity to disrupt the process by demanding May reveals more details about her plan for negotiating the terms of departure.

The Guardian understands that a cross-party group of Tory and Labour MPs met this Thursday afternoon to discuss how the ruling could be used to force May to reveal more about her broad negotiating aims.

Keir Starmer, the shadow Brexit secretary, said he now believed it was “inevitable the prime minister will have to answer the big questions” on whether she wanted the UK to be in the single market or the customs union, as there appeared to be a majority of MPs demanding greater transparency.

“This is about accountability and scrutiny,” he said. “Very many MPs accept and respect the referendum of course, but the terms upon which we exit are vitally important. I think there is now consensus that the prime minister has got to disclose the overarching strategy. The idea that we are all to be kept in the dark until some time in 2019 only has to be said to be rejected.”

May has repeatedly insisted that she will deliver the “best possible deal for the country” but has so far refused to specify whether that deal would include access to the single market or enhanced **immigration** controls.

Within hours of the judgment senior Conservatives were openly calling for a change of approach. Andrew Tyrie, chair of the Treasury committee, said May’s government needed to be “much more transparent about its objectives in the negotiations, in some detail, and the sooner the better”.

Related: After this Brexit ruling, MPs must seize their moment | Martin Kettle [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/03/brexit-ruling-mps-seize-moment-theresa-may-eu-plans-parliament]

He added: “It should also ensure that parliament can scrutinise the objectives and vote on them. The UK is leaving; a public debate is needed about where we want to arrive. Before taking off, it is always a good idea for the pilot to discuss with the passengers and crew where they might want to land.”

Nicky Morgan, the former education secretary, told BBC Two’s Victoria Derbyshire show: “It does need to be not just a vote, but a formal short bill about the triggering of article 50, and then the focus is on that. The other thing, of course, that parliament will want then is a clearer plan on the government’s Brexit plans and that will be, I think, important in helping the government to win that vote.”

On the other side of the debate the ruling infuriated many eurosceptics, with several Tory MPs suggesting May should call an early general election to get another mandate from voters.

Dominic Raab, the former minister and Tory MP, said any attempt to stall the triggering of Brexit could increase the chances of an early general election. “If we get to the stage where effectively [some MPs] are not willing to allow this negotiation to even begin, I think there must be an increased chance that we must go to the country again. I think that would be a mistake and I don’t think those trying to break the verdict of the referendum would be rewarded,” he said.

Douglas Carswell, the Ukip MP, even suggested it showed there needed to be reform of judicial appointments, while the party’s interim leader, Nigel Farage, said he feared a “betrayal may be near at hand”. He said: “I now fear that every attempt will be made to block or delay the triggering of article 50. If this is so, they have no idea of the level of public anger they will provoke.”

The prime minister is expected on Friday to speak to Jean-Claude Juncker , the European commission president, to discuss her plans for keeping the article 50 process on track.

However, the unanimous judgment delivered by three of the most senior judges in England and Wales will make it difficult for government lawyers to overturn the ruling in the supreme court and avoid delay.

The three judges [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/-three-judges-mps-vote-brexit-article-50-high-court], the lord chief justice, Lord Thomas, the master of the rolls, Sir Terence Etherton, and lord justice Sales at one stage dismissed the government’s argument as being “divorced from reality”.

Government lawyers had argued that prerogative powers were a legitimate way to give effect “to the will of the people” who voted by a majority to leave the EU in the referendum. But the lord chief justice declared: “The government does not have power under the crown’s prerogative to give notice pursuant to article 50 for the UK to withdraw from the European union.”

Related: Brexit has caused havoc already. Now parliament must save us | Polly Toynbee [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/03/brexit-parliament-article-50-mps]

The judgment ruled: “The most fundamental rule of the UK constitution is that parliament is sovereign and can make and unmake any law it chooses... By making and unmaking treaties the crown [ie the government] creates legal effects on the plane of international law, but in doing so it does not and cannot change domestic law. It cannot without the intervention of parliament confer rights on individuals or deprive individuals of rights.”

The pound surged to a four-week high in the hours after the ruling as investors interpreted it as a sign parliament could put the brakes on any attempt by May to pursue a so-called “hard Brexit” that prioritised controlling **immigration** over trade with the EU .

Although a related legal challenge failed in Northern Ireland’s high court, the claimants are expected to appeal against that decision, particularly on Brexit’s impact on the devolved legislation. Their claim will be joined at the supreme court hearing with the London case.

Related: Nicola Sturgeon deciding whether to join article 50 legal battle [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/nicola-sturgeon-scotland-mps-joining-article-50-legal-battle-brexit-high-court]

Nicola Sturgeon , the SNP first minister of Scotland, said the Scottish government would “actively consider” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/nicola-sturgeon-scotland-mps-joining-article-50-legal-battle-brexit-high-court] whether it would formally join in the next legal battle over the right of MPs to vote on article 50, opposing the Westminster government.

The two main claimants in the high court case in London insisted they were not attempting to prevent Brexit. Gina Miller [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/03/gina-miller-the-woman-behind-the-article-50-legal-challenge], an investment manager and lead claimant in the case, said: “It was the right decision because we were dealing with the sovereignty of parliament. It was not about winning or losing. It was about what was right. Now we can move forward with legal certainty.”

Deir Dos Santos, a hairdresser and the other lead claimant, said: “Today’s judgment is a victory for everyone who believes in the supremacy of our parliament and the rule of law. I have never challenged the result of the referendum – in fact I voted for Brexit for the sole reason that I wanted power to be returned from Europe [https://www.theguardian.com/world/europe-news] to the British parliament. But I did not think it was right for the government then just to bypass parliament and try to take away my legal rights without consulting parliament first.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Based on the real-life Zoe’s Ark controversy, Joachim Lafosse’s bitter drama is about an NGO in Chad that crosses the line between do-gooding and kidnapping

Star Rating: 4 stars

There’s an all-too-resonant scene in Joachim Lafosse’s bitter drama in which children have their age verified by their teeth – though the drama focuses on westerners who actually want to welcome **refugees**. A bit too much, in fact: in a story based on the real-life 2007 Zoe’s Ark controversy[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/oct/29/spain.france], Vincent Lindon leads an NGO in Chad that masquerades as an orphanage but plans to abscond with the kids back to adoptive families in France. The organisation lets neither the fractious Saharan security situation, or the local chiefs’ pragmatic propensity for fibbing about the ages and parentage of kids they wish to offload, get in the way of its unwavering and mostly selfish idealism.

It’s a diagnosis of geopolitical power relations nearly as effective as the 2012 Somali pirate thriller A Hijacking[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2013/may/09/a-hijacking-review]. Lafosse damns his do-gooders in a disciplined set of medium-shot dustscapes and murky Conradian interiors, rarely allowing anyone – even the pugnacious, impatient Lindon – to plead their case in closeup. A slanted but shrewd look at another side of today’s **refugee** crisis.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Not content with speaking six languages, being an energy-drink brand ambassador, and putting her name to an Athens nightclub for **refugees**, she may still turn up to illuminate her favourite Northants market town

Even though my protocol droid is fluent in more than six million forms of communication, it has drawn a blank with some of the utterances Lindsay Lohan made on the steps of her new Athens nightclub, LOHAN.

But so what? Lost in Showbiz is excited that Lindsay that should have followed former England manager Steve McClaren into the muddy waters of cod-European accents[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xhtq1ObGHy8] – and, heaven knows, we’ve all ended up being able to speak only broken English on nightclub pavements. Usually on the way out, rather than the way in, but still.

By way of a recap, Lindsay has put her name, and supposedly some investment, to a fancy new nightclub in the Greek capital, and used an appearance there this week to explain – with the smiling staccato of someone feeling their heavily accented way in the unfamiliar American tongue[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-3896028/Lindsay-Lohan-breaks-silence-reveals-new-accent.html] – how this was just the start of the brand rollout. “There’s bigger things to be done with the LOHAN club,” she told reporters. “There is spas, there is **refugee** camps.”

Well, quite. Actually, hang on – what?

I’m afraid the answer to that question is slightly unclear. According to Lindsay, an unspecified percentage of profits from the club may be going to charity – at least, she says haltingly “we can make it a good purpose”, and “we can create charity from the club”. The nature of the charity in question is also fairly broadbrush – Lindsay claims it will fix “bad things in the world”, seemingly focused on **refugees** from Syria. An energy-drink brand ambassador, she recently talked about handing out cans of the stuff to **refugees** after her visit to a camp in Turkey[http://edition.cnn.com/2016/10/28/entertainment/lindsay-lohan-refugees/]. “We have to help people,” she goes on, “and if we can do it with a nightclub, or with a spa, or with **refugee** camps, or with containers …”

Maybe the Rosetta Stone to all this is in one of the containers? Until we locate it, however, we have only Lindsay’s business plan/wellness-driven moodboard. “We create peaceful locations where we can all be happy,” she goes on. “And we start with the **refugees**, and then we open nice places, and maybe one of the **refugees** will open a place with us … I want LOHAN to be a celebration of everybody coming together, in the European nations.”

It is a hell of an ask of a nightclub, in the circumstances. But certainly worth a shot. Certainly a shot of the aforementioned energy drink, which is sold at the bar.

Meanwhile, Lohan completists will know that has she long aspired to use her celebrity to the generalised benefit of troubled regions. In 2006, Lindsay announced plans to visit Iraq. “I’ve been trying to go to Iraq with Hillary Clinton for so long,” she explained[http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/actress-lohan-wants-to-visit-iraq-with-sen-clinton.aspx?pageID=438&n=actress-lohan-wants-to-visit-iraq-with-sen.-clinton-2006-08-10], with the apparent failure to be able to synchronise diaries likely to have been of equal if not greater frustration to the current Democratic nominee for the US presidency.

“Hillary was trying to work it out, but it seemed too dangerous.” Or as Hillary’s spokesman put it: “It was suggested to her that if she wanted to go, she could pursue doing so through the USO[https://www.uso.org/].” Look, whatever. Lindsay had a clear plan: “I wanted to do what Marilyn Monroe did, when she went and just set up a stage and did a concert for the troops all by herself. It’s so inspiring seeing that one woman just going somewhere, this beautiful sex kitten, who is basically a pin-up, which is what I’ve always aspired to be.”

Still, God love Lindsay, who has added to the gaiety of various nations since her horrendous parents pushed her on stage far too young. If, as entertainment cliche holds, you are frozen in development at the age at which you become famous, then Lindsay will for ever be preserved at the age of 11, when she made her name in Disney’s The Parent Trap remake. Looked at this way, her latest venture is no more sweetly clueless than a child being admonished for not eating its egg at breakfast on the basis that there are people starving across the world, and asking worriedly if it can post the remains of the egg to them.

As for her accent, the extensive WTF-ery that has attended its debut has caused Lindsay to respond with details of its genesis. “It’s a mixture of the languages I can understand or am trying to learn,” she revealed. “I’ve been learning different languages since I was a child. I’m fluent in English and French, can understand Russian and am learning Turkish, Italian and Arabic.” As for what this pending creole should be called, Lindsay declared: “We should let the people decide.”

Odd to see her coming round to the idea of referendums. After all, she was less enamoured during a lengthy series of tweets posted in conjunction with the BBC’s coverage on the night of the European referendum itself, at one point issuing the dismissive inquiry: “Sorry Kettering but where are you?” (I think they’re south of the river somewhere, but probably best to get them to come to you). Following a defensive mention of this in the House of Commons by the local MP, Philip Hollobone, Lindsay later apologised to the town, and agreed to switch on its Christmas lights. Thereafter, it all went a bit quiet.

Indeed, last week Hollobone was raising the spectre of a no-show, telling the BBC: “She said she would come and switch on the Christmas lights at Kettering but, despite everyone’s best efforts, it’s simply not been possible to track her down.” Yet since then some progress appears to have been made. On Thursday, a spokesman for Kettering borough council revealed: “We have made direct contact with Lindsay’s publicist. We get the impression she is genuinely really interested. It just depends on whether or not she can fit it in.”

Surely it all flows together? Energy drink, exclusive nightclub, spas, **refugee** camps, containers, Kettering … I’ll let you know when I guess the next one in the sequence. In the meantime, let’s just accept that Lindsay’s new accent would be the most eye-catching festive curiosity in Kettering since Neil and Christine Hamilton gave us their Fairy Godmother and Baron Hardup in the town panto in 2011, and cross our fingers accordingly.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Human relationships are usually an **alien** concept in sci-fi films. But two new movies show the genre is journeying into the realms of feelings, romance – and even sex

Science fiction is not an exact science. When it comes to making a serious sci-fi movie, there’s a lot to get wrong: the science will be peer-reviewed by the global chatroom; the special effects have to be more special than last time; you are expected to capture the zeitgeist and point the way for human progress in a way that’s totally mind-blowing but neither too confusing nor too obvious – and all without scaring off the China market. Hollywood has spent years, and billions, trying to crack this formula, but the variables keep changing. It would be easier if audiences were programmable robots, but we aren’t. To be totally fickle is to be human, so there.

Arrival, the new sci-fi by Denis Villeneuve, is the perfect example of the current formula. Intelligent, accessible and spectacular[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/sep/01/arrival-review-amy-adams-denis-villeneuve-alien-contact], it is well placed to be this year’s Gravity[https://www.theguardian.com/film/gravity] – though things have moved on even since then. You could call Arrival an **alien**-invasion story, but its **aliens**neither attack nor befriend us Earthlings; instead, their skyscraper-sized craft simply hang mysteriously in the air at random points around the planet. Who are they? What do they want? How do we find out? Amid the global panic, linguist Amy Adams and physicist Jeremy Renner are enlisted to try to communicate with these beings, which resemble giant, seven-fingered hands and emit undecipherable croaks and clicks. The movie’s close encounters – conducted through a glowing screen in an eerie chamber inside the **alien** craft – deliver that sense of otherworldly awe that sci-fi fans crave.

There’s some serious, sciencey meat in Arrival: the nature of language, interpretation, communication, time and space, extraterrestrial intelligence. But there’s also a second strand running through the movie: Adams’s character is haunted by fleeting visions of her dead daughter, somehow triggered by the **aliens**. She is also drawn to Renner’s character, the only other civilian behind the security cordon and a soulmate in social awkwardness. Nothing so obvious as a romance ensues. To spoil Arrival’s developments would be a crime, but let’s just say there’s a man and a woman – and that in itself is a rarity among sci-fi movies when you think about it.

Next month we’ll have another example: Passengers[https://www.theguardian.com/film/video/2016/sep/20/passengers-trailer-for-jennifer-lawrence-and-chris-pratt-sci-fi-drama-video]. Directed by Morten “The Imitation Game” Tyldum, it looks big and expensive, with cool spaceship sets and a plot suggesting galactic colonisation and its perils. But if there’s one thing you’ll take away from the trailer, it’s “Jennifer Lawrence and Chris Pratt getting it on. In space”. The actors have already been talking about their sex scene together, and the word “chemistry” is being bandied about. How’s that for a sci-fi formula?

Could it be that it really wasn’t rocket science all along? The very opposite, in fact. Both Arrival and Passengers make a point of what Bruce Lee would have called “ emotional content[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QU9SsTwY5nU] ”. You know: feelings, romantic ones, even sexual ones. Such qualities are a given in most types of story, but sci-fi can be a sterile sort of place – a realm of utilitarian hardware, wipe-clean surfaces, scientific jargon and dark, cold, existential nothingness. Human conduct is often accordingly stiff. As a genre, it’s a little like the androids in HBO’s new Westworld series[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/westworld], who have had their emotion settings turned right down.

Related: Arrival review: heartfelt **alien**-contact movie communicates spectacular ideas[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/sep/01/arrival-review-amy-adams-denis-villeneuve-alien-contact]

Emotion is regularly outlawed in sci-fi scenarios including George Lucas’s THX 1138, Jean-Luc Godard’s Alphaville, Equilibrium, Equals and The Giver. Many classic sci-fi characters don’t really do feelings, either. They are robots or **aliens** or AIs and they either fail to understand this human thing called “emotion”, or they regard it as a weakness: Schwarzenegger’s Terminator, or the **Alien** movies’ androids, or Star Trek’s emotionally repressed Vulcans, or the Next Generation’s Data ( before he got his emotion chip[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4NskjxgyhXI] ), or the heartless computer Hal in Kubrick’s 2001: A Space Odyssey – a sci-fi touchstone whose emotional peak is a tersely repeated request to open some doors.

In recent years, Hollywood has found a simple fix for this glitch: put a female in the movie. Arrival’s spiritual predecessor could be Robert Zemeckis’s 1997 movie Contact, starring Jodie Foster[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7tGBg38rzc]. Like Amy Adams, she’s a scientist decoding **alien** signals and making the introductions on behalf of humanity. And like Adams, it’s Foster’s emotional range that carries the story. She weeps tears of joy at the beauty of the cosmos, and tears of pain after a surreal reunion with her dead father, whose form the **aliens** decide to take (they are emotionally intelligent too, see?). With these emotional women around, the men can stay dry-eyed and manly and rational, as the genre demands.

Even when they are tough women in a testosterone-fuelled world, their femininity is called on to represent humanity: Mary Elizabeth Mastrantonio in The Abyss, Noomi Rapace in Prometheus, Milla Jovovich in The Fifth Element. Sigourney Weaver’s Ripley is the most iconically tough heroine of all, but let’s not forget, at the climax of the first movie, she’s an all-too-vulnerable human body in its skimpy underwear. Perish the thought the film-makers shoehorned in some gratuitous lechery there, but it wouldn’t have worked if it had been, say, Burt Reynolds.

But Hollywood has a habit of assembling all the ingredients then stubbornly refusing to let nature take its course. In Gravity, you have got Sandra Bullock to cry the zero-gravity tears (and do the underwear scene), and George Clooney is on board, too – a dream team of romantic leads. But it’s just not that sort of movie, is it? In Contact, Jodie Foster has a young, handsome Matthew McConaughey – the future king of romcoms – as her co-star. They have a blink-and-you’ll-miss-it liaison, then, next time she meets him, he’s a priest! McConaughey was also squandered in Christopher Nolan’s overreaching Interstellar. To the film’s credit, he gets to be an emotional man in a sci-fi movie – the scene of him tearfully watching his children grow up in fast-forward on their video diaries was the movie’s highlight – but again, you’ve got a widowed McConaughey and Anne Hathaway in a capsule together and the world’s about to end, and they just talk about retro-thrusters and event horizons. And you might have forgotten The Martian’s big romantic moment, when Kate Mara kisses Sebastian Stan[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iv6h9w9ZTKU]on the outside of his space helmet. Nothing says “giant prophylactic” like a spacesuit.

If romance is hard to find in sci-fi, sex is barely more than a theoretical concept. The big budget-wielders – Spielberg, Lucas, Cameron, Bay, Abrams – target family audiences to recoup their huge costs, so shy away from anything that might make teenage boys go: “Eeeuw!” Even Han Solo and Princess Leia were pushing it. Tom Cruise seems to have a no-romance clause written into his sci-fi contract. The only penetration in the **Alien** movies is of the man-xenomorph variety. For all its fetish wear, The Matrix only managed to get Keanu Reeves and Carrie-Ann Moss together for a mid-rave quickie in the sequel. For some proper sexuality in space you would have to go back to Jane Fonda’s sexually liberated Barbarella, or James Bond’s weightless shag at the end of Moonraker.

Then again, turn the dial too far towards “romance”, and you are in the realms of the “epic love story”, and pretty much out the other end of sci-fi: The Time Traveller’s Wife, Richard Curtis’s About Time, The Lake House, Kate & Leopold – they are essentially date movies with a light sprinkling of speculative fiction. The Baileys in the sci-fi minibar.

Related: What is the protocol if **aliens** make contact?[https://www.theguardian.com/science/shortcuts/2016/oct/30/what-protocol-aliens-make-contact-arrival]

It would be over-reductive to express this as a male/female thing, or a left-brain/right-brain sort of thing (putting it in such binary terms is so left-brain, after all). Or even a formula. Of course, there are women who like their sci-fi pure and cerebral, and men left cold by space stories, but research suggests that gender is a big factor in genre preference. A 2012 analysis of BFI statistics[http://www.participations.org/Volume%209/Issue%202/4%20Redfern.pdf] found that 83% of respondents who expressed a preference for romantic films were female, 72% for romantic comedies. Conversely, 65% of those who liked sci-fi were male. It’s like men are from Mars and women are from … Earth.

There have been plenty of movies that we adore because they completely ignore any formula – exhibit A: Jonathan Glazer’s Under the Skin[https://www.theguardian.com/film/under-the-skin]. There are others that, in retrospect, struck the perfect balance. Look at Blade Runner. It’s a film of big philosophical questions and brilliant future-world design, as pure, profound and prescient a sci-fi as you could wish for. But its characters are also wrought with angst and loss and longing and tears in the rain – and there’s a proper, adult love story at its core.

Arrivals strikes a similar balance. Those two distinct strands to the story – the sciencey and the emotional, the cosmic and the personal, the left brain and the right brain, whatever – ultimately come together to deliver a satisfying conclusion (and a neat metaphor for what we are talking about here). Some might see this as sci-fi selling out. Arrival has already been branded as “sentimental” and “maudlin”. But you could also see it as sci-fi growing up – from a gadget-obsessed kid to a mature, rounded adult with good ideas but good communication skills, too.

Some small-scale Indie films have precisely the mix of big ideas and human intimacy old-school Hollywood has lacked

More than gender, it could be a generational thing. Ironically, the “young adult” genre has been striking this same balance for some time, from the Hunger Games onwards, perhaps appealing to younger audiences less hung up on the old-fashioned binaries, gender, genre or otherwise. In recent years, we have had a steady trickle of smart, fresh emotionally literate sci-fis that do a lot with a little. Spike Jonze’s Her, for example, where Joaquin Phoenix falls in love with his Scarlett Johansson-voiced operating system. In sci-fi terms, it’s as bold and thorny a film about artificial intelligence as we have ever had, but that’s the point, it doesn’t feel like a sci-fi movie – more like a warped romance. A similar example would be Michel Gondry’s Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind with Jim Carrey and Kate Winslet chasing each other through the windmills of their partially erased minds. Is it a sci-fi? Technically, yes. Is it a love story? Very much so, but not an obvious one.

At the even indier end, we have had Rian Johnson’s Looper, which managed to tie all manner of time-travel-related knots without losing the viewer, and threaded a moving love story through it. Gareth Edwards’s Monsters[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2010/nov/27/mosters-gareth-edwards-avatar], a lo-fi indie romance with the sci-fi element ingeniously Photoshopped in on the director’s laptop. Or Safety Not Guaranteed[https://www.theguardian.com/film/safety-not-guaranteed], which begins with the perfect sci-fi meet cute[https://www.theguardian.com/film/filmblog/2013/jan/23/clip-joint-meet-cute] : Mark Duplass puts in a small ad seeking “someone to travel back in time with me”. Aubrey Plaza responds. The list goes on: Midnight Special[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/apr/10/midnight-special-review-michael-shannon-kirsten-dunst], Another Earth[https://www.theguardian.com/film/movie/143611/another-earth], Coherence, I Origins, Shane Carruth’s Primer[https://www.theguardian.com/film/primer] and Upstream Color[https://www.theguardian.com/film/movie/155781/upstream-color].

This is more than just an interesting subgenre that wins prizes at Sundance: these small-scale films possess precisely the mix of big ideas and human intimacy old-school Hollywood has lacked. No wonder it is feeding into the mainstream. Just look at who’s handling the Star Wars slate (the biggest sci-fi property of all) Rogue One: Gareth “Monsters” Edwards; Episode VIII: Rian “Looper” Johnson; Episode IX: Colin “Safety Not Guaranteed” Trevorrow. Meanwhile, there’s also Denis Villeneuve’s next project to look forward to: a sequel to Blade Runner[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/nov/18/ridley-scott-opening-scene-blade-runner-sequel-harrison-ford-ryan-gosling].

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Palestinian **refugees** in Jordan are one of the longest standing **refugee** populations. SEP Jordan has trained 500 to make embroidered products

Born in a Jordanian **refugee** camp to Palestinian parents, Asma Aradeh is stateless. The 36-year-old mother of six is one of more than 30,000 Palestinian exiles living for decades in legal limbo in Jordan’s Jerash camp. But there is one silver lining to Aradeh’s story: she is no longer jobless.

Three years ago, Aradeh became one of 40 women to join a fledgling social enterprise called SEP Jordan[http://sep-jordan.myshopify.com/], which manufactures contemporary design products based on traditional Palestinian embroidery. She is now quality controller of the socially minded startup, which has trained around 500 women across the camp.

“I was born and raised here all my life,” she says. “We tried very hard to find work [but] we couldn’t go outside the camp for work. SEP came to us; it gave us work close to where we live and even in our own houses.”

The company, brainchild of Italian-born Roberta Ventura, a former banker based in Geneva, endeavours to break the “aid trap” in which many **refugees** find themselves by providing productive, dignified work for women in the camp.

Most women who join SEP have advanced embroidery skills, but all still go through a basic one or two month training programme to ensure they are are up to speed with the company’s designs and quality requirements. There are no firm working times, although SEP doesn’t allow women to work more than four hours a day, to protect their eyesight.

Embroidery is labour-intensive. A tablecloth takes eight months to complete on average. At the women’s request, payment is calculated by the amount of thread used rather than hours worked. Ventura insists the approach ensures a dignified wage, although incomes vary according to how much work each woman chooses to do. “The monthly income for the artists can vary from as little as 5 Jordanian dinar (£5.77) to as much as 400 Jordanian dinar (£461), which compares to a minimum wage of 190 dinar in Jordan’s garment sector,” she says.

SEP is operating in an environment where employment opportunities are highly restricted. **Refugees** in Jordan are not permitted to work as teachers, civil servants or any other state-supported job, with the tourism business closed to them as well. So, too, is free schooling after grade 9 (aged 16), which denies most the chance to get their high school diploma – a ticket into the formal labour market.

Running a viable business in a **refugee** camp is no easy task, Ventura concedes. For many women in the camp, simply persuading their husbands to allow them to work can represent a cultural challenge. Technological literacy is also low, so SEP’s inventory and production processes remain largely un-computerised.

An even bigger headache is red tape. All the fabric needed has to be imported but customs clearance procedures are “beyond nightmarish”, says Venture. On top of that, courier companies frequently refuse to transport goods to and from the camp, deeming it too dangerous for their drivers.

Three years in and SEP’s field team of five full-time staff plus a small management team in Geneva (which includes Ventura and her husband) have more or less navigated through the production challenges. Now Ventura’s focus is shifting to boosting sales.

At present, its embroidered products – which range from clutches and linen shawls to Kuffyieh scarfs and tablecloths – can be found in boutiques in Paris, London, Geneva, Beirut, Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Amman. Annual sales revenues are currently around US$120,000 (£98,000).

Sara Carter, co-founder of Clerkenwell[https://clerkenwell-london.com/], a design store in London and one of SEP’s stockists, says part of the brand’s appeal is the “little design twists”. The personal stories behind the products are another winning factor, she adds, with each carrying the name of the embroiderer. “When you think how long these products have taken to make and the story behind them, it becomes a lot more real to people,” says Carter.

Related: Hidden child labour: how Syrian **refugees** in Turkey are supplying Europe with fast fashion[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/jan/29/hidden-child-labour-syrian-refugees-turkey-supplying-europe-fast-fashion]

SEP’s products aren’t cheap, with baby blankets and linen towels retailing at £99 and £178 respectively. It is pitched at the luxury market, given the time embroidered goods take to make and the high costs of production. “We are quite expensive because the women – rightly so – want to be paid well […] What’s important to us is that we’re building loyalty to the company by putting the ladies who work for us at the centre of what we do rather than being in the shadows,” says Ventura.

To date, SEP has been financed through private investment. Assuming it meets its projected sales figures, Ventura believes the company will be ready for equity investment from social impact funds in a couple of years. In the interim, the business’s growth plans are reliant on grant funding and in-kind support.

One of SEP’s early backers has been Beirut-born businesswoman and human rights activist Mary Nazzal-Batayneh[http://www.forbesmiddleeast.com/en/lists/people/pname/mary-nazzal-batayneh/pid/86456/], who gives the pro-**refugee** social enterprise free retail space in a five-star hotel she owns in Amman.

“For me as a Palestinian activist, this is a really important method to tell the story of the longest-standing **refugee** population in the world,” she says. “And since the **refugee** crisis is only getting worse and worse, it’s great to have a model where these people can make some kind of living.” Batayneh is helping introduce SEP to potential investors.

Creating opportunities for **refugees** to earn income reinforces self-worth, allows more independence and also reduces the economic burdens on the host nation, says Salil Tripathi, senior adviser on global issues, Institute for Human Rights and Business. “However, care must be taken that labour rights are respected, and if jobs come at the cost of local residents, there must be adequate safeguards, such as skills training and alternative job opportunities to minimise the risk of conflict between **refugees** and local residents.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**From Colm Tóibín’s story of renewal in Brooklyn to Mourid Barghouti’s desolate experience in Palestine, these stories show some of the many meanings of home and its loss

I saw Beirut in all the other places I have lived: around the hum of London streets, and in the quiet self-containment of a Parisian neighbourhood; at the water’s edge in Sydney on a wintry afternoon as rain and sea mixed and swirled around me and in the razor-sharp sunlight of spring and early morning in Washington DC.

Many miles and 20 years from home, I carried my city with me as I would a worn suitcase that I could not put down, the weight of it like some unspecified regret, a memory that came alive at unexpected moments and left me breathless.

I wanted my characters in An Unsafe Haven to experience their exile in the same way. A Syrian artist unable to accept the worsening situation back home is determined to return to Damascus. An American married to a Lebanese woman struggles to adapt to a society he does not wholly understand. An Iraqi aid worker seeks **refuge** in Beirut but dreams of going to the west. A Syrian **refugee** loses track of her family while fleeing the war and is prepared to do anything to rejoin them. Hannah, a journalist, returns to Lebanon after a long exile, no longer certain if she will ever recapture the sense of belonging that Beirut once awarded her.

These characters are not always sure what is missing from their lives, but they helped me understand that home can have different meanings for those of us who, at one time or another, are deprived of it.

1. Americanah by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/americanah.html]

The possibility that one can feel doubly exiled is at the centre of this novel. Ifemelu is an educated young woman who moves from her native Nigeria to the US, where she discovers that race continues to influence social status and compromise one’s rights as a citizen. Not news to most of us, perhaps, but while Adichie’s message is undoubtedly political, it is her focus on Ifemelu’s day-to-day life in exile that makes this novel so compelling. At a dinner party in New York, Ifemelu tells a group of liberal intellectuals that her race had never been an issue in Nigeria, concluding: “I only became black when I came to this country.”

2. Selected Writings by Mai Ghoussoub[http://www.saqibooks.co.uk/book/mai-ghoussoub/]

If exile is an art form, then the late Mai Ghoussoub was its embodiment. Artist, writer, performer and publisher, Ghoussoub left Lebanon in 1979 after being injured while volunteering with an ambulance service during the civil war. Showcasing her musings on politics, war, exile and the arts, on Lebanon and the despair of its people, this collection is testament to a woman whose perspective was always led by her compassion and humour, by an enduring sense of wonder that makes her observations of people in the Middle East and Europe intensely valuable.

3. Brooklyn by Colm Tóibín[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/brooklyn-336804.html]

Beset by homesickness as an Irish **immigrant** to the US, Eilis Lacey manages to fashion a new and more sophisticated version of herself there which, once she returns home for a visit, is impossible to shake. This is a haunting depiction of what it means to reinvent oneself and permanently suffer the loss of belonging. Tóibín’s writing is austere and seemingly effortless, and is evocative of the depth of loneliness plaguing his characters, no matter where they happen to be.

Related: Top 10 **refugees**' stories[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/may/18/top-10-refugees-stories]

4. The Portrait of a Lady by Henry James[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/portrait-of-a-lady-11.html]

Isabel Archer and her suitor Gilbert Osmond are Americans living in Europe. While Isabel, a spirited, outspoken and innocent young heiress, can never be tainted by European decadence, Osmond is portrayed as the personification of old-world guile, cynicism and self-interest. Realising the truth about Osmond only after they are married, Isabel nonetheless remains true to character and chooses to honour her commitment to him. The desolation she consequently feels is not merely at being away from home, but is in the absence in her life of love and ultimately of any meaning. My favourite James novel.

5. Snow by Orhan Pamuk[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/snow-13.html] (translated by Maureen Freely)

Great writers perfectly mirror the historical concerns of nations in their fiction, making Snow essential reading for anyone wishing to truly understand modern-day Turkey. Tackling religion, secularism, dissent and women in Islam, this intensely beautiful novel is also a story of love and sacrifice. The poet Ka returns to a virtually unrecognisable Istanbul after 12 years as a political exile in Germany, and decides to travel to the remote city of Kars to try to recapture memories of the Turkey he once knew. While investigating the rise of Islamic extremism and the bafflingly high suicide rates among young women there, he encounters a long-lost love and discovers that the notion of home he had harboured was illusory.

6. I Saw Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/feb/28/featuresreviews.guardianreview32] (translated by Ahdaf Soueif)

Barghouti returned to Ramallah after 30 years in exile, initially to Cairo in 1967 following Israel’s occupation of the West Bank, then to Eastern Europe 10 years later when he was expelled from Egypt. A poet and diplomat, Barghouti made the emotional journey back home only to discover how much it had changed, to conclude that Israel’s occupation had “created generations without a place … had succeeded in changing us from children of Palestine to children of the idea of Palestine”. Lyrical and deeply moving, this memoir explores the human consequences of enforced exile, the hopelessness, the suffering endured.

7. Unaccustomed Earth by Jhumpa Lahiri[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/unaccustomed-earth.html]

These stories are so beautifully written that one would be forgiven for thinking there was a romantic aspect to exile. First-generation Americans coping with double lives, Lahiri’s characters are inextricably tied to their parents’ India yet are not quite western enough to integrate completely. Images of their daily lives are poignant; a relentless dislocation making any semblance of continuity an illusion to which they will always aspire. Heartbreaking and wonderful.

8. Arab in America by Toufic El Rassi[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cciEJsZG59U]

The attacks in September 2001 had enormous repercussions on life in the US, among them the intensification of discrimination against Arabs and Americans of Arab descent. Exposing the brutal consequences of racism and fearmongering, El Rassi’s graphic novel is fittingly illustrated in black and white and offers a unique perspective on the prejudices that still divide our world.

9. Me Talk Pretty One Day by David Sedaris[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/me-talk-pretty-one-day.html]

Sedaris’s hilarious reflections on what it means to be an American expat in Europe reveal the lighter side of the exile experience. The second half of Me Talk Pretty One Day is devoted to the years Sedaris spent in Paris trying to learn the language and adapt to the culture and, as a result, finding out what the rest of the world really thinks about his country.

10. The Wanderer by Christopher Brennan[http://www.middlemiss.org/lit/authors/brennanc/poetry/wanderer.html]

On a plaque on the walkway leading to the Sydney Opera House is a quote that, when I first read it, perfectly expressed my own despair at ever achieving a sense of belonging. In this stunning collection of poems, Brennan, the son of Irish **immigrants** to Australia, reflects on the repercussions of emotional and spiritual exile, suggesting that its consequences are profound even when it is self-imposed and is not tied to place. The plaque reads:

I know I am the wanderer of the ways of all the worlds,

to whom the sunshine and the rain are one

and one to stay or hasten, because he knows

no ending of the way, no home, no goal

• An Unsafe Haven by Nada Awar Jarrar is published by Borough Press, priced £12.99. It is available from the Guardian bookshop, priced £10.65[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/unsafe-haven.html].

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump’s message resonates in the most forgotten corners of the US, because viewed from these places, America no longer seems a great country

The first voter I heard mention Donald Trump’s name was a mechanic in a small town near my upstate New York home. It was days after Trump announced his run, and I was at the start of a drive across the United States.

The man, like many Trump supporters then, didn’t want his name used or his picture taken. An outraged press was loudly mocking Trump and he was embarrassed. But he was clear why he would vote for Trump. “There’s no American dream for anyone who isn’t a lawyer or banker,” he said. “Everyone else, we are getting a raw deal. **Immigrants** are taking all our jobs.”

As I pressed on, putting over 100,000 miles on my car, I heard a steady and growing crescendo of support for Trump – one that changed from embarrassment to pride.

In the early days of the election, most were like Robert McAdams, 78, of Peru, Nebraska: older whites who had dedicated their lives working in the communities where they were born. He owned a gas station, and spun a long tale of opportunities lost and grievances mostly voiced at government, many of them arcane and petty.

He was obtuse about whom to blame, other than a vague “them”, but he was emphatic about the solution: “We need to get this country straight again.”

While I was hearing a rising euphoria for Trump from many white voters, I was also hearing an equally loud and growing disbelief from the media.

Most journalists ensconced in their New York or Washington offices refused to accept[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/13/liberal-media-bias-working-class-americans] that someone as louche and crass as Trump could appeal to voters. Trump supporters, in many of their minds, were simply dumb or racist, overshadowing any notion that these voters might also have some valid concerns.

As Trump started winning primaries, the outrage and disbelieve increased. I continued my drives around the US and saw a feedback develop: the loud distaste voiced against Trump by who they saw as “the establishment” only added to his appeal.

Florence Johnson, 69, was like that. She was shopping in the Goodwill in Natchitoches, Louisiana, buying a vacuum cleaner and an electrical stuffed parrot (“I have always like birds”). She wasn’t shy about her situation. “I am poor,” she said. She also wasn’t shy about her support for Trump, or why. “Hell yes I am voting for Trump. Tired of politicians. He is putting on a great show, pissing them other bastards off. They deserve it!”

Natchitoches was like many other towns with their share of enthusiastic Trump supporters. It had suffered a devastating economic downturn in the 1970s and 1980s when the cotton gin mills closed. Other than jobs related to the state university, it has since offered little opportunity. Those in town whose lives were not connected to the university lifeline were the Trump voters.

Well, the white people in town. Natchitoches, like the US, has long been divided along racial lines, with black residents confined to a lesser choice of jobs, homes, and schools. And Trump was dividing them further.

Linda Thompson, 54, was shopping in a small store down the road from Florence. She, like every minority voter I talked to, hated Trump. “I would vote for anybody but Trump. He say he ain’t racist, but sure talks that way. From my experience, them are the worst kind.”

Michael Braxton, 50, had returned to Natchitoches after a period in the military. A deeply religious man, he punctuates every sentence with “praise the lord.” “I am for Hillary. Praise the lord. Trump will probably start us another war. Praise the lord. And he is a racist. Praise the lord.”

As months went by, Trump wasn’t just exploiting and expanding white racism; he was also exposing a divide between those with good education, and those without. It was the front row versus the back row.

It became simple: if I wanted to talk to a community overwhelmingly supporting Trump, I would go to a white town or neighborhood nearest the rusting factory surrounded by razor fence.

If I wanted to find Clinton, or Jeb Bush, or even Rubio voters, I would go near a university, or go to the wealthier neighborhoods near tech companies, or near headquarters of global corporations.

America has changed fundamentally over the last 35 years, and I saw and heard the impact of those changes. America had finally started upending a longstanding and ugly racial hierarchy, removing legal barriers that had made the playing field anything but level. For this, minorities overwhelmingly supported the new system, despite still suffering economically and socially more than white Americans.

Yet we replaced that system with one based on schooling, building a playing field that was tilted dramatically towards anyone with the “right” education. The jobs requiring muscle decreased (many going overseas) while the jobs requiring school increased. Compounding the pain from this, we started giving the winners a much larger share of the profits.

The early Trump voters I met were the losers from these changes. Their once superior status – based only on being white – was being dismantled, while their lack of education was also being punished. They lived in towns and communities devastated by economic upheaval. They were born in them and stayed in them, despite their fall. For many, who had focused on their community over career, it felt like their entire world was collapsing.

As Trump gained momentum, as he marched towards the GOP nomination, his message started to resonate with these entire communities – including those that were doing well economically. Many solidly middle-class Americans have friends, relatives, or congregants who are suffering.

More than that, supporting Trump has become a way of showing support for their failing communities. It had become tribal: entire communities were joining the back-row kids.

This was the case in communities like Clarington, Ohio, an all-white town of less than 500 laying in a small break in the hills along the Ohio river.

Lori Ayers, 47, works in the gas station. She was blunt when I asked her about her life. “Clarington is a shithole. Jobs all left. There is nothing here anymore. When Ormet Aluminum factory closed, jobs all disappeared.” She is also blunt about the pain in her life. “I have five kids and two have addictions. There is nothing else for kids to do here but drugs. No jobs. No place to play.”

She stopped and added: “I voted for Obama the first time, not the second. Now I am voting for Trump. We just got to change things.”

I found a similar viewpoint in communities such as West Cleveland: Donna Weaver, 52, is a waitress, and has spent her entire life in her community. “I was born and raised here. I am not happy. Middle class is getting killed; we work for everything and get nothing. I hate both of the candidates, but I would vote for Trump because the Iraq war was a disaster. Why we got to keep invading countries. Time to take care of ourselves first.”

These communities are dealing with lost and changing jobs, which are no longer a sources of pride, but simply about getting by. Life for many has become a constant anxiety over upcoming bills. They are also dealing with social problems that always follow economic loss, such as families broken apart, children struggling with little support, eroded institutions, and substance abuse – a quick salve to either forget or numb the pain.

Compounding the anxiety, and helping to morph it into humiliation, is the false national narrative that the US is a meritocracy where anyone can advance with the right education, and hence failure is because of being dumb or lazy.

But in communities I visit, the right education is often beyond most people. Many residents often fail to go beyond high school, and if they do, it is an education cobbled together by night classes and community colleges, together with a concoction of loans, programs and overwhelming debt.

All of this is humiliating and painful, and has made the perfect setting for populist politics built on blaming minorities and **immigrants**. And that is what Trump has exploited. He has has come into these communities with white identity politics, a message that is both simple and loud: He will make America great again.

It is a message that resonates, because viewed from these places, America no longer seems a great country.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Since the referendum, the tabloids have whipped up racist feeling by creating subtle links between non-natives and crime – and the government has done little to counter it

I realised it only after having done it. On Tuesday I was watching my kids playing with other children in a London park. I was about to call out to them when I intuitively caught myself. Having lived here for most of their life, my children speak flawless English. I, however, have a clear Dutch accent. Yelling to them would suddenly single them out as foreigners to the other children. Only six months ago none of this would have occurred to me. Now I find myself lowering my voice.

Something is rotting in England and the Brexit referendum[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum] result seems to have given the rot a boost of oxygen. The problem is not that a majority of English people or their government are racist or xenophobic; they are not. The problem is that those English people who are racist seem to think they have won the Brexit referendum and that now is open season. The government is doing precious little to counter this impression, while the powerful tabloids are feeding it, day in day out.

Yesterday’s Daily Mail splash was a new low. Featuring nine small photos of lorry drivers on their phones, the tabloid claims to have caught “17 foreign truckers using their phones at 50mph”. The key word here of course is “foreign”, establishing an unconscious link in people’s minds between “foreign” and evil. The Daily Mail has been at this for a long time, with my personal “favourite” its front page about “ EU killers and rapists we’ve failed to deport[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3622924/EU-killers-rapists-ve-failed-deport-UK-s-inability-expel-thousands-foreign-criminals-undermines-case-EU-say-MPs.html] ”.

Recent research suggests that humans are predisposed to “learn” negative stereotypes[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/nov/01/human-brain-is-predisposed-to-negative-stereotypes-new-study-suggests]. Our brains are more likely to remember negative information than positive information, especially about groups of whom we already hold negative views. Such a harmful cognitive feedback loop would call for extra caution when reporting, making sure ethnicity or religion is included only when relevant to the story. “Foreign lorry drivers using their phones while driving” does not pass that test, unless you believe English drivers never use their phones on the road.

Related: LSE foreign academics told they will not be asked to advise UK on Brexit[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/07/lse-brexit-non-uk-experts-foreign-academics]

“Foreigner”. When I came to live here five years ago that word felt so different from how it does today. Britain was the country that would give the governorship of the Bank of England to a Canadian – try to imagine Germany making a non-German head of the Bundesbank. London’s financial sector, where I had come to do research, was teeming with European **immigrants** telling me that it was in the City that for the first time ever they no longer felt like a foreigner. “It’s like they don’t see my skin colour,” a French-Algerian, Turkish-German or Surinamese-Dutch banker would say with genuine emotion. “It’s all about what you can do here, not how you look or where you are from.”

Fast forward a few years and a woman of Polish origin goes on BBC Question Time to say she no longer feels welcome in Britain[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/oct/21/polish-woman-booed-on-question-time-after-describing-discrimination-video]. The audience boos her, proving her point better than she ever could. This is now a country where a minister calls for firms to publish lists with the “foreign” workers[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/government-faces-backlash-from-business-leaders-over-foreign-workers] they employ, and where another government ministry tells the London School of Economics to no longer put forward any of its “foreign” academics[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/07/lse-brexit-non-uk-experts-foreign-academics] for consultancy work on Brexit. Those two statements were rescinded, but the same is not true of another, made by a minister who described UK-based EU nationals such as me as among Britain’s most valuable bargaining chips in Brussels[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/liam-fox-refuses-to-guarantee-right-of-eu-citizens-to-remain-in-uk].

Meanwhile, the Daily Express and the Daily Mail seem to compete for the most outrageous incitement against migrants, **refugees**, “foreigners”. Indeed, in some quarters of England today, calling somebody “foreign” is enough to win the argument. The European court of justice? The European court of human rights? Well, they are staffed by foreign judges, so case closed.

Related: Liam Fox: EU nationals in UK one of 'main cards' in Brexit negotiations[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/liam-fox-refuses-to-guarantee-right-of-eu-citizens-to-remain-in-uk]

It is strange how these things get under your skin, when you realise that for millions of tabloid readers you are a “foreigner” rather than a fellow European. It suddenly feels significant that in the English language “foreigner” and “**alien**” are synonyms. When I have to fill out a form for the NHS, having to choose between “British white” and “Any other white” no longer looks so innocent; the same with schools having to report their pupils’ racial and ethnic backgrounds.

When I now see somebody reading the Daily Mail I can’t help thinking: why would you pay money to read invented horror stories about people like me? I am a supremely privileged middle-class Dutchman who can always return to his homeland – an even more prosperous place than England. But what must it be like for a 13-year-old UK-born girl of Kosovan descent growing up in Sunderland?

Usually a piece like this concludes with a sanctimonious warning of what history tells us xenophobic incitement ultimately leads to. But we are well past that. Jo Cox is dead[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/30/jo-cox-widower-calls-on-politicians-to-reclaim-patriotism-from-far-right]. Hate crime figures have soared[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/07/hate-surged-after-eu-referendum-police-figures-show]. Some people simply seem to have taken the Daily Mail at its word: our country is flooded by evil foreigners. The politicians are in cahoots with them. Who will speak for England?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The old social democratic order is crumbling. The continent’s last hope lies with the leftwing Podemos party, but first it has to re-engage with the mass movements that produced it

Democracy is often on a collision course with economic elites, sometimes in less subtle ways than others. Spain’s current plight is one such example. Last month, the country’s Socialist leader Pedro Sánchez[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/01/pedro-sanchez-resigns-as-leader-of-spains-socialist-party] was toppled in a party coup, paving the way for his fellow MPs to abstain in a vote to allow the conservative Mariano Rajoy to resume office. For many traditional Socialist voters, Rajoy’s Popular party is the political wing of a venal, corrupt right-wing establishment: allowing them to form a minority government was an act of betrayal. But Sánchez’s subsequent revelations exposed the machinations of powerful Spanish interests.

Related: What’s happened to Spain’s socialist party? Well, it’s like Britain’s Labour | Miguel-Anxo Murado[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/30/what-happened-spain-socialist-workers-party-like-labour]

After two elections that marked the collapse of the country’s two-party system but failed to produce a governing majority, Sánchez had attempted to assemble a leftwing alliance, much like the one that governs in neighbouring Portugal. His ambition had been to form a government alongside Podemos[https://www.theguardian.com/world/podemos] – a recently formed party that emerged from movements protesting against cuts that have devastated Spanish society – and backed by Catalan nationalists.

But this week, Sánchez revealed that he was blocked by powerful corporations, including banks and Spanish telecoms giant Telefónica. These interests run El País, the country’s largest newspaper. Unless Sánchez allowed Rajoy to return to power, or accepted a new round of elections, El País would launch a vicious campaign against Sánchez. A coalition with Podemos was simply intolerable.

Here was direct interference in Spanish democracy by unaccountable vested interests to stop a progressive government taking power. “Sánchez has recognised the pressure of the oligarchic powers and that it was a mistake not seeking an agreement with us,” says Podemos leader Pablo Iglesias.

Indeed, Sánchez is a man riven with regret. He had attempted to form an alliance with the centre-right Citizens’ party – another beneficiary of the implosion of the two-party system. But it was all a ruse: Podemos was asked to back such an alliance, even though it meant signing up to rightwing economic policies that would have been impossible to accept. It was nothing more than an attempt to blame Podemos for preventing Rajoy’s return to power.

Spain’s Socialists are now in a terrible situation. Their grassroots are **alienated**, while the triumphant conservatives know they can coerce the Socialists to back their regressive budgets, threatening a snap election that would decimate their rivals if they refused. The Spanish Socialists were already halfway to suffering the fate of their Greek sister party, Pasok, which so **alienated** its natural supporters that they defected en masse to Syriza. The Catalan socialists are enraged by the party leadership’s actions, and could even split. Podemos can now position itself as the real opposition. But that is of little comfort to Podemos’ base, who could now endure years more of a conservative government that they had every hope of overturning.

What is happening in Spain is revealing about events far beyond the country’s borders. In Britain, Jeremy Corbyn’s internal opponents quite legitimately point to the Labour party’s abysmal poll ratings. It says much about the state of European social democracy that Labour’s polling is higher than almost all of its sister parties across the Channel. When Tony Blair won his landslide 1997 victory[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/jun/08/uk.electionspast], social democrats were on the march across the European continent, including in Germany, France, Italy and Scandinavia.

Today’s social democratic parties are haemorrhaging support to the new left, the populist right and civic nationalism. The German social democratic leadership may be committed to the sort of “third way” politics some would like Labour to adopt, but in the latest poll they languish at 22%. The French Socialists face being beaten by the far-right Front National in the first round of next year’s presidential elections. Sweden’s social democrats hang on to power by their fingernails, while their Nordic allies are exiled from power. Italy’s centre left is a rare exception, but its only hold on power is precarious and challenged by the rise of the populist Five Star Movement[https://www.theguardian.com/world/five-star-movement].

The core base of European social democratic parties has fragmented: between younger and older voters; university-educated and working-class voters in small towns; between those hostile to **immigration** and those who are not. The fury exchanged between centre-left and radical left forces across Europe is, all too often, a deflection from an uncomfortable truth: that neither has so far produced a convincing answer to how these multiple divisions can be straddled, and how a viable electoral coalition can be produced that would win power.

It is frustration at unaccountable elites that produced Podemos in the first place: its whole narrative has been vindicated. Five years ago, millions of Spaniards who were disillusioned with the political establishment and determined to make it pay for a crisis not of their making mobilised across the country. Without these so-called indignados[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/oct/15/spain-15-m-movement-activism], Podemos and its allies would never have emerged as mass political forces. Podemos has much to teach other European leftists about how to communicate beyond traditional comfort zones. But Podemos’ results in June’s elections were disappointing: it had expected to eclipse the Socialists as the second party, and was traumatised when it failed to do so. In other local elections it routinely underperforms its opinion poll ratings. The party is now engaged in profound soul-searching, debating how to democratise the party’s own internal structures to re-engage with the mass movements that produced it.

Related: If Europe's centre-left clings to discredited ideas, it will die | Paul Mason[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/03/europe-centre-left-spain-socialist-party-leader-coup]

If Podemos capitalises both on disillusionment with the Socialists and the Popular party, it could provide an example for the left across Europe. If it fails to do so, there could be terrible consequences across the continent. Rightwing populism is on the march, and it is making considerable inroads into working-class communities that traditionally opted for the left. If discontent continues to sweep the western world – or if there is another crash – then the populist right will be well placed to gain.

The old social democratic model is crumbling, but there is no guarantee that progressive forces will fill the vacuum it leaves. In Poland, the left has effectively ceased to exist: politics is a debate between David Cameron-style liberal conservatives and rightwing populism. If the left fails, Polandisation beckons for European politics. No pressure, Spain: but Europe’s future may depend on you.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**To get a real feel for the diversity and quirkiness of America, visit its small towns – where fascinating history, regional cuisine and great scenery are just some of the attractions

Winning tip: Helper, Utah

Helper is an old mining town 100 miles or so from Salt Lake City. It had been in decline for years but a steady flow of artists who can’t afford SLC prices are moving in. The old, run-down cinema still displays a poster of the last film shown in the 1960s. Its rich history of **immigration** and mining, plus its Butch Cassidy links, is reflected in the fascinating contents of its antique shops. The residents were pleased and perplexed to have an English couple turn up in town. We heard stories of the town’s past from a retired actor carrying his three white poodles who had moved in a decade ago from LA. He told of the huge increase in the town’s population when miners came down from the mountains at the weekends, the bars and bordellos doing great business. The town is a sort of living museum and anyone interested in American culture would delight in spending time here, chatting with real characters full of stories and legends. Go before this place disappears. It’s authentic and unforgettable.

Pappi

Poulsbo, Washington On the Olympic peninsula 35 minutes by ferry from Seattle, this picturesque little town highlights its Nordic heritage – the town saw a lot of **immigration** from Norway and Finland particularly – while remaining distinctly American. Grab a coffee and a doughnut from Sluys Bakery[http://sluyspoulsbobakery.com/] and head over to the water to see sail boats drift against the backdrop of the 8,000ft Olympic Mountains. A stroll through town reveals numerous galleries and antique shops. Grab some food at Tizley’s[http://www.tizleys.com/] then head over to the Valhöll Brewery[https://www.facebook.com/ValhollBrewing/] to try some excellent local beer. And don’t forget to visit Mora[http://moraicecream.com/mora-ice-cream-locations-2/mora-ice-cream-poulsbo/], voted one of the best ice creameries in the US.

halfpennybuddha

Marfa, Texas

This is the quintessential small Texan town out in the state’s far west. It has a remarkable art scene with several galleries[http://www.visitmarfa.com/arts.php#.WBnSrzaLRdA]. It also has the Marfa Lights. It might be desert gas, locals having a laugh or atmospheric conditions reflecting car lights, but it’s been going on for more than a century. People go out and have fun and wait for them to appear. The town is also relatively close (in Texas terms) to the beautiful 8,000ft Davis mountains.

Lee Franke

Essex, Connecticut

A colonial seaport midway between New York and Boston, Essex embodies every Hollywood cliche about small town New England but does so in the most winning way. There are white clapboard federal-style houses with the Stars and Stripes aflutter, classy boutiques and a corker of a tavern. The Griswold Inn[http://www.griswoldinn.com/], opened in 1776, making it America’s oldest continuously-serving hostelry. It has a collection of firearms on the walls and serves up delights like lobster pot pie. If it all gets a bit cutesy, wander down to the Connecticut river to inspect the boatyards and yachts. George III’s forces attacked in 1814 and torched 28 ships there, but the cheery locals won’t hold it against British visitors.

manofmode

The other Las Vegas, New Mexico

For those interested in the old west, this town (700 miles east of its Nevada namesake) hits the spot. The city museum hosts Teddy Roosevelt’s Rough Rider Memorial Collection, full of artefacts from the late 19th century wars in Cuba and beyond. It’s easy to visualise Billy the Kid and Jesse James riding into this town. Bed down at the 1920s Spanish colonial-style El Fidel (doubles from $45, +1 505 425 6761, no website) on Douglas Avenue with ceiling fans and tiled floors that take you to another era. Also on Douglas, drop into Charlie’s Spic and Span[https://www.facebook.com/pages/Charlies-Spic-and-Span/205854889429503] for some fine New Mexican food and friendly service.

klokan

Roanoke, Virginia

A quaint town that serves as gateway for some serious hiking and driving along the Blue Ridge Parkway[https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2016/sep/24/blue-ridge-mountains-music-road-trip-virginia-bluegrass-old-time]. Mill Mountain Park offers nice views and lovely trails and a picture by the Roanoke Star at night is a must. There is plenty of stuff to keep you entertained – enjoy some locally roasted coffee at Little Green Hive Coffee & Smoothie Bar[https://www.facebook.com/LittleGreenHive/] or at Sweet Donkey Coffee House[http://www.sweetdonkeycoffee.com/] where pumpkin spice latte is on the menu this fall, and spend the day at Center in the Square[http://www.centerinthesquare.org/] visiting their four museums (including the pinball museum[http://www.roanokepinball.org/] ), the Mill Mountain Theatre and the shops and restaurants around the venue. The lovely Historic Roanoke City Market[http://www.downtownroanoke.org/explore/city-market] is open every day and is a foodie delight.

cheesecake79

Beaufort, South Carolina

A stay at the luxurious Rhett House Inn[http://www.rhetthouseinn.com/] (doubles from $219 B&B), epitomises the glamour of Gone with the Wind. The surrounding streets are lined with grand antebellum mansions shaded by mature oaks dripping with Spanish moss. Strictly speaking, it feels as though we should be over the state line in Georgia but Beaufort is a willing stand-in: much of Forrest Gump was filmed here instead of Alabama. The town, which is on low-lying Port Royal island, was also the setting for The Big Chill movie. The town’s Old Point historic district is a delight; we took a carriage ride with the Sea Island Carriage Company[http://www.seaislandcarriagecompany.com/] and visited the town’s delightful art galleries before chowing down at a waterfront eateries on Bay Street.

Julia Hammond Johnson

Boulder City, Nevada

Built in 1931 to re-house workers on the nearby Hoover Dam from their tented slums, this small town is only a dice roll from Vegas. The Boulder Dam Museum[http://www.bcmha.org/] (entry $2) focuses on the social and human cost of that engineering marvel (and is curated by the son of a former Ragtown inhabitant). It is located in the elegant, colonial Boulder Dam Hotel[http://www.boulderdamhotel.com/] (doubles from $80 B&B), built in 1933 to accommodate VIPs visiting the dam construction site. Bronze statues adorn the quaint streets, depicting the history of this sympathetically planned settlement where spacious parks were integral in providing recreational opportunities for its first citizens. Casino-free, it’s a genteel and friendly antidote to Sin City.

rja123

Shipshewana, Indiana

This fascinating town is halfway between Detroit and Chicago, making it a perfect stopover on a road trip. This small town with a population of around 700 people offers a fascinating insight into an alternative strand of American culture: the Amish. The Menno-Hof Amish and Mennonite Centre[http://www.mennohof.org/] is the best place to start your visit; guided tours allowing an insight into the culture of the town and its people. A subsequent horse carriage tour around town will let you sit back and learn more about the workings of the place. The bakeries are filled with fresh cinnamon-rolls and the flea market every Wednesday presents a fine array of Americana memorabilia.

ID7840980

Guerneville, California

About 90 minutes’ drive north of San Francisco, you’ll find the laid back town of Guerneville. Charmingly rustic, but with a wonderful food and wine scene thanks to it’s Sonoma county location, since the 1970s the town has become a welcoming resort for the LGBT community. At its heart is the Russian river, with canoes, kayaks, umbrellas and beach chairs available for rent. Check out the excellent bistro Boon Eat + Drink[http://eatatboon.com/], featuring a menu using local, fresh, seasonal ingredients.

Darina1983

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It’s ‘ludicrous’ to think a ban on **refugees** returning to Australia is needed to stop fake spousal visas, says migration specialist

Migration experts and **refugee** advocates have questioned a claim by the **immigration** minister that the government’s plan to bar resettled **refugees** from ever returning to Australia was needed to stop “sham relationships”.

Peter Dutton told 2GB’s Ray Hadley on Thursday the proposal would prevent people resettled from Manus and Nauru in a third country coming to Australia[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat] “through the back door on some tourist visa, because that would just be the people smugglers rubbing their hands together having found another way to get people back into Australia”.

Related: Peter Dutton says **refugee** crackdown meant to stop 'sham relationship' visas[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/02/peter-dutton-says-refugee-crackdown-meant-to-stop-sham-relationship-visas]

On Wednesday, Dutton had suggested that the ban, which would apply only to people processed on Nauru and Manus since July 2013 and include those in Australia for medical care, would strengthen reportedly imminent deals with third-party countries by closing the door to fake spousal visas[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/02/peter-dutton-says-refugee-crackdown-meant-to-stop-sham-relationship-visas] as well as those for business and tourism.

“I’m not going to allow an arrangement where people believe that it’s OK to enter into what are essentially sham relationships to come to Australia on a spouse visa or through some other means,” he said.

Kerry Murphy, a credited migration specialist, said the idea new legislation was needed to prevent such relationships was “frankly ludicrous”.

Murphy estimated the department of **immigration** already assesses tens of thousands of such applications each year, and said restrictions and provisions already existed.

“You’re looking at a process the department deals with very regularly,” Murphy told Guardian Australia. “This is nothing new. Why not let the application go through the existing law that’s already there?”

Under migration law it is an offence to arrange a marriage for the purpose of obtaining permanent residency in Australia, or to make false or misleading statements about the genuine nature of a relationship in making the application.

Related: New asylum laws pave the way for third-country resettlement, Peter Dutton says[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/new-asylum-laws-third-country-resettlement-peter-dutton]

If a departmental case officer – or subsequent review tribunal – is not satisfied the relationship is genuine, the application can be refused.

“The legislation is there and being used, probably on daily basis,” Murphy said. “There’s no reason or logic why the law needs to be changed for such a small group of people.”

Sanmati Verma, a migration law specialist from Clothier Anderson, said: “There is no reason to subject people to a permanent ban on entry, other than to send a punitive message.

“I think the ban is just a final ideological step … that departs from any pretence that offshore processing was about forcing people back into the ‘queue’. It obliterates the queue.”

Natasha Blucher, detention rights advocate for the Asylum Seeker Resource Centre, said: “If the department is worried it means they don’t have confidence in their own internal processes. As far as I am aware there’s a high threshold of evidence to show a relationship is not a sham relationship.”

Blucher said she was unaware of anyone in the offshore centres seeking out a “sham relationship” in the hope of obtaining an Australian visa.

“But what we do have is a number of people who have families in Australia – wives, kids, husbands, extended families – on permanent visas,” she said. “Essentially what we’re looking at here is a law that’s going to separate family units. It’s abhorrent.”

Dutton suggested on Wednesday that families who were separated by this policy could be reunited with assistance from the department or ministerial intervention, but only in third countries, not Australia.

Vernma described the suggestion as “absurd” and questioned the legality of Australia attempting to resettle its permanent residents in another country.

She also questioned Dutton’s claim that he would exercise his ministerial discretion, and said the minister had restructured the process so much that he now had one of the lowest levels of ministerial involvement in individual cases in recent history.

The shadow **immigration** minister, Shayne Neumann, accused the government of changing its reasoning for the policy from day to day.

“Turnbull and Dutton said the reason for this legislation was to send the strongest possible message to people smugglers – as if they haven’t already been doing that for the past three years,” he told Guardian Australia.

“Then a day or two later they said it’s all about getting rid of these people off Manus and Nauru and resettling them, but when the New Zealand prime minister said[http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/85913708/john-key-nz-wont-back-different-classes-of-citizens-to-allow-australia-refugee-deal] they don’t want second-class citizens, [the government] said, ‘oh no, it’s America.’

“Now they’ve said it’s about sham marriages – without any cogent, reasonable or probative evidence produced.

“If you’re going to bring someone in on a spouse visa, you’re going to have to prove the genuineness of the relationship, and you need strong evidence to prove that.”

Despite objecting to all the government’s statements made about the proposal so far, Neumann would not be drawn on whether Labor would support it in parliament[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/labor-mps-oppose-refugee-ban-despite-leadership-saying-it-will-wait-and-see].

He said the government had told Labor it would not receive the legislation until next week and Labor could not make a decision until then. “I don’t think it’s unreasonable for the opposition to hold its fire and take it through the proper process,” he said.

“We’re not going to take their comments on face value, when those comments change and are variable from day to day.”

Neumann said the suggestion that the department could assist with family reunions in a third-party country was “extraordinary” and Dutton was putting himself up as “the guardian of family reunions and family values”.

He said Dutton would have to take legal advice about how an Australian minister could intervene in another country’s migration processes.

Dutton’s office did not respond to questions.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**‘It doesn’t matter it will hurt me or not – do what you think is right’: celebrated artist says Beijing has axed rule of law for anyone with contrary political views

Western governments should challenge China on human rights and stand up for their principles, dissident artist Ai Weiwei has said – lamenting the repression faced by Chinese activists but declaring that Beijing’s “business partners” in the rest of the world should not fear making it worse.

One of the world’s most famous living artists, Ai has long run foul of Chinese authorities, culminating in 81 days of detention in 2011 amid a wider crackdown on political dissent. He was subsequently banned from travelling overseas for more than four years and his passport was confiscated.

“It doesn’t matter it will hurt me or not, you have to do what you think is right,” Ai said during an event at the Council on Foreign Relations[http://www.cfr.org/culture-and-foreign-policy/conversation-ai-weiwei/p38445] in New York. “You have to believe they have to listen. You know, they have to care about their business partner … or they have to respect.”

He encouraged western governments to maintain pressure on China, even with the potential that it may lead to harsh treatment for activists. In recent years more and more foreign politicians have been willing to forgo discussions of human rights issues[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/sep/23/osborne-to-hail-chinese-regions-enormous-potential-amid-news-of-latest-deadly-unrest] in order to forge closer economic ties with Beijing.

Since Xi Jinping took power in 2012 China has launched a wide-ranging crackdown on civil society, with hundreds of lawyers and activists arrested or jailed as the authorities have become less tolerant of any speech challenging the Communist party line.

“If you touch any political issues there’s no such thing as rule of law,” Ai said. “It’s getting really very bad, I should say, the situation. It’s almost no space.”

He lamented the fact that even the lawyers who defended the “basic rights of their clients” had become targets of the authorities.

“You just defend some people being wrongly accused, you can be put in jail,” Ai said. “And many of them are being falsely accused without trial, they’re still in jail.”

Xia Lin, a lawyer who previously defended Ai and other activists, was sentenced to 12 years in prison[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/22/china-lawyer-for-ai-weiwei-jailed-for-12-years-in-severe-retaliation] in September on fraud charges. Many saw the conviction as revenge for defending high-profile political clients.

More than 200 lawyers and activists were detained[https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2016/07/one-year-since-chinas-crackdown-on-human-rights-lawyers/] in a nationwide sweep last summer, with certain law firms apparently targeted because of their client lists.

Ai’s more recent work has turned away from critiques of the Chinese government and focused instead on Syrian **refugees** and a series of Lego portraits of celebrated human rights crusaders[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/oct/24/artist-ai-weiwei-banned-by-lego-to-build-artwork-australian-exhibition] from around the world.

At a recent exhibition in Reading prison where author Oscar Wilde was once held, Ai contributed a piece that detailed his detention[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/sep/05/inside-review-a-momentous-artangel-project], where he had to ask permission to scratch his head or sip water, and guards stood over him as he showered and slept.

He has compared the conditions he experienced to those faced by **refugees** in Europe[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/19/ai-weiwei-chinese-artist-eu-refugees-turkey-immoral-humanitarian-crisis-lesbos], saying that although he experienced extreme and violent treatment in China, he “could never have imagined conditions like this”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Former chancellor said he doesn’t ‘buy the argument that there’s a big pool of British people who don’t have jobs’ due to migration

People who **immigrate** to the UK do not take jobs from local workers, the former chancellor George Osborne has said.

He said the hard data did not back up the claim that **immigration** meant lost jobs to British workers, contradicting the prime minister who told the Conservative party conference last month that she sided with people who had lost jobs “because of low-skilled **immigration**”.

Theresa May said: “If you’re one of those people who lost their job, who stayed in work but on reduced hours, took a pay cut as household bills rocketed, or — and I know a lot of people don’t like to admit this — someone who finds themselves out of work or on lower wages because of low-skilled **immigration**, life simply doesn’t seem fair... So change has got to come.”

Speaking to an audience of academics and journalists at the London School of Economics on Wednesday, Osborne said: “We are actually close to full employment in this country. So I think this sort of argument that, somehow, the **immigrants** are taking jobs that are leaving a load of people unemployed in Britain doesn’t really stack up.”

He did, however, say that many of the jobs that people could find were not of sufficient quality and that the skills possessed by the British workforce could be improved, adding that a skills shortage had been “big challenge and problem... for many decades”.

But Osborne said the data showed the UK’s employment rate to be “one of the highest in the world”, while its rate of unemployment was “the lowest its been since 1971”.

“So, I don’t really buy the argument that there’s a big pool of British people who don’t have jobs, who need jobs. I’m all for trying to improve the quality of people’s jobs and, actually, the most recent data showed that the incomes of the poorest 5% were rising at 6% a year, which is – I would say – an achievement.”

A recent study[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/20/reality-check-are-eu-migrants-really-taking-british-jobs] found evidence that migrants from within the EU did not take jobs from people already living in Britain and that there was little evidence of wage depression, even in the lowest-paid jobs.

Other research[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/mar/06/report-foreign-migrants-british-workers-jobs-immigration] has suggested there is little evidence that migrants from outside the EU put workers already in the UK out of jobs in times of economic growth, though there was some evidence of displacement during the recession.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Research shows ‘hotspot’ system has stretched frontline resources and resulted in alleged torture and human rights violations

European migration[https://www.theguardian.com/world/migration] policies have led to the alleged torture, abuse and illegal deportation of asylum seekers arriving by boat to Italy, according to dozens of migrant testimonies published for the first time.

Forty Sudanese migrants were also illegally deported to Sudan[https://www.theguardian.com/world/sudan] without recourse to proper asylum procedures, and at least one of them – a **refugee** from Darfur[https://www.theguardian.com/world/darfur] – was beaten by officials on his return, interviewees said.

The alleged abuse is the natural outcome of the EU’s new migration strategy, according to Amnesty International,[https://www.theguardian.com/world/amnesty-international] which conducted the research.

The implementation of the EU ‘hotspot’ system,[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/21/chaos-greek-islands-three-tier-refugee-registration-system-syria-lesbos] which forces all migrants to be fingerprinted on arrival in Italy,[https://www.theguardian.com/world/italy] and the failure of the EU’s relocation scheme,[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/23/refugees-in-the-uk-questions-and-answers-on-the-relocation-scheme] which has meant more **refugees** are housed in Italy and Greece than most EU members, has stretched Italian resources and created a dynamic that encourages abuse, Amnesty said.

One Sudanese victim told the Guardian: “I saw someone tortured with electricity – I saw it with my own eyes.”

The 23-year-old, who also provided testimony to Amnesty, added: “He refused to give [the police his] fingerprints, and that’s why they did it. They used Tasers.”

The Italian interior ministry did not respond to the Guardian’s request for comment. Italian officials and politicians have previously warned that the country lacks the resources to care properly for so many asylum seekers, and needs more support from its European neighbours.

Since 2015, European leaders have forced Italy to register all arrivals from Libya,[https://www.theguardian.com/world/libya] effectively making Italy responsible for their care, without welcoming any themselves. Just 1,200 **refugees** have been formally relocated from Italy to other European countries out of the 40,000 whom EU members initially promised to absorb.

Related: Matteo Renzi: Italy cannot take in 155,000 migrants again next year[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/25/italy-matteo-renzi-migrants-refugees-european-union]

The Italian prime minister, Matteo Renzi,[https://www.theguardian.com/world/matteo-renzi] threatened last week to veto the disbursement of EU funds to countries that failed to welcome **refugees** from Italy. “Italy cannot take another year like the one we’ve just had,” Renzi said[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/25/italy-matteo-renzi-migrants-refugees-european-union].

Amnesty’s lead researcher on the project, Matteo De Bellis, said: “The hotspot approach, designed in Brussels and executed in Italy, has increased, not decreased, the pressure on frontline states. It is resulting in appalling violations of the rights of desperately vulnerable people[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/may/06/gambian-migrants-who-risk-death-find-life-less-than-sweet-in-italy] for which the Italian authorities bear a direct responsibility and Europe’s leaders a political one.”

The vast majority of incoming migrants appear to have been treated in a humane manner by Italian police. The Italian navy and coastguard also play an instrumental role[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/25/five-refugees-drown-overcrowded-boat-overturns-libyan-coast] in the rescue of hundreds of thousands of stricken asylum seekers in the southern Mediterranean.

But the testimonies released on Thursday reveal that several officials, under pressure to fingerprint uncooperative asylum seekers, and to stem migration numbers, have abused people and returned them to dangerous situations without allowing them to apply for asylum.

One 27-year-old victim alleged that policemen in Sicily beat and Tasered him before using a pair of three-pronged pliers on his naked testicles. “I was on a chair made of aluminium, with an opening on the seat,” he told Amnesty, in testimony also confirmed by a second victim. “They held [my] shoulders and legs, took my testicles with the pliers, and pulled twice. I can’t say how painful it was.”

A 16-year-old from Darfur told Amnesty that he was electrocuted after he tried to resist being fingerprinted. “They gave me electricity with a stick, many times on the left leg, then on right leg, chest and belly,” he was quoted as saying. “I was too weak, I couldn’t resist and at that point they took both my hands and put them on the machine.”

A Darfurian man deported to Sudan in August told the Guardian he was expelled despite telling policemen that he wished to apply for asylum. “I told them I wanted political asylum in Italy,” he said by telephone. “But I’m not sure the translator translated this.”

The dangers of his illegal deportation became apparent on his arrival in Sudan. At least one returnee was beaten by Sudanese security officials during his interrogation, the man said. “He was dragged on the floor, and hit with a chair. We were in the same room, and he was next to me. I don’t [know] why they did it.”

The Sudanese president, Omar al-Bashir, has been charged by the international criminal court with three counts of genocide in Darfur[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jul/12/bashir-charged-with-darfur-genocide]. The Guardian has asked the Sudanese government for comment.

Additional reporting: Eiad Abdullatif

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HEREImmigration** minister says he will not allow any arrangement where people come to Australia on a spouse visa or other means

Federal government plans to block **refugees** who arrived in Australia by boat from ever returning on any kind of visa are essential because some may enter into “sham relationships” to get here, the **immigration** minister has said.

The government announced on Sunday [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat] it would seek to ban any adult who has had their application processed on Manus Island or Nauru from returning to Australia, including on tourism or business visas, regardless of where they end up settling.

Related: Could a mild outbreak of humanity be behind the Coalition's cynical new asylum politics? | Katharine Murphy [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/could-a-mild-outbreak-of-humanity-be-behind-the-coalitions-cynical-new-asylum-politics]

On Wednesday Peter Dutton said the government was still talking to a number of third countries to take **refugees** off Australia’s hands, but he was “not going to have any outcome that we put in place undermined by people coming back to our country through a separate visa process”.

“I’m not going to allow an arrangement where people believe that it’s OK to enter into what are essentially sham relationships to come to Australia on a spouse visa or through some other means,” he said.

Asked about the impact the policy would have on families who had been split between countries, Dutton suggested ministerial intervention would be used “sensibly” to reunite families, but only in third countries, not Australia.

That would mean people who had been settled in Australia would have to emigrate to join a family member who was barred from settling or visiting Australia.

When asked if the policy was essential to getting a deal with other countries for **refugee** resettlement, Dutton said it was “imperative” in order to put the government’s policy “in black and white”, and accused advocates and media outlets of telling asylum seekers the government would “fold” and allow them into Australia.

The policy has been widely criticised as cruel and unnecessary. The opposition leader, Bill Shorten, said it was “ridiculous” on the face of it, but would not rule out supporting it until Labor had seen the legislation [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/labor-mps-oppose-refugee-ban-despite-leadership-saying-it-will-wait-and-see].

Related: Kevin Rudd accuses Malcolm Turnbull of appeasing 'xenophobes' with **refugee** crackdown [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/02/kevin-rudd-accuses-malcolm-turnbull-of-appeasing-xenophobes-with-refugee-crackdown]

Dutton’s press conference responded to criticisms from the former Labor prime minister, Kevin Rudd , who accused the government of trying to appease the far right with its plan [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/02/kevin-rudd-accuses-malcolm-turnbull-of-appeasing-xenophobes-with-refugee-crackdown].

“It is without any policy merit in dealing with the real policy challenges all countries face today in what is now a global **refugees** crisis,” he wrote in an opinion piece for Fairfax.

Dutton said Rudd was attempting to rewrite history, and called on Shorten to distance Labor from its former leader’s comments.

“We are not going to take advice from Kevin Rudd who, from the lofty heights of his apartment in New York, somehow wants to give us a lecture on how to control Australia’s borders,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Liberal senator, who has reiterated his support for Trump while on taxpayer-funded secondment to the UN, calls on government to ‘reconsider’ **refugee** intake

Liberal senator Cory Bernardi has called for the government to halve the migration intake and reconsider the **refugee** intake or face the further rise of anti-establishment parties including One Nation.

Speaking from New York where he is on secondment to the United Nations, Bernardi reiterated his support for Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/02/australian-senators-cory-bernardi-and-malcolm-roberts-pledge-support-for-donald-trump], praising his populist anti-**immigration** policies.

Bernardi told Sky News he had warned of the rise of anti-establishment parties for years and said it was reflected in Australia by the rise of One Nation and, before that, the Palmer United party.

Related: Australia could double annual migration by 2054 and boost economy – report[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/03/australia-could-double-annual-migration-by-2054-and-boost-economy-report]

“Pauline Hanson is speaking directly to many Coalition voters and drawing them away because she’s tackling the issues that many would suggest the Coalition should be dealing with.”

He predicted the sentiment would grow if the major parties “did not reflect the concerns individuals have”, citing migration.

“For all the palaver we’ve been told that a big migration program is good for our economic growth, the statistics, when you look at them on a per capita basis, do not support that,” he claimed.

“What we should be doing is halving our migration intake, making sure it is acting in Australia’s interests in the long term.”

A report by the Committee for the Economic Development of Australia, released on Thursday, found that doubling the migration intake would have significant economic benefits[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/03/australia-could-double-annual-migration-by-2054-and-boost-economy-report] for average Australians.

The treasurer, Scott Morrison, has acknowledged concerns about **immigration**, but warned against cutting migration levels[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/30/scott-morrison-warns-resentment-to-free-trade-and-immigration-threatens-economy], describing population growth as a “prime driver” of economic growth.

In September, Morrison said the Productivity Commission has projected Australia’s GDP will be 58% higher by 2060 than it would with only natural increases in population.

Asked about the government’s proposed lifetime ban on **refugees** and asylum seekers[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat] in offshore detention ever travelling to Australia, Bernardi said he “fully supported” the decision and encouraged his party to “reconsider aspects of our humanitarian **refugee** intake”.

In October the Coalition and Labor moved a parliamentary motion denouncing “racial intolerance in any form”[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/10/turnbull-and-shorten-denounce-racial-intolerance-in-any-form-in-immigration-policy] and reaffirming Australia’s commitment to a non-discriminatory **immigration** policy.

Related: Turnbull and Shorten denounce ‘racial intolerance in any form’ in **immigration** policy[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/10/turnbull-and-shorten-denounce-racial-intolerance-in-any-form-in-immigration-policy]

It followed Hanson’s declaration in her first speech to the Senate in mid-September that Australia was in danger of being swamped by Muslims[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban].

Bernardi predicted that Trump would win the popular vote, but said it “remains to be seen” if he will win the electoral college vote. Economic difficulties around the globe “give rise to strong leaders that promise to change the system”, he said.

The opposition leader, Bill Shorten, told 2SM Radio on Thursday he thought Clinton would win but he was not sure now polls had tightened. He suggested the FBI’s release of an email revealing it had found further emails relating to Clinton’s private server was not useful.

Bernardi said the election was “a referendum on Hillary Clinton” and that whatever flaws and failings Trump had, voters were “tired of the status quo”.

“For every flaw that Donald Trump’s got, I think you can magnify for Hillary by two.”

Bernardi said Trump was the only candidate discussing policy, nominating **immigration**, tax reform, term limits for politicians and “fixing Obamacare” as his strengths.

Bernardi claimed he was “not a cheerleader for Donald Trump”, and noted he had backed Ted Cruz to be the Republican nominee because he was a constitutional conservative.

“But when you compare the two candidates, I think Donald Trump has more opportunity and a better chance to fix what’s wrong with America, and the American political system than Hillary Clinton does.”

Bernardi said he believed “anyone other than Hillary Clinton would clean up in this contest”. If Bernie Sanders were the Democratic candidate he would’ve won because he promised change and a “policy mix that appealed to many people”.

Related: Australian senators Cory Bernardi and Malcolm Roberts pledge support for Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/02/australian-senators-cory-bernardi-and-malcolm-roberts-pledge-support-for-donald-trump]

The Labor leader in the Senate, Penny Wong, criticised Bernardi’s intervention, noting he was spruiking for Trump on a taxpayer-funded trip, and suggesting the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, was “too weak to control his [party’s] hard right”.

Cory Bernardi using taxpayer-funded UN post to back Donald Trump? Malcolm too weak to control his hard right again? https://t.co/wsj0LUUYCS[https://t.co/wsj0LUUYCS] — Senator Penny Wong (@SenatorWong) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/SenatorWong/status/793931088917692416]

Responding to Bernardi, the shadow finance minister, Jim Chalmers, said he had “made a career dividing people in Australia [so] I’m not surprised to see he’s enjoying the circus that’s going on in that American presidential election”.

Chalmers said Australia would work with whoever wins but Labor was concerned about Trump’s views on women and minorities.

“What the markets are reacting[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/nov/02/donald-trump-potential-victory-financial-markets-panic-hillary-clinton-us-presidential-election] to is the incoherence of his policies on America’s place in the world and his economic policies,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Nirary Dacho’s determination to help fellow **refugees** find work in Australia inspired the launch of **Refugee** Talent

Just 14 months ago Nirary Dacho was a penniless **refugee**, landing at Sydney airport with a dream of being able to continue his career as an IT analyst in a country where he would be safe from Isis.

Today the 29-year old Assyrian sits in a comfortable office as the cofounder of **Refugee** Talent[http://refugeetalent.com/], a fast-growing digital platform that exists to get **refugees** into work.

This has been a rapid turnaround in fortune – especially considering 48% of those on humanitarian visas remain unemployed 18 months[https://theconversation.com/factcheck-qanda-do-refugees-cost-australia-100m-a-year-in-welfare-with-an-unemployment-rate-of-97-54395] after arriving.

Dacho has been able to break free from the traps that frustrate other **refugees**, thanks to a combination of lucky breaks and his ability to make good connections.

When Dacho arrived from Syria, via Lebanon, on a humanitarian visa with his parents, brother and sister, he could speak English, had a master’s degree in web science and more than eight years of working in IT and teaching programming at university in Syria.

Even so, he found it impossible to break into the employment market, despite updating his skills to Australian qualifications.

“My qualification was from overseas and I had no work experience in Australia and these are two of the main barriers for employment for **refugees**,” he says.

Related: Gender diversity at work: using education to tackle the backlash[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/oct/10/gender-diversity-at-work-using-education-to-tackle-the-backlash]

Dacho applied for more than 100 jobs in his first eight months before getting his first lucky break – which involved starring in a television news segment.

When the ABC’s Lateline program was preparing a story on unemployed **refugees**, the assistance organisation, Settlement Services International, nominated Dacho as a client to be profiled.

After it was screened, 10 employers lined up to offer him work and help. With a three-month contract as a software engineer with the technology company Dolby Australia, he was getting local experience that seems a prerequisite for most employers.

It was an exciting development, however Dacho was nowhere near elated. “It was such a bad feeling,” he says, explaining that he was thinking of the thousands of other **refugees** still waiting for their lucky break.

“They are also qualified and have long years of experience and they are sitting there, doing nothing. I was happy because I finally got a job but, the other side of it, [I] felt so bad.”

Dacho’s second stroke of good fortune came 12 months ago when he attended a networking event for **refugees** with IT skills – Techfugees Hackathon[https://techfugees.com/] Australia – and met Anna Robson, who became his cofounder and the chief executive of **Refugee** Talent.

Robson had spent 10 months working at the Nauru detention centre as an adult recreation officer and the two of them bonded over their desire to help **refugees**get work experience. Robson decided to join forces with Dacho to build an online platform to connect **refugees** to employers. The site launched in February.

The third time fortune smiled upon them was in March this year when Robson, moonlighting as an Uber driver, started chatting about her venture with an investor she was taking to the airport.

That passenger was Jason Yat-Sen Li, the chairman of Vantage Asia Holdings, a diversified investment group with offices in Beijing and Sydney and interests in real estate, mining, financial services and technology. Li is also a former Labor candidate for the seat of Bennelong.

“I asked her what she did when she wasn’t driving an Uber,” says Li, who was moved by what she had to say about her work with Save the Children on Nauru.

“The thing that caught me the most, apart from the awful things she saw there, was her observation that the vast majority of the people who were locked up there were highly skilled. They were doctors and engineers and software developers.”

Related: The Syrian who's aiming to get **refugees** jobs in Berlin's booming tech scene[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/may/18/syrian-refugees-jobs-berlin-technology-migranthire]

Li became an investor in **Refugee** Talent, offering Dacho and Robson free space in his Sydney Surry Hills office, business start-up advice and introduction to his business connections.

“The story and the serendipity of it appealed,” Li says. “It is a really nice thing in the innovation space where one can do something that reflects one’s values and hopefully do well out of it as well. We do think it has the potential to be a viable business.

“They sit with us in our office so, whenever they have questions or problems, they come to us. I chair their board and have helped them to put together a small board of directors. I have helped them raise a little money to get them started and they use some of our in-house resources, like an in-house designer.”

**Refugee** Talent now has 50 employers on board, has 160 clients and has placed 15 in jobs in its first eight months. The company has expanded to Melbourne and is looking at other states.

Dacho says the duo never expected things to happen so fast, thinking it would take two to three years to get to the point where they are now at 11 months, with both being employed full-time by the business.

“I am so lucky because I have these three moments in Australia,” he says, referring to his lucky breaks.

His advice to other **refugees** would be to take the initiative, rather than depending on case workers and assistance organisations. They should also get Australian qualifications as soon as possible and try to get any job (to get local experience), using **refugee**-assistance channels or applying direct to employers.

And drawing upon his experience, they should also make the effort to meet as many people as they can to build up a network.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Fund to be officially announced along with new guidance requiring councils to house women outside local area fleeing domestic violence

Theresa May has approved a £20m funding boost for women’s **refugesand** new guidance that obliges councils to accommodate women from outside their local area who are fleeing violent partners.

The communities secretary, Sajid Javid, is expected to confirm on Friday that local councils, working in partnership with specialist charities, will be able to bid for a share of the funds to provide “accommodation-based support”.

The money is the first tranche of £40m promised at last year’s spending review for tackling domestic violence by the end of this parliament. The government said it hoped the funding would help significantly increase the number of places available in **refuges**.

Bidders will only be awarded a share of the funds, which will cover 2017 and 2018, if they can show they will collaborate with providers across different local areas.

Official guidance to councils about the services they should provide locally will appear in a new document, Priorities for Domestic Abuse Services, which has been developed in collaboration with charities.

Some cash-strapped councils have been forced to cut back on non-statutory services as their grants from central government have been reduced, leading to a wave of warnings that **refuges** face closure.

Women’s charities have also warned that those fleeing domestic violence can sometimes be turned away when they seek **refuge** outside their local area.

Women’s Aid, which the government has consulted about its plans, recently warned that 17% of specialist women’s **refuges** had closed since 2010 and that more than 155 women a day were being turned away from **refugesbecause** there was not enough suitable places available.

Friday’s announcements, which will form the latest part of the government’s violence against women and girls strategy, aims to shift the emphasis from crisis response to prevention.

Asked for a comment, a spokesman for the Department for Communities and Local Government said he would not comment in advance of an official statement on Friday.

Downing Street is keen to show the government can still press ahead with the social reforms May has suggested she would prioritise[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/jul/13/prime-minister-theresa-may-pledges-to-build-a-better-britain-video] despite the formidable challenges of managing the process of Brexit.

However, a series of policies that had been trailed by David Cameron before the EU referendum, including a “life chances strategy”, are yet to see the light of day.

May has taken an interest in tackling domestic violence since she was home secretary, and it is an issue her key adviser, Fiona Hill, is known to feel strongly about.

In her speech to the Police Federation this year – before becoming prime minister – she said: “Let me be absolutely clear. Domestic abuse is a crime. Sexual assault is a crime. Child sexual abuse is a crime. Modern slavery is a crime. And the victims and survivors of those crimes deserve to be heard now, just as they should have been years ago, and they deserve justice, just as they did then.”

Separately, May has temporarily exempted women’s **refuges** from planned changes to housing benefit rules which could have forced many more to close. The move followed pressure from campaigners including backbench Labour MP Jess Phillips. However, it is unclear what will happen when this three year exemption ends.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**FTSE 100 hits one month low as sterling strengthens following polling data putting Donald Trump narrowly ahead of Hillary ClintonFed keeps US rates on hold but hints at December hikeOil slides as US crude stocks surge Sterling jumps but FTSE 100 downMoody’s warns of Brexit downgrade risksJD Wetherspoon threatens to drop European drinks over Brexit rowAnalyst: ‘Early stages of panic’ about Trump victory

block-time published-time 6.29pm GMT

But it is not a given that the Fed will hike in December, says economist James Knightley at ING Bank:

There is little in the statement to suggest that a December hike is definitely going to happen (markets currently pricing in a 67% chance of a move). The statement comments that ”the case for an increase in the federal funds rate has continued to strengthen” while adding the word “some” to the line that it wants to “wait for SOME further evidence of continued progress towards its objectives”. This all suggests that things are moving in the right direction, but the Presidential election is an obvious reason for waiting.

Assuming Clinton wins, markets are likely to react with relief given expectations of policy continuity. This, coupled with the reasonably firm growth, rising employment and a gradual pick-up in inflation should reinforce market expectations for a December rate hike. Should Trump win then this is likely to hurt market sentiment given uncertainty as to what he will actually do when in power. It is hard to imagine the Fed hiking in this environment. We also have plenty more data to come ahead of the December 14 FOMC meeting, including two more job reports so there are other reasons for caution.

The Fed statement has failed to give much support to the dollar, and US markets have struggled for direction after the news. The Dow Jones Industrial Average is now down 33 points, compared to around 70 ahead of the statement. The US dollar index has lost 0.3% to 97.38.

On that note, it’s time to close for the evening. Thanks for all your comments, and we’ll be back tomorrow.

block-time published-time 6.26pm GMT

enltr #Fed[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Fed?src=hash] #FOMC[https://twitter.com/hashtag/FOMC?src=hash] statement: US #economy[https://twitter.com/hashtag/economy?src=hash] chugging along, #inflation[https://twitter.com/hashtag/inflation?src=hash] & expectations rising, only need a little more progress: #December[https://twitter.com/hashtag/December?src=hash] #ratehike[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ratehike?src=hash]

— Gregory Daco (@GregDaco) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/GregDaco/status/793878361986793509]block-time published-time 6.16pm GMT

enltrNo alarms and no surprises. Fed leaves rates unchanged but hihts st hike in December. Uber-hawks George and Mester dissent. Wanted hike now.

— Paul R. La Monica (@LaMonicaBuzz) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/LaMonicaBuzz/status/793876400642088960]enltr #FOMC[https://twitter.com/hashtag/FOMC?src=hash] "judges that the case for an increase in the federal funds rate has continued to strengthen"; #Fed[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Fed?src=hash] remains on track for Dec rate hike

— Joseph A. LaVorgna (@Lavorgnanomics) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/Lavorgnanomics/status/793879869205733377]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.21pm GMT

block-time published-time 6.10pm GMT

Although there was no rate change today, it looks increasingly likely there will be one in December. Paul Sirani, chief market analyst at Xtrade, said:

With just days to go before election fever sweeps America, Janet Yellen’s Federal Interest Rate statement held no shocks with rates remaining the same.

However, it’s becoming ever more likely that Yellen will implement a raise early next month following signs that the American economy is gradually picking up steam.

She made clear in September that a rise before the end of 2016 was more than likely and with employment and inflation continuing to strengthen the central bank may get its wish.

block-time published-time 6.07pm GMT

The Fed has dropped a reference to inflation remaining low in the near term.

In September it said:

Inflation is expected to remain low in the near term, in part because of earlier declines in energy prices, but to rise to 2 percent over the medium term as the transitory effects of past declines in energy and import prices dissipate and the labor market strengthens further.

This now reads:

Inflation is expected to rise to 2 percent over the medium term as the transitory effects of past declines in energy and import prices dissipate and the labor market strengthens further.

block-time published-time 6.04pm GMT

The Fed said in its statement[http://www.federalreserve.gov/newsevents/press/monetary/20161102a.htm] :

The Committee expects that, with gradual adjustments in the stance of monetary policy, economic activity will expand at a moderate pace and labor market conditions will strengthen somewhat further. Inflation is expected to rise to 2 percent over the medium term as the transitory effects of past declines in energy and import prices dissipate and the labor market strengthens further. Near-term risks to the economic outlook appear roughly balanced. The Committee continues to closely monitor inflation indicators and global economic and financial developments.

Against this backdrop, the Committee decided to maintain the target range for the federal funds rate at 1/4 to 1/2 percent. The Committee judges that the case for an increase in the federal funds rate has continued to strengthen but decided, for the time being, to wait for some further evidence of continued progress toward its objectives. The stance of monetary policy remains accommodative, thereby supporting further improvement in labor market conditions and a return to 2 percent inflation.

block-time published-time 6.02pm GMT

This time there were only two Fed dissenters who wanted to raise rates not three, Esther George and Loretta Mester.

Eric Rosengren, who voted for a rise last time, has now sided with the majority.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.15pm GMT

block-time published-time 6.00pm GMT

Federal Reserve leaves US rates unchanged BREAKING NEWS

To no one’s great surprise, the Federal Reserve has opted to leave US interest rates unchanged just days ahead of the presidential election.

It said it was waiting for further evidence of progress towards its objectives before hiking.

block-time published-time 5.54pm GMT

enltrAwaiting any subtle change in #FOMC[https://twitter.com/hashtag/FOMC?src=hash] language to hint towards Dec hike... look out for "next meeting" or "further strengthened"

— Anthony Cheung (@AWMCheung) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/AWMCheung/status/793873322211696640]block-time published-time 5.10pm GMT

The US Federal Reserve’s interest rate decision will be released in less than an hour.

While most commentators expect there to be no change - not this close to the presidential election - the prospect of a rate rise in December is thought to be reasonably likely, given the recent reassuring US economic data.

There is likely to be a focus - as usual - on the exact wording of the Fed statement and whether it shows any changes from the September comments. At that meeting seven of the Fed members voted for no change, with three, Esther George, Loretta Mester, and Eric Rosengren, backing an increase. Any variance here could also give a clue to the likely outcome in December.

block-time published-time 4.59pm GMT

European markets hit by US election fears Investors have been unnerved by suggestions that Donald Trump is gaining ground in the US presidential race, with one poll this week even showing him in the lead over Hillary Clinton. Combined with a slump in oil prices following a record weekly rise in US crude stocks, this has pushed markets in Europe sharply lower.

But on Wall Street the Dow Jones Industrial Average, which lost 100 points or so on Tuesday, has not been hit as badly (so far), and is currently down just 20 points ahead of the latest US Federal Reserve interest rate decision.

Meanwhile the Vix index of volatility, seen as a gauge of investor fears, is up 3% to 19. When Clinton looked a shoo-in to win, the index was hovering around 13. But despite this recent rise, it is still well below the 25 level it reached after the Brexit vote in June. Jasper Lawler, market analyst at CMC Markets, said:

Less than a week out from the US election and markets are demonstrating both complacency and a palpable fear at the same time. A surge in the VIX index shows volatility is on the rise and investors are hedging equity exposure with safe havens like gold and government bonds. But at the same time equity benchmarks are only modestly down, showing an overriding comfort in owning stocks.

The VIX is up over 40% in the last seven days, reaching above 18, a level in which many investors sit up and pay attention to signs of heightened risk in the market. Over that same period the FTSE 100 and S&P 500 are down 2-3%.

There is still a general perception that Hillary Clinton will take the White House, but the surprise Brexit result is fresh in minds of investors and they are buying gold and VIX index tracking products to hedge their bets.

The final scores in Europe showed:

\* The FTSE 100 fell 71.72 points or 1.04% to 6845.42, its lowest level since 27 September

\* Germany’s Dax dropped 1.47% to 10,370.93

\* France’s Cac closed down 1.24% at 4414.67

\* Italy’s FTSE MIB finished 2.51% lower at 16,474.52

\* Spain’s Ibex ended down 1.85% at 8873.4

\* In Greece, the Athens market dipped 0.15% to 581.56.

block-time published-time 4.12pm GMT

Ahead of the US Federal Reserve interest rate decision in a couple of hours and the Bank of England meeting tomorrow, the dollar continues to weaken against the pound.

Jitters about the prospect of Donald Trump winning the White House have sent the US currency lower, to the benefit of sterling which is now up 0.57% at $1.2313, a three week high.

The pound is not faring so well against the euro but nor is it losing ground, being pretty much unchanged at €1.1078.

block-time published-time 3.52pm GMT

Back with oil:

enltrBack to Algiers #Brent[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brent?src=hash] and #WTI[https://twitter.com/hashtag/WTI?src=hash] crude #oil[https://twitter.com/hashtag/oil?src=hash] have now lost all gains made after #OPEC[https://twitter.com/hashtag/OPEC?src=hash] agreed output limits with other producers Sept 28 #OOTT[https://twitter.com/hashtag/OOTT?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/xb3NZzdBKN[https://t.co/xb3NZzdBKN]

— Christopher Johnson (@chris1reuters) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/chris1reuters/status/793836490023460865]block-time published-time 3.48pm GMT

Global manufacturing grew at the fastest rate for two years in October, according to data from purchasing managers surveys in more than 30 countries.

The JP Morgan Global Manufacturing PMI, compiled by Markit, rose to 52 in October form 51 the previous month, its highest since October 2014. Markit said the surveys hinted at “ a welcome resurgence of life in the world’s factories at the start of the fourth quarter. Inflationary pressures also picked up to the highest for nearly three years.”

It said the data were roughly consistent with global manufacturing output rising at a reasonable 4% annual pace.

enltrGlobal #manufacturing[https://twitter.com/hashtag/manufacturing?src=hash] growth hit a two-year high in October https://t.co/qTuXC8F9vq[https://t.co/qTuXC8F9vq] pic.twitter.com/YYWjzDUxFw[https://t.co/YYWjzDUxFw]

— Chris Williamson (@WilliamsonChris) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/WilliamsonChris/status/793839768828317697]block-time published-time 3.08pm GMT

With investors spooked by the prospect of Donald Trump possibly winning the US election, not to mention the plunge in oil prices following the jump in US crude stocks, markets remain under pressure.

The FTSE 100 is currently down 0.9%, Germany’s Dax has dropped 1.2% and France’s Cac has lost 1.1%.

On Wall Street, the Dow Jones Industrial Average has not been so badly hit and is currently 0.2% lower.

That could mean that investors are not necessarily convinced by polls showing Trump in the lead. Kathleen Brooks, research director at City Index, said:

The markets are not in full on panic mode right now, suggesting that they still think Clinton could clinch a win next week. This is reflected in the Vix volatility index, which is considered a fear gauge for Wall Street. Even though it has risen in recent days it is still below 20%, to put this in context, after the Brexit vote in June volatility spiked above 25%.

Global stock markets are generally lower on Wednesday, but US markets have outperformed their European counterparts even with 6 days to go before the US election. Interestingly, the Dow Jones Transport Index, considered a lead indicator for Wall Street, is higher today. Considering a Trump presidency is considered the worst outcome for the US economy, the fact that this index has not fallen further on the back of the bad poll news for the Clinton camp, suggests that the US equity market may not sell off sharply until volatility spikes further, or until the actual result is confirmed.

But the other potentially market moving event is the US Federal Reserve interest rate announcement later. Brooks said:

The market is expecting a 14% chance of a hike tonight. If the Fed does hike, that would throw the cat among the pigeons, and we could see a steeper sell off in equities, a rally in bond yields and a broad-based recovery in the dollar.

However, in our view the bigger risk from today’s meeting could be a dovish slant from the Federal Reserve, who may not want to commit to a rate hike until the election result is confirmed. Although the Fed is expected to be politically neutral, a potential market sell-off on the back of a win for Trump next week could put the prospect of a December rate hike to bed for the Fed. Added to this, the Fed chair and vice chair have given speeches with fairly dovish slants in recent weeks, so a sell-off in the dollar on Wednesday could be in advance of a dovish “shock” from the Fed later on today.

block-time published-time 2.48pm GMT

enltr$50 fading fast. Brent crude oil -12% in the last two weeks, U.S. crude -13%.

— Jamie McGeever (@ReutersJamie) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/ReutersJamie/status/793825218724782080]block-time published-time 2.43pm GMT

Crude slumps as US oil stocks surge Oil prices are under pressure again after a much bigger than expected rise in US crude stocks.

Last week, crude stocks rose 14.42m barrels to 482.58m compared to expectations of an increase of just 1m barrels, according to the Energy Information Administration. This is the highest weekly build on record. Last week there was a 0.55m fall in oil stocks.

Gasoline stocks fell by 2.21m barrels, higher than the 1.9m drop expected.

A rise in stocks reported by the American Petroleum Institute on Tuesday had already signalled a jump in the EIA figures was possible:

enltrAPI +9M last night meant a big EIA build was possible. They don't exactly mirror, but direction + magnitude has proved quite reliable lately

— Mike van Dulken (@Accendo\_Mike) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/Accendo\_Mike/status/793823384287272960]With the build in stocks signalling oversupply and falling demand, Brent crude is on the slide, down 2.89% to $46.75 a barrel.

West Texas Intermediate - the US benchmark - has dropped 3.2% to $45.15.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.14pm GMT

block-time published-time 2.36pm GMT

Time for a quick recap.

World markets are falling back today, as investors get a bad case of pre-US election jitters.[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/02/us-election-uncertainty-stock-markets-uk-construction-federal-reserve-live?page=with:block-5819e63fe4b0d073c27d0a98#block-5819e63fe4b0d073c27d0a98] Britain’s FTSE 100 has hit its lowest level since the end of September, while the pound has popped over $1.23 for the first time in three weeks.

The FTSE 100 this lunchtime Photograph: Thomson Reuters Moody’s has warned that the UK will be downgraded if it loses ‘core’ access to the EU single market after Brexit.[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/02/us-election-uncertainty-stock-markets-uk-construction-federal-reserve-live?page=with:block-5819af7fe4b0d073c27d0963#block-5819af7fe4b0d073c27d0963] The credit rating agency says growth will suffer if British firms lose their current access:

One scenario that Moody’s considers to be realistic is a series of accords offering access to the EU market for goods and more constrained access for services, in particular financial services. However, such an outcome is far from certain.

Alastair Darling, the former UK chancellor, says there is an ‘urgent need’ for Britain and the EU to hold grown-up talks about the situation[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/02/us-election-uncertainty-stock-markets-uk-construction-federal-reserve-live?page=with:block-5819bd18e4b029b92ca44a71#block-5819bd18e4b029b92ca44a71] .

But UK drinkers may find themselves struggling to find a pint of foreign beer in their local Wetherspoons.[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/02/us-election-uncertainty-stock-markets-uk-construction-federal-reserve-live?page=with:block-5819c073e4b0d073c27d09a8#block-5819c073e4b0d073c27d09a8] Chairman Tim Martin says he’ll take steps if Brussels keeps ‘bullying’ the UK.

A UK court will rule tomorrow on whether Theresa May trigger article 50 and begin the Brexit process without MPs voting on the issue. Set your alarm for 10am GMT!

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.41pm GMT

block-time published-time 1.49pm GMT

Nervous investors have just pushed the gold price up to a new one-month high,at $1,300.91 per ounce.

enltrGold > 1300

— RANsquawk (@RANsquawk) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/RANsquawk/status/793811917995409408]block-time published-time 1.45pm GMT

Markets still dogged by US election jitters Moody’s warning that Britain’s credit rating is vulnerable[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/02/us-election-uncertainty-stock-markets-uk-construction-federal-reserve-live?page=with:block-5819af7fe4b0d073c27d0963#block-5819af7fe4b0d073c27d0963] hasn’t improved the mood in the City.

The FTSE 100 is still hovering at a one-month low, down 32 points at 6884. The other European markets are also in the red, down around 0.8%, leaving the Stoxx 600 index at its lowest since July.

And shares are also dropping on Wall Street at the start of trading:

enltrDOW JONES DOWN 40.47 POINTS, OR 0.22 PERCENT, AT 17,996.63 AFTER MARKET OPEN

— Hartswell Capital (@hartswellcap) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/hartswellcap/status/793808311132893185]Investors are still worrying about t hat opinion poll[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/01/donald-trump-polls-lead-hillary-clinton-campaign], putting Donald Trump narrowly ahead of Hillary Clinton.

So the dollar remains under pressure , keeping the pound up over the $1.23 mark for the first time in two weeks.

Chris Saint, senior analyst at Hargreaves Lansdown currency service, says:

The dollar is broadly lower ahead of tonight’s Federal Reserve interest rate decision, with US election anxieties returning to the fore after Clinton’s lead over Trump in the polls has evaporated following the new FBI probe into her personal email use.

enltrStocks, dollar and oil down. Bonds, gold and Swiss franc up as rising chances of a Trump victory rattle investors. https://t.co/ftXDrljW4x[https://t.co/ftXDrljW4x]

— Jamie McGeever (@ReutersJamie) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/ReutersJamie/status/793801947518275584] Joshua Mahony, market analyst at IG, says investors are suddenly considering that Trump has a real chance of victory, following the FBI’s new probe into Clinton’s emails.

Global stock markets are lower this morning, as US election fears dominate, despite a week’s worth of top tier data to contend with. The sudden change in fortunes set in train on Friday has seen investors run for cover amid a realisation that Trump might actually win.

Here’s our latest report from the US campaign trail.

Related: 'D?on’t get distracted, don’t get diverted': Hillary Clinton pulls out all the stops in Florida[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/02/dont-get-distracted-dont-get-diverted-hillary-clinton-pulls-out-all-the-stops-in-florida]

block-time published-time 1.30pm GMT

Here’s our news story about Moody’s Brexit warning, plus some other developments:

Related: Moody's warns of UK credit rating downgrade[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/nov/02/moodys-warns-uk-credit-rating-downgrade-brexit]

Related: Next cuts sales forecast after tough third quarter[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/nov/02/next-cuts-sales-forecast-after-tough-third-quarter]

Related: Just Eat drops 3% as UK order growth slows[https://www.theguardian.com/business/marketforceslive/2016/nov/02/just-eat-drops-3-as-uk-order-growth-slows]

block-time published-time 12.56pm GMT

A new survey of US employment has come in weaker than expected.

The monthly ADP survey shows that US companies created 147,000 new jobs in October, shy of the 165,000 which economists expected.

The construction sector saw a sharp drop in employment, down 15,000.

enltrBiggest drop in ADP's data on U.S. construction employment last month since Dec. 2010 pic.twitter.com/aTWh1YuVO4[https://t.co/aTWh1YuVO4]

— Matthew B (@boes\_) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/boes\_/status/793790123930480643]This may suggest that Friday’s non-farm payroll - the main measure of US employment -- will be weak.....

block-time published-time 12.38pm GMT

We’ve also seen signs today that Britain’s housing market may be slowing.

First, Nationwide reported that prices stalled last month - ending a 15 month run of rising prices.

Robert Gardner, chief economist at Nationwide, says the market seems “fairly subdued”.

Related: House price growth at a standstill in October, says Nationwide[https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/nov/02/house-price-growth-nationwide]

Second.. data firm Markit’s latest survey of the building sector painted a mixed picture.

The construction PMI (which tracks activity) rose to 52.6 from 52.3, which shows business activity increases at fastest pace since March.

But...new order growth slowed, and business confidence dipped sharply to its second-lowest level since May 2013.

Markit says it’s partly due to the EU referendum.

A number of survey respondents cited the impact of Brexit uncertainty on investor sentiment, alongside reduced confidence towards the general economic outlook.

block-time published-time 12.03pm GMT

Ireland’s leader, Enda Kenny, has warned that negotiations between EU states over Britain’s exit from Europe “could turn vicious.”

Speaking at a Brexit conference in Dublin, Kenny said he and Theresa May are both committed to avoiding a new border being built between Northern Ireland and the Republic.

Kenny said:

Neither I, nor the prime minister, desire to limit the freedom of people on both sides of the Irish sea to trade, live, work and travel freely across these islands.

And he also hinted at the tensions already developing between London and the rest of the EU:

If you go to Downing Street, if you drop in there it’s fine, but sometimes when friends call they can overstay their welcome.

Our Politics Live blog has all the details:

Related: May and Corbyn at PMQs - Politics live[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/02/pmqs-may-corbyn-chilcot-hammond-to-adopt-flexible-fiscal-targets-in-autumn-statement-politics-live]

block-time published-time 11.59am GMT

Heads-up: Bloomberg’s legal correspondent says the high court will rule tomorrow morning whether article 50 can be triggered without a parliamentary vote:

enltrConfirmed: Brexit Art 50 ruling to come at 10am tomorrow morning.

— Patrick Gower (@PatrickGower) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/PatrickGower/status/793783083975733249]block-time published-time 11.42am GMT

Pound hits $1.23 Kerching! The pound just hit $1.23 for the first time in two weeks.

Sterling has now gained one and a half-cents since Monday morning, partly due to relief that Mark Carney will stay as Bank of England governor until June 2019.

Today’s rally is mainly due to fears over the US election ( as covered earlier[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/02/us-election-uncertainty-stock-markets-uk-construction-federal-reserve-live?page=with:block-5819a3bee4b0d073c27d093b#block-5819a3bee4b0d073c27d093b] ), which have sent the dollar down against the yen, the euro and the Swiss franc as well.

enltrSterling is turning the tables on the dollar. It's up for a 4th day as the U.S. tussles with its own political risks https://t.co/CiroedE1Gf[https://t.co/CiroedE1Gf] pic.twitter.com/KzCgfrv5FZ[https://t.co/KzCgfrv5FZ]

— David Goodman (@\_DavidGoodman) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/\_DavidGoodman/status/793767867103797248]enltrThe ultimate ignominy https://t.co/HE0zQ6xg2u[https://t.co/HE0zQ6xg2u]

— Joe Weisenthal (@TheStalwart) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/TheStalwart/status/793768009974317056]block-time published-time 11.32am GMT

Moody’s new report on the consequences of the EU referendum is only available to its customers, but there’s a summary here:

Moody’s: UK sovereign rating would be downgraded if the UK was unable to conclude an agreement with the EU that protected core elements of its access to the Single Market[https://www.moodys.com/research/Moodys-UK-sovereign-rating-would-be-downgraded-if-the-UK--PR\_357447]The rating agency also has bad news for Remain supporters who are hoping that Brexit might not happen:

In Moody’s view, there is little likelihood that the UK will not exit the EU.

enltrMoody's: UK rating would be downgraded if the UK didn't protect core elements of its access to the Single Market https://t.co/TRSJroxusN[https://t.co/TRSJroxusN]

— Livesquawk (@Livesquawk) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/Livesquawk/status/793734139329581056]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.51am GMT

block-time published-time 11.13am GMT

The prospect of Wetherspoon’s ditching European drinks brands in a Brexit protest[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/02/us-election-uncertainty-stock-markets-uk-construction-federal-reserve-live?page=with:block-5819c073e4b0d073c27d09a8#block-5819c073e4b0d073c27d09a8] has caused quite a stir.

Historian Greg Jenner was reminded of the great Gin Craze that gripped Britain three hundred years ago[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gin\_Craze], when the UK tried to restrict imports of French brandy in favour of British gin.

It backfired, though, once Britons developed quite a thirst for it.

enltrThis is how the 18th century Gin Crisis happened - we hated the Dutch/French, deregulated domestic distilleries, and CATASTROPHE FOLLOWED. https://t.co/ODNAp2lFIx[https://t.co/ODNAp2lFIx]

— Greg Jenner (@greg\_jenner) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/greg\_jenner/status/793764687359930368]Journalist Rupert Myers suggests such a move might backfire on ‘Spoon:

enltrA rare Brexit move likely to be popular with almost everyone, since it will also surely harm his pub chain https://t.co/LYTyi9olC3[https://t.co/LYTyi9olC3]

— Rupert Myers (@RupertMyers) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/RupertMyers/status/793766796767727616] Juho Romakkaniemi[https://twitter.com/Romakka], head of cabinet to EC vice-president Jyrki Katainen, has criticised the idea.

enltrThe force is not strong with this one. https://t.co/4TKCbie4Et[https://t.co/4TKCbie4Et]

— Juho Romakkaniemi (@Romakka) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/Romakka/status/793759769148399616]Some people have even suggested that it sounds like a skit from The Pub Landlord, Al Murray’s satirical character.

And it soon might be....

enltrHang on just need to write this down https://t.co/hf8k4xngc3[https://t.co/hf8k4xngc3]

— Al Murray the318 (@almurray) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/almurray/status/793764035858690048]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.26am GMT

block-time published-time 10.45am GMT

Darling: We need Brexit clarity now Alastair Darling, the former chancellor of the exchequer, says Theresa May urgently needs to give clarity about the sort of Brexit deal she wants.

Speaking a moment ago, Lord Darling says the prime minister needs to spell out her plans, so a “grown-up conversation” can take place with Brussels. That would help Britain to fulfil June’s referendum while limiting the long-term economic damage of Brexit, he argues.

Darling told Bloomberg TV that:

The referendum decision is the biggest single challenge facing the UK arguably since the end of the Second World War.

Darling points out that Nissan, the Japanese car maker, has received assurances from May which gave it the confidence to build two new models at its Sunderland plant.

That could indicate that May wants Britain to remain part of the single market, and the customs union, Darling adds - but is that just for the auto sector? What about the banks, who rely on passporting to offer services across the EU?

We’ve got to salvage as much as we can so we don’t disrupt trade and damage the UK’s long-term growth prospects.

It’s a pertinent point, given Moody’s warning earlier today[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/02/us-election-uncertainty-stock-markets-uk-construction-federal-reserve-live?page=with:block-5819af7fe4b0d073c27d0963#block-5819af7fe4b0d073c27d0963].

Darling argues that the government cannot “segregate out” the UK economy, dealing with some concerns immediately (eg Nissan) and leaving other sectors in the dark for a couple of years.

“The one things all businesses don’t like is uncertainty”

Darling, who was Britain’s finance minister during the 2008 crisis, says that both sides have to “recognise the new reality, and get on with it.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.43pm GMT

block-time published-time 10.36am GMT

The boss of pub chain JD Wetherspoon has weighed in on Brexit this morning, threatening to ditch European drinks brands unless EU leaders stop “bullying” Britain.

Tim Martin is not happy that European Commission chief Jean Claude Juncker, French President Francois Hollande and German chancellor Angela Merkel have all said Britain should pay a high price for leaving the EU[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/08/eu-leaders-line-up-to-insist-uk-will-pay-a-high-price-for-brexit-stance].

He told the Guardian this morning that he’s prepared to throw out foreign drinks brands, and replace them with British alternatives.

“I don’t think Wetherspoon or British buyers are in a weak position because we can switch from Swedish cider to British cider. So the people put in a weak position are the sellers and I think that is the paradox that has not been illustrated.

The UK is in a much more powerful position than most economists would assume.”

Martin (who was in favour of leaving the EU) also suggested the UK consumers could vote with their wallets and shun French champagne and German beer.

Related: Wetherspoon's boss: we could drop European brands over Brexit bullying[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/nov/02/wetherspoon-boss-eu-leaders-brexit-talks-tim-martin]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.19am GMT

block-time published-time 9.50am GMT

Moody’s is also concerned that the UK government might wilt under the pressure of exiting the European Union, leading investors to lose faith in Britain’s fiscal credibility.

Kathrin Muehlbronner says:

The UK will have to handle multiple, complicated policy decisions in areas including global trade, **immigration** and regulation.

Given the magnitude and complexity of these decisions, the risk is material that some might damage the UK’s economic or fiscal strength.

block-time published-time 9.36am GMT

Moody's: We'll downgrade UK if it gets a poor Brexit deal NEWSFLASH: Britain could suffer another credit rating downgrade if Theresa May fails to get a decent Brexit deal from Europe.

In a new report, Moody’s says that it would slash Britain’s credit rating if UK companies lose ‘core access’ to the single market.

It believes the terms at which Britain can trade with the rest of Europe after Brexit are crucial to the country’s long-term prosperity.

Kathrin Muehlbronner, senior vice-president at Moody’s Investors Service, says :

“We would downgrade the UK’s sovereign rating if the outcome of the negotiations with the EU was a loss of access to the Single Market as this would materially damage its medium-term growth prospects.

A second trigger for a downgrade would be if we were to conclude that the credibility of the UK’s fiscal policy had been tarnished as a result of Brexit or other reasons.”

enltrMoody's will downgrade UK sovereign rating if Brexit leads to loss of access to EU single market as this would materially damage growth.

— Simon Nixon (@Simon\_Nixon) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/Simon\_Nixon/status/793739118538784768]Moody’s singles out the ‘passporting’ currently enjoyed by the City, which allow banks in London to offer services across the EU. If these rights are lost, then it would be ‘credit negative’ for the UK banking sector’s rating, but not enough to prompt a downgrade.

Moody’s currently rates the UK as Aa1, which is the second-highest rating. It downgraded the outlook on 24th June[https://www.moodys.com/research/Moodys-changes-outlook-on-UK-sovereign-rating-to-negative-from--PR\_350566], in the immediate aftermath of the EU referendum.

In the report, Moody’s predicts that the UK will carve out “some form of free trade agreement with the EU”.

One scenario that Moody’s considers to be realistic is a series of accords offering access to the EU market for goods and more constrained access for services, in particular financial services. However, such an outcome is far from certain.

Theresa May has said she intends to get the “maximum possible access to the single market”, while also bringing in new controls on **immigration**.

However, European politicians have warned that they’re not prepared to sacrifice the ‘four freedoms’ - free movement of labour, capital, goods and services.

And yesterday, an influential European MEP warned that Britain can’t agree a new trade deal until it has left the EU.

Danuta Hübner, a former Polish minister who became the country’s first European commissioner, told the Guardian:

“Formally you cannot conclude or even negotiate the agreement that belongs to a third-country situation while you are still a member. Article 50 is only about withdrawal and only when you are out can [you] negotiate another agreement.

Related: Liam Fox's attempt to secure pre-Brexit deal with EU suffers setback[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/01/liam-fox-pre-brexit-deal-setback-european-union]

Here are the key points from Moody’s report:

\* Moody’s would downgrade the UK’s rating if we were to conclude that the UK’s loss of access to the Single Market would materially weaken medium-term growth.

\* A second driver for the UK rating will be the fiscal outlook, on which we expect to obtain significantly more clarity with the upcoming Autumn Statement, scheduled for 23 November.

\* A wide-ranging Free Trade Agreement which would limit the negative impact of Brexit on growth remains a plausible but not certain outcome.

\* Moody’s negative outlook for the UK banking system reflects Brexit-induced uncertainties, which are exerting pressure on the revenues, asset quality and profitability of all UK banks, although some are more resilient to such strains than others.

\* Brexit-related loss of “passporting” rights for UK banks that operate across jurisdictions would be credit negative but manageable. The resulting higher costs and reduced inefficiencies are not sufficient to pressure the ratings.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.21am GMT

block-time published-time 9.23am GMT

Conner Campbell of SpreadEx sums up a nervous morning in the City:

A fresh batch of pre-US election jitters has swept the markets this morning, investors fretting over news that Trump has taken the lead in a national poll.

While Clinton is still ahead in the majority of surveys, the fact that the orange-faced Republican nominee has clawed his way back to being a potential victor in the aftermath of the FBI email scandal has sent a wave of fear through first the Asian markets[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/02/us-election-uncertainty-stock-markets-uk-construction-federal-reserve-live?page=with:block-58199602e4b07ceadb3a1833#block-58199602e4b07ceadb3a1833], and now the European open.

While that means the FTSE has dropped 30 points, taking it under 6900 for the first time in over a month,[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/nov/02/us-election-uncertainty-stock-markets-uk-construction-federal-reserve-live?page=with:block-58199e01e4b0d073c27d0927#block-58199e01e4b0d073c27d0927] with the DAX and CAC also shedding 0.6% apiece, it has led to a moment of respite for the pound, which rose back above 1.22 against the weakened dollar.

European stock markets have all suffered losses this morning Photograph: Thomson Reuters block-time published-time 9.17am GMT

Some good news amid the gloom. The eurozone’s factory sector has posted its fastest growth in nearly three years.

That’s via data firm Markit, which reports that growth picked up across the region (apart from in poor old Greece, which suffered a contraction).

enltr #Eurozone[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Eurozone?src=hash] manufacturing expansion gathers momentum in October as #PMI[https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMI?src=hash] rises to 33-month high of 53.5 (Sep: 52.6) https://t.co/8VUYWuwW4H[https://t.co/8VUYWuwW4H] pic.twitter.com/UtMGlXVEWK[https://t.co/UtMGlXVEWK]

— Markit Economics (@MarkitEconomics) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/MarkitEconomics/status/793739981730803712]block-time published-time 9.10am GMT

US dollar gets a hammering The US dollar is having a bad morning, allowing the British pound some relief.

Sterling has hit a two-week high of $1.227 this morning, as US election worries trump (ahem) Brexit fears.

The pound vs US dollar over the last two months Photograph: Thomson Reuters The dollar has also clattered to a three week low against the euro, a one-month low against the Swiss franc, and a two-week low against the Japanese yen.

However, the US dollar has gained against emerging market currencies - such as the Mexican peso.

Kit Juckes, currency expert of Societe Generale, says investors may struggle to work out the market implications of a Republican win next week:

It’s easy to see Trump as ‘bad’ for Mexico in particular and for US trade-dependent economies in general but there are limits to what a President can legislate. This isn’t like the UK’s EU referendum, where the potential medium-term economic damage of leaving the single market is much clearer.

However, with less than a week to go, market opinion is coming to the conclusion that a Trump win would create too much uncertainty and is bad for risk sentiment generally.

block-time published-time 8.56am GMT

The odds on Donald Trump becoming the most powerful man in the world have narrowed recently, but he’s still only a 27% shot at Betfair.

enltrLatest Betfair betting on Trump Clinton pic.twitter.com/yqUJYUhFOk[https://t.co/yqUJYUhFOk]

— Mike Smithson (@MSmithsonPB) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/MSmithsonPB/status/793735601057099776]However, you might remember that the Remain campaign had a healthy lead on 23 June, and we all know what happened next.

block-time published-time 8.48am GMT

Investors take cover in safe-haven government debt Nervous investors are selling shares, and putting the money into government debt this morning, in another sign of Trump-related jitters.

That’s driving up prices, and cutting the interest rate on the bonds.

Reuters has the details:

British government bond prices jumped on Wednesday, tracking U.S. and German debt prices higher as markets reacted to increased uncertainty about next week’s U.S. presidential election.

Ten-year gilt yields dropped more than 8 basis points on the day to a six-day low of 1.197%, while two-year yields fell nearly 6 basis points to 0.207%, their lowest since Oct. 21.

The move in gilts and many other European government bonds followed a similar fall in U.S. Treasury yields as investors started to rethink their long-held bets of a victory for Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton on signs her Republican rival Donald Trump could be closing the gap.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.16am GMT

block-time published-time 8.37am GMT

FXTM Chief Market Strategist Hussein Sayed reckons markets are in the “early stages of panic” about next week’s election.

Investors are dumping risk assets this morning as latest ABC News/Washington Post tracking polls showed Trump ahead of Clinton for the first time[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/01/donald-trump-polls-lead-hillary-clinton-campaign]. Trump’s odds for winning the U.S. elections increased after the FBI reopened its investigation into Hillary Clinton’s use of a private server and he will maximise his leverage on the case with less than a week remaining to the election date.

Most major Asian equity indices fell by more than 1%, as Wall Street’s fear index “VIX” soared above 20 levels for the first time since September 12. The Mexican peso which has become the popular election proxy also fell this morning, declining by more than 4.3% for the past six trading days.

And with the dollar weakening, Sayed expects a “a roller coaster ride for the next couple of days”.

The post Brexit vote market reaction is still fresh in investors’ memory and no one wants to be caught on the wrong side of the trade, it will only take another one or two polls showing a Trump lead to boost markets anxiety and thus a steep sell off in equity markets and high beta currencies.

This chart shows how the FTSE 100 hit one-month low this morning Photograph: Thomson Reuters block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.48am GMT

block-time published-time 8.32am GMT

Europe’s Stoxx 600 index, which includes the 600 largest companies across the region, has hit its lowest level since 11 July.

block-time published-time 8.28am GMT

Every one of the main European stock market sectors is falling this morning, led by the banks:

enltrSays it al... #riskoff[https://twitter.com/hashtag/riskoff?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/LuoW9DqZWA[https://t.co/LuoW9DqZWA]

— Caroline Hyde (@CarolineHydeTV) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/CarolineHydeTV/status/793726100883050496]block-time published-time 8.20am GMT

FTSE 100 hits one-month low European stock markets have opened in the red, as US election angst hits the City.

The FTSE 100 shed 40 points at the open, or 0.6%, to 6875. That’s its lowest level since 30 September.

Across the channel, shares are falling too. Germany’s DAX lost 0.8%, France’s CAC dropped 0.7%, Spain’s IBEX shed 0.9%, and the Italian FTSE MIB is down 0.5%.

This follows last night’s nervy session on Wall Street, where the Dow Jones index closed down 100 points, and the overnight losses in Asia that drove the yen and gold higher.

M ike van Dulken & Henry Croft at Accendo Markets explain:

Anxious investors the world over are pricing in an even tighter US election race, with increased fears of a Trump win next week and the political, economic and market uncertainty that would surely ensue.

The probability of a Clinton win may remain high but a blindside Brexit result is also still very fresh in the memory of market participants.

block-time published-time 8.15am GMT

This chart show how investors are becoming more nervous (the white line), as the Mexican peso (seen as vulnerable to a Trump victory) has dropped (blue line).

enltrFear factor Trump: Asia stocks plunge w/ Mexican Peso as election angst boosts safe haven assets like Gold or Franc. https://t.co/R93zS1zp4E[https://t.co/R93zS1zp4E] pic.twitter.com/LrGmVc2pY1[https://t.co/LrGmVc2pY1]

— Holger Zschaepitz (@Schuldensuehner) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/Schuldensuehner/status/793679840230662144]block-time published-time 8.09am GMT

The yen is extending its gains against the US dollar as I type - hitting ¥103.57 to the $1. That’s the highest since October 21st.

block-time published-time 8.01am GMT

Hirokazu Kabeya, chief global strategist at Daiwa Securities, says Trump vs Clinton is now the number one issue worrying investors:

“It’s becoming all about the U.S. elections. Markets are trying to factor in the changing atmosphere.”

block-time published-time 8.00am GMT

Election nerves drive yen up and hit the peso Investors are piling into safe-haven assets such as gold and the Japanese yen, after the ABC News/Washington Post tracking poll put Trump in the lead.

This sent the dollar down to 103.69 yen, from 104.14 on Tuesday night[http://www.marketwatch.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/story/investors-turn-to-yen-dollar-rises-versus-mexican-peso-as-us-politics-rattle-2016-11-02]. The Mexican peso was another casualty, weakening to 19.31 to the US dollar, from 19.18 last night.

Elsa Lignos, senior currency strategist at RBC Capital Markets, explains:

The probability of a Trump victory has risen materially since last Friday.

On FiveThirtyEight’s models it is back to 28–30%, levels not seen since before the second debate and the controversial NBC video leak. Although Trump’s chances have been rising steadily since Friday, yesterday set off a scramble for election hedges.

enltrLatest betting odds on #USElection[https://twitter.com/hashtag/USElection?src=hash] post FBI investigation have seen Clinton lead trimmed by over 10% in recent days pic.twitter.com/6xIRMrqBsx[https://t.co/6xIRMrqBsx]

— Anthony Cheung (@AWMCheung) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/AWMCheung/status/793721300053331968]block-time published-time 7.45am GMT

Asian markets hit seven-week low as US election worries build Stock markets are coming under pressure today as international investors become increasingly anxious about the US presidential election.

In exactly one week’s time, we’ll know whether Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump has won the race to the White House. And with the polls seemingly closing, shares are on the slide.

Asia’s stock markets have fallen overnight, hitting their lowest level in seven weeks.

Japan’s Nikkei fell by 1.7%, the Hong Kong Hang Seng lost 1.4%, and Australia’s S&P/ASX200 shed 1.1%.

This followed losses on Wall Street last night, where stock market volatility hit its highest level since Britain’s EU referendum in June.

Gold, which usually rallies at times of anxiety, has hit a four-week high at $1,293.00

It was triggered by a new ABC News/Washington Post tracking poll which put Trump one point ahead[http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-leads-clinton-point-poll-enthusiasm-declines/story?id=43199459]. Hillary Clinton’s team swiftly dismissed it, saying the poll was “not what we see at all”.

Related: Clinton campaign dismisses polls putting Donald Trump in the lead[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/01/donald-trump-polls-lead-hillary-clinton-campaign]

But it’s enough to make traders edgy, says Naeem Aslam, c hief market analyst at Think Markets:

The surge in gold prices and the volatility index is the real reflection that traders have finally woken up to the reality that the US election does represent a significant risk, something they were completely ignorant about until now.

European markets are also expected to dip today, says Bloomberg’s Caroline Hyde.

enltrRisk off! Marke waking up to possibility of Trump Presidency? #Stocks[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Stocks?src=hash] set to fall for an 8th straight day in Europe. pic.twitter.com/KWiwRG3j8x[https://t.co/KWiwRG3j8x]

— Caroline Hyde (@CarolineHydeTV) November 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/CarolineHydeTV/status/793718194317975552]block-time published-time 7.29am GMT

The agenda: UK construction report, and US interest rate decision Good morning, and welcome to our rolling coverage of the world economy, the financial markets, the eurozone and business.

There’s a lot coming up this morning, including new data showing how Europe’s factories, and Britain’s builders, fared last month.

And later on today, the US central bank will end its two-day monetary policy meeting:

\* 9am GMT: Eurozone manufacturing PMI - expected to remain unchanged at 53.3

\* 9.30am GMT: UK Construction PMI - expected to fall to 51.8, from 52.3

\* 6pm: US Federal Reserve - expected to leave US interest rates on hold

On the corporate front, the City are getting results from retailer Next, pub chain JD Wetherspoon, housebuilder Persimmon.

And Nationwide, the estate agent, have just reported that house price growth stalled last month, pulling the annual rate of house price growth down to 4.6%, from 5.3% in September. We’ll have more on that later...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.29am GMT

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Sir Michael Wilshaw says achievement of schools in helping new arrivals into British society goes largely unnoticed

Schools in England receive no recognition for their “incredible achievement” in helping **immigrants** integrate successfully into society, Ofsted’s chief inspector has said, after likening the education system to England’s football team.

Sir Michael Wilshaw rubbished “tabloid claims” that British children suffer as a result of **immigration**, saying non-**immigrant** pupils do better as a result of having **immigrant** peers, and described the government’s plans to open more grammar schools as a “monstrous mistake”.

In a speech in London[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/speeches/sir-michael-wilshaws-speech-at-the-fasna-autumn-conference], the outgoing head of Ofsted mixed familiar criticisms of state schools with high praise for their role in educating and integrating recent arrivals into British society, which Wilshaw claimed “has largely gone unnoticed”.

“We regularly castigate ourselves – rightly – for the poor performance of white British pupils. Children of **immigrants**, conversely, have in recent years done remarkably well.

“This trend is now so ingrained that it is assumed that children of **immigrants** always outperform. But in most of Europe that just isn’t the case. In many countries they do worse than the children of non-**immigrants**,” Wilshaw told an audience of school leaders.

Related: ‘I came into teaching to raise standards’ – Michael Wilshaw's forthright farewell[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/oct/15/sir-michael-wilshaw-politicians-inevitably-come-up-against-people-like-me-chief-inspector-schools]

“In Germany, France, Finland, Italy and Switzerland, for instance, children of **immigrants** do far worse in school than their native peers. Not so in England.

“Our schools are remarkable escalators of opportunity. Whatever cultural tensions exist outside of school, race and religion are not treated as handicaps inside them. All children are taught equally. And contrary to tabloid claims, non-**immigrant** children do not suffer, rather the reverse.

“Schools, it turns out, are great forces for social cohesion. Yet nobody talks about it. We are so used to picking over problems that we forget to notice what an incredible achievement this is. Most other countries aren’t as fortunate.”

After making the headlines recently[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/oct/30/grammars-harm-british-schools-says-ofsted-chief-michael-wilshaw] for describing England’s schools as “mediocre but improving,” Wilshaw was more circumspect: “Let’s not kid ourselves. Although some of our achievements may be unsung, our shortcomings are still serious”.

“For the most part, England’s education system is a bit like its football team – better than many but hardly top-notch. We comfort ourselves with past success, illusory as that might be, dream of future glory then collapse into despair when we come across superior play,” Wilshaw said.

But critics of England’s schools were wrong to conclude that new grammar schools were the answer. “I think this would be a monumental mistake,” he said.

Wilshaw argued that “grammars are back in vogue now partly because we have failed to sufficiently reform comprehensives”, and partly because of the damaging effects of “anti-academic ideology associated with the early comprehensives”.

Related: Tory councils warn of £600m black hole after demise of education bill[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/oct/30/tory-councils-600m-black-hole-demise-education-bill-grant-england]

“You can see it in the disdain for competitive sports, the half-hearted pursuit of high academic standards and the meagre respect given to leadership and authority. You can see it in sneering headlines when heads try to impose a uniform policy,” he said.

“As a consequence of all this, and in spite of the enormous strides we have made in the past few years, the comprehensive name is still associated in the minds of many with mediocrity, laxity and failure. For many journalists and politicians, their reputation remains tarnished.

“This is why the proposal to set up more grammars has, despite the evidence, found a wider welcome than it had any right to expect.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Willkommen bei den Hartmanns takes humorous look at how Germans deal with the new arrivals - but critics say **refugee** protagonist is little more than plot device

The **refugee** crisis may have divided Germany and sown discord in family households, but it could ultimately help the country be more at ease with its new-found liberal identity. That is the optimistic thesis proposed by the country’s first **refugee**-themed comedy.

Willkommen bei den Hartmanns (Welcome to the Hartmanns’), which features some of Germany’s biggest stars and opens in cinemas on Thursday, tells the story of Diallo, a Nigerian asylum seeker who is taken in by a family in a posh district of Munich after mother Angelika, a retired headteacher played by Senta Berger, visits a local **refugee** shelter.

The newcomer’s arrival triggers a series of domestic dramas – father Richard’s late-life crisis, daughter Sophie’s failed love life, workaholic son Philip’s burnout and grandson Basti’s poor grades – which are eventually resolved in a rollicking finale involving clashes between Pegida-style “patriotic citizens” and leftwing activists outside the Hartmanns’ home.

The arrival of over a million migrants and **refugees** in Germany since the start of 2015 has until now mainly inspired films of a darker nature. In February, long-running German TV crime franchise Tatort ran an episode with a plot line that evolved around the death of a group of migrants who had suffocated in the back of a lorry, echoing a real-life tragedy[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/27/migrants-found-dead-inside-lorry-in-austria] on a motorway in Austria in 2015.

At the start of this year, Gianfranco Rosi’s documentary Fire at Sea[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/feb/22/fire-at-sea-berlin-film-festival-golden-bear-gianfranco-rosi-migrant-crisis], observing the **refugee** crisis through the eyes of Lampedusa locals, also won the top prize at the Berlinale film festival.

But Willkommen bei den Hartmanns is the first to try to gain some comic mileage out of recent events. Director Simon Verhoeven does so by directly incorporating some of the stories that have dominated the news in Germany and around Europe over the last year.

A taxi driver begins stalking Sophie after rescuing her from what he believes to be a sexual assault of the kinds perpetrated in Cologne on New Year’s Eve, while the Hartmanns’ tensions with their crucifix-wearing, Polish-surnamed neighbour come across as a direct nod to recent diplomatic standoffs between western and eastern European countries.

“It’s enough for Frau Merkel to invite the entire third world into our country – we’re not going to do the same in our home as well,” says Richard, initially dismissing his wife’s desire to take in a **refugee** as borne of a “helper’s syndrome”. “Better than an asshole syndrome,” his daughter Sophie quips back.

Verhoefen, who started developing the film’s screenplay before Angela Merkel’s decision to keep open Germany’s borders to thousands of **refugees** stranded in Budapest last September, however tries to be even-handed when drawing up caricatures.

Pensioners at Munich’s **refugee** shelter engage in absurd one-upmanship over their volunteering with “my **refugees**”. One of the asylum seekers auditioning for a bed at the Hartmann residency is a man in his 40s, claiming to be an “unattended minor”. And at the end of the film, one of Diallo’s former roommates at the shelter turns out to be an Isis sympathiser after all.

“We Germans are still so inhibited about our own identity even though we are a free, tolerant and great country,” Sophie’s love interest, played by Austrian-Tunisian actor Elyas M’Barek, complains at one point in the film. “We’ve got to stand up and defend those values.”

Reviews of the film have been mixed. While praising the film’s intentions, Moritz von Uslar in weekly Die Zeit bemoaned a lack of classic punchlines: “Shouldn’t material like this, which catches our society at its most vulnerable, nervous and insecure, have produced a film that is not just OK, but brilliant, wild, provocative and incorrect in the best sense of the word?” Others have pointed out that the **refugee** character, supposedly the film’s protagonist, ends up as little more than a plot device to solve Germany’s own domestic dramas.

Played by Belgian actor Eric Kabongo – who is pictured but not named on the posters promoting the film – asylum seeker Diallo eventually manages to gain a residence permit.

It’s an optimistic ending to an optimistic film: two weeks before the film’s release, Merkel met Nigeria’s president, Muhammadu Buhari, to discuss how the country’s asylum seekers who have had their application rejected could be returned more swiftly to their home country. The approval rating for Nigerians applying for asylum in Germany currently lies at about 8%.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Birmingham Rep McDiarmid delivers the paradoxical politician’s ‘rivers of blood’ speech in Chris Hannan’s new play which switches between the 1960s and the 90s

Star Rating: 3 stars

The Rep seems the right place for a play about Enoch Powell, since it was at Birmingham’s Midland hotel that he delivered an incendiary speech[https://www.theguardian.com/news/1968/apr/22/mainsection.ianaitken] about race relations in 1968. But, while Chris Hannan makes it clear that we are still obsessed with **immigration** and the nature of Englishness, his play is much better at exploring the paradoxes of Powell than those of the surrounding culture.

Related: Back to the rivers of blood: Enoch Powell returns to a divided Britain[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/oct/31/enoch-powell-rivers-of-blood-play-what-shadows-ian-mcdiarmid]

Hannan uses a dual timeframe. In 1992 we see Rose, a black Oxford academic, recruiting Sofia, a former don she once vilified, to join her in writing a book about English identity. Part of Rose’s mission, accomplished in the final scene, is to interview the aged Powell. But the play flashes back to the late 1960s to show the influences that shaped the two main characters. Growing up in Wolverhampton, Powell’s constituency, the young Rose found herself at odds with her mixed-race Barbadian mother. Meanwhile Powell, despising the Tory leadership and deploring the national silence on **immigration**, made his infamous speech, which we get to hear in full.

There is no doubt that Powell is a fascinating dramatic character. A working-class grammar-school boy who became a classical scholar and wartime brigadier, he exudes intellectual arrogance. As Tony Benn wrote in his diary the day after the Birmingham speech: “He has to have somebody to look down on.” But in Hannan’s fair-minded interpretation, the key to Powell lies in his romantic attachment to the England of “sunken lanes in Shropshire”, Warwickshire cemeteries and the poetry of Housman[https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems-and-poets/poets/detail/a-e-housman]. Ignoring a friend’s argument that multiculturalism is part of our national fabric, Powell becomes monomaniacally obsessed with **immigration**. When you listen to his Birmingham speech now, what you notice is the slipperiness with which he moves from the anecdotal to the apocalyptic.

Powell, whatever you think of him, is complex; his principal antagonist, Rose, is simply confusing. I can see that Hannan wants to explore the conflicted nature of identity, but he overdoes it by making Rose a mother-hating, suicide-prone alcoholic with both impeccable radical credentials and a guilty secret. In portraying the Wolverhampton of the 1960s, which provided the fuel for Powell’s speech, Hannan also creates too many characters who fulfil a purely symbolic function – in particular the bigoted white war-widow who ends up improbably married to a bustling Pakistani.

In Roxana Silbert[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2011/apr/18/roxana-silbert-director] ’s production, the play comes alive when Powell is on stage, thanks to a fine performance from Ian McDiarmid[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2010/aug/23/portrait-ian-mcdiarmid-actor], who subtly conveys the character’s mix of superciliousness and sensitivity, nostalgia and naivety. Rebecca Scroggs, to her great credit, finds a measure of consistency in the identity-obsessed Rose and there is good support from George Costigan as a liberal journalist and Bríd Brennan as both Powell’s wife and Rose’s unlikely accomplice. The play takes its title from Edmund Burke’s line “What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue”, but I felt Hannan was infinitely more at ease in dealing with the documented facts of Powell’s life than with the fictions of his own imagination.

\* At Birmingham Rep until 12 November. Box office[https://www.birmingham-rep.co.uk/whats-on/what-shadows.html] : 0121 236 4455.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**No new advances planned for Wednesday after poor weather hampers visibility for aircraft and drone support

Iraqi special forces are holding their positions in Mosul a day after entering the Islamic State-held city for the first time since 2014.

Amid poor visibility for the US-led aircraft and drones that have backed Iraqi forces in their assault on the country’s second largest city, special forces general Haider Fadhil told Associated Press no new advances within Mosul were planned for Wednesday.

Fighting continued on the southern approaches to the city, where Iraqi troops took four small villages.

Baghdad said on Tuesday its elite troops had breached the eastern suburbs of Isis’s last major urban stronghold in Iraq[https://www.theguardian.com/world/iraq], creating a toehold in the Jdeidet al-Mufti neighbourhood after two weeks of combat and heralding a fierce urban battle in the weeks ahead.

Special forces units also entered the neighbourhood of Gogjali inside the city’s limits and took control of the local state television building. Reports said guns had largely gone silent in Gogjali after intense fighting on Tuesday but sporadic rifle and artillery fire could be heard.

Troops in Gogjali could be seen going house to house while sappers searched the road for explosives and booby traps left behind by the jihadis.

General Abdul-Ghani al-Asadi, the top counterterrorism forces commander, told reporters a curfew had been imposed in the neighbourhood while gains there were being consolidated.

Concerns have mounted over the fate of civilians, with Isis accused of using them as human shields to slow the alliance’s advance. The Norwegian **Refugee**Council, which works with **refugees** and internally displaced Iraqis, warned that the lives of more than 1 million civilians trapped inside Mosul were “in grave danger” as Iraqi troops advanced.

The council’s Iraq chief, Wolfgang Gressmann, said the agency’s aid workers “are now bracing... for the worst. The lives of 1.2 million civilians are in grave danger, and the future of all of Iraq is now in the balance.” The organisation said about 18,000 Iraqis had fled their homes since the start of the military operation to retake the city.

Mosul was conquered in a lightning Isis advance in the summer of 2014, falling to the militants along with much of the surrounding Nineveh plains.

Two weeks ago, Iraq announced a major campaign to liberate the city[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/iraqi-forces-begin-assault-on-isis-stronghold-mosul], the last in a line of urban bastions that had been taken by Isis and reclaimed over the past year, including Tikrit, Ramadi and Fallujah.

The battle for Mosul will be the toughest test yet for Iraqi forces, who are converging on the city alongside Kurdish peshmerga, Sunni tribal fighters and Shia militias, tasked with blocking a potential retreat for the militants into the eastern desert of Syria. The coalition is backed by American air power and military advisers on the ground.

The estimated number of civilians inside Mosul has fluctuated from 1-2 million, making it by far the largest city under Isis control and a key flank of the group’s self-proclaimed but quickly receding caliphate.

The eastern half of Mosul, which is divided by the Tigris river, would be first to fall from Isis control, and the group is believed to have booby-trapped the bridges[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/29/isis-booby-trapped-toys-mosul] into western districts. Isis is believed to have 5,000-6,000 fighters holed up in the city, though US officials have said in recent days that senior leaders of the group were attempting to flee.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Decision to compete in the red state, where a victory would effectively deny Trump a path to the presidency, is based on polling and early voter numbers

In the frenetic dash to election day, Hillary Clinton will swing through the usual key target states for any Democratic candidate: Ohio, Florida, North Carolina – and Arizona?

On Wednesday, Clinton will visit the Grand Canyon State for the first time since winning the Democratic nomination, a move that signals the campaign’s increasing confidence in her chances of turning a traditionally red state blue.

“This is very rare,” said Richard Herrera, an associate professor in the school of politics and global studies at Arizona State University, of a visit from a Democratic presidential nominee. Democrats have carried the state only once since Harry Truman was in office: Bill Clinton in 1996.

If the Clinton campaign is this confident to make a play for Arizona, she is serious about her chances of winning here

Richard Herrera

“If the Clinton campaign is this confident that it makes sense to make a play for Arizona, she is serious about her chances of winning here,” Herrera said.

The Democrat’s hope of a victory in Arizona largely rests with the state’s rapidly growing Hispanic population, a group Trump repeatedly has antagonized throughout his nativist campaign. As many as one in five[http://www.pewhispanic.org/fact-sheets/2016-state-election-fact-sheets/latinos-in-the-2016-election-arizona/] eligible voters in Arizona are Hispanic, but turnout rates have lagged behind those of other groups.

“It’s tight,” a senior Clinton campaign aide said on Tuesday of the race in Arizona. “We think it’s about even right now.”

A number of polls in the past few months have shown Clinton slightly ahead or within striking distance of Trump in the Grand Canyon State. The RealClearPolitics polling average[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/az/arizona\_trump\_vs\_clinton\_vs\_johnson\_vs\_stein-6087.html#polls] ahead by one percentage point.

At campaign rallies in Las Vegas and Phoenix on Wednesday, Clinton is expected to appeal directly to Latino voters in an effort to harness the backlash against Trump into a surge of support for her campaign.

The Democratic nominee will rail against Trump’s policy on **immigration** and offer her candidacy as a riposte to the divisive campaign he has run in a speech that highlights the disparaging comments he has made about **immigrants**, Mexicans and a federal judge of Mexican heritage, according to a campaign aide.

In Phoenix, she will be introduced by the parents of Damian Lopez Rodriguez[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JHdnfWnHhig], an Arizona native who was killed by a roadside bomb in Iraq, the aide said. The parents appeared in a Spanish-language ad for Clinton.

Clinton’s visit is a continuation of the campaign’s vigorous push in the state. Early last month, the campaign announced that it had ramped up its efforts in the state, investing another $2m to be spent on TV and digital advertising as well as voter registration efforts.

Ahead of her Southwestern swing, the campaign released on Wednesday a pair of Spanish[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ls6Ts9TvmY&feature=youtu.be] and English[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OVuH42xybVM&feature=youtu.be] language TV and radio ads aimed at mobilizing the Latino community against Trump. The ads are titled “27 million strong”, a reference to the estimated number of eligible Latino voters.

Related: Arizona asks 'the unprecedented': could Democrats sweep the west?[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/21/arizona-swing-state-west-democrats-clinton]

On Thursday, Clinton’s running mate Tim Kaine will deliver a speech entirely in Spanish at a community center in Phoenix and will hold a rally at a high school in Tucson, a rare blue bastion in the state.

Last week, the campaign deployed top surrogates to rally troops in the state, including Senator Bernie Sanders, Chelsea Clinton, and first lady Michelle Obama.

Before Obama took the stage in Tempe, the crowd heard from Congressman Ruben Gallego, a Democrat from Arizona. “We are officially a swing state!” he boomed into the microphone, drawing loud applause from the more than 6,000 people who turned out to see the first lady speak.

The decision to compete in Arizona is based on assessment of factors, including internal polling and early voter numbers. Campaign manager Robby Mook said that based on early analytics showed a higher than anticipated turnout there among minority groups, young people, women and Independents.

Campaign aides have repeatedly said that they believe Arizona is a true battleground state – and not a potential cherry atop a pleasing electoral map. Still, stealing the red state would all but deny Trump a path to an Electoral College victory.

“Arizona ain’t an indulgence,” campaign spokesman Brian Fallon[https://twitter.com/brianefallon/status/792043601463283713] said on Twitter last week. “It’s a true battleground. Perhaps even more favorable-looking right now than some other places we’ve been on TV.”

Clinton’s visit to Arizona less than a week before voters go to the polls was made before the announcement that the FBI was reviewing emails related to her private server while she was secretary of state[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/28/fbi-reopens-hillary-clinton-emails-investigation], and perhaps reflects a confidence that has been somewhat dented since then.

Trump has visited Arizona seven times, including once to give a major speech on **immigration** in which he doubled down on his improbable but central campaign plank: build a border wall that is paid for by Mexico.

Arizona ain’t an indulgence. It’s a true battleground

Brian Fallon, Clinton campaign spokesman

He also touts endorsements from two of the state’s most stalwart conservatives: former Arizona governor Jan Brewer, known for ushering through a hardline **immigration** law that inspired a rash of copycat legislation, and Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio, who has been charged with contempt of court for disobeying a judge’s order in a racial profiling case.

Trump, who faces a difficult path, has embraced new polling that shows the race tightening as reason to spend his finally days campaigning in traditionally states like Michigan, New Mexico and Wisconsin.

Herrera expects Clinton’s visit to the desert will energize Democrats across the state and may help boost Latino voter registration.

A Clinton victory in the historically red state could prove to be the start of a long-anticipated political shift – or it could be one-off twist in a wild election year.

“That’s the big question,” Herrera said. “And the answer is, we just have to wait and see.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Riot police stand by as buses take remaining asylum-seeking teenagers to undisclosed locations across France

Buses have started taking the remaining asylum-seeking teenagers from the Calais migrant camp to undisclosed locations around France, as officials began the final stage of clearing the camp.

Two UK Home Office workers were understood to be on each bus, taking the young people to juvenile centres across France where their applications for asylum in the UK and France were due to be processed. No details were revealed about the destinations of the buses.

The Calais prefecture had informed the camp’s last residents on Tuesday that no further applications for asylum in the UK would be dealt with in Calais. Among the camp’s remaining population, most appeared to be teenagers, possibly aged between 14 and 17 although there were a handful of much younger children

UK officials, wearing hi-vis jackets marked “**Immigration** Enforcement”, joined UNHCR staff as children were led on to buses shortly after 8am. Large numbers of riot police lined the road from the fenced of area, where an estimated 1,500 people have been sleeping in repurposed shipping containers for the past week, but the first three buses left without incident.

French officials said about 30 buses were expected to leave on Wednesday, and that the evacuation might continue on Thursday.

The lack of information about where the buses were going had prompted anxiety and uncertainty among the younger residents of the camp. Just a few hours before they left, some children still thought they were being taken to England.

“Are people going to the UK?” Afsar Khan, 12, from Afghanistan, asked, still confused about the dispersal plans. His friend Wali Tajek, 16, from Kabul, who was given a different bus number, was disappointed not to be going to Britain. “My uncle lives in Halifax. He has a pizza shop. He said he will support me, but they don’t let me go,” he said. He said he left Afghanistan because his parents were both dead, and because of the Taliban.

“I had an interview a month ago. The French person said they would tell me in two weeks, but there was no answer,” he said. The period of confusion had unsettled a lot of the teenagers. “There are a lot of fights. People are always angry.”

Garbled reports of the diplomatic standoff between France and Britain over the fate of the young people had been picked up on by many, but with muddled accuracy. Many had heard the French president’s request to the UK that they should accommodate all the remaining children, and assumed that this would happen.

A 16-year-old from Sudan, who was due to get on bus No 33, said he had hoped to go to the UK to try to find his brother. “We were so happy last week when we heard that the UK will take all the under-age people. We were so happy but now we are so worried. Everybody is going crazy.” He said he would get on the bus on Tuesday, but if he had another chance to go to the UK in the coming weeks he would take it.

While more than 6,000 adults and children have already left the camp to claim asylum in France, those who remain are mostly people who have a strong reason to want to go to the UK – family members or friends who are there, or they speak very good English. Charity workers have spent months explaining that remaining in France is a more sensible option (particularly for older children from Afghanistan, who risk being sent back to Afghanistan from the UK when they turn 17-and-a-half); those who are determined to continue trying to come to Britain usually have a strong reason.

Volunteers who work with some of the small charities that have grown up over the past year to help look after the minors said they were taken aback by the speed of the decision to move the young people on to accommodation elsewhere in France. While there was relief that young people were being moved out of containers where water supplies were said to be inadequate, and where there was no provision of food, except charity handouts, there was also concern that there was no time to hand over details of which children needed extra support.

“There are some with learning difficulties, mental health problems, long-term health issues. We’re trying to hand over this information, but we don’t know who to pass it to, and there is so little time,” Michael McHugh, who works with the **Refugee** Youth Service, an organisation part-funded by Save The Children.

Volunteers had put up a large sheet of paper on the fences around the shipping containers where **refugees** spent their last night in the camp, so departing asylum-seekers could write messages. “We are not toys to play with. We are kids. We needs lives,” one message said. Another said: “Never give up. Going to the UK.”

A fight last night between Afghan and Eritrean teenagers[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/01/calais-camp-hit-riots-refugees-teenagers] had resulted in large numbers of Eritrean minors leaving the shipping containers and sleeping on the floor of the camp’s church, one of the few hand-built structures that has yet to be demolished. Four people were injured but not seriously.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Dr Munjed al Muderis’ story back in spotlight after patient writes letter to Malcolm Turnbull

A leading surgeon who would have been barred from Australia for life under a proposed **refugee** policy if he had arrived later has pleaded with the government not to be blinded by a wave of rightwing radicalism.

Dr Munjed al Muderis is an osseointegration surgeon who fled Iraq to Australia in 1999 after he was ordered by Saddam Hussein’s regime to amputate the limbs of deserters[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/jul/14/dear-australia-guardian-video-series]. He arrived by boat and was detained on Christmas Island and in the Curtin detention centre.

His story found renewed attention this week after one of his patients, Allison France, published a letter to the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull.

“Under your new policy, he would never have made it to Australia,” France said. “He has made a huge contribution to our country. I urge you to reconsider your position on this issue and consider the welfare and happiness of Australians like me.”

The policy, announced by Turnbull and the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, on Sunday[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat], would mean any adult who had their **refugee** claim processed on Nauru or Manus Island would be banned from ever returning to Australia under any kind of visa, including as a tourist.

Related: Dr Munjed Al Muderis' journey to Australia – Behind the Lines podcast[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/audio/2016/aug/09/dr-munjed-al-muderis-journey-to-australia-behind-the-lines-podcast]

On Wednesday Dutton said the policy was vital to strengthen the prospect of striking a deal with third countries to take Australia’s offshore **refugees** and suggested some may attempt to enter Australia later with “sham relationships”.

Muderis, who is the only surgeon of his kind in the country, told Guardian Australia he was disheartened to learn of the new policy proposal.

“What’s really sad is to see both parties competing with each other over who’s going to be harsher on these human beings,” he said. “These poor people who are escaping from terrorism and fear, we are treating them with fear, we are treating them with terror.”

Muderis said he was unaware of France’s letter until a friend showed it to him but he supported it because “she shared the same opinion of the vast majority of people I come across in my day to day work and day-to-day life”.

He said he was not against rightwing figures such as Pauline Hanson, who supported the policy, because he believed they had “genuine anxieties” that needed to be addressed.

However, Hanson’s election win had given “a false impression to the government and both parties that this is the popular thing to do”, he said.

“It seems everybody is riding the wave of radicalism and extremism and being very rightwing.”

Muderis questioned why the policy was necessary if the government had “stopped the boats”.

“I don’t understand why they are doing that. If it’s successful, why do we go to the extreme? Why do we try to prove we are harsh?”

It wouldn’t have deterred his own journey, he said, because he was in fear for his life and had no choice. He said he would do it again if in the same situation because he had no other option.

“I didn’t get a chance to come by plane. I didn’t see a camp, I didn’t see a queue. Not everybody is lucky enough to find a UNHCR camp,” he said. “It’s more than likely that someone born in one of these UNHCR camps will die an old man or old woman in these camps.”

He said he had not spoken with Turnbull or his predecessors about his experience but would welcome the opportunity.

Related: **Refugees** in Australia fear speaking out about asylum, ex-detainee says[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/21/former-refugee-now-medical-pioneer-warns-against-detaining-asylum-seekers]

France told Guardian Australia she shared the letter in the hope Turnbull and “other Australians who were in doubt about the contributions **refugees** make to this country” would read it.

“I think the idea that people who come by boat are banned for life is cruel and unnecessary and made me straight away think of Munjed,” she said.

“Under the current system he would be stuck on Manus or Nauru and never have the opportunity to come here. If he was moved to Canada he would never have the chance to travel here as a surgeon. He’s in demand all over the world.”

France said she had received few negative responses to her letter.

“I hope other people will their stories of their positive experiences. There’s so many good stories about **refugees** out there. It would be nice to be hearing more of them.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Greens say contents of internal email released by accident to Guardian Australia points to ‘deliberate breach’ of freedom of information laws

Australia’s **immigration** department has been “freezing” the release of documents about asylum seekers at in its offshore detention centre on Nauru, according to a internal email, suggesting it has been deliberately breaching freedom of information laws.

In an email sent by accident to Guardian Australia[https://www.scribd.com/document/329580029/DIBP-Email], an official at the Department of **Immigration** and Border Protection, says there are “risks” to the apparent policy and asks for it to reconsidered.

The Greens’ **immigration** spokesman, Nick McKim said the emails showed the department had “gone rogue”.

The shadow **immigration** minister, Shayne Neumann, said it showed the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, was mismanaging his department.

Related: UN official criticises Australia's plan for lifetime ban on **refugees** who travel by sea[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/01/un-official-criticises-australias-plan-for-lifetime-ban-on-refugees-who-travel-by-sea]

The department said the email was “a misunderstanding”.

The email, sent by Ian Campbell, the **immigration** department’s freedom of information officer,[https://www.scribd.com/document/329580029/DIBP-Email] asks two other officials:

We note that our Nauru­-related FOI cases (ie summary incident reports, health data set and several others) continue to be on­ hold pending confirmation from you about when we can proceed to finalise them. Are you able to please give us an update/indication of when you consider we will be able to proceed? There are some risks associated with not proceeding these FOI requests. Rather than freezing the processing of these cases for several more weeks or months, we might be better off releasing the documents sooner, with the Nauru information fully exempted under grounds of international relations. This is something we’d want to discuss with Susan [Mathew]given the concerns previously expressed about such an approach.

Under Australia’s freedom of information laws[https://www.oaic.gov.au/freedom-of-information/foi-guidelines/], strict timeframes are set out for processing requests for information, and there is evidence that the department has exceeded the timeframe for processing a number of requests made by Guardian Australia.

Guardian Australia’s request for healthcare data on Nauru has been delayed for processing since July this year.

In another case, a request for the child protection panel report on Nauru has also been delayed. A freedom-of-information officer previously said the department has committed to releasing it by the end of October. The secretary of the department, Michael Pezzullo, has been in possession of the report for several months.

There has been renewed focus on the asylum seekers and **refugees** held on Nauru by Australia after the Guardian’s publication of the Nauru files, which detailed thousands of incident reports[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] from the island’s detention facility until October 2015.

A Senate inquiry[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/12/senate-to-investigate-allegations-of-child-abuse-on-nauru-and-manus-island] is now under way into serious allegations of abuse and assault on Nauru[http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary\_Business/Committees/Senate/Legal\_and\_Constitutional\_Affairs/NauruandManusRPCs] and the department is facing increasing pressure to release information about incident reports it holds, as well as for healthcare information for asylum seekers and **refugees** on the island.

Related: Coalition MPs can't agree on which **refugees** Australia's lifetime ban will affect[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/01/coalition-mps-cant-agree-on-who-australias-lifetime-ban-on-refugees-will-affect]

Neumann and McKim urged Australia’s information commissioner, Timothy Pilgrim, to examine the **immigration** department’s actions.

Neumann said Dutton had been “caught out” in the revelation.

“Peter Dutton might not like what he finds in these files but that doesn’t give him the right to withhold the information from the Australian public,” Neumann said.

“I’m sure the information commissioner will take a keen interest in any evidence that suggests a deliberate strategy by the Turnbull government to withhold information from the FOI process.”

McKim said the email showed what appeared to be a “deliberate breach” of freedom of information laws.

“This email is an extraordinary admission of the department’s culture of secrecy and obfuscation of people trying to find out the truth,” he said. “In many respects, the department has gone rogue and it is long past time for the government to bring it to heel.

“The government’s reasons for secrecy are clear – their policies have failed in humanitarian, financial and logistical terms, and they simply don’t want people finding that out.”

The **immigration** department’s FOI unit has a fraught relationship with the rest of the department. Decision-making powers have been stripped from many of its officers and are now made by other officials. As a consequence, the unit often doesn’t have the power to see the processing of requests through.

A spokesman from the Department of **Immigration** and Border Protection said: “There has been no freeze of FOI requests in relation to Nauru; the email you reference reflected a misunderstanding of the process and was an internal communication seeking advice in relation to specific ongoing requests.”

The department’s response did not address whether it accepted it had breached freedom of information laws.

Dutton did not respond to requests for comment.

The manager of the department’s freedom of information unit, Linda Rossiter, denied there was a deliberate freeze and said there had been a “misunderstanding” in the email.

“There isn’t a freeze and it’s a misunderstanding,” Rossiter told Guardian Australia. “There’s no freeze on the processing of requests. Requests are dealt with on a case by case basis.”

The office of the Australian information commissioner has the power to investigate the handling of freedom of information requests. It also has sweeping investigative powers and can conduct own motion investigations into the actions of government agencies.

The **immigration** department has faced several investigations into the handling of information requests. The office conducted an investigation[https://www.oaic.gov.au/freedom-of-information/foi-decisions/foi-omi-reports/processing-of-non-routine-foi-requests-by-the-department-of-immigration-and-citizenship] that identified a range of serious flaws in 2012.

A separate internal review[https://www.google.com.au/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwj4nuzNuIbQAhXJJ5QKHTJ8DPYQFggdMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.border.gov.au%2FReportsandPublications%2FDocuments%2Freviews-and-inquiries%2Findependent-comparative-review-foi-procedures.pdf&usg=AFQjCNH9Xmmi0gUIGhj8HjNBYk6d0VAHZA&sig2=YjbwBB6kx3FEQ1M38JK1PA] commissioned by the department and undertaken by Robert Cornall also found there was a lack of efficient management of FOI by the department.

Related: Could a mild outbreak of humanity be behind the Coalition's cynical new asylum politics? | Katharine Murphy[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/could-a-mild-outbreak-of-humanity-be-behind-the-coalitions-cynical-new-asylum-politics]

A spokeswoman for the Office of the Australian Information Commissioner said: “The Australian information commissioner expects Australian government agencies bound by the Freedom of Information Act 1982 to meet the statutory timeframes in relation to processing FOI requests.

“While the act allows for extensions of time in certain circumstances, the commissioner would expect those extensions are only requested when there is a substantive reason. Where we receive requests by agencies for extensions we review them in relation to the specific circumstances.

“In the last 12 months we have received a small number of extension of time requests from the Department of **Immigration** and Border Protection. Not all have been granted.

“The commissioner monitors FOI processing within Australian government agencies and will conduct investigations when appropriate.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Nissan decision to stay in Britain came with clear signal that No 10 is aiming for a free trade relationship similar to single market

Welcome to the Guardian ’s weekly Brexit briefing, a summary of developments as Britain moves – not without incident – towards the EU exit. If you’d like to receive it as a weekly email, please sign up here [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/31/eu-referendum-morning-briefing-sign-up].

Producing the Guardian ’s thoughtful, in-depth journalism is expensive – but supporting us isn’t. If you value our Brexit coverage, please become a Guardian supporter [https://membership.theguardian.com/supporter?CMP=ema-3377] and help make our future more secure. Thank you.

The big picture In the end, we learned more about the government’s preferred Brexit plan from the business secretary in a 10-minute television interview [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/30/nissan-eu-tariff-free-brexit-sunderland] than we have in four months from the prime minister and her three cabinet Brexiters.

Appearing on the BBC ’s Andrew Marr Show, Greg Clark was pushed on just what the government had promised Nissan to persuade the carmaker – as it announced last week [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/27/nissan-to-make-new-qashqai-and-x-trail-models-in-britain] – to swallow its Brexit fears and produce its next two models in Britain.

The decision was clearly a huge boost to the government, guaranteeing some 7,000 jobs in Sunderland and allowing Theresa May to hail a vote of confidence in post-Brexit Britain. But what had induced Nissan to stay?

Breaking with the PM’s edict of not providing a running commentary, Clark delivered a clear signal that No 10 is aiming for a free trade relationship with the EUsimilar to the single market and customs union:

What I said was that our objective would be to ensure that we would have continued access to the markets in Europe – and vice versa – without tariffs and without bureaucratic impediments and that is how we will approach those negotiations.

As our colleague Patrick Wintour noted, [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/30/greg-clark-brexit-negotiations-andrew-marr-show-nissan-auto-industry] Clark’s clear implication was that Britain’s target will be not just to avoid tariff and non-tariff barriers with the EU for carmakers but probably to seek similar deals for other industries in a sector-by-sector approach.

The first point about this is that when it comes to the negotiations, part of the government plainly sees access to the EU single market as at least as important as migration controls and ending oversight from the European court of justice. That appears to be at odds with May’s stated priorities.

The second is that the logical inference from Clark’s remarks is that he believes Britain should stay in the customs union – which is not necessarily the view of Liam Fox at the Department for International Trade.

The third is that it is by no means clear – some would say highly unlikely – that the EU will be open to such sector-by-sector negotiations.

And the final point is the potential cost of such an approach, not just in contributions to the EU budget but – as Nick Clegg pointed out – in the “colossal amounts” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/30/nissans-post-brexit-deal-could-lead-to-colossal-bills-for-taxpayers] the taxpayer could end up paying to subsidise a whole series of such deals for different industry sectors.

It does all, though, suggest that May’s views on the desirability of remaining in – or as good as in – the single market might be closer to the ones she revealed privately to Goldman Sachs bankers before the referendum [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/theresa-may-under-fire-following-leaked-brexit-recording] than to those she trumpeted at the Conservative party conference [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/may-on-collision-course-with-backbenchers-seeking-soft-brexit].

The prime minister’s preferred Brexit may be softer than anyone thought – which could mean trouble ahead from the Brexiters.

The view from Europe The big news from Brussels last week was that after a fortnight of valiant last-gasp resistance [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/14/eu-canada-free-trade-deal-ceta-in-jeopardy-belgium-wallonia-parliament-vote] from the French-speaking Belgian region of Wallonia, the EU and Canada finally got to sign their free trade deal, known as Ceta [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/30/eu-canada-sign-ceta-free-trade-deal-trudeau-juncker].

The package, which gives the EU its first trade pact with a G7 economy, still has to go before national parliaments, but the EU commission president, Jean-Claude Juncker , was delighted:

We are setting standards which will determine globalisation in the coming years. Nothing in other trade agreements will be able to remain below the level of what we have reached today with Canada.

Although May was at pains to say Britain would not seek to replicate any existing model in its future relationship with the EU , and Juncker saw “no relation between what we are signing today and the Brexit issue”, there were Brexit lessons aplenty in the Ceta saga.

Perhaps the most important is that on a continent that seems increasingly sceptical about the value of trade deals, 38 national and regional assemblies will have a final say on the future UK-EU agreement – and several will seek to use it.

As Guillaume Van der Loo, a trade expert at the Centre for European Policy Studies , told the Guardian’s Jennifer Rankin [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/29/britain-must-learn-from-the-eu-canada-ceta-trade-deal-saga], any Brexit trade deal will be political, and Britain will need to meet the concerns of each EU county and region:

Member states are no longer reluctant to put their foot in the door and stop an agreement in order to gain what they want.

One of the things France might well want is the end of the Le Touquet treaty under which Britain carries out border checks on French soil. As the migrant and **refugee** camp in Calais was finally demolished last week [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/25/calais-camp-demolition-begins-charities-call-protection-minors-children-unicef], it is becoming increasingly clear that the future of the treaty could become part of wider Brexit talks.

France will be one of the loudest voices calling for a hard line if Britain opts for a hard Brexit. As Alain Juppé , the man currently most likely to be the country’s next president, reminded the Guardian recently [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/20/alain-juppe-france-managing-migrants-uk-calais-kent-border], a “complete renegotiation” of Le Touquet could well be part of the mix.

Meanwhile, back in Westminster At least Bank of England governor Mark Carney [https://www.theguardian.com/business/mark-carney], Britain’s most high-profile migrant worker, is going to hang around for a year longer than he needed to [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/31/mark-carney-extra-year-bank-of-england-governor], until July 2019 – and he has the full backing of the PM. Crucially, that means he’ll be in charge through the two-year article 50 leaving process.

The Canadian has felt the wrath of several Eurosceptic MPs [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/21/criticising-mark-carney-tory-hobby-bank-england-governor] over his negative pre-referendum predictions of the economic risks of Brexit, with remoaner-hunters Daniel Hannan , Jacob Rees-Mogg , Bernard Jenkin and Nigel Lawson all calling for him to resign.

Carney had been tipped to announce his decision about serving his full eight-year term on Thursday [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/30/mark-carney-may-announce-decision-to-quit-thursday-bank-of-england].

Had he chosen to go, as US economist Adam Posen pointed out on Twitter , it would be the method of his departure, rather than losing the man himself, which would be a disaster.

“It’s not about Carney. All central bankers are replaceable,” said Posen, a former member of the Bank of England ’s monetary policy committee. “It’s about a government that attacks any disagreement. So they’d put in a stooge.”

Labour’s shadow chancellor, John McDonnell , also rallied to Carney’s defence this week, saying his party would fight to preserve the central bank’s independence.

“Labour gave the Bank of England independence to stop Tory chancellors leaving monetary policy to the whims of their backbenchers,” McDonnell said, calling that independence “sacrosanct”.

His speech also issued new demands for the government not to pursue a sweetheart deal for the City at the expense of manufacturers and small businesses.

(Unfortunately for McDonnell, instead of warning of the dangers of a “bankers’ Brexit”, a slip of the tongue saw him rail against a “bankers’ breakfast”, presumably kippers and champagne, which sounds rather delicious.)

You should also know that:

\* A high court judge in Belfast rejected two of the first legal challenges to Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/28/belfast-court-rejects-legal-challenges-brexit], saying the 1998 Good Friday agreement could not be used to exempt Northern Ireland from the UK’s decision to leave the EU .

\* The UK economy turned in a better than expected performance [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/27/uk-economy-defies-brexit-slowdown-fears] after the Brexit vote, growing by 0.5% in the three months to end-September.

\* Britain will need an interim EU deal and must accept the EU will exact an economic and political price [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/24/sir-simon-fraser-uk-interim-deal-eu-brexit-negotiations-foreign-office-article-50] for Brexit, a former top Foreign Office official said.

\* Tony Blair said remain voters should organise their opposition [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/28/tony-blair-remain-voters-to-mobilise-against-brexit] to Brexit, saying: “We are the insurgents now.” Lots of people said he should shut up.

\* The number of EU students applying for places on some of the most sought-after courses in the UK’s leading universities [https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/oct/27/uk-university-applications-from-eu-down-9-ucas] has dropped by 9%, Ucas said.

Read these: In t he Guardian, Nick Cohen argues that Theresa May lied to get her job as PM [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/30/theresa-may-lie-and-lied-to-become-prime-minister] – and is lying to us now, to make us believe she is acting in our best interests whereas she is in fact “a prime minister of pretences”:

She pretends that we should leave the EU , even though she knows we should remain a member of the single market. She offers us the illusion that we are taking back control, even as we lose our freedom to act. She cuts deals in secret, in the hope that the public will never realise that her land of make-believe is an expensive place to live.

Brief but characteristically smart, Stephen Bush in the New Statesman [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2016/10/what-fuss-over-mark-carney-tell-us-about-brexit-britain] says the kerfuffle over Carney’s decision to stay or go reflects Britain’s increased vulnerability on international markets in the wake of the Brexit vote:

If for the last four decades, Britain had the security – and the limitations – of a boat in the harbour, the country is about to exchange that for the freedom and vulnerability of a ship at sea … The future direction of British politics depends to a great extent on whether the 17 million who voted for leave feel that was part of the bargain – and if the 16 million who did not can be reconciled to that trade-off at all.

In the FT (paywall), Wolfgang Münchau argues the government’s Nissan deal offers a pointer to a possible soft Brexit solution [https://www.ft.com/content/cd0d2ad4-9d23-11e6-a6e4-8b8e77dd083a] : a lengthy transition – say 10 years – followed by either a hard Brexit or some kind of EEA-style association agreement.

The **immigration** issue, Münchau says, can be dealt with in all sorts of creative ways – including simply imposing a five-year minimum residency requirement on NHS access and welfare benefits, pretty much as Germany has done:

Starting from where we are, the EEA is the best of the remaining options. It works for Nissan . It works for Scotland and Northern Ireland. And, most importantly, it will work for the prime minister. As someone who has been on both sides of the Brexit arguments virtually simultaneously, she incorporates both thesis and antithesis. Hegel taught us where that ends up.

Tweet of the week More like political longhand, but not bad all the same:

Unforeseen legacy of the Brexit campaign: "Written down the side of the bus" now apparently British political shorthand for "blatant lie".— Robert Hutton (@RobDotHutton) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RobDotHutton/status/793116160824844292] (@RobDotHutton)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happenKaren Bradley’s press regulation statement - Summary and analysisAfternoon summaryUkip leadership hustings - Summary

block-time published-time 6.29pm GMT

Ukip leadership hustings - Summary Anyone who feared that the Ukip leadership contest would get dull following the withdrawal of Raheem Kassam will be relieved after that: with John Rees-Evans, Ukip’s reputation for eccentricity is in safe hands. He fared badly this afternoon, but Paul Nuttall , the clear favourite, Suzanne Evans, the most assured media performer, and Peter Whittle all got through the debate without difficulty. There was no clear winner, but equally nothing happened to challenge the view that Nuttall will be most popular with Ukip members. (Evans was good, but she doesn’t sound much like a proper Kipper.)

Here are two of the key news lines.

\* Paul Nuttall and Suzanne Evans, the two favourites in the contest, disagreed over Ukip’s controvesial Breaking Point anti-**immigrants** poster. Evans said she did not like it:

I didn’t think it was racist, but I don’t like it. I think it was insensitive and ill-judged.

But Nuttall defended it.

The point behind that poster was absolutely correct. We do need to get control of our borders and there is a deluge of people coming from the Middle East and the European Union ’s idea of a common asylum policy certainly isn’t the right route to go down.

Nigel Farage launching Ukip’s controversial Breaking Point poster during the EU referendum. Photograph: Philip Toscano/PA

\* Nuttall and Whittle both sought to downplay the significance of the rise in hate crime after the Brexit vote. Asked about the increase, Nuttall said:

If you look at the hate crime figures, they did not go up substantially...

There has been a slight rise but - I’ve spoken to the police about this - that happens after any national event. This is nothing out of the ordinary. The rise hasn’t been that substantial.

And Whittle said that hate crime had been going up anyway. He added:

The only point I would make is that in July, after the Brexit vote, actually a huge amount of hate crime was more related to the terrorist attacks that were happening at the time.

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time published-time 6.05pm GMT

Q: Do you support the death penalty?

Nuttall says he would for some crimes, like killing children. But it is Ukip policy to have a referendum on it if enough people call for one.

Evans says she is strongly opposed to one and always has been, and the Stefan Kiszko case clinched it for her.

Rees-Evans says he would back the death penalty for people who kill children, and paedophiles convicted for preying on children under the age of 12.

And that’s it. The LBC hustings is over.

I will post a summary soon.

\* This entry was corrected on 1 November 2016 to more accurately reflect the views of the candidates.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.21pm GMT

block-time published-time 6.01pm GMT

Q: Do you favour Trump or Clinton?

Evans says she would work with whoever won.

Nuttall says if he were American, he would probably vote for the Libertarian candidate. He does not like either Trump or Clinton.

Rees-Evans says one thing in Trump’s favour is that he is not in anyone’s pocket.

Whittle says Clinton is “deeply unsavoury”. With Trump he thinks “right cause, wrong man”.

block-time published-time 6.00pm GMT

Q: Putin may have expansionist ambitions. And he may be a sociopath. Does he pose a threat?

Whittle says Putin is a “pretty unsavoury character”. There is an expansionist impluse there. But there is in the EU too.

Q: Do you admire him?

No, says Whittle.

Rees-Evans says he does not really have an opinion about him.

Evans says Putin is someone who needs careful handling.

Nuttall says he agrees with Evans. But Russia is not the biggest threat facing the country. It is Islamic extremism.

block-time published-time 5.57pm GMT

Evans says the UK security services have suggested that terrorists could be coming to Europe posing as **refugees**.

Q: What do you think of David Davies’s proposal for dental checks of child **refugees**?

Evans says she was angry when she saw child **refugees** coming to the UK. There are children in the UK who are not being looked after properly. She says it is reasonable to check their ages.

block-time published-time 5.54pm GMT

Q: Are migrants in Calais a threat to the UK?

Rees-Evans said he recently went to Calais. His investigation was on Bulgarian TV. He says many migrants there have sold their homes. They spend £10,000 or £11,000. There are genuine **refugees**, he says. He spoke to 39 **refugees**. But he thinks only three or four of them were genuinely fleeing for their lives.

Q: Is it true you have some bunker in Bulgaria?

Rees-Evans says he has 10 acres there. His wife likes organic food, and they can grow their own food on their land.

block-time published-time 5.51pm GMT

Q: Do you want Nigel Farage to stay involved?

Evans says she would like him to stay involved. She would like him to be an elder statesman, someone she could consult. That is how she used to work with him. It would be like Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon , she says.

Whittle says she would like Farage to stay involved.

Rees-Evans says, if you do not like Farage, you can vote for Nuttall, because Nuttall and Evans both favour shunting Farage off into the Lords.

Nuttall says he has worked with Farage for years. Farage should become the honorary president of the party. And, if he wants a peerage, he should get one.

After 2019 Farage won’t be an MEP, he points out.

block-time published-time 5.49pm GMT

Rees-Evans says he wants to introduce direct democracy into the party.

Evans says that is not the case. She wrote the party manifesto. You cannot make policy like this, he says.

Rees-Evans says that illustrates the problem. She does not trust members.

Nuttall says the last time something like this was tried was when Labour wrote its manifesto in 1983. He implies Rees-Evans’ idea won’t work.

block-time published-time 5.44pm GMT

Q: Can you persuade me Ukip is not racist?

Nuttall says Ukip is the only party that has a blanket ban on anyone who has been a member of the BNP joining. Just because you want to control **immigration**that does not make you a racist, he says.

block-time published-time 5.43pm GMT

Evans says she did not approve of the anti-**immigrant** poster released during the campaign. She tells the Spanish caller she has a beautiful voice.

block-time published-time 5.42pm GMT

Rees-Evans says the media are partly to blame. The media accuse Ukip of being racist. And so, after the vote to leave, genuine racists thought that people who voted to leave the EU were also racist. The media needs to consider its responsibility, he says.

block-time published-time 5.41pm GMT

Whittle says the London assembly has looked at this. Hate crime has been going up for some time anyway, he says. And he says that the increase over the summer was linked to terrorist attacks taking place at the same time.

Q: But why would people abuse a Spanish woman over terrorism?

Whittle says these people do not make that distinction.

block-time published-time 5.39pm GMT

Nuttall seeks to downplay significance of rise in hate crime after Brexit Q: I am a Spanish national. How responsible to you feel for the fact that I have been verbally abused since the referendum.

Nuttall says he is very sorry for what has happened to the female caller. But he is not responsible. Brexit is a great thing, he says. He says the government should repeal the European Communities Act.

Q: But many EU nationals have experienced the same thing.

Nuttall says the hate crime figures did not go up “substantially” after the referendum. But both sides pushed the boundaries.

Q: How?

Well, the £350m a week claim, Nuttall says.

Q: What about the Ukip anti-**immigrant** poster issued on the day Jo Cox was killed.

Nuttall says that poster was correct. The UK does need to get control of its borders. But he says EU nationals should not feel under threat. They will not be asked to go home.

Q: Do you accept there has been an increase in hate crime?

Nuttall says there has been a slight rise in hate crime. But this kind of thing happens after every national event.

\* Nuttall seeks to downplay significance of rise in hate crime after Brexit.

block-time published-time 5.31pm GMT

Q: Would Ukip benefit by having a woman as leader?

Not necessarily, says Rees-Evans. He says he employs 800 people, and he does not employ them for their gender.

Whittle says he does not think this is relevant. He did not stand for London mayor on the basis of being gay.

Evans says she does not think gender should matter.

Nuttall also says he does not think gender should be a factor.

Suzanne Evans. Photograph: LBC block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.46pm GMT

block-time published-time 5.28pm GMT

Q: Is Douglas Carswell a force for good in Ukip?

He can be, says Nuttall. Nuttall says if he becomes elected leader, he will see all Ukip’s parliamentarians and try to get them to work together.

Whittle says a recent book (The Brexit Club, by Owen Bennett) says Carswell joined Ukip to undermine Nigel Farage. He says this needs to be addressed. Carswell has not commented on this, he says.

Evans says she has worked with Carswell. He did not join the party to undermine Farage. He says having an MP in the party is a big asset.

Rees-Evans says Carwell criticised Farage at a time when the party needed unity.

Q: So we are not allowed to criticise the leader?

Rees-Evans says people should criticise what the leader does, not who they are.

block-time published-time 5.24pm GMT

Whittle says he was Ukip’s candidate for London mayor. He is gay, he says. He was the only gay mayoral candidate.

He says they are talking about an obscure topic.

Rees-Evans says this is not an obscure matter. They are talking about liberty of conscience.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.49pm GMT

block-time published-time 5.22pm GMT

Q: Is Evans a Tory stooge?

No, says Nuttall. But the important thing is that the party comes together.

Rees-Evans says he has heard this. But he does not know. He has not heard sufficient “data” on this to know whether she has stronger affinity with the Tories or with Ukip.

Evans says he has only just met Rees-Evans.

Rees-Evans complains about something Evans said about a Ukip member with traditional Christian views, Alan Craig. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alan\_Craig] He says he is a libertarian. He thinks the party should include people like this.

Evans says the party is libertarian. It includes people with a wide range of views. But there is a higher bar for candidates. And candidates with views that **alienate**a large section of the community should reconsider them.

She says she stands up for what she believes in. She will not tolerate racism or homophobia.

Rees-Evans says Ukip candidates should be able to hold any views.

Q: Is it acceptable for Ukip candidates to have racist views?

Yes...

Q: You are saying yes.

Rees-Evans says he is just starting his answer.

Q: But you said yes.

Rees-Evans says it depends how you define racism.

block-time published-time 5.14pm GMT

Q: How can you govern a rabble?

Nuttall says the party has not covered itself in glory recently. It is staring over a cliff at the moment. He says he can rescue it because he has done all the important jobs in the party. He is not factional. It is important to forgive, but not forget.

Q: Who is to blame?

Nuttall says he said in his conference speech that no one was free from blame.

Q: You were deputy leader for six years. You must take some blame.

Nuttall says he accepts his share of responsibility. He said that in his conference speech.

There are open goals, if you look at Labour communities. Ukip has to kick the ball, he says.

Paul Nuttall . Photograph: LBC block-time published-time 5.11pm GMT

Whittle says Ukip needs a period of stability. He is stable, he says.

Q: Are you saying Nigel Farage was unstable?

No, says Whittle. He says the party needs a period of instability. Then it needs some building, and then it needs to be inspired.

block-time published-time 5.09pm GMT

Rees-Evans says Ukip needs considerable reform. He wants much more direct democracy. If power is transferred to members, that would reduce the possibility of conflict between members and the leadership.

block-time published-time 5.07pm GMT

Ukip leadership candidates take part in LBC debate All four Ukip leadership candidates are about to take part in their first broadcast debate. The four are: Paul Nuttall , the former deputy leader (and favourite in the contest; Suzanne Evans, the former deputy chairwoman; Peter Whittle, a member of the London assembly; and John Rees-Evans, a former parliamentary candidate.

Iain Dale is presenting.

Q: Is Ukip ungovernable?

No, says Evans. She says Ukip has a real opportunity because Labour is failing.

Q: You said Ukip was toxic.

Evans said she did not say that. She was making a different point.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.33pm GMT

block-time published-time 4.56pm GMT

Afternoon summary

\* Karen Bradley, the culture secretary, has dramatically reopened the issue of press regulation by questioning whether the second part of the Leveson inquiry, meant to investigate corrupt dealings between the press and police, is still necessary. [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/nov/01/leveson-bradley-questions-value-of-press-police-relations-inquiry] She made the announcement in a statement to the Commons. (See 2.47pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/01/guardianicm-poll-gives-tories-16-point-lead-over-labour-politics-live?page=with:block-5818a215e4b08d944ba4d02d#block-5818a215e4b08d944ba4d02d] Later MPs voted down a Lords amendment to the investigatory powers bill that would have brought into force punitive court costs for newspapers that do not sign up to a Leveson-compliant regulator, even though this measure had cross-party support when included in a bill three years ago. Labour voted for the punitive court costs regime, but they were defeated by the government. (See 4.09pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/01/guardianicm-poll-gives-tories-16-point-lead-over-labour-politics-live?page=with:block-5818bd74e4b029b92ca44615#block-5818bd74e4b029b92ca44615] Later MPs voted down a Lords amendment to the investigatory powers bill that would have brought into force punitive court costs for newspapers that do not sign up to a Leveson-compliant regulator, even though this measure had cross-party support when included in a bill three years ago. Labour voted for the punitive court costs regime, but they were defeated by the government. (See

\* Amber Rudd, the home secretary, sparked fresh anger over her decision to reject an inquiry into the “battle of Orgreave” when she failed to appear in the House of Commons to justify her decision. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/01/absent-amber-rudd-accused-of-bitter-betrayal-over-orgreave] As Alan Travis and Josh Halliday report, the police minister, Brandon Lewis , was left to deny charges from Andy Burnham [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/andyburnham], the former shadow home secretary, that Rudd had “cruelly misled” campaigners at a meeting in September, which they left under the impression that some form of inquiry was going to be authorised. Burnham said Rudd’s decision to reject an inquiry into the clash between the police and miners in June 1984 at the height of the miners’ strike was “a bitter betrayal” that had been reached after an “incomplete and unsound process”.

\* Philip Hammond, the chancellor (and former defence secretary) has said the UK must strike back at hostile states in cyberspace and be capable of mounting sophisticated cyber-attacks of its own in place of military strikes. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/01/uk-must-build-cyber-attack-capability-chancellor-says-cybersecurity]

\* Ed Vaizey, the former culture minister, has called for self-employed workers in the “gig economy” to be guaranteed the legal minimum wage. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/nov/01/ed-vaizey-minimum-wage-gig-economy-self-employed]

\* Will Straw, the former executive director of the Britain Stronger in Europe campaign, has explained his decision to accept a CBE in David Cameron ’s resignation honours list. He said he did not know why he was offered the award. But, giving evidence to a Commons committee, he went on:

As I say, I didn’t ask for the award. But when I was offered it I wasn’t going to turn it down, not least because I’d been, as campaigners on both sides of this question and people engaged in politics are, away from my family for a lot of the campaign.

I wanted to have an occasion to take my wife to the Palace, as we’ll be doing in the near future, and to have something to remember the hard work that I and others put into the campaign.

At 5pm LBC will be hosting a Ukip leadership hustings. I will be covering it live.

block-time published-time 4.09pm GMT

MPs vote down Lords amendment introducing punitive court costs for papers The government has won the vote. (See 3.40pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/01/guardianicm-poll-gives-tories-16-point-lead-over-labour-politics-live?page=with:block-5818b5f4e4b08d944ba4d097#block-5818b5f4e4b08d944ba4d097] The Lords amendment bringing in the punitive court costs rules for newspapers that get sued has been defeated by 298 votes to 261 - a majority of 37.

block-time published-time 4.03pm GMT

The story about Lord Heseltine supposedly killing his mother’s dog (see 10.37am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/01/guardianicm-poll-gives-tories-16-point-lead-over-labour-politics-live?page=with:block-5818701ee4b01c528432eeac#block-5818701ee4b01c528432eeac] has turned even more peculiar. He now says Tatler, the magazine that first reported his supposed admission, misunderstood what he was saying. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37833381] He told the Press Association :

I didn’t strangle the dog. They have misunderstood... The dog was perfectly all right after this incident.

block-time published-time 3.57pm GMT

I missed this in the investigatory powers bill debate - Tory MP and former army officer Tom Tugendhat on the Guardian .

enltrThe only reason we had The Guardian on the officers' mess was to dust it for prints. V funny from @TomTugendhat [https://twitter.com/TomTugendhat] in #IPBill [https://twitter.com/hashtag/IPBill?src=hash] debate #Leveson [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Leveson?src=hash] debate

— David Jack (@DJack\_Journo) November 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DJack\_Journo/status/793477168584163328]block-time published-time 3.53pm GMT

MPs are now voting on the press regulation amendment. (See 3.40pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/01/guardianicm-poll-gives-tories-16-point-lead-over-labour-politics-live?page=with:block-5818b5f4e4b08d944ba4d097#block-5818b5f4e4b08d944ba4d097]

block-time published-time 3.47pm GMT

Earlier today Philip Hammond , the chancellor, gave a speech on the national cyber security strategy. His plans were briefed overnight, [https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/nov/01/philp-hammond-to-spend-extra-19bn-fighting-cyber-attacks] but his speech also included a claim that Britain will be able “retaliate in kind” to any state-backed cyber-attack. Hammond told his audience.

We will deter those who seek to steal from us, threaten us or otherwise harm our interests in cyberspace.

We are strengthening our law enforcement capabilities to raise the cost and reduce the rewards of cyber criminality, ensuring we can track, apprehend and prosecute those who commit cyber crimes.

And we will continue to invest in our offensive cyber capabilities because the ability to detect, trace and retaliate in kind is likely to be the best deterrent.

A small number of hostile foreign actors have developed and deployed hostile cyber capabilities, including destructive ones.

These capabilities threaten the security of the UK’s critical national infrastructure and their industrial control systems.

If we do not have the ability to respond in cyberspace to an attack which takes down our power networks, leaving us in darkness, or hits our air traffic control system, grounding our planes, we would be left with the impossible choice of turning the other cheek and ignoring the devastating consequences or resorting to a military response.

That is a choice we do not want to face and a choice we do not want to leave as a legacy to our successors.

That is why we need to develop a fully functioning and operational cyber counter-attack capability.

Here is the text of Hammond’s speech. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/speeches/chancellor-speech-launching-the-national-cyber-security-strategy]

Philip Hammond speaking at Micosoft’s Future Decoded Conference at ExCel in London. Photograph: Chris Radburn/PA block-time published-time 3.40pm GMT

In the Commons MPs are now debating the investigatory powers bill, and specifically the amendments to the bill tabled by peers as it went through the House of Lords. At the start of the debate John Bercow , the Speaker, said that 377 amendments were made to the bill in the upper house.

But the debate is focusing mainly on an amendment passed by the Lords [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/11/phone-hacking-victims-win-house-of-lords-support-over-legal-costs] that would effectively implement section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act - the Leveson recommendation (see 12.59pm) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/01/guardianicm-poll-gives-tories-16-point-lead-over-labour-politics-live?page=with:block-58188023e4b01c528432ef0f#block-58188023e4b01c528432ef0f] which Karen Bradley put out to a fresh consultation earlier. (See 2.47pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/01/guardianicm-poll-gives-tories-16-point-lead-over-labour-politics-live?page=with:block-5818a215e4b08d944ba4d02d#block-5818a215e4b08d944ba4d02d] The government wants to overturn the amendment, but Labour MPs want to keep it in. We should get a vote quite soon.

block-time published-time 3.19pm GMT

In these grim times we have to take our good news when we can get it, so here’s to Sir Michael Fallon , the defence secretary. Giving evidence to a committee this morning, he said there probably won’t be a war with Russia next year.

The Press Association has the story.

Fears that Russia and Nato are on a collision course for war next year have been dismissed by defence secretary Sir Michael Fallon .

Fallon insisted that a hot conflict with Moscow was not likely in 2017, as he gave evidence to the Commons defence committee.

Pressed about warnings by former Nato deputy allied commander in Europe, General Sir Richard Shirreff, that the plot of his novel 2017 War With Russia was plausible, Fallon said that was an extreme view.

“Well, there are a lot of people writing books and trying to sell them, and his is a very good one. However, I don’t agree that war with Russia is likely next year. I think that is too extreme.

“We have seen much greater Russian aggression this year, and in previous years, in terms of long-range aviation, in terms of submarine activity, and the carrier task group that sailed through our waters, the role of Russia in Syria, and elsewhere. But I don’t think that presages an open conflict next year.

“And I hope that General Shirreff would - and I think he does this - recognise that Nato is now responding. So, Nato is waking up to the challenge,” Fallon said.

The defence secretary insisted the decision to send 800 British troops to Estonia next year was intended to create an “earlier tripwire” and act as a deterrent against possible aggression.

“The whole point of forward deployment to Estonia is to arrange, if you like, an earlier tripwire so the force there doesn’t have to wait for tension to escalate. The force will be there from next spring in any event, in all three of the Baltic states. It’s partly reassurance, but it’s also deterrence - to make it very clear to any potential aggressor that Nato is ready to respond.”

Astute readers will, of course, realise that the very fact that a ‘no war next year’ declaration has become newsworthy is itself a matter of some concern.

Sir Michael Fallon arriving for cabinet at Number 10 this morning. Photograph: Will Oliver/EPA block-time published-time 2.50pm GMT

Here is Ed Miliband , the former Labour leader, on Karen Bradley ’s statement.

enltrDC, NC and I signed pledge to support Section 40 on costs. Govt now tries to ditch it. Is it any wonder people think we break our promises?

— Ed Miliband (@Ed\_Miliband) November 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Ed\_Miliband/status/793464579250647040]block-time published-time 2.47pm GMT

Bradley's statement on press regulation - Summary and analysis Karen Bradley , the culture secretary, made two announcements in her statement. Both involve unwinding significant elements of Leveson, the inquiry set up with cross-party support in the Commons after the phone-hacking scandal, and in truth neither is particularly surprising, although there is one line in the small print that is intriguing.

1 - Bradley has confirmed that the government may shelve part two of the Leveson inquiry, the bit that was intended to examine in detail allegations of phone hacking and collusion with the police at News International and other newspaper organisations. Although part one of the inquiry covered phone hacking, it did not consider allegations in details because at that stage prosecutions were pending. When David Cameron launched the inquiry, he specifically said that a second stage would investigate what happened in detail once the police investigations were over.

All the key prosecutions have now concluded. Bradley has now launched a consultation on whether to press ahead with part two of the inquiry although the chances of part two actually proceeding are probably no higher than nil. When David Cameron was prime minister it was widely reported that part two would be permanently shelved. Theresa May may seem less interested in schmoozing the media than Cameron, but she is not daft and it is very hard to see why she would want to launch an inquiry that would trigger all-out war with powerful, Conservative-supporting newspaper groups, especially News UK , the successor to News International .

2 - Bradley has announced that she will consult on whether or not to implement section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act 2013. This is also unsurprising. (See 12.59am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/01/guardianicm-poll-gives-tories-16-point-lead-over-labour-politics-live?page=with:block-58188023e4b01c528432ef0f#block-58188023e4b01c528432ef0f] But what’s interesting is that Bradley is consulting on four options: keeping section 40 under review, bringing it in, repealing it, or partially introducing it. It was never likely that Bradley would introduce it, and her comments in the chamber (see, for example, what she said about Peter Preston’s column - see 1.50pm) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/01/guardianicm-poll-gives-tories-16-point-lead-over-labour-politics-live?page=with:block-58189d5ae4b01c528432efc2#block-58189d5ae4b01c528432efc2] suggest implementation is not a runner. But she has also included the option of partially introducing part 40 - introducing the “carrot” (exemption from costs for papers that lose a court case, if they are signed up to a Leveson-compliant regulator) but shelving the “stick” (forcing papers to pay their opponents’ costs even if they win, if they are not signed up to a Leveson-compliant regulator). This would benefit the small number of organised that belong to IMPRESS. Papers signed up to IPSO would probably complain if Bradley were to choose this option (and there is no particular reason to think she will) but doing this would allow her to claim she is salvaging one more vestige of Leveson.

block-time published-time 2.09pm GMT

Bradley’s statement is now over. I will post a summary soon.

block-time published-time 2.04pm GMT

Labour’s Clive Betts asks what Sir Brian Leveson thinks of the consultation.

Bradley says her conversation with Leveson was private.

block-time published-time 2.02pm GMT

Here is the full text of Bradley’s statement. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/speeches/culture-secretary-statement-to-parliament-on-press-regulation-issues]

Here is the news release about the consultation being launched. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/government-seeks-views-on-press-regulation-issues]

And here is the 25-page consultation document. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/564508/Consultation\_on\_the\_Leveson\_Inquiry\_and\_its\_implementation.pdf]

block-time published-time 1.56pm GMT

Jacob Rees-Mogg , a Conservative, says IMPRESS is funded by a “degenerate libertine” (Max Mosley). It cannot be right to bring in section 40 when it has so few subscribers, he says.

Bradley says this is why a consultation is needed. And she wants to take decisions based on the situation today, not five years ago, she says.

block-time published-time 1.52pm GMT

Sir Oliver Letwin , who has a Cabinet Office minister in the last government brought in the Leveson legislation, said it would help matters if IPSO became Leveson- compliant.

Bradley says that is the sort of comment she wants to hear in the consultation.

block-time published-time 1.50pm GMT

Bradley quotes approvingly an article written by Peter Preston, the former Guardian editor, in the Observer on Sunday [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/30/impress-here-to-stay-fresh-thinking-needed] saying section 40 should be mothballed.

block-time published-time 1.47pm GMT

Sir Peter Bottomley , a Conservative, says he has successfully sued newspapers four times. He says the list of papers that have signed up to IMPRESS is “pathetic”. He says the government should ensure that section 40 does not apply to papers regulated by IPSO.

Bradley says Bottomley has summed up the problem. There are 2,500 titles signed up to IPSO, she says.

block-time published-time 1.44pm GMT

John Whittingdale , the Conservative former culture secretary, asks Bradley to consider the deteriorating state of newspaper finances. And he says she should also remember that internet companies are not covered.

Bradley says these are good points.

block-time published-time 1.43pm GMT

Bradley is responding to Watson.

She says she does not agree with much of what he said.

And she says she hopes many people will respond to the consultation.

She does not address Watson’s specific questions.

block-time published-time 1.41pm GMT

Watson accuses Bradley of proposing a cover-up of a cover-up Tom Watson , the deputy Labour leader and shadow culture secretary, is responding to Bradley now. He says it is very sad that press regulation reform is being held up in this way.

He says Leveson part two would have been the investigation into how the cover-up into phone hacking was conducted.

That means Bradley is announcing a consultation on whether a cover-up should be covered up.

He says Bradley is taking power away from an independent judge, and giving it back to the executive.

He poses some questions.

Did Theresa May discuss this with Rupert Murdoch when she met him in New York?

Did Sir Brian Leveson back this?

Has Bradley spoken to the parents of Millie Dowler, whose dead daughter’s phone was hacked?

block-time published-time 1.35pm GMT

Bradley says government considering shelving follow-up Leveson inquiry into specific News International abuses Karen Bradley , the culture secretary, says she is making a statement on matters relating to the Leveson inquiry.

It is the job of a free press to hold the government to account. But that freedom has in the past been abused, she says.

She says the Leveson inquiry was set up to look into abuses.

Sir Brian Leveson heard evidence from more than 300 people, she says, including some of those affected by atrocious conduct.

She says the report contained 92 recommendations. Most have been implemented.

Part two of the inquiry, which is supposed to investigate the specific phone-hacking allegations at News International once court cases are over, has not begun.

She says section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act 2013 has not come into force. (See 12.59am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/nov/01/guardianicm-poll-gives-tories-16-point-lead-over-labour-politics-live?page=with:block-58188023e4b01c528432ef0f#block-58188023e4b01c528432ef0f]

She says the government has “hitherto” taken the view that the time has not been right to commence section 40.

But the PRP has now recognised a regulator.

She says it is time to consider press regulation further, in the light of the fact that IMPRESS, a small regulator, has gove PRP-approval, but IPSO has not.

She says the criminal cases relating to phone-hacking are coming to an end.

There was some overlap between part one and the proposed part two, she says.

The part one recommendations are being addressed, she says.

Given the extent of the criminal investigations, the reforms that have taken place, and the cost of part one, the government is considering whether to go ahead with part two.

\* Bradley says government considering shelving follow-up Leveson inquiry into specific News International abuses.

There will be a consultation, she says.

She says the government wants a balance between press freedom and the freedom of the individual.

block-time published-time 1.27pm GMT

Karen Bradley is starting her statement now.

block-time published-time 1.00pm GMT

Karen Bradley , the culture secretary, will announce a further consultation on press regulation, my colleague Jane Martinson reports.

Related: Government to launch new press regulation consultation [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/nov/01/government-to-launch-new-press-regulation-consultation]

block-time published-time 12.59pm GMT

Karen Bradley 's Commons statement on the press Karen Bradley , the culture secretary, is about to give a statement in the Commons about press regulation. It is expected that she will use the statement to unpick one of the consequences of the Leveson report into phone hacking.

The Leveson report was published in November 2012 and it recommended a tighter form of press regulation. The newspaper industry accepted the need for some reform, but it strongly opposed anything smacking of state regulation and, after much haggling, a compromise system was adopted. A royal charter was granted in 2013 and that led to the establishment of a Press Recognition Panel (PRP) which has the job of approving Leveson-compliant press regulators. Most national newspaper groups decided not to cooperate with this system and support the Independent Press Standards Organisation , an independent regulator. But a few publications signed up to IMPRESS, an alternative regulator, and last week IMPRESS became the first regulator to get PRP approval.

This is significant because, one a PRP-approved regulator is in place, section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act 2013 is supposed to come into force. This section, passed with cross-party support, is designed to provide “carrot and stick” incentives to newspapers to sign up to a PRP-approved regulator. The carrot is that papers that belong to such a regulator won’t have to pay the costs of claimants if they get sued for libel, even if the paper loses. The stick applies to papers that don’t belong to such a regulator; under section 40, they will have to pay the costs of people who sue them, even if the paper wins.

But section 40 only comes into force if the government activates it. As you can imagine, the prospect of this happening has alarmed the newspaper industry. Bradley has already said that she will take her time before deciding what to do, and in a few minutes we will learn more.

Section 40 is not the only stick in the Crime and Courts Act 20113. Section 34, which is already in force, allows the courts to impose exemplary damages (ie, extra, punitive damages, on top of normal libel damages) against newspapers that have not joined a PRP-approved regulator. But exemplary damages are relatively unusual, and so far this section has not caused any problems for newspapers outside the Leveson framework.

There is more on this topic in this House of Commons library briefing paper (pdf). [http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7576/CBP-7576.pdf]

Karen Bradley , the culture secretary. Photograph: Leon Neal/Getty Images block-time published-time 12.58pm GMT

Labour’s Dennis Skinner asks why, if more than 30 years is too long to make an inquiry worthwhile, why it is not long enough to justify the release of some cabinet papers about the strike. Some papers are being withheld, he says. He says they would show that Margaret Thatcher ’s government planned to close 75 pits, not 20 as they said at the time.

block-time published-time 12.56pm GMT

David Davies, a Conservative, says the death of the Welsh taxi driver was the worst thing that happened during the strike. If there is to be an inquiry, it should look at the lies and violence of the miners, he says.

Lewis says there will not be an inquiry.

block-time published-time 12.55pm GMT

Ed Miliband , the former Labour leader, says Rudd’s line that there is no need for an inquiry because “lessons have been learnt” creates a new, dubious principle for justice.

Lewis says this decision was taken in accordance with what was in the wider public interest.

block-time published-time 12.53pm GMT

Gareth Johnson , a Conservative, says he remembers Arthur Scargill refusing to condemn violence and the death of a taxi driver in Wales. It is wrong to say the miners were all good and the police all bad, he says.

block-time published-time 12.52pm GMT

Labour’s Sarah Champion says it is very disappointing that MPs are rehashing old smears. Rudd said there would be no inquiry because no one died. Is this the new threshold?

Lewis says Champion is misrepresenting when Rudd said. He says the point is that there are few lessons to be learnt now.

block-time published-time 12.50pm GMT

Joanna Cherry , the SNP’s justice and home affairs spokeswoman, says there were striking similarities between practices and personalties at Orgreave and at Hillsborough. That justifies an inquiry, she suggests. And she asks whether Rudd considered whether the evidence of political interference in policing at the time of Orgreave when deciding whether to hold an inquiry.

Lewis says the inquiries into Hillsborough are still going on. There could be prosecutions, he says.

block-time published-time 12.47pm GMT

Anna Soubry , the Conservative, says she covered the miners’ strike as a TV reporter. She says Rudd’s decision is very sensible. If there were to be an inquiry, she says, it could look at how the NUM tried to stop miners working when they wanted to.

block-time published-time 12.46pm GMT

Diane Abbott , the shadow home secretary, says Rudd has not bothered to come to the Commons herself.

What happened at Orgreave was totemic, she says.

MPs will remember what Harold Macmillan said about the miners’ strike in his maiden speech in the Lords. He said the strike and what was happening to them was terrible. They were the best men in the world, he says.

He says they have been led up the garden path by the government.

Rudd’s line that, because there were no deaths, injustice must stand is wrong, she says. She says Labour will not let injustice stand.

Lewis says Rudd answered questions on this yesterday. He is answering today because this comes under his portfolio.

block-time published-time 12.43pm GMT

Philip Davies, a Conservative, says he lived in a mining community in South Yorkshire at the time. He saw the bullying behaviour of miners at the time. Miners were carrying out violence against the police. If this was so important to Labour, why did they not hold an inquiry when they were in power.

Lewis says that is for Burnham to explain. He says the government has not done this for political reasons.

block-time published-time 12.41pm GMT

Lewis is responding to Burnham.

He says he was at the meeting where Rudd spoke to campaigners. Rudd made it clear that she would take a decision at a later point, he says.

He says there could still be criminal proceedings in relation to Hillsborough.

There is a disagreement on this, he says. But that does not mean Rudd’s decision is wrong.

block-time published-time 12.39pm GMT

Andy Burnham says Theresa May entered Downing Street promising to fight for ordinary workers.

Campaigners are very disappointed, he says.

He asks if Rudd reviewed files held by South Yorkshire police before taking her decision. He is told they never left Sheffield, he says.

Did she review all cabinet papers? In one Leon Brittan, the then home secretary, said he wanted to increase the number of miners being prosecuted.

When will the operational order be published?

Is Rudd rejected Margaret Aspinall’s claim that the Hillsborough cover-up might never have happened if Orgreave had been proper investigated at the time.

Burnham says the Times reported earlier this year that there would be an inquiry. It was cruel to mislead them, he says.

He says campaigners will never give up their fight on this.

UPDATE: Here is the cabinet minute referring to Brittan getting involved with the Orgreave prosecution decisions that Burnham seemed to be referring to.

enltrThe minute of 1984 meeting between Margaret Thatcher and her home secretary, Leon Brittan, where she pressed him to speed up Orgrave cases pic.twitter.com/DkgFCmdFgS [https://t.co/DkgFCmdFgS] and her home secretary, Leon Brittan, where she pressed him to speed up Orgrave cases

— Alan Travis (@alantravis40) November 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alantravis40/status/793434595580583937]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.05pm GMT

block-time published-time 12.36pm GMT

Labour’s Andy Burnham asks for a statement on the reasons for Amber Rudd ’s decision not to hold an inquiry into Orgreave.

Brandon Lewis , the policing minister, says Rudd set out her reasons yesterday.

He says she said that, although campaigners were concerned, ultimately there were no deaths at Orgeave.

He says she also took the view that policing had changed significantly. So she thought there were few lessons to be learnt, he says.

block-time published-time 12.32pm GMT

Commons urgent question on Orgreave Brandon Lewis, the policing minister, is about to answer an urgent question on Orgreave.

Before he starts, this is what my colleague Owen Jone has written about the Home Office’s decision not to hold an inquiry.

Related: Orgreave was part of the class war that ended with 96 dead at Hillsborough | Owen Jones [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/01/orgreave-class-war-96-dead-hillsborough-amber-rudd-inquiry]

block-time published-time 12.30pm GMT

There is another poll out today, from BMG. [http://www.bmgresearch.co.uk/westminster-voting-intention-october-2016/] Their figures are very similar to the Guardian/ICM ones. Here they are:

Conservatives: 42% (up 3 from BMG in September)

Labour: 28% (no change)

Ukip: 12% (down 1)

Lib Dems: 8% (no change)

Greens: 4% (down 1)

Conservative lead: 14 points

block-time published-time 11.40am GMT

Brandon Lewis , the policing minister, will be responding to the Orgreave UQ, not Amber Rudd , the home secretary, according to the Home Office.

block-time published-time 11.18am GMT

Speaker grants urgent question on Orgreave We’ve getting an urgent question on Orgreave at 12.30pm.

enltr1 UQ at 1230 @andyburnhammp [https://twitter.com/andyburnhammp] to @AmberRudd\_MP [https://twitter.com/AmberRudd\_MP] on Orgreave. Karen Bradley statement on "Press Matters" will follow

— Labour Whips (@labourwhips) November 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/labourwhips/status/793407460610600960] Amber Rudd , the home secretary, spoke about Orgreave during Home Office questions yesterday but presumably the Speaker has granted an urgent question because he thinks MPs are entitled to spend more than five minutes asking Rudd about this.

block-time published-time 10.37am GMT

This is the oddest story of the day. As Sky News reports, [http://news.sky.com/story/lord-heseltine-i-strangled-my-mothers-dog-10640559] Lord Heseltine has admitted that he strangled his mother’s dog many years ago because he thought it had suffered a mental breakdown.

block-time published-time 10.26am GMT

Karen Bradley , the culture secretary, is making a statement in the Commons on “press matters” at 12.30pm.

enltr1 Oral ministerial statement in @HouseofCommons [https://twitter.com/HouseofCommons], wonderfully titled "Press Matters" Karen Bradley/ @tom\_watson [https://twitter.com/tom\_watson] at 12.30 (subject to any UQs)

— Labour Whips (@labourwhips) November 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/labourwhips/status/793395677204246528]It is expected that she will use the statement to somehow close down the rules under section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act 2013 that mean newspapers not signed up to an officially-recognised press regulator would have to pay the costs of people who sue them for libel, even if the newspapers win. Section 40 has been dormant for three years, but the decision of the Press Recognition Panel last week to recognise Impress as the first post-Leveson, royal charter-compliant regulator brought it into play. [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/25/impress-press-regulator-newspaper-publishers-max-moseley]It is expected that she will use the statement to somehow close down the rules under section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act 2013 that mean newspapers not signed up to an officially-recognised press regulator would have to pay the costs of people who sue them for libel, even if the newspapers win. Section 40 has been dormant for three years, but

block-time published-time 9.50am GMT

Orgreave families may use judicial review to challenge Rudd's no inquiry decision, says QC The Orgreave Truth and Justice Campaign is holding a press conference later to give its considered response to Amber Rudd ’s decision yesterday not to order any form of inquiry into Orgreave. On the Today programme Michael Mansfield QC, who represented some of the 95 miners charged with rioting and related offences before the case against them collapsed, said campaigners were considering challenging Rudd’s decision through judicial review. He told the programme:

Whether or not we would be successful, I don’t know, but I think it is being actively considered at this moment by the campaign, a judicial review of this decision, given what the families have been through.

He also said he thought Rudd had made the wrong decision.

What Amber Rudd has overlooked entirely – either intentionally or by accident, either way it doesn’t matter, it’s equally bad – is there was an orchestrated campaign here of uncontrolled, unlawful violence, unlawful falsification of evidence and there has been no disciplinary proceedings and no prosecution at all over the years. Now, this does not reinforce public faith in the system and what is needed here is the restoration of confidence.

Michael Mansfield QC Photograph: Christopher Thomond for the Guardian block-time published-time 9.39am GMT

As my colleague Jessica Elgot reports, four Conservative MPs are backing an SNP MP who wants to use backbench time to call for cuts to disability benefits to be postponed. Labour and Lib Dem MPs are also supporting the move.

Related: Tory MPs join call to postpone disability benefit cuts [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/01/tory-mps-join-call-to-postpone-disability-benefit-cuts]

block-time published-time 9.16am GMT

Guardian/ICM poll gives Tories 16-point lead over Labour With the next general election potentially three and a half years years away, it is unwise to get too excited about opinion polls. But equally it would be a mistake to ignore them completely. They are like the backdrop to a stage: not the focus of attention, easy to overlook, but providing the context that explains what’s going on up front.

In that spirit I bring you the results from the latest regular Guardian/ICM poll. The Tories have a 16-point lead - one point down from our last poll [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/10/jeremy-corbyn-labour-rehsuffle-continues-labour-reshuffle-politics-live?page=with:block-57fb685ee4b03258bcac6355#block-57fb685ee4b03258bcac6355]. Here are the figures.

Conservatives: 43% (no change from mid October)

Labour: 27% (up 1)

Ukip: 12% (up 1)

Lib Dems: 8% (no change)

Greens: 5% (down 1)

The fieldwork was carried out between Friday and Sunday last week. ICM Unlimited interviewed a representative online sample of 2,040 adults and the data has been weighted to the profile of all adults.

So, nothing much has changed (although Ukip may be heartened to discovered that their leadership turmoil does not seem to be doing them much harm). And Labour continues to flounder. If you want to know why Theresa May and her ministers do not seem to be remotely worried about anything the opposition are doing or saying, the answer is in these figures.

If there is any reaction to this poll, I will post it.

Otherwise, here is the agenda for the day.

9am: The cabinet meets.

10am: The Orgreave Truth and Justice Campaign holds a press conference in Barnsley.

11.30am: Sir Michael Fallon , the defence secretary, gives evidence to the Commons defence committee.

12pm: Philip Hammond , the chancellor, gives a speech on the government’s nationaly cyber security strategy. As Anushka Asthana reports, he will warn that outdated computer systems are allowing malicious hackers to target everyone from companies at board level to individuals in their living rooms. [https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/nov/01/philp-hammond-to-spend-extra-19bn-fighting-cyber-attacks], the chancellor, gives a speech on the government’s nationaly cyber security strategy. As Anushka Asthana reports,

1pm: Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, campaigns in the Richmond Park byelection.

3pm: The president of Colombia, Juan Manuel Santos Calderon , gives a speech to MPs and peers in the robing room in the House of Lords.

Around 12.45pm: MPs begin a debate on the investigatory powers bill, and the amendments to it passed in the Lords. As Jane Martinson reports, Labour is backing a proposal that would require newspapers to pay the costs of any claims made against them by victims of phone hacking. [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/nov/01/labour-mps-whipped-to-vote-for-phone-hacking-costs-amendment]

5pm: Paul Nuttall and Suzanne Evans, the two main Ukip leadership contenders, will take part in a debate on LBC. Iain Dale, the presenter, posted this on Twitterbefore Raheem Kassam pulled out.

enltrALERT: The first UKIP Leadership Debate. @LBC [https://twitter.com/LBC] Radio, 5-6pm, Tuesday 1 November with @SuzanneEvans1 [https://twitter.com/SuzanneEvans1], @RaheemKassam [https://twitter.com/RaheemKassam] & @paulnuttallukip [https://twitter.com/paulnuttallukip]. Pls RT pic.twitter.com/axDRug8Apz [https://t.co/axDRug8Apz]. Pls RT

— Iain Dale (@IainDale) October 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/IainDale/status/791751620627427328]As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.18am GMT

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Magazine and CQS paid for travel to speaking engagements at Tory conference and in New York and London

Tony Abbott ’s recent travel to the UK and US has been bankrolled by the Spectator magazine and Australia’s most successful businessman in Britain, Sir Michael Hintze – a generous donor to the Tory party and the Liberal party of Australia.

Abbott has confirmed the payment of travel and other expenses in an update to his pecuniary interest register [http://www.aph.gov.au/Senators\_and\_Members/Members/Register].

The Spectator covered the former prime minister’s travel to the Tory party conference in Birmingham in October and Hintze’s company CQS paid for recent travel to New York and London.

Related: GetUp calls for real-time disclosure of political donations above $500 [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/01/getup-real-time-disclosure-political-donations-above-500]

Hintze is an Australian-born, London-based businessman who runs the CQS group of companies. In 2014 the billionaire hedge fund manager gave the Conservatives their single biggest donation for six years [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/may/15/hedge-fund-conservatives-donation-michael-hintze-funding] – a £1.5m gift.

Just before the 2013 federal election, Hintze donated $75,000 to the Australian Liberal party [http://periodicdisclosures.aec.gov.au/Donor.aspx?SubmissionId=55&ClientId=32109].

In 2014, he was appointed by the then treasurer, Joe Hockey, to the advisory panel for the government’s financial system inquiry [http://jbh.ministers.treasury.gov.au/media-release/009-2014/]. A transcript of the speech Abbott gave to the CQS investor forum was posted to his website [http://tonyabbott.com.au/2016/09/transcript-hon-tony-abbott-mp-address-cqs-investor-forum-new-york/].

While at the Tory conference, Abbott sat on a panel sponsored by the Spectator with the UK government ’s Brexit minister, David Davis. The former prime minister’s spokesman said Abbott “talked up Britain’s prospects after its departure from the European Union ”.

Abbott produced a diary while on the UK trip that referred to his events in New York and London. They included a seminar on tensions between China and the US and an address in London to the UK-Australia chamber of commerce [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/03/tony-abbott-says-australia-should-strike-shotgun-trade-deal-with-post-brexit-uk] on “a fast track Britain-Australia free-trade agreement”.

The diary gave some blunt advice to Malcolm Turnbull and the trade minister, Steve Ciobo, declaring the trade agreement was the “one thing that you must drive that could permanently improve Anglo-Australian relations”. To Ciobo, Abbott said: “Don’t let officials bamboozle you with detail and with alternatives, just get this done!”

The update to Abbott’s pecuniary interest register comes as one of his longtime confidantes, Catherine McGregor, wrote a column in News Corp papers [http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/opinion-why-tony-will-be-back-and-wont-be-saying-hasta-la-vista/news-story/b92d2ee0c30ae6a51e0e1d03e8c6a1e6] urging Turnbull to return Abbott to cabinet and give him responsibility for Indigenous affairs to heal the bad blood between the pair.

McGregor said Abbott was fully aware she was going to write the column.

Tensions between Abbott and Turnbull spilled over into a rebuke on the floor of the House of Representatives [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/20/turnbull-dutton-and-keenan-contradict-abbott-over-gun-deal-with-leyonhjelm] during the last parliamentary sitting week in Canberra.

Abbott was publicly taken to task by Turnbull, and directly contradicted by the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton , and the justice minister, Michael Keenan, after a fortnight of provocative interventions on gun control and party reform in New South Wales, which were clearly intended to wrongfoot Turnbull.

Related: Australia's political donations must be capped to fix 'broken' system, expert urges [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/27/australias-political-donations-must-be-capped-to-fix-broken-system-expert-urges]

After the confrontation in the last sitting week the Spectator Australia published an article headlined [http://spectator.com.au/2016/10/beyond-abbott/] : “Time to start looking beyond Abbott.”

The piece by Terry Barnes said Abbott’s “prospects of leadership redemption have been damaged by last week, and many of his supporters are left disappointed and perplexed by what erupted from nowhere”.

Abbott’s recent behaviour has not won plaudits from his colleagues, even from conservative supporters, and some MPs see the McGregor column as an effort by Abbott to bargain for some kind of truce.

The prime minister meanwhile was asked during a radio interview in Adelaide whether he was concerned about becoming “Abbott lite”.

The context for the question was the whether the government was trying to appease the One Nation party through its latest policy that would ban boat arrivals from ever coming to Australia.

Turnbull said he knew the interviewer was “trying to get a rise out of me”.

“I’m focused on ensuring that we maintain what we have today: a most generous **refugee** program, the foundation of which is the integrity and security of our borders,” the prime minister said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The country’s hardline policy of offshore detention is horrific, as this unmissable documentary revealed

All my faith in humanity was destroyed by Chasing Asylum: Inside Australia’s Detention Camps (BBC4 Storyville, 9pm), a deeply shocking documentary directed by Academy award-winning filmmaker Eva Orner (Orner produced Alex Gibney’s Taxi to the Dark Side). It filled me with rage and broke my heart. Focusing on the human cost of Australia’s hardline policy of offshore detention, it takes us inside camps on Nauru and Manus where men, women, children and babies are detained indefinitely and no cameras or journalists are allowed. All footage was filmed secretly. And what unconscionable horrors it exposes.

Related: The Nauru files: the lives of asylum seekers in detention detailed in a unique database – interactive[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-the-lives-of-asylum-seekers-in-detention-detailed-in-a-unique-database-interactive]

Like the support worker who recalls seeing a sign about training staff to use a Hoffman knife, asking why, and being told it is to cut people down when they’re found hanging. Or the repurposed second-world-war tin shed used to detain people in sweltering, squalid conditions. The detainees setting themselves on fire, stitching lips and eyelids shut. The allegations of physical and sexual abuse of children. The babies “failing to thrive”. The graffiti scrawled above a line of payphones saying ‘“kill us”’. The fact that all this is being done as a deterrent, “to make this place as horrible as possible” as one ashamed ex-director of Nauru detention centre puts it, in order to put **refugees** off from seeking asylum in Australia. To “stop the boats”, as the slogan goes.

Chasing Asylum is one of the most important, distressing and necessarily relentless documentaries I have seen this year. The others are the unforgettable trio of BBC films, Exodus, made using hidden cameras given to **refugees** crossing Europe. That secret filming was required in both cases shows how badly those in power do not want these stories told. I can see why: together these documentaries form the most damning indictment imaginable of the way we treat people in desperate need. Everyone, but especially those in power endorsing the policies that make such living hells possible, should watch them.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Police use teargas to quell protests as tension mounts over uncertain fate of 1,500 teenagers due to be bussed out on Wednesday

Rioting broke out on the site of the largely cleared Calais camp among teenagers, hours before they were due to be taken from the site in buses to undisclosed locations around France.

About 20 police riot vans arrived early on Tuesday evening and teargas was used to quell fighting and protests among the remaining estimated 1,500 asylum seekers, most of whom are teenagers.

The violence came at the end of a day of mounting tension after minors were told that they were to be removed to “juvenile centres” across France on Wednesday morning. Those with family in the UK, or who have specific vulnerabilities that may make them eligible to claim asylum in the UK, were told that their applications would be processed from the new locations.

The Calais prefecture issued a notice in nine languages informing the people still living in disused shipping containers on the site of the now-demolished camp that they needed to register for wristbands, securing them a place on the buses which will begin leaving at 8am.

British officials would be on the buses, accompanying the asylum-seeking children, the notice added. “No further applications for transfer to the United Kingdom will be dealt with in Calais,” the statement read. “All cases will be handled and all departures for the UK will take place from the juvenile centres.”

The absence of any detail about the destination of the buses caused great anxiety among the child **refugees**. By the fenced-off container area of the site, there were hundreds of people milling around, most of whom were very confused about what was planned.

Aladdin Adam, 16, from Sudan, had been given a wristband marked 33 and had been told to be ready at 8am. “I am so worried. I don’t know where I will be going. Everyone is feeling worried; some people are feeling angry,” he said.

That anger erupted into protests as dusk fell and large groups of teenage migrants made their way from the shipping containers into the deserted camp, carrying sticks and shouting. Some vehicles’ windows were smashed and some asylum seekers were reported to have been injured.

Among the remaining camp population there were a few dozen boys who appeared to be 11 or 12 but the majority seemed to be slightly older teenagers, perhaps aged between 15 and 17. There were a few visibly older people claiming to be minors, who appeared to be leading the protests.

There was anger from volunteers who have worked with the younger Calais residents for the past year, that the children had been left behind after the adult population was taken last week to accommodation around France.

Michael McHugh, who worked with unaccompanied child **refugees**, said he was dismayed to find more riot police on site than social workers, teachers or therapists. “These are some of the most vulnerable children in Europe,” he said.

Tina Brocklebank, from Help **Refugees**, said: “If it had been up to us we would have got the most vulnerable children out first. They are completely at risk and vulnerable.”

This final large-scale transfer may be the last major stage of the Calais camp clearances. Throughout the day trucks were taking away debris from the camp, crushing tents and wooden shacks, and the grinding noise of bulldozers was audible throughout the camp.

Wasil Anwari, 14, who said he fled Afghanistan earlier this year after both his parents were killed, showed a purple wristband marked Bus 30. He said he had been given no information about where in France they were going to be taken. He was hoping to be given papers allowing him to come to the UK eventually, so that he could join his uncle, who works in a shop in London.

Some people thought that the buses were going to take them straight to London; others thought they would be driven to Lille. “We aren’t given a choice. We will go somewhere in France, but we don’t know where,” Wasil said.

Noorullah Hussaini, 17, from Afghanistan, also had a purple wristband and was preparing to leave on a bus on Wednesday. He said he hoped that his application to join his sister in Manchester would eventually be successful, after a 30-minute interview with Home Office officials in the camp last week.

“They told me it would take between two weeks and two months,” he said. He said he hoped to study to become a dentist in the UK. Because he was confident that his request would be granted, he said he was not trying to come illegally to the UK on the back of lorries. But several other young people said they were continuing the night-time attempts to head to England by smuggling themselves into vehicles, convinced that this was the best option for them to rejoin family in the UK.

“I want to go legally. There are too many dangers on the lorries,” Noorullah said.

Children were carrying belongings in plastic bin bags, many of them wearing flip-flops and shorts in the November weather.

The cleanup continued around them, as workers gathered abandoned duvets hanging in the trees, half-burnt tents and singed blankets submerged in the sand.

Digena Gesesew, 17, from Ethiopia, was with friends, washing some clothes in a bucket and hanging them on the fencing to dry. “The bus will leave at 8 tomorrow morning. I don’t know where we will go,” he said. “It’s very difficult.”

The French authorities declared the cleanup complete on Monday, but at the edges of the camp small clusters of tent remained, with people living in them. The president, François Hollande, said on Tuesday that an increased police presence around the camp would ensure that people were not able to return. But there were new arrivals, some from an informal migrant camp in Paris, who had come to see if they could find space on a coach to London.

Ben Teuten, the co-founder of **Refugee** Youth Service, a charity that has looked after minors in the camp for the past year, said he was disappointed by the lack of clear information for young people. “All the decisions have been quite poorly communicated. The children are very confused and scared. The children are left not knowing what their status is. We have a real concern that many have been given false hope when we know a lot of them won’t be going to the UK.”

He said he was worried that a lot of the children would disappear from the French children’s centres once it became clear that there was little prospect of them being transferred legally to the UK.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Increasingly children are worrying about world affairs such as Brexit, according to Childline. Here, parents and grandparents discuss their youngsters’ fears

The news is hard to escape these days, with many people hearing about world events not just from news websites but also on social media platforms. But what impact is this having on children?

It could be making them more anxious, according to the NSPCC’s Childline[https://www.childline.org.uk/] service. It reported an increase in the number of children seeking help for anxiety[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/31/young-and-anxious-do-your-children-express-fears-over-global-events], with concern around world affairs such as the EU referendum and Syria conflict. It’s thought that the rise is down to a combination of personal and political issues, while the charity said others felt it was also partly due to disturbing events seen in the media and on social media.

We asked parents and grandparents about their experience of this, and how they try to calm children down about world affairs.

Related: Young and anxious: do your children express fears over global events?[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/31/young-and-anxious-do-your-children-express-fears-over-global-events]

Salley Vickers, from London: ‘My granddaughter loses sleep over terrorist attacks’ I am a former psychoanalyst, working with people who suffered serious trauma, and am now a full-time novelist. My eldest grandchild, aged 11, is extremely anxious about political events, particularly potential terrorist attacks. She has become worried about travelling on the tube in London when she visits me. She is also worried about going into big shopping centres because of the threat of bombs and was deeply concerned after the Paris attacks. She is not at all frightened by any supposed Muslim threat – indeed, she is rather pro–Muslim having many Muslim peers, which is a good and reassuring aspect of modern children’s education, but she is insecure about being suddenly attacked in a place that she previously experienced as familiar and fun. She loves coming to London but feels being there is nowadays more dangerous. These concerns affect her sleep. She has confided she has periods of lying awake, worrying about terrorism and reassurances that it will not happen to her do not, and in my view cannot, dispel her concerns. My experience of working with trauma convinces me that anxiety needs to be addressed and not given a superficial bandage of comfort.

My granddaughter doesn’t have a computer or iPod, or direct access to the web on her phone, but inevitably she sees the news with her parents and hears about what’s happening in school from other children who tend to big up scary events. Inevitably, she absorbs often false or exaggerated information from her peers who have access to social media while she cannot check out the truth what they say. In my view, the current state of the world needs to be discussed in schools as well as at home, and the spreading of rumour and gossip about scary events needs to be addressed more fully as a serious element in the school curriculum.

Teachers need to rethink how children are introduced to political world events now there is so much greater access to them. More consideration needs to be given to the way social media, which can now feed into a bullying process, affects children. Bullying is hardly a novel phenomenon in schools but I don’t think we are really up to speed with the way political events can be deployed to terrify the less well informed or the more sensitive. There needs to be greater education on civic responsibility for everyone and I believe for the sake of a responsible future society it should start at a younger age. Children need to be taught to look at the news and public reactions critically and not take them at face value, in the way they were once taught to be critical of texts.

Amet Akolawin, 28, from London: ‘My daughter gets more anxious about issues such as global warming’ My daughter, who turns eight next week, watches the news when I do, so in the morning and evening. She also watches CBBC’s Newsround most days. We do talk about the headlines a lot, she takes an interest in what is going on around the world.

She does worry about some of the stuff she sees, just yesterday at bedtime we spoke about the US election and the wall Donald Trump wishes to build between Mexico and America. It lead on to us chatting about the Berlin Wall and the Great Wall of China. My daughter is very inquisitive so talking about news is an simple way to give her some insight and pass on some of my knowledge.

She doesn’t like watching clips of war-torn countries, but she will still listen to what the report is saying. She is quite sensitive so if there is a piece on Syria, for example, and I think the images are disturbing, her I will ask her if she would like to watch something else.

To be honest she gets more anxiety from topics touched on in school, such as global warming and natural disasters. We go to visit her gran in Sardinia twice a year and much of the news recently has been about the earthquake there. She has become very fixated about this and I haven’t been able to reassure her about. Her uncle lives in Rome so it’s understandable that she would worry but it’s definitely made her afraid of something similar happening to her when she’s there.

Jessica Eaton, 26, from Staffordshire: ‘My sons worry they will end up as **refugees** and no one will take care of them’ My sons, who are five and eight, had a shocking realisation about three months ago that the war in Syria was real. They had been in the room with me and my husband when we were discussing the decision to launch airstrikes in Syria. We were watching footage about the civilian casualties and condemning the decision.

They have lots and lots of questions about war, politics and weapons.

The boys went away to play for a while and must have got talking because they came back into the living room shortly afterwards very upset, saying: “Real people are dying in Syria, with real guns and bombs.” They had got confused between “real” and “pretend war” because of how war is depicted in video games and the fact that they have toy guns. My five-year-old son started to cry, saying: “We need to stop the shops and the government from selling things that try to make war and bombs and guns fun because it’s real mum. It’s happening in Syria.” It’s not the first time the news has made them upset: my boys worry a lot about war and nuclear weapons. They also worry that they might end up **refugees** too and no one will love them or want them.

They have lots and lots of questions about war, politics and weapons. I don’t shield them from current affairs and I don’t lie to them, but instead spend time explaining stuff and suggesting empowering solutions, such as getting them to make posters or write a letter to the government. We have also registered to take in **refugee** children for fostering.

While the media is busy playing everyone off against one another, children are absorbing dangerous messages from all sides. Our children spend more time using technology than any other generation and are very engaged in the media. I would prefer them to experience moral uncertainty and question everything they read rather than just swallowing information.

Anonymous, 41, from London: ‘My eldest worries about animals dying and the destruction of the earth’ My eldest, who is nine, has been very worried about climate change since he did a class project on habitats last year. He often talks about environmental issues, such as animals dying, trees disappearing and the general destruction of the earth.

Both my children actually stopped eating meat last year and decided to become vegetarian. There’s a lot of focus on this issue and they cry when they think about animals being killed. They even made a How to Save Our Planet game together.

We don’t allow our children to watch the news: the images are too graphic and the language is not suitable for under 10s. They occasionally hear the news on the radio, but we monitor their internet use, only letting them online for a limited time. They don’t have access to any social media despite their protests. But this is at home, outside in the world we can’t censor or guide them in what they hear or read. Social media is impossible to censor – thus we have a blanket ban.

Geoff Jein, 36, from London: ‘Brexit was the worst news my son had ever heard’ My son is quite sensitive, but half-hearing news headlines and stories does make him anxious. He usually asks questions about stories four or five weeks after he has seen them, which makes me think he’s been worrying for all that time. A particular concern for him at the moment is Donald Trump getting elected. At the time of the primaries he picked up on him being a joke candidate and being a disaster for the world if elected. Some of his friends in schools do Donald Trump impressions that their parents taught them, so Trump is a bit of a funny character in school. But then he hears phrases like, “This man could have his finger on the nuclear button,” and gets worried. He takes things very literally so imagines there actually being a button.

The Brexit result really upset him. We were late to school that morning trying to calm him down.

Geoff Jein

We don’t let him watch the news but he hears the headlines as the 10-second trailer for the 6pm news usually comes on after programmes he likes watching. That’s worse, because he just hears the headlines and gets no other details and then worries. He is not on social media as he is too young and I don’t think any of his friends are either.

The Brexit result really upset him. It got to the point where we were late to school that morning trying to calm him down. He thought that it was the worst news he had ever heard. He was so scared of leaving Europe. I take the blame for that really, as I didn’t see it coming. I gave him a very polemic view of why we should stay and no insight really into why some people wanted to leave. I am hoping to give him more information on news events now so he is less anxious. A few weeks ago, for example, I signed up to The Week Junior[http://theweekjunior.co.uk/about-junior/?ppcad=true&gclid=CK3jw8HLh9ACFaEL0wodbVUFZA], which is a magazine that explains big news events to children.

Anonymous, 45, from Kent: ‘We need to help children analyse media stories and sources of information’ Since the age of seven my daughter has worried about global events but it’s not had a negative impact. She listens to the radio, reads The Week Junior and watches Newsround daily. If she wants to find out more, we research it together online. We discuss stories and sources of news regularly.

After the Paris attacks, a number of children were pulled out of a trip to London. I discussed this with my daughter and explained that the government does all it can to keep citizens safe, and why you can’t let terrorists win. We thought about what we could do, so she wrote to David Cameron and got a response a few weeks later. It’s important to give children a way to try to positively effect change. We also need to help them to understand risk and analyse media stories, and sources of information.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UN human rights expert says economic hardship and violence mean Afghans flee their country by necessity – a view backed by UNHCR-World Bank report

EU plans to deport Afghan asylum seekers will not only leave tens of thousands of migrants in despair in Afghanistan, but also undermine security in the war-torn country, a top UN human rights expert has warned.

“Sending them back now clearly adds to instability,” Chaloka Beyani, UN special rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons, said during a recent visit to Afghanistan. “These people cannot be absorbed into Afghan economic and social life. The government clearly says, ‘Look, we don’t have the capacity.’”

This year, 411,327 Afghans have been newly displaced by the conflict, according to UN figures. Another 509,150 Afghans have been ordered to leave Pakistan, bringing the number of “people on the move” inside Afghanistan to almost 2 million, the highest since 2002.

Related: Destitute Afghans fleeing fighting seek **refuge** in Kandahar – in pictures[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/gallery/2016/oct/12/destitute-afghans-fleeing-fighting-seek-refuge-in-kandahar-afghanistan-taliban-in-pictures]

The recent EU deal[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/03/eu-european-union-signs-deal-deport-unlimited-numbers-afghan-asylum-seekers-afghanistan] with Afghanistan would put further pressure on the Afghan economy and labour market, strain resources and, according to analysts, might push young men into the ranks of the insurgents[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/06/exiled-pakistan-destitute-afghanistan-war]. To settle debts, or merely sustain themselves, some families have resorted to marrying off daughters at a young age, said Beyani.

Even in urban areas that offer the most economic opportunities, life has become so precarious that residents have had to flee – sometimes more than once. Last year, when Afghan and international forces fought to push out the Taliban from the northern city of Kunduz, Aminullah, 58, hunkered down with his family. As airstrikes took place across the city for days on end, his 10-year-old daughter Bashira, who has Down’s syndrome, went into a state of shock. She did not recover after the family fled east to Takhar province, or when they returned to Kunduz two weeks later.

When fighting erupted again last month, the family fled once more, this time to the capital. In camps in Kabul, assistance was scarce. The family of 11 slept under three blankets in a tent. Since last year, Bashira had not been able to walk, or utter more than a few words, said Aminullah. “When we hear planes in the sky, she asks me to put my hand on her heart,” he said.

Bibi Nesar, 50, also had to flee Kunduz for the second time. But this time, it was even harder. In last year’s attack, she lost her right arm when a rocket hit her home. Her husband lost an eye. This year, they did not linger long enough to be injured. After a US airstrike last year destroyed a hospital run by Médecins Sans Frontières, there was no quality healthcare facility in Kunduz province to help them if they got wounded again. “When we fled, there were dead bodies everywhere but we tried not to look at them,” Bibi Nesar said.

Afghan migrants being deported from abroad will only add to the problems. Although deported migrants are not necessarily destined to become internally displaced people (IDPs), the line between the two groups is fluid, said Beyani.

“Today’s IDPs are tomorrow’s **refugees**. If their livelihoods are not met, IDPs will move and become **refugees**,” he said. “Equally, those who may be returned and don’t go back to their place of origin – if they are not integrated, they will become IDPs.”

Related: Afghan exodus from Pakistan could be 'catastrophic' without urgent aid[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/04/afghan-exodus-from-pakistan-could-be-catastrophic-without-urgent-aid]

A tidy integration is unlikely to happen, according to a recent UNHCR and World Bank report[http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/315481475557449283/pdf/108733-REVISED-PUBLIC-WB-UNHCR-policy-brief-FINAL.pdf], which echoes the UN rapporteur’s warnings: “Additional returns from Pakistan, Iran, or Europe are likely to result in further secondary displacement, unemployment and instability.”

Fariba, 25, a mother of four, fled Kunduz the day fighting broke out. She pawned her engagement ring to pay a taxi driver who took her to a camp on the outskirts of Kabul.

Her husband, a soldier deployed to Helmand, would not be able to travel to Kabul for another four months, she said, “so I have no protection at night”.

Beyani criticised the Afghan government for letting politics hamper its response to the crisis. Efficient aid delivery is slowed down by internal government squabbles, and occasionally the government refuses to assist people in areas controlled by the Taliban, in contravention of humanitarian principles, he said.

Both the UN rapporteur and the UNHCR-World Bank report emphasise that Afghans, squeezed by economic hardship and violence, have genuine reasons for migrating. “Leaving is more of a necessity, rather than a choice,” it says.

Necessity, however, is not what prompted Europe to prepare the deportation of tens of thousands of Afghans, said Beyani. That decision is political. “Europe has never had 1 million come as they did last year and yet, if you put that in perspective, there are regions, including Asia, Africa and Latin America, where 1 million people may be absorbed by a single country,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Celebrated novelist’s acceptance of the Hans Christian Andersen literary award led to a speech on confronting the inner darkness of people, society and nations

Haruki Murakami has warned that “no matter how high a wall we build to keep intruders out, no matter how strictly we exclude outsiders, no matter how much we rewrite history to suit us, we just end up damaging and hurting ourselves”.

Speaking as he received the Hans Christian Andersen literature award[http://cphpost.dk/news/odense-honours-haruki-murakami-with-hans-christian-andersen-award.html], the Japanese novelist said that “just as all people have shadows, every society and nation, too, has shadows”, and “if there are bright, shining aspects, there will definitely be a counterbalancing dark side. If there’s a positive, there will surely be a negative on the reverse side.”

“At times we tend to avert our eyes from the shadow, those negative parts. Or else try to forcibly eliminate those aspects. Because people want to avoid, as much as possible, looking at their own dark sides, their negative qualities. But in order for a statue to appear solid and three-dimensional, you need to have shadows. Do away with shadows and all you end up with is a flat illusion. Light that doesn’t generate shadows is not true light,” said the novelist.

He continued: “You have to patiently learn to live together with your shadow. And carefully observe the darkness that resides within you. Sometimes in a dark tunnel you have to confront your own dark side.”

Murakami was announced as winner of the Hans Christian Andersen prize a year ago, but received the prize this weekend. The 500,000DKK award, for writing which “can be linked to Andersen’s name and authorship through genre similarities or storyteller-artistic qualities” has previously been won by authors including JK Rowling and Salman Rushdie. Murakami was cited for his “ capacity to boldly mix classic narrative art, pop culture, Japanese tradition, dreamlike realism and philosophical discussion”, which judges said “makes him a fitting heir to the Andersen legacy”.

”Murakami’s ability to combine the everyday and reality with magic and fairytale derives from a linguistic mastery that once again makes one think of Hans Christian Andersen. There are images and descriptions of natural scenery, cityscapes and landscapes in Murakami that possess a distinctive poetry,” said committee member and professor Anne-Marie Mai from the University of Southern Denmark in a speech at the ceremony.

Related: Colorless Tsukuru Tazaki and His Years of Pilgrimage by Haruki Murakami – review[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/aug/06/colorless-tsukuru-tazaki-years-pilgimage-haruki-murakami-review]

The novelist, author of books including Norwegian Wood[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2011/dec/06/winter-reads-norwegian-wood-haruki-murakami] and Kafka on the Shore[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2005/jan/08/fiction.harukimurakami], called his speech in Denmark The Meaning of Shadows, in honour of Andersen’s story The Shadow[http://hca.gilead.org.il/shadow.html]. Andersen’s tale sees a learned man send his shadow away, only for the shadow to gradually take on human form and have his old master killed. Murakami called it a “dark and hopeless story”, according to Japan Today[https://www.japantoday.com/smartphone/view/national/murakami-warns-against-excluding-outsiders-in-denmark-award-speech], telling his audience that “sometimes in a deep place you have to confront your own dark side”.

“If you don’t, before long your shadow will grow ever stronger and will return, some night, to knock at the door of your house. ‘I’m back,’ it’ll whisper to you,” said the novelist.

Murakami also used his speech to elaborate on his own writing process, telling his audience that he doesn’t plan out a plot, instead beginning with a single scene or idea. “As I write, I let that scene or idea move forward of its own accord. Instead of using my head, in other words, it’s through moving my hand in the process of writing that I think. In those times I value what’s in my unconscious above what’s in my conscious mind,” he said.

Critics today, as well as many readers, “tend to read stories in an analytical way,” he said. “They are trained in schools, or by society, that that’s the correct reading methodology. People analyse, and critique, texts, from an academic perspective, a sociological perspective, or a psychoanalytic perspective.”

But “if a novelist tries to construct a story analytically, the story’s inherent vitality will be lost”, because “empathy between writer and readers won’t arise”.

“Often we see that the novels that critics rave about are ones readers don’t particularly like, but in many cases it’s because works that critics see as analytically excellent fail to win the natural empathy of readers,” said the author.

Murakami did not elaborate on his warning about walls and outsiders, but Japanese press speculated [http://www.japantoday.com/smartphone/view/national/murakami-warns-against-excluding-outsiders-in-denmark-award-speech] that he was “referring to the increasingly mounting anti-**refugee** and anti-**immigrant** sentiment in Europe and elsewhere”. In 2009, when he was awarded the Jerusalem prize for the Freedom of the Individual in Society in the face of opposition from pro-Palestinian groups, he said that “if there is a hard, high wall and an egg that breaks against it, no matter how right the wall or how wrong the egg, I will stand on the side of the egg. Why? Because each of us is an egg, a unique soul enclosed in a fragile egg. Each of us is confronting a high wall. The high wall is the system which forces us to do the things we would not ordinarily see fit to do as individuals.

“We have no hope against the wall: it’s too high, too dark, too cold,” he said in Jerusalem[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2009/feb/16/haruki-murakami-jerusalem-prize]. “To fight the wall, we must join our souls together for warmth, strength. We must not let the system control us – create who we are. It is we who created the system.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The small Amazonian community of Pacaraima is busy selling food across the frontier but Venezuelans’ desperation is straining local services and goodwill

At first sight, the small Amazonian border community of Pacaraima appears to be doing well amid the humanitarian crisis afflicting Venezuela, transforming itself into a giant grain warehouse, and supplying food – at considerable profit – to a country that cannot feed itself.

Boutique Charmoso has stopped selling smocks and bikinis and started hawking rice and flour. The Flip-Flop Shop is piled high with sacks of sugar and pasta. Four of the town’s seven butchers have given up carving meat and switched to flogging grain. Boxes of cooking oil fill the lobby of the Amazon hotel. Drinkers at the Ronaldo Bar have to weave between stacks of produce.

“I went for a haircut last week, but even my salon has switched businesses,” said social worker Socorro Lopes. “It’s madness here now. There is such a rush to get rich.”

Related: Venezuela on the brink: a journey through a country in crisis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/11/venezuela-on-the-brink-a-journey-through-a-country-in-crisis]

But the economic boom has come at a price: growing desperation in Venezuela is starting to send ripples across the border, where it is triggering a new set of social tensions.

An estimated 30,000 Venezuelan migrants have come to Pacaraima looking for food, jobs and medical care in an influx that threatens to overwhelm local hospitals, police and social services.

“The chaos in Venezuela is causing turbulence for us,” says Lopes, who is on the frontline of municipal efforts to cope with rising homelessness, begging, prostitution, hunger and ill health.

“We know this is just the start. We don’t know how bad it will get. But if the number of migrants keeps growing uncontrolled, we won’t be able to deal with crime and the demand for healthcare.”

In the past 10 months, 1,805 Venezuelans have sought **refugee** status in Brazil, more than the combined total for the previous five years. Deportations in 2016 are on course to be 10 times higher than in 2015. In the vast majority of these cases, they enter through the porous border at Pacaraima.

For most of its history, this Brazilian town was the poor neighbour of the Venezuelan town of Santa Elena de Uairén. Many Brazilian children crossed the frontier to attend the better-resourced schools of the oil-rich state. The sick would go to Venezuelan hospitals. Hundreds of workers would commute to higher-paying jobs. And Indian tribes in this indigenous reserve have never recognised the border, crossing back and forth to visit their ancestral territories.

Today, however, the relationship has been reversed by one of the greatest economic and social upheavals Latin America has seen this century. Venezuela has hyperinflation heading towards 2,000%, plunging supplies of food and medicine, and growing rates of malnutrition and murder.

By comparison, Brazil – even in the midst of its worst recession for decades[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/mar/03/brazil-economy-low-oil-prices-inflation] – seems a sanctuary of stability, safety, provisions and profits. Since Venezuela dropped food tariffs a couple of months ago, traders have come from as far afield as China, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Lebanon to cash in.

Mostly though, the influx is of Venezuelans filling cars and trucks with goods they cannot find in their own country. Some buy for themselves; most buy to sell on at a profit.

“For me, it’s a business,” said Elisa Flores, as she loaded up a battered Chevrolet with sacks of rice, spaghetti, cooking oil, mayonnaise and washing-up liquid. “This town should be grateful. They make more money from our government than anyone. But this situation is not good for the Venezuelan people. There is no starvation, but there are many people who don’t get enough to eat[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/24/venezuela-crisis-basic-food-shortages].”

At the bus station, a family of five Venezuelans waited to start their journey home, after putting in a few months’ work in Brazil. They were loaded up with provisions that they cannot find in their own country. “It’s terrible. There are shortages of everything. The government is robbing the people,” said the mother, who declined to give her name.

Drawn by availability of food and work, Venezuelans are moving toward the border region in droves. The population of Gran Sabana – the municipality closest to Brazil – has increased by about 40% in the past two years. “Basically, it’s because food production in Venezuela has collapsed,” Lopes said. “Their system is broken so they have no money, no products and no work.”

The knock-on effects on Pacaraima – and the state capital of Boa Vista – are increasingly evident.

As demand for goods grows, prices are going up. In four months, rice has increased from 1.8 reais (£0.46/$0.56) per kilogram to 3.8 reais (£1/$1.20), and flour has more than doubled from 3.4 reais to 7 reais. Scarcity is also a problem. Aspirin and vaccines are harder to find.

The local infrastructure is not built for the growing influx of cars and people. Hospitals are being overwhelmed. Police and social services cannot cope.

Venezuelan beggars and prostitutes are an increasingly common sight on the streets. Casual labourers offer their services – as cleaners or building workers – at a fraction of the minimum wage, which puts their Brazilian counterparts at a disadvantage.

“I think this might become a crisis,” Lt Maria Lima, commander of the border police, told the Guardian. “We are noticing a rise in criminality; we are seeing thieving and murders due to this rising influx.”

The Pacaraima authorities have installed more security cameras on the main roads and conducted surveys, but there are limits to what they can do.

Police arrest and deport underage sex workers, but they simply return the next day. It is a similar story for beggars and itinerant indigenous groups. Social services try to protect vulnerable children found on the street. Local hospitals help the sick. Church groups have opened weekend soup kitchens, but it is not enough.

“Once they hear there is food, they come in larger numbers,” Lopes said. “It’s a profound crisis because we have our own economic problems in Brazil. With this extra demand, our institutions are struggling to cope.”

Demand for medical treatment has tripled in the past year, as Venezuela’s health system – once the pride of the Bolivarian Socialist administration – struggles with a shortage of essential medicines and an exodus of doctors.

At the Hospital Délio de Oliveira Tupinambá on the outskirts of the town, about two out of every three patients are now Venezuelan. There has been a surge in demand for medicine to treat diabetes, hypertension, tuberculosis, leishmaniasis, malaria and HIV/Aids.

Related: ‘Like doctors in a war’: inside Venezuela’s healthcare crisis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/venezuela-crisis-hospitals-shortages-barcelona-caracas]

“Any treatment they can’t deal with over there, they send here,” said a nurse, who asked to remain unnamed. “The demand is beyond our capacity. We sometimes run out of antiseptic and anaesthetic. For us, it’s an emergency situation.”

Many – particularly those from indigenous communities – come as a family. “They are similar to **refugees**, though they are not officially classified as that. It’s a very delicate situation,” said the nurse.

Hospital authorities have called for more support from the federal government. In a private letter, seen by the Guardian, the hospital director asked the Brazilian health ministry to alleviate “the chaotic state caused by the **immigration** crisis”. He asked for a 27 beds, 18 nursing staff, a paediatrician, an anaesthetist, two odontologists, a psychologist, four radiology technicians, an ambulance and a laboratory. This would more than double current capacity.

The response has been piecemeal. The national guard – which is equipped for disaster relief – has twice been dispatched to the area in the past two months. They provide medical kits and extra doctors and nurses, but it is a temporary fix for a problem that looks unlikely to go away any time soon.

Jean Carlos Ferrer was diagnosed with malaria at a hospital across the border in Santa Elena de Uairén, but health workers could not help him, so he came to Pacaraima for treatment. “Everyone comes to Brazil for all medical problems. It’s free,” he said. After three days in the hospital, he was due to return home that evening, with medication. The hospital plans to halt this practice because of reports that Venezuelans are reselling their free Brazilian drugs on the black market.

Further along the corridor, María Rodríguez is nursing a newborn daughter. She had crossed the border from Venezuela that morning as her waters were about to break and said she planned to return the next day. “I would have preferred my child to be born in Venezuela, but that is not possible now. The hospitals there have nothing,” she said.

Along with the free treatment comes the added bonus of a new passport. Regardless of origin, the mother of any child who gives birth on Brazilian soil is entitled to citizenship. This stirs up both sympathy and resentment among locals.

Venezuelan health workers in Santa Elena say it is need rather than opportunism that is driving patients across the border. At the Rosario Verazuita hospital, both operating theatres are closed. “We can’t even perform something as simple as a C-section,” said one of the staff. “Most of the time, we just tell people to go to Brazil.”

Additional reporting by Shanna Hanbury

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Jose Jaramillo was paralyzed and later died due to inadequate healthcare at a prison in New Mexico. The justice department had ended its contract with such facilities – but in a stunning reversal another agency has been brought on board

Theodula Jaramillo had kept vigil over her son’s deteriorating body for seven years before he died on Independence Day.

On some days, when there were no available chairs at the Sagecrest Nursing Center in Las Cruces, New Mexico, the 79-year-old would stand for eight hours at a time, watching his motionless body for signs of pain or discomfort. Only his eyes – and, on occasion, his mouth – were left with any movement.

Although it was a kidney infection that finally took his life three months ago, Theodula had no doubt who was to blame: “It was the prison,” she said in Spanish, her voice quivering. “They’re who triggered everything. All of this suffering could have been been prevented just by giving him simple medicine.”

Jose Jaramillo was 52 years old and in the middle of a three-year sentence when he collapsed inside his cell at the Cibola County correctional center in May 2008. His crime had been to illegally enter the US to reunite with his wife and children. Jaramillo would never regain adequate cerebral functions, as his impoverished family battled on his behalf, firstly to keep him in America and then to sue to the prison’s private contractor, Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), for medical negligence.

The father of three, who had lived almost his entire life in the US, had been detained in one of the federal government’s secretive criminal **alien** requirement prisons, a network of 13 privately operated facilities dotted mostly around the American south, which almost exclusively detain low-risk inmates convicted of **immigration** offenses.

Just weeks after Jaramillo’s death this year, the US Department of Justice announced that all 13 of these private prisons would be closed following a scathing audit[https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2016/e1606.pdf#page=2] that revealed they were markedly less safe than similar facilities run directly by government. The first scheduled to close would be the one where Jaramillo suffered his catastrophic illness, as reports indicated[https://www-thenation-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/federal-officials-ignored-years-of-internal-warnings-about-deaths-at-private-prisons/] that the Cibola County prison was among the worst providers of medical care in this cohort of private prisons, and the DoJ found that medical complaints were the most frequent grievance of inmates held in the contract network.

But just as migrant rights advocates celebrated the planned closure, it was announced last week that the Cibola County facility would in fact remain open, as CCA secured a new contract with a different arm of the federal government, **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement (Ice), to turn the prison into an **immigration**detention center.

The failings in Jaramillo’s case, reported here for the first time and pieced together through court documents, depositions, public records and interviews, reveals extraordinary details of the substandard medical care given to inmates in this facility and, advocates warn, the likelihood of continued failure when the institution reopens its doors to detainees this week.

But Theodula Jaramillo knew nothing of the DoJ announcement, and took no solace when she was told. She stared at the floor in her small bungalow in the village of Hatch, where mold creeped up the woodchip walls and seams on the ceiling drooped from their fixings. “It makes no difference to us. It won’t bring him back,” she said. “Everyone involved should pay for what they did to him.”

••• Two layers of fencing and thick rolls of razor wire separated the remaining inmates from the Zuni mountain range, which undulated in the distance behind the Cibola County correctional center’s recreation ground. The facility once held around 1,200 inmates but just a few hundred remained when the Guardian visited the grounds to photograph the prison in the last week of September. The prison is nestled in a corner of the tiny village of Milan, a former mining town with just 1,300 residents about an hour and half’s drive from Albuquerque.

Prisoners could be seen in small groups jogging and exercising next to the perimeter fence, dwarfed by the empty grounds. Within a minute, a patrol car sped along the outside road and pulled up next to the north-western guard tower.

“You can’t take pictures here,” a guard shouted. “You need to leave. Now.”

The Jaramillo family have scant memories of Jose’s time inside. They were never able to visit him and he rarely shared his experiences of incarceration with them. Occasionally he would send photographs in the mail – taken with a smuggled camera. One, dated February 2008, shows him crouched in snow in the prison’s recreation ground, smiling at dusk.

That year, an annual audit by the Federal Bureau of Prisons had found serious failings in the standard of medical care that CCA offered to inmates, noting: “Needle/syringe inventories were not accurate. Chronic care clinics’ physical examinations were incomplete or not performed. Annual foot exams were not current … Nursing care was not always in accordance with protocols and the State Nurse Practices Act.”

The prison was also without a physician on staff for several periods of that year – against the parameters of its contract with the government, while staff repeatedly reported serious delays in obtaining basic medication from approved suppliers, according to deposition testimony from multiple CCA employees.

Nonetheless, the federal government still paid the company an annual bonus added to its three-year, $237m baseline fee – meaning CCA was paid well in excess of $82,000 per inmate, per year.

“In that particular facility in a remote area of New Mexico, it was always difficult to maintain the staffing,” conceded former Cibola County prison warden Walt Wells during a deposition hearing in 2013. “But we got the job done.”

Lawyers disagreed with Wells’s positive assessment, and argued it was this chronic understaffing and the poorly resourced clinic that ultimately led to Jaramillo’s catastrophic illness.

Related: Private federal prisons more dangerous, damning DoJ investigation reveals[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/12/private-federal-prisons-more-dangerous-justice-department]

The 52-year-old, a barrel-chested man who spent most of his life labouring, was diagnosed with diabetes by prison medical staff in 2007. Bureau of Prisons infectious diseases regulations – to which, lawyers argued, CCA was bound by contract[https://drive-google-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/drive/folders/0B7woNJLKHttNNUp4NENxcTdjZ00] – dictated he should have received a routine pneumococcal vaccine soon after diagnosis; the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) recommends all diabetics receive the vaccine[http://www.cdc.gov.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/vaccines/programs/vfc/awardees/vaccine-management/price-list/] due to their substantially higher risk of pneumonia and meningitis. But no such vaccination was provided, and Jaramillo went unprotected from pneumonia and meningitis for the rest of his time inside.

“You have 1,000 men, living together in bunk beds. They have 2ft apart from one another, and so bacteria is everywhere,” said Lisa Curtis, a veteran medical malpractice attorney in Albuquerque, who took Jaramillo’s case to federal civil court. “For a diabetic without a vaccination, that is a death sentence.”

During the case CCA officials argued, however, that these Bureau of Prisons rules did not apply to their facilities, which, they argued, were governed by company rules.

CCA, which this week rebranded itself as CoreCivic, did not answer a detailed list of questions related to Jaramillo’s case, staffing issues at the facility and contractual obligations, citing “health care privacy considerations”.

But CoreCivic spokesman Jonathan Burns said: “Protecting the health and safety of those entrusted to our care is our top priority.”

Curtis, who described the case as one of the clearest violations of basic medical care she had ever encountered, said she believed the subtext was clear: “They just believed pneumococcal vaccinations were too expensive.” The CDC lists the current price of a pneumococcal vaccination kit[http://www.cdc.gov.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/vaccines/programs/vfc/awardees/vaccine-management/price-list/], which contains 10 doses, at $86.71 – or $8.67 each.

Medical experts who testified on behalf of the Jaramillo family argued the vaccination itself would likely have prevented what happened next.

Related: The DoJ is right to ditch private prisons. But it won't do much in practice | Jessica Pishko[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/19/doj-private-prisons-closing-treatment-percentage-in-practice]

The symptoms began in the first week of May. Pains in his throat. Earache. Body ache. Fever, coughing and nausea. He lined up for the prison’s sick call, which opened for just 45 minutes at 5am, allowing prisoners a short window to sign requests for medical assistance. Staffed by just one nurse, according to deposition testimony, the queues were so long many inmates gave up before receiving any attention. Between three to five nurses worked in the prison on each shift. Nurses estimated that they would see 400-500 patients a month.

Medical records and depositions show that Jaramillo was seen first on 8 May and then again on 11 May, and finally on the morning of 22 May. He told his family his symptoms were getting worse, that he was in pain and wanted to go to the hospital, but records show he was only ever given cough syrup and saltwater by medical staff.

He told his family his symptoms were getting worse, but records show he was only ever given cough syrup and saltwater

“They didn’t listen to him for weeks. He should have gone to hospital, but they just waited so long,” said Jaramillo’s 20 year-old daughter, Judy, who spoke to her father on the phone during this period.

Under CCA policy any inmate who reported sick three times with the same symptoms should automatically have been referred to a physician with the ability to prescribe medicine. But the referral never happened, according to the deposition of a nurse who saw Jaramillo at his last sick call.

Instead, just hours after he was examined on 22 May, Jaramillo was found collapsed in his cell. He was placed in a wheelchair and taken back to the clinic where the nurse described him now as “just flaccid”, loosely able to articulate intense pains in his chest. The prison finally called emergency services.

The undiagnosed infection had turned to sepsis and then to pneumococcal meningitis.

Although years later CCA began administering the pneumococcal vaccine to inmates at the Cibola County facility, the chronic staffing issues remained. During a 2012 deposition hearing, the prison’s long-serving nurse practitioner, June Kershner, told Curtis that once again the prison had no physician on staff, leaving the facility dangerously under-resourced. Inmates and staff now referred to her as “doctor” despite her lack of qualifications, and medication was prescribed by an Arizona-based doctor over the telephone.

An investigation by the Nation magazine[https://www-thenation-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/federal-officials-ignored-years-of-internal-warnings-about-deaths-at-private-prisons/] found that the Cibola County facility accumulated more repeat deficiencies or significant flaws in health provision than any other private federal prison, with 30 out of 34 contract citations since 2007 related to poor standards of medical care. The investigation also identified three deaths, not including Jaramillo’s, linked to questionable care at the facility by the end of 2015.

These failures, argued experts, made Ice’s decision to keep the facility open all the more extraordinary, particularly when the Department of Homeland Security is conducting its own review of its use of privatised institutions, following the DoJ announcement in August.

“It’s just stunning that Ice is turning around and signing a new contract there,” said Carl Takei, a staff attorney at the ACLU’s national prison project. “We have serious concerns about the medical care for Ice detainees being just as terrible as it was for BOP prisoners. There’s no reason to believe it will improve. It’s the same company and the same facility.”

On Monday, CCA chief executives formally announce the five-year contract with Ice, arguing: “CCA already has an experienced, well-trained workforce at the Cibola County corrections center which, for many years, has provided an exceptional level of service to the BOP, and we are proud to have the opportunity to extend the same level of exceptional service to another federal customer under this new contract.”

••• The village of Milan, with a population of just 1,300, was caught off guard when the DoJ announced the closure earlier in the summer. CCA is the largest employer here, and also in the neighboring town of Grants, where the company operates a controversial[https://www.abqjournal.com/144121/former-inmate-testifies-about-sexual-assault.html] women’s prison under a contract with the state government.

There were 245 jobs scheduled to be lost by the time the Cibola County prison was due to close, at the end of October. The village stood to lose a projected $358,000 in revenue from property taxes and gross receipts, while the county government would have lost $700,000 annually in taxes.

Families had already begun packing up and leaving town in September, as local government officials frantically pushed for solutions and endorsed CCA efforts to keep the prison open as it sought contracts with Ice, the US Marshall Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

“It will turn this community into a ghost town,” said Marcella Sandoval, the Milan village manager in September. “The prison is a lifeline for us.”

Milan and Grants lost three-quarters of their population in the late 1990s after uranium mining in the region’s rich mineral belt ceased. It was around this time that CCA bought facilities in the area, offering a chance of employment to those who remained in town.

The prison drew almost instant controversy. In 2001, inmates rioted over the quality of food, drawing local police and outside law enforcement who used teargas to quell the unrest. But residents soon grew used to the prison’s presence. Many who spoke to the Guardian in September felt slighted by the federal government’s decision to close the prison. In this heavily Democratic county, some said the decision had been enough to make them vote Republican at the election in November. Sandoval said the county was given no advanced warning and no assistance was offered to the local economy.

Milan police chief Jerry Stephens, who commands the village’s small seven-strong police department, said just two escapes had occurred from the prison under his tenure as chief.

“I don’t think the community worries here worries about it at all,” he said. A records request indicated his department had attended 49 assault calls at the prison between 2014 and 2015.

Despite this, the Department of Justice’s inspector general found[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/12/private-federal-prisons-more-dangerous-justice-department] that inmates in its contract prisons were nine times more likely to be placed on lockdown than in other comparable facilities, and assault rates were 28% higher in federal prisons.

In an interview in October, Sandoval told the Guardian that the reopened facility could now eventually hold 1,400 detainees – expanding its already stretched capacity by 200 beds. “The decision basically saved us. They’re rehiring and will have even more jobs this time,” she said, relieved.

••• Jose Jaramillo wrote a short statement after he was arrested for illegal re-entry in August 2006: “I know what I did is against the law and so I accept full responsibility for my conduct. I came back to work and be with my family.”

Jaramillo had been pulled over as he drove from the chili fields outside of Roswell, where he had worked backbreaking shifts for most of his life, starting at 5am and finishing at sunset. A sheriff’s deputy had noticed he had a broken headlight, and later reported him to Border Patrol agents in New Mexico after he failed to present identification papers. Instead of running away when agents called to inform him he was likely to be arrested, he waited for them to arrive at the door that evening.

“I think that just shows you what sort of a law-abiding guy he was,” Lisa Curtis said.

That year over 29,000 people were convicted for illegal entry and re-entry[http://trac.syr.edu/immigration/reports/356/]. By 2013, that number had soared to just under 88,000 – meaning more than half of all federal criminal prosecutions that year were for unlawful border crossings. By the time the DoJ announced it was abandoning all contracts with these 13 private **immigrant** jails, their populations had swelled to 22,000 inmates, costing the federal government $600m a year.

After he stabilized in 2009, Jaramillo was moved to the nursing home in Las Cruces. The federal government had initially moved to deport him, but the family successfully appealed after arguing he would die within days if he was moved back to Mexico. But the brain damage was irreparable. He had no movement from the neck down. When he spoke it was often nonsensical. On rare occasions when he could muster a coherent sentence, he told his daughter Judy, born in the US with full citizenship, that he wanted her to finish high school and become a nurse.

“It was his dream,” she said.

Judy is now training to become an elementary school teacher, but visited her father twice a week at nursing home until his death in July. The family, who settled with CCA in 2014 for an undisclosed amount with no admission of liability, placed the money in a trust to pay for Jaramillo’s care, but knew the end was coming as his health rapidly deteriorated from another infection.

“I just felt like the world was hitting me,” Judy said of the day her father died. “It was sadness and anger. Anger at the prison.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Is the actor’s planned thriller Villain, about a vigilante superhero corrupted by power, a satire on brother Ben Affleck’s Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice?

For a reminder of superheroes’ roots in the hard-boiled pulp fiction of the 1920s and 30s, you only need to watch one of Netflix’s shows about “street level” heroes[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/sep/27/luke-cage-jessica-jones-superwoman-marvel-dc] such as Luke Cage, Jessica Jones or Daredevil. Costumes are often dispensed with, central characters sometimes struggle to pay the rent, and powers are downgraded to a level where they’re suitable only for protecting the streets of Manhattan – rather than taking on **alien** invaders and all-powerful AI supervillains.

Related: From Luke Cage to Supergirl: why superhero TV is better than the movies[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/sep/27/luke-cage-jessica-jones-superwoman-marvel-dc]

But on the big screen, with the honourable exception of upcoming Marvel movie Spider-Man: Homecoming, the genre is becoming ever more outlandish and fantastical as studios battle to hit ever-more grandiose levels of epic spectacle in a sort of superhero arms race. Not so long ago, Guardians of the Galaxy opened up the Marvel universe to a radical shift into outrageous space opera, while current offering Doctor Strange[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/oct/24/doctor-strange-review-benedict-cumberbatch-marvel-eyepoppingly-freaky-extravaganza] introduces us to an entirely new world of magical and mystical entities across multiple head-spinning dimensions. Meanwhile, the DC expanded universe seems to have hit peak crazy with far-out villains such as Suicide Squad[https://www.theguardian.com/fashion/2016/aug/03/super-stylewatch-harley-quinn-enchantress-and-wonder-woman] ’s Enchantress, a gyrating ancient sorceress bent on taking over the world, and Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice[https://www.theguardian.com/film/man-of-steel-2] ’s Doomsday, a monstrous zombie **alien** creature formed from the dead body of General Zod lovingly infused with Lex Luthor’s DNA.

Is it all, perhaps, getting just a little bit out of control? Legendary Batman comic book writer (and sometime film-maker) Frank Miller hinted at his feelings on the current comic book movie zeitgeist this weekend[http://variety.com/2016/film/festivals/lucca-comics-frank-miller-on-where-he-would-take-the-batman-movie-franchise-1201904240/] when he told Variety he would make the dark knight “smaller” if he were ever handed the keys to the franchise.

“My dream would be to … lose the toys and to focus more on the mission, and to use the city a great deal more,” said Miller, who wrote the seminal Batman graphic novels The Dark Knight Returns and Batman: Year Zero. “Because he’s got a loving relationship with the city he’s protecting. And unlike Superman his connection to crime is intimate; it has been ever since his parents were murdered. And he defeats criminals with his hands. So it would be a different take. But it will never be in my hands, because it would not be a good place to make toys from. There wouldn’t be a line of toys.”

Miller’s strategy for reinventing the caped crusader sounds a lot closer to Christopher Nolan’s relatively minimalist Dark Knight[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2008/jul/25/actionandadventure1] trilogy than Dawn of Justice[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/mar/22/batman-v-superman-dawn-of-justice-review-ben-affleck-henry-cavill], which threw itself into an epic, outsized storyline and found itself faltering in the details – with a dark knight who seemed strangely disconnected from his traditional moral centre.

With luck, we might get to see a Batman closer to his pulpy detective-story roots in Ben Affleck’s upcoming solo outing, The Batman[http://variety.com/2016/film/news/ben-affleck-reveals-title-of-new-batman-film-the-batman-1201877858/]. But if the demands of the DC universe make a minimalistic caped crusader an unlikely prospect any time soon, Affleck’s brother Casey might have just the tonic. Variety reports that the younger sibling is pitching a new thriller titled Villain[http://variety.com/2016/film/news/casey-affleck-villain-vigilante-thriller-1201903512/], which will focus on a Batman-style vigilante who gains superpowers after being shot in the head during a brutal burglary. Intriguingly, this new “real-world” superhero sounds a lot like Affleck’s raging, murderous dark knight in Dawn of Justice. Is the younger Affleck satirising his own brother’s work? To quote the trade bible:

The movie is set in a city overrun with crime. Affleck’s character loses everything of meaning in his life when a brutal home invasion leaves his family dead and two bullets lodged in his head. He develops a unique power in the wake of his trauma — an ability to see into people’s pasts, presents, and futures — and goes on a mission of revenge to find the men who killed his family, and in the process clean up his city long overdue for justice. But as his vigilante acts become more frequent and violent in nature, his arrival as the city’s hero may instead be the announcement of its most prolific villain.

As the superhero genre continues to gain in popularity, it was perhaps inevitable that we would see comic book tropes beginning to seep into other genres. What are the heroes and villains of Josh Trank’s Chronicle[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2012/feb/02/chronicle-film-review], Neil Burger’s Limitless[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2011/mar/27/limitless-bradley-cooper-review] or Luc Besson’s Lucy[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2014/aug/21/lucy-scarlett-johansson-luc-besson-review] experiencing, after all, if not a form of superpower? In fact, as Miller suggests, the only reason studios need to keep their heroes wearing recognisable costumes is to make sure they sell plenty of toys.

Related: Deathstroke: the perfect Batman villain for DC's vision of violence?[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/aug/30/deathstroke-batman-villain-dc-vision-of-violence]

Comic-book films remain in their relative infancy – the oft-compared western genre took more than three decades to hit its peak – and it seems unlikely that audiences will tire of superheroes with silly names, outlandish outfits and extravagant powers any time soon. But there is surely room for more introspective and cerebral material that plays on our fascination with superhuman abilities – especially with the meta-fuelled Kick-Ass[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2010/mar/31/kick-ass-review-film] saga having most likely given us our last big screen instalment.

Which Affleck superhero flick would you rather see? Ben’s epic tale of gun-toting Batman’s battle with Deathstroke on the streets of Gotham? Or Casey’s intriguing examination of the corrupting nature of superpowers? I’m a huge Batman fan, but I’m going with the younger Affleck on this one.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**There was evidence of HIV/Aids in America before Gaetan Dugas came carrying it. But society needs a scapegoat

Last week, the New York Times times reported[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/27/health/hiv-patient-zero-genetic-analysis.html?\_r=0] on a study[http://www.nature.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/nature/journal/vaop/ncurrent/full/nature19827.html] published by the journal Nature which charged that the HIV virus first came to the United States in the 1970s, taking the blame for bringing Aids to our shores away from the infamous “Patient Zero”, Gaëtan Dugas, a French Canadian gay flight attendant. Dugas was not named in early research, and is still not named in the Nature study[http://www.nature.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/nature/journal/vaop/ncurrent/full/nature19827.html] - but he was outed and demonized in Randy Shilts’s 1987 book And the Band Played On.

Related: Gaétan Dugas: 'patient zero' not source of HIV/Aids outbreak, study confirms[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/oct/26/patient-zero-gaetan-dugas-not-source-of-hivaids-outbreak-study-proves]

This “news” was met largely with a collective yawn by many people I know who, like me, study Aids for a living. After all, Patient Zero’s importance has long been downplayed by scientists, recognized as[http://www.nature.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/nature/journal/vaop/ncurrent/full/nature19827.html] “neither the first Aids case to come to CDC researchers’ attention, nor the first to display symptoms.” And while Nature notes the origins of HIV/Aids[http://www.nature.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/nature/journal/vaop/ncurrent/full/nature19827.html] “remain contentious” amongst serious scholars, “and the earliest movements of the virus within the US are unknown,” Shilt’s account has never been taken too seriously by them.

And the Band Played On – a work of book-length journalism written as the Aids epidemic was unfolding in the United States – was not a work that examined events after time had passed. Since Shilts’s death (itself related to Aids), his overwrought emphasis on Dugas has been widely criticized by Aids historians[http://www.bu.edu/today/2015/anthony-petro-after-the-wrath-of-god/], social scientists[https://books-google-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/books?id=kZOso0FMsrMC&q=and+the+band+played+on#v=snippet&q=and%20the%20band%20played%20on&f=false] and public health researchers[https://www-ncbi-nlm-nih-gov.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/pmc/articles/PMC4046389/] – particularly for framing “the epidemiological spread of the epidemic as very much a moral failing on the part of this flight attendant,” as scholar Anthony Petro puts it[http://www.bu.edu/today/2015/anthony-petro-after-the-wrath-of-god/].

Indeed, those of us who study Aids have long known that long before common symptoms such as Kaposi sarcoma and pneumonia were showing up among hemophiliacs and gay men, they were likely affecting homeless people who lived off society’s radar, people who used IV drugs and those who avoided medical treatment out of fear. As activist Betty Williams told the Act up Oral History project[http://www.actuporalhistory.org/interviews/images/bwilliams.pdf] in 2008: “I actually believe that Aids kind of existed among this group of people first, because if you look back, there was something called junkie pneumonia, there was something called the dwindles that addicts got, and I think this was another early Aids population way too helpless to ever do anything for themselves on their own behalf.”

What is newsworthy about the Nature study is that, by “jackhammering” the decaying RNA of decades-old blood samples, epidemiologists have proven that the strain of HIV Dugas had was already circulating before he was a carrier. The Times article also poetically points out[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/27/health/hiv-patient-zero-genetic-analysis.html?\_r=0] an irony: Dugas was never supposed to be known as Patient Zero, but as Patient Letter O, for “outside southern California”.

So why, then, did the myth of Patient Zero live on for so long? Why was he, or anyone, scapegoated in the first place?

Both happened because we like to blame individuals (especially queer folks, women, **immigrants** and people of color) for diseases, particularly communicable ones that involve sex. Societally, it is far easier to blame them for disease rather than to deal with the complex medical, political and epidemiological causes – just as it has been easier to unfairly malign Dugas all these years.

In white America’s long, ableist history of considering itself well unless made unwell by those it considers sick outsiders[https://www.academia.edu/3560422/Technologies\_of\_Blood\_Asylum\_Medicine\_and\_Biopolitics], Dugas was just one of many individually maligned as pariahs.

They include “Typhoid” Mary Mallon[https://www.amazon.com/Typhoid-Mary-Captive-Publics-Health/dp/0807021032], an Irish **immigrant** blamed for typhoid transmission and kept in isolation for 26 years on an island in New York City; Nushawn Williams[https://www.upress.umn.edu/book-division/books/notorious-h-i-v], convicted for transmitting HIV to nine young women and – despite having long ago finished his sentence – kept in “civil confinement” indefinitely[https://www.poz.com/article/hivpositive-convict-nushawn-williams-remain-civil-confinement] ; and Michael “Tiger Mandingo” Johnson[https://www.buzzfeed.com/steventhrasher/a-black-body-on-trial-the-conviction-of-hiv-positive-tiger-m?utm\_term=.dyLKjPy6e6#.tul8rPXOJO] (whom I have covered at length and is the subject of my doctoral dissertation), who was convicted of four people to HIV and transmitting the virus to one person despite there being no RNA evidence used to even see if Johnson and his sex partner shared the same strain of HIV. (Johnson is serving a 30-year prison sentence in Missouri, often in solitary confinement, in a state where the average sentence for second-degree murder is only 25 years[https://doc.mo.gov/Documents/publications/Offender%20Profile%20FY14.pdf].)

But while blaming diseases on individuals – or even criminalizing them, as people with HIV are in more than 30 US states[http://www.cdc.gov.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/hiv/policies/law/states/exposure.html] and 70 countries[http://www.hivjustice.net/news/new-report-shows-hiv-criminalisation-is-growing-global-problem-but-advocates-are-fighting-back/] – may make well people feel weirdly superior, it doesn’t do much about curing or curtailing the transmission of communicable diseases. According to[http://www.who.int/gho/hiv/en/] the World Health Organization, Aids has killed about 35 million people, and about 37 million people are currently living with HIV globally. Threatening them for living with such a treatable disease only increases its stigma, forcing them into the shadows and decreasing the likelihood that others at risk will get tested.

We would do well to look at the Nature study’s new timeline and ponder if HIV was circulating among IV drug users in the early 1970s. Many such people avoided healthcare settings which they (rightly) believed could be punitive – which could have aided HIV’s transmission. We as a society are in part to blame, then, for creating the condition in which the epidemic could take hold – just as we are now responsible for allowing punitive laws that specifically target HIV to continue letting it flourish.

It’s also worth noting that societies begin to understand that a disease exists and is worthy of treatment only when it begins to affect people (or animals) whose lives the society values. When Aids was only affecting homeless people and IV drug users in the US, there was not a critical mass of care about them to make it register. Aids began to come into some focus when it affected homosexual men, not because gay men’s lives were valued by US society at large (they weren’t), but because amongst them were some powerful, often closeted, white gay men who were raised to believe their bodies were important and infallible.

When they believed that their bodies were unfairly giving out on them (and threatening to out them), these men – along with out lesbians and gay men and transgender people of all races – did something about it, founding groups like Gay Men’s Health Crisis[http://gmhc.org/] and Act-up[http://www.actupny.org/]. They applied so much pressure that scientific and political communities had to verify that Aids existed.

Hastening this process was news that hemophiliacs and others receiving blood and organ transfusions were affected. These people – particularly children like Ryan White – were considered “innocent” and worthy of protecting from the disease, unlike homosexuals like Dugan who were considered guilty for getting it and for giving it to others.

Since the disease wasn’t given public attention until it infected those with societal clout, is it ever right to out one believed to be “Patient Zero”? As a journalist, I understand the desire to do so to tell a story. Times story author Donald G McNeil Jr defends[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/30/sunday-review/the-ethics-of-hunting-down-patient-zero.html?\_r=0] the practice epidemiologically, saying stopping such people is important in stopping epidemics. But he uses the term “super-spreaders”, which sounds too much like “ super-predators[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/25/hillary-clinton-race-crime-justice-reform] ” and is too pejorative for my taste, with both terms overburdening the individual rather than the conditions they inhabit.

In her new book Conflict Is Not Abuse[https://www.amazon.com/Conflict-Not-Abuse-Overstating-Responsibility/dp/1551526433], novelist and Aids historian Sarah Schulman writes about how the transmission of HIV to millions worldwide is a normative human experience unworthy of criminalization or stigma. Dugas was innocent not just because RNA now says so, but because all people who live with HIV or who die of Aids are innocent[https://www.academia.edu/10002442/Statement\_of\_Ownership\_An\_Autethnography\_of\_Living\_with\_HIV].

Let’s allow Dugas’s most recent exoneration to be his final one, and let’s take this chance to retire the idea of the HIV/Aids scapegoat. Let’s stop the shame and blame, so that we may move on the challenge of tackling the real, treatable and preventable ways HIV is transmitted.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**We imagine someone squirrelled away in a dusty office looking at the numbers. But when it comes to risk, aid workers have to make tough decisions in the field

In July this year[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/12/south-sudan-is-the-renewed-violence-the-restart-of-civil-war], nearly every international humanitarian organisation pulled out some staff from South Sudan’s capital, Juba, following days of fighting. In the case of my organisation ( Care International[http://www.careinternational.org.uk/emergencies/south-sudan] ), we were back in the country within five days. But three months on, many institutions continue to maintain a minimal presence on the ground and the mood among aid workers has dipped following the reports of rape and murder of humanitarians[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/15/south-sudan-aid-worker-rape-attack-united-nations-un] and continuing attacks in parts of the country that seem to be purposefully targeting aid workers.

South Sudan has now become one of the most dangerous countries in the world to be an aid worker, with a total of 67 humanitarians killed[http://reliefweb.int/report/south-sudan/south-sudan-humanitarian-bulletin-issue-16-20-october-2016] since the outbreak of conflict in 2013.

So what is the threshold for withdrawal? Each NGO will have its own answer, but is there a bottom line we all share? Is the need dire enough to justify continuing to help the people affected even after the killing of one aid worker, maybe two?

Nobody wants to make this kind of cold-blooded calculation and despite what some may think, there is rarely a guy squirrelled away in a dusty windowless HQ crunching these kinds of numbers and assessing risk. Instead, it often comes down to individuals in the country, like me, to make these terrible decisions – the bottom line for us right now is that we will stay[http://www.careinternational.org.uk/stories/south-sudan-we-wont-give-up-on-you]. With one in five people forced to flee their homes and more than half the population needing urgent humanitarian assistance, the need is too great.

While NGOs can’t control all the factors responsible for security, we need to look at how programmes can function when staff cannot access them.

Related: Attack on aid workers in South Sudan: 'There was incredible naivety'[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/oct/17/attack-on-aid-workers-in-south-sudan-there-was-incredible-naivety]

One way is to empower local communities to take ownership of projects – this can be key to keeping programmes alive in some of the most dangerous places. In Dadaab **refugee** camp[http://www.careinternational.org.uk/countries/kenya], Kenya, Care International has trained more than 1,500 **refugees** to support the humanitarian operation. During times of heightened security threats this has allowed **refugees** themselves to continue running operations when the camp has been inaccessible to non-**refugee** staff.

Another measure that could be taken to ensure NGOs stay present in South Sudan and improve the safety for aid workers is reform of the UN peacekeeping force in the country. Around $1bn is spent on peacekeeping forces in South Sudan who have repeatedly been found to have failed in their basic mandate of protecting civilians and aid workers.

As we see a new UN secretary general[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/05/antonio-guterres-next-un-secretary-general] about to take office – one with a humanitarian background – and a new head[http://www.un.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=55372#.WBNX\_vorKFg] of the UNmission in South Sudan, now is the time to make changes. Countries providing funds to peacekeeping forces around the world must hold troops accountable to higher standards and make sure that their performance is a core focus area for António Guterres Guterres in his new office.

If you would like to comment on the unfolding situation for aid workers in South Sudan, please email us at Globaldevpros@theguardian.com, putting ‘Aid Worker safety’ in the subject field.

Join our community [https://register.theguardian.com/global-development] of development professionals and humanitarians. Follow @GuardianGDP [https://twitter.com/GuardianGDP] on Twitter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Three nights of live reports from the tiny Arctic town of Churchill; a horrifying documentary on Australia’s **refugee** policy; plus Frank Bruno, Alastair Campbell and others talk about their experiences of mental illness

Arctic Live

8pm, BBC2 For three chilly nights this week, Simon Reeve, Kate Humble and veteran wildlife cameraman Gordon Buchanan will be broadcasting live from Churchill – a tiny Canadian town where polar bears sometimes outnumber the residents – to illuminate the unique challenges of surviving at the top of the world. Expect it to be tundra-enlightening and – with sobering dispatches from the frontlines of global warming in Greenland and Alaska – very, very frightening. Graeme Virtue

The Choir: Gareth’s Best in Britain

9pm, BBC2 Gareth Malone undertakes a nation-spanning quest to find the UK’s most entertaining amateur choir. The award-winning choirmaster starts the series with a search for the finest choral collective from Scotland and the north. After considering hundreds of contenders, tonight’s regional finalists include a cancer-care choir from Manchester, singing mothers from Durham and an assembly of soulful singers from Edinburgh. Mark Gibbings-Jones

Storyville: Chasing Asylum – Inside Australia’s Detention Camps

9pm, BBC4 Australia’s **refugee** policy, captured by the stark slogan “Stop the boats”, is under severe pressure amid a series of leaks. This horrifying documentary sheds more light on how far successive governments have gone. People seeking asylum have been taken to fetid detention camps, where – as suggested by secret filming and whistle-blower testimony – conditions are beyond appalling. Jack Seale

Me and My Mental Illness

10pm, Channel 5 People who have suffered from mental illnesses talk to camera about their experiences. It makes no difference whether you’re Frank Bruno, Alastair Campbell or 24-year-old Chloe (all interviewed here), anyone be can be laid very low. The show follows an arc more graceful than the actual lived experience: from a realisation that something is up, to a lowest ebb, and gradually out of the other side. Impressively, we still see the people not the illness. John Robinson

Educating Joey Essex: The American Reem

9pm, ITV2 The cheerfully clueless Essex returns for an entertaining three-part look at the USA, kicking off in New York and Washington, where he’s learning about politics. Although his referendum specials showed that Joey doesn’t have the foggiest about UK politics, let alone international affairs, he does his best to keep up as writer Carrie Sheffield offers a primer and vloggers Diamond and Silk try to convince him of Trump’s merits. Hannah J Davies

Westworld

9pm, Sky Atlantic This TV adaptation of the 1973 sci-fi movie of the same name is showing every sure sign of living up to its hype and initial promise; it’s technically immaculate, beautifully told and profoundly relevant to our own age of AI anxiety. Tonight, Delores and William find themselves on a perilous mission in Pariah, a town built on decadence and transgression, while Ed Harris’s craggy Man in Black takes on an ally as he continues his mission to unlock The Maze. David Stubbs

Damned

10pm, Channel 4 Jo Brand and Morwenna Banks’s beautifully bittersweet comedy of life at Elm Heath children’s services department concludes with Denise intent on laying down the law. Cases must be closed and “there will be a head count” to make sure nobody skives off; bad news for Al, who needs to leave early for a mini-break in Paris. Meantime, Rose and Nitin investigate a report that a baby has been abandoned in Superbrands; bound to be a “prank baby” … right? Jonathan Wright

Film choice Carry On Nurse, (Gerald Thomas, 1959), 5.15pm, Film4

As second in the long-running series of naughty comedies (they did it 28 times!), this was the first to gather all those seaside-postcard characters. Down at Haven hospital the chaps in stripey pyjamas (Kenneth Williams, Kenneth Connor, Charles Hawtrey, Leslie Phillips) are revolting – against fearsome matron Hattie Jacques. A great stream of silly jokes and, like nurse Shirley Eaton, irresistible. Paul Howlett

Live sport Tennis: The Paris Masters Coverage of the second day at the AccorHotels Arena in Paris. 10am, Sky Sports 1

Champions League football: Manchester City v Barcelona City will fancy some payback after their chastening recent visit to the Camp Nou. 7pm, BT Sport 2

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Why would talented academics want a career in Brexit-voting Britain, where a handful of **refugee** children provoke a tabloid firestorm?

Banging on about Brexit five months after the referendum may be boring to Brexiters who have wrapped themselves in the red, white and blue flag of the “people’s will”. But it is such a threat to universities it can’t just be tidied away into a box labelled “summer madness”. The threat comes in three parts. The first can be managed, although with difficulty; the other two are more deadly.

First, the threat to the UK’s participation in European research programmes and student exchange schemes such as Erasmus[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/sep/13/government-urged-to-protect-eu-student-exchange-scheme]. The government has given a semi-solid guarantee that research programmes will be protected, up to 2020 at any rate. The future of exchange schemes will depend on the willingness of the UK to contribute to the cost – and the enthusiasm for paying for a student mobility programme so intimately identified with the rejected “European project” may be limited.

Closely related is the future of staff and (non-Erasmus) students from other parts of the EU. Both are crucial. Teachers, and especially researchers, from the EUplay a key role in maintaining the UK’s envious position in global league tables, about which we love to brag. Other European students fill deficits in domestic demand, typically in science and engineering.

It is difficult to see even a Brexit government kicking out established staff from the rest of Europe, or placing significant obstacles in their way. But other EUstudents are a different matter. They are likely to have to pay international student fees. But, because England already charges its own students the highest fees in the world in public universities, the gap between home (and currently EU) student fees and those paid by international students is much less than in the past – about £4,000 rather than more than £10,000.

The second threat is much deadlier. The UK is now established as a nasty country in the world’s imagination. No amount of flummery from the foreign secretary about “openness”[https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson/status/786617722989846528] can cover that up. Nor can rather more honest claims by universities that they are open to all, Europe and the wider world, as evidenced by the remain votes[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ng-interactive/2016/jun/23/eu-referendum-live-results-and-analysis] in the referendum in university cities.

Related: Universities will pay a high price now our future has been voted down | Peter Scott[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/jun/27/universities-high-price-eu-exit-scientific-capability]

It is difficult to imagine why talented scholars and scientists, and students for that matter, should want to make their careers or study in a country unable to admit a handful of **refugee** children without a tabloid firestorm[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/rightwing-tabloids-pour-scorn-appearance-child-refugees] demanding dental checks. Even before the referendum our inability to evoke a moral response to global distress worthy of our history was deeply shaming[http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/the-government-s-shameful-response-to-the-refugee-crisis-in-four-charts-a6814391.html]. To Orwell, England was like a family with the wrong members in control – and so it increasingly seems since the Brexit vote.

The image and ethos of a country matter even if, as we must hope by relying on our sense of fair play, the direst consequences are avoided. German universities, probably the world’s best before 1914, took at least three generations to recover their eminence and excellence after the world wars, the Nazis and the Holocaust. In a milder example, during the George W Bush neo-con era US universities lost out to rivals, including the UK.

The third threat relates to “taking back control”, one of the Brexit mantras. The EU has never been good at “control”, as the veto of the EU-Canada deal by the Walloon parliament in Belgium[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/21/eu-canada-ceta-trade-deal-meltdown-canadian-minister-walks-out] has demonstrated. Instead, it has a political culture characterised by compromise and consensus. The language of Europe is littered with “-ities”: mutuality, solidarity, subsidiarity … Power is diffused, for historical and cultural reasons we all understand.

But this EU culture has always been at odds with that elective dictatorship, the UK constitution. Fundamental principles, entrenched rights, legal scrutiny of political decisions, these had never been the English way (they may see things differently in Scotland); instead we rely on precedent and convention. These have protected the independence of the BBC, the courts – and the universities.

The danger is that Brexit will further empower the strong state of which the prime minister is an admirer. There is no better example than the higher education and research bill[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/jun/07/universities-higher-education-bill-award-degrees] currently before parliament. Safeguards are being swept aside and conventions ignored, as the secretary of state accumulates unprecedented powers over universities.

There will no longer be even the semblance of a buffer body between universities and the state when the Higher Education Funding Council[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/nov/30/hefce-buffer-ministers-universities-higher-education-funding-council-for-england] is replaced by the Office for Students. The dual-support system, which distinguishes between core research funding and research council grants, cannot long survive when both come from the same source, UK Research and Innovation (headed by a civil servant not a scientist). Universities can be stripped of their degree-awarding powers by ministerial fiat. A frightening demonstration of who, post-referendum, is “taking back control”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**London football club plays crucial role in plan to bring more than 1,000 children in a kindertransport-style mercy mission

Queens Park Rangers (QPR), the football club, has offered to help bring **refugee** children stranded in France to the UK.

Related: May declines to make extra commitments to take more Calais child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/30/therea-may-declines-francois-hollandes-request-take-more-calais-child-refugees]

The Championship club is part of a new plan for more than a thousand **refugee** children that emerged on Monday night.

QPR has put a fleet of coaches on standby to go to France to collect the children. And Hammersmith & Fulham council – QPR’s local council in west London – says it has volunteer social workers ready to travel to France in the next couple of days to assess and support the children.

Lord Alf Dubs, who has led plans to bring child **refugees** to the UK in a Kindertransport-style mercy mission, announced the plan in a letter to the home secretary, Amber Rudd, and the French ambassador, Sylvie Bermann, on Monday.

In his letter, Dubs writes: “I formally request that the French government allows us to send in coaches and social workers to collect those **refugee** children that have a right to be here in the UK. We will need assistance with travel documents out of France. We have people arranging the coordination of this.”

Dubs added: “I am also writing the British government and hope that this intervention can bring the assistance the **refugee** children so desperately need. Given the urgency of this matter I should be grateful for a quick response.”

The home secretary made a statement to parliament[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/speeches/statement-on-calais] saying that the UK government had only been granted access to the camp by the French authorities and permitted to bring over Dubs-amendment children very recently. They are children with no relatives in the UK but who are deemed eligible to travel to the UK as a result of their vulnerability.

This new rescue mission has emerged amid growing concern for the welfare of those still in France. It is not clear whether some of the children have already been moved out of Calais to other parts of France.

The children have been housed in containers on the site of the former **refugee** camp. Each container has 12 beds but there are reports of 20 children in each container with some sleeping on tables and on the floor with concerns raised about shortages of food and water.

Efforts to bring some of the children to the UK stalled on Saturday after the French authorities reportedly asked the British authorities to suspend their work in the Calais camp for several days.

A French embassy source told the Guardian: “Negotiations are still under way with the British government in terms of how the children’s applications are processed. We don’t know if they will stay in Calais or be sent to other centres in France.”

Councillor Steve Cowan, leader of Hammersmith & Fulham council, has been working closely with Dubs on plans to rescue the children.

He said: “The situation for the children in France is chaotic, violent and dangerous. So many people have come up to me and said: ‘How can we leave children in these conditions in 2016?’

“We have social workers on standby ready to go to France as soon as the French authorities give us permission to go in and collect the children, and generous benefactors such as QPR who are providing us with a fleet of coaches to collect the children.

“Lord Dubs has shown the necessary leadership here, first by getting the amendment passed in parliament allowing these vulnerable children to be brought to the UK and now by writing to the French government asking them to let us go to France to collect these children and bring them back here.

“I have no doubt that the Home Office will say yes to Lord Dubs’ proposal this evening given the home secretary’s commitment made in parliament last week.”

Alex Fraser, director of **refugee** support at the British Red Cross, said: “Following the operation to clear the Calais camp, it is imperative the process of assessing and transferring children to the UK proceeds without delay.

“The job is not finished if children eligible to be in the UK remain in containers amid what is left of the ‘jungle’. It’s still no place for children. Our message is clear: these children are welcome in the UK and they should be brought here as soon as possible.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**‘**Refugees** need and deserve protection and respect,’ says UNHCR official after Turnbull government announces plan for new laws to limit rights

The United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees** has said it is “profoundly concerned” by Australia’s plan to ban for life any asylum seeker who has attempted to reach the country by sea.

“Seeking asylum is not ‘illegal’,” Thomas Albrecht, the UNHCR’s regional representative in Canberra, said in a statement.

“**Refugees** need and deserve protection and respect. The basic human right of every person to seek asylum from persecution is not diminished by their mode of arrival. Those forced to flee persecution need and deserve conducive conditions of protection, and a sustainable long-term solution.”

Julie Bishop, the foreign minister, said on Tuesday the proposed ban was “the last piece of the work that we have to do to clean up the chaos after Labor’s border protection policies”.

Albrecht said the policy of offshore processing did not diminish Australia’s legal responsibility for people who sought asylum in the country.

Related: Nauru, detention, the ABC and us: putting misconceptions about Australia and **refugees** to rest | Richard Ackland[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/24/nauru-detention-the-abc-and-us-putting-misconceptions-about-australia-and-refugees-to-rest]

Australia retained responsibility for **refugees** and asylum seekers, even when they were transferred to another state under bilateral arrangements. And where transfer arrangements were used, Australia retained the obligation to ensure their well-being and to find adequate long-term solutions for those found to be **refugees**, Albrecht said.

The UN’s **refugee** agency maintains that asylum-seekers should have their claims processed in the territory of the state from which asylum is sought or which otherwise has jurisdiction over them. In the case of those currently held on Manus Island or Nauru, that would mean processing on Australian soil.

There is significant disquiet politically at the government’s proposed bill – Labor leader Bill Shorten described it as “ridiculous... on its face” [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/labor-mps-oppose-refugee-ban-despite-leadership-saying-it-will-wait-and-see] – and it may breach Australia’s international legal obligations.

Article 31 of the **Refugees** Convention[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/en-au/3b66c2aa10] – to which Australia is a party and legally bound – prohibits states from imposing any sanction or punishment on an asylum seeker because of the way in which they arrived, or imposing any permanent restriction on movement.

“States shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on **refugees** who... enter or are present in their territory without authorisation,” the convention states.

“States shall not apply to the movements of such **refugees** restrictions other than those which are necessary and such restrictions shall only be applied until their status in the country is regularised or they obtain admission into another country.”

Greg Barns of the Australian Lawyers Alliance said that if the bill was passed it was “likely to be scrutinised critically by the high court” and could be ruled unconstitutional.

“The court has made it clear the government has international obligations and that it is not above the law when it comes to people’s rights. To ban a person simply on the basis of mode of transport might be a step too far.”

The government has defended the proposed legislation, **immigration** minister Peter Dutton saying the legislation did not breach any of Australia’s international obligations.

“The legal advice is very clear... there are no constitutional issues here … and we are absolutely confident in terms of the constitutionality and that we meet our international obligations.

Dutton said the new law would enable third-country resettlement.

“We are keen to get people off to third countries if they can’t return to their country of origin,” he said. “We are working with a number of countries now.

“What we don’t want is if somebody is to go to a third country that they apply for a tourist visa or some other way to circumvent what the government’s policy is by coming back to Australia from that third country.”

The proposed legislation is widely seen as a pre-emptive move ahead of an announcement on third-country resettlement options for those held on Manus and Nauru. It would be a legislative instrument to prevent people resettled elsewhere from then applying to come to Australia by another migration channel.

Both offshore detention centres have been plagued by systemic physical violence and sexual assault of detainees[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/17/australian-immigration-regime-on-nauru-an-open-air-prison-and-akin-to-torture-says-amnesty], epidemic rates of mental health damage, and acts of self-harm and suicide, including public self-immolation.

Related: The Nauru files: the lives of asylum seekers in detention detailed in a unique database – interactive[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-the-lives-of-asylum-seekers-in-detention-detailed-in-a-unique-database-interactive]

Within the upper echelons of the **immigration** department, it is widely accepted the two offshore islands are unsustainable solutions, and, in the words of one department official “they are ticking time-bombs”, for further acts of self-harm, violence and unrest, unless other options are found.

The government is furiously working diplomatic channels to secure a third-country resettlement deal, and, internally at least, believes a deal with a new country can be brokered in coming months.

Publicly the government maintains Cambodia is a viable resettlement option for those on Nauru, but it is conceded inside the department that the attempt to encourage people to go there has been a catastrophic and costly – more than $40m – failure, resettling only one person.

Ministers have resolutely refused to be drawn on possible resettlement countries, but the US, Canada, the Philippines, New Zealand and Malaysia (which would now be legal after being struck down by the high court in 2012) are those most commonly discussed.

But it is understood Australia’s search for a suitable third-country has extended across the globe, and it appears likely any deal might need to involve several countries to clear both islands.

The rhetoric around the proposed legislation, reinforcing the position that those who arrive by boat will never be allowed into Australia, is seen by the government as vital “messaging” to potential asylum seekers in the region who might be willing to consider a boat journey to Australia.

It is also aimed at those on Nauru and Manus, aimed at encouraging them to accept a third-country resettlement deal when it is offered.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happenRaheem Kassam withdraws from Ukip leadership contest - AnalysisNo 10 lobby briefing - SummaryLunchtime summaryAmber Rudd’s Orgreave statement - SummaryGreg Clark’s Commons statement on Nissan - Summary

block-time published-time 6.48pm GMT

Greg Clark 's Commons statement on Nissan - Summary Here are the key points from Greg Clark ’s Commons statement on Nissan .

\* Clark implied that the government would go into Brexit talks with the EU aiming to keep the UK in the customs union. Yesterday he told Andrew Marr that the government’s intention was to “have continued access to the markets in Europe and vice versa without tariffs and bureaucratic impediments”. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/30/nissan-eu-tariff-free-brexit-sunderland] aiming to keep the UK in the customs union. Andrew Tyrie , the Conservative chair of the Commons Treasury committee (and a remain voter) asked him if he accepted that being outside the customs union would mean exporters having to comply with rules of origin rules what would amount to “bureaucratic impediments”. Clark replied:

It seems to me why would you not aim as a matter of negotiation to avoid bureaucratic impediments. That seems to me common sense. And this is what I set out.

Nick Herbert , another pro-remain Tory, later put the same point to Clark. Clark replied:

What I was able to say is how you would go into a negotiation. That seems to me to find common ground.

\* Clark suggested that the government could seek different trading arrangements with the EU for different sectors of the economy. He also implied there was a regional element to this. In response to a question from the Labour chair of the Commons business committee, Iain Wright , Clark said:

It seems to that the the approach - not only that I intend to take, but that I am already taking - with the firms that are in our economy is to take time to meet them to understand the different needs of different sectors, so that we can be informed by them, as we form our negotiating mandate. It will be different from sector to sector. That’s obviously the case.

My commitment, which we will share when we meet in his committee, is through our industrial strategy to make sure that we not only have confidence for individual sectors, but individual places as well. Because there is a very interesting confluence there, and I think the investment in Nissan is good for the sector, and good for Sunderland and the North East.

Hilary Benn , the Labour chair of the Commons Brexit committee, later put it to Clark that his reply to Wright implied some sectors of the economy might be offered tariff-free trade with the EU while others would not. Clark did not deny this, but just said it was not in his power to decide the outcome of the talks.

\* Clark gave details of the four assurances he offered to Nissan . (See 6.10pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/31/nhs-spending-will-fall-on-a-per-head-basis-before-2020-says-health-committee-chair-politics-live?page=with:block-5817886de4b01c528432eb1f#block-5817886de4b01c528432eb1f]. (See

\* He claimed there was no need for him to publish the letter he wrote to the firm about the support the government was offering. (See 5.29pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/31/nhs-spending-will-fall-on-a-per-head-basis-before-2020-says-health-committee-chair-politics-live?page=with:block-58177e52e4b01c528432eaef#block-58177e52e4b01c528432eaef]

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.57pm GMT

block-time published-time 6.16pm GMT

The Clark statement is over. I will post a summary soon.

block-time published-time 6.10pm GMT

Clark gives details of four assurances given to Nissan Here is the key extract from Greg Clark ’s opening statement, where he set out the four assurances given to Nissan . He told MPs:

Through many conversations I, and my colleagues had, here and in Japan, it became clear that four reassurances were important to securing the investment for Britain.

Three were about the automotive sector generally and one was about Brexit.

These were

1 - That we would continue our successful and longstanding programme of support for the competitiveness of the automotive sector, including Nissan .

This support is available to firms for skills and training of the local workforce, for research and development and innovation – in line with EU and UK governmentrules.

Since 2010 the government has invested £400m into the UK automotive sector in this way and we will continue to invest hundreds of millions more over the coming years.

All proposals of course – from any company – must be underpinned by strong business cases and tested against published eligibility criteria. All proposals are subject to rigorous external scrutiny by the Independent Industrial Development Advisory Board and are reported on to parliament.

2 - We would continue our work with the automotive sector, including Nissan at Sunderland, to ensure that more of the supply chain can locate in the UK, and in close proximity to the major manufacturing sites. In a previous post I established the local growth deals and the city deals which working with Local Enterprise Partnerships, have provided a way in which local councils, businesses and the government can upgrade the sites, especially sites brought into use from dereliction, and to provide the infrastructure for small and medium-sized businesses that can supply these major companies. This programme I can confirm will continue and with vigour

3 - We would maintain a strong commitment to research and development and in particular to the take-up of ultra-low emission vehicles. The opportunities presented by bringing the energy and climate change department together with the business department make us ideally placed to build on Britain’s strengths in low carbon energy, the automotive sector, in science and research and many other areas

4 - In our negotiations to leave the EU we will emphasise the very strong common ground there is especially in the automotive sector between ourselves and other EU member states in ensuring that trade between us can be free and unencumbered by impediments.

A good deal for the UK can also be a good deal for other member states, and that is how we will approach the negotiations. Whatever the outcome we are determined to ensure that the UK continues to be one of the most competitive locations in the world for automotive and other advanced manufacturing.

block-time published-time 6.06pm GMT

Back in the Commons Greg Clark says that the Brexit talks have not started, but that the demeanour the government should adopt should be to seek common ground and common interests with EU partners.

block-time published-time 6.05pm GMT

Mark Carney to stay on as Bank of England governor until 2019 Turning away from Greg Clark for a moment, it has just been announced that Mark Carney will stay on as governor of the Bank of England until 2019. That is a year longer than originally planned, but not the three-year extension that would have led to him serving a normal eight-year term.

My colleague Graeme Wearden has all the details on his business live blog.

Related: Mark Carney to leave the Bank of England in 2019 – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/31/mark-carney-bank-of-england-speculation-eurozone-gdp-business-live]

block-time published-time 5.57pm GMT

The Conservative Philip Hollobone says this announcement shows that remainers who have become remoaners should be more positive.

Clark says this is an announcement we all should celebrate.

block-time published-time 5.57pm GMT

The Sun’s Steve Hawkes thinks MPs are asking the wrong questions.

enltrKeep waiting for an MP to ask Greg Clark if he is saying no cash promises were made - we'd get more if he was speaking to @afneil [https://twitter.com/afneil] if he is saying no cash promises were made - we'd get more if he was speaking to

— steve hawkes (@steve\_hawkes) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/steve\_hawkes/status/793148239432343552]To be fair the SNP’s Callum McCaig did ask about money. See 5.32pm. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/31/nhs-spending-will-fall-on-a-per-head-basis-before-2020-says-health-committee-chair-politics-live?page=with:block-58177f83e4b08d944ba4cb0c#block-58177f83e4b08d944ba4cb0c]To be fair the SNP’s Callum McCaig did ask about money. See

block-time published-time 5.53pm GMT

Labour’s Dame Rosie Winterton says there is a worry this could be an isolated deal. She says a firm in Doncaster has laid workers off, citing Brexit as a factor. So does Clark accept the need for regional impact assessment of Brexit.

Clark says the regions have an important role to play in industrial strategy.

block-time published-time 5.52pm GMT

Clark says the consequences of positive news like this extend to other sectors too.

block-time published-time 5.51pm GMT

Labour’s Tom Blenkinsop says he welcomes Clark’s adoption of “New Labour-style industrial activism”.

Clark says that was a backhanded compliment. He says it was a Conservative government that brought Nissan to the UK.

block-time published-time 5.49pm GMT

Here is the Sun’s Steve Hawkes on Clark’s performance.

enltrBiz Secretary Greg Clark basically suggesting no compensation was promised to Nissan - just promises of an incredibly good Brexit deal

— steve hawkes (@steve\_hawkes) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/steve\_hawkes/status/793147042591899649]block-time published-time 5.45pm GMT

Nick Herbert , the Conservative former minister, asks how Clark could assure Nissan there would be no bureaucratic impediments to trade with the EU if the UK was outside the customs union.

Clark says he was talking about the stance the government adopted when it went into negotiations.

block-time published-time 5.39pm GMT

Hilary Benn , the Labour chair of the Brexit committee, says Clark seems to be implying that some sectors will get tariff-free access to the EU , and others won’t. Is that right?

Clark says that it makes sense to ask what different sectors need.

block-time published-time 5.38pm GMT

Andrew Tyrie , the Conservative chair of the Treasury committee, says Clark told the BBC yesterday that he wanted the UK to be able to trade without bureaucratic impediments. Does he accept that rules of origins rule would mean, that if the UK were outside the customs union, there would be such impediments?

Clark says he wants the best possible deal.

block-time published-time 5.37pm GMT

Clark says it is obvious that both sides would benefit from tariff-free trade.

block-time published-time 5.36pm GMT

Michael Gove , the Conservative former education secretary, says that for years Labour MPs have wanted an activist industrial policy, focused on getting jobs for working-class people. So why aren’t Labour MPs welcoming this news?

John Bercow , the Speaker, says Clark is not responsible for Labour policy.

block-time published-time 5.33pm GMT

Iain Duncan Smith , the Conservative former work and pensions secretary, suggests that Nissan wanted to stay because the UK would be able to negotiate new trade deals outside the EU , and they would benefit.

Clark welcomes Duncan Smith’s support, but does not address this particular point.

block-time published-time 5.32pm GMT

The SNP’s energy spokesman, Callum McCaig, asks how much the deal offered to Nissan could cost the taxpayer.

And since the government is offering a flexible Brexit to the City, will it offer a flexible Brexit to Scotland too.

He says Nissan got a letter of comfort. But Scotland and the other devolved administrations only got a hotline - and one that takes 36 hours to answer.

Clark says there is a clear common interest for all EU countries in having tariff-free arrangements, given that car components go back and forth between countries in the manufacturing process.

block-time published-time 5.29pm GMT

Clark says he does not see the need to publish his letter to Nissan Clark is replying to Lewis.

He says he is surprised Labour’s response to the news has been so miserable.

Labour should not abandon a cross-party, long-term approach to inward investment, he says.

He says as a minister he has focused on getting to know the long-term concerns of investors.

He says he wants to get the best possible terms of trade with the EU .

And he is determined to keep the motor industry competitive.

On the subject of whether he will publish his letter to Nissan , he says he has set out what it contains.

But companies need to know that, when they share information with the government, their investment plans will not be disclosed to their competitors.

\* Clark says he does not see the need to publish his letter to Nissan .

Clark says MPs know that, when he works to attract inward investment to the UK, he does not do so on a partisan basis.

Greg Clark . Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament block-time published-time 5.24pm GMT

Clive Lewis , the shadow business secretary, is responding for Labour.

He welcomes the Nissan investment.

But he says it is not clear what the government offered Nissan .

It seems to have offered the equivalent of the philosopher’s stone - tariff-free access to the single market, but with no concessions, he says.

He asks why other businesses are not getting similar assurances.

Piecemeal, backroom deals do not amount to an industrial strategy, he says.

He says if the government has got nothing to hide, it should show MPs the letter.

Clive Lewis Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament block-time published-time 5.19pm GMT

Greg Clark is giving his Commons statement now.

He says four assurances were essential to persuade Nissan to make its investment.

First, he says the government said it would continue its policy of making the automative industry competitive.

Second, he said it would continue to ensure that car manufacturers can have all of their supply chain in the UK.

Third, he said the government would could continue to back research and development, particularly in low-emission cars.

And, fourth, he said the government would seek to protect the car industry in the Brexit talks.

block-time published-time 5.14pm GMT

Greg Clark 's statement on Brexit and government support for Nissan 's statement on Brexit and government support for Greg Clark , the business secretary, is starting a Commons statement about Brexit and the government support for Nissan . Nissan announced last week that it would build the next Qashqai and X-Trail models at Sunderland [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/27/nissan-to-make-new-qashqai-and-x-trail-models-in-britain] after receiving assurances from the government that it would not lose out from Brexit. Clark has not published the letter the government gave to Nissan that helped secure the investment, but he spoke about the assurances in some detail yesterday in an interview that shed considerable light on how the government will approach Brexit.

Over the summer, and at the Conservative conference, Theresa May suggested that her Brexit priority would be getting control of **immigration**, even if that meant limiting access to the single market. Clark’s comments yesterday suggested that in recent weeks there may have been something of a rethink, because he implied Downing Street want a free trade relationship similar to the single market and customs union. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/30/nissan-eu-tariff-free-brexit-sunderland] suggested that her Brexit priority would be getting control of **immigration**, even if that meant limiting access to the single market. Clark’s comments yesterday suggested that in recent weeks there may have been something of a rethink, because

Clark’s interview has already prompted much analysis. Here are three articles worth reading.

\* Patrick Wintour in the Guardian says Clark suggested the government was going for a sector-by-sector deal. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/30/greg-clark-brexit-negotiations-andrew-marr-show-nissan-auto-industry]

Describing his talks with Nissan executives, Clark told Marr: “What I said was that our objective would be to ensure that we would have continued access to the markets in Europe – and vice-versa – without tariffs and without bureaucratic impediments and that is how we will approach those negotiations.

“For the continental European car manufacturers, they export a lot to us, we export a lot to them, components go backwards and forwards. If you conduct the negotiations in a serious, constructive and civilised way there is a lot in common that we can establish. I was able to reassure Nissan – and other manufacturers – that that is the way we are going to approach it.”

This implies that the business department regards access to the EU single market must at the least be set alongside control of migration and UK borders as a negotiating objective.

The aim, according to one minister, is for the outcome to feel like the UK is in the EU single market without being a member.

\* Atul Hatwal at Labour Uncut says he thinks the Nissan deal means the government is going to compromise on free movement. [http://labour-uncut.co.uk/2016/10/30/nissan-might-have-got-the-headlines-last-week-but-the-real-story-is-whats-bubbling-on-free-movement/#more-21170]

There is absolutely zero chance that Monsieur Barnier would permit the UK to have one of the things it prizes the most – the automotive single market– without extracting a concession on the issue that exercises Central and Eastern European states the most: migration.

Some of the animus among the Visegrad, Baltic and Balkan nations will be assuaged with direct financial contributions from Britain but a blanket ban on free movement is politically impossible in the EU .

The firmness of Britain’s commitments to Nissan mean that the British government knows that it has to accept a compromise on this issue.

block-time published-time 4.56pm GMT

Here is the full statement from Diane Abbott , the shadow home secretary, on the Orgreave announcement.

The victims and their families have been treated shamefully by this government.

The campaigners were led to believe only that there was debate on the form of Inquiry, but Amber Rudd and Theresa May have led them up them up the garden path.

The South Yorkshire police chief constable is in favour of an inquiry, as are many stakeholders, and of course the campaigners themselves.

The current and previous home secretaries both indicated that an Inquiry would be granted.

This is a shameful decision, which ignores the need for truth and justice.

Labour stands with the campaigners and will not rest until there is a full Hillsborough-style inquiry.

block-time published-time 4.54pm GMT

Here is a Guardian video of Labour MPs responding to Amber Rudd ’s Commons statement.

Orgreave inquiry: Burnham accuses Rudd of ‘nakedly political act’ – video [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/oct/31/orgreave-inquiry-burnham-accuses-rudd-of-nakedly-political-act-video]block-time published-time 4.52pm GMT

Here is some more political reaction to Amber Rudd ’s decision not to hold an inquiry into Orgreave.

From Nick Clegg , the former Lib Dem leader and former deputy prime minister and a Sheffield MP

enltrQuestions over Orgreave continue to undermine public trust in SY police. Govt wrong not to want those questions to be answered.

— Nick Clegg (@nick\_clegg) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/nick\_clegg/status/793117883043807232]From Ed Miliband , the former Labour leader

enltrAppalled about #Orgreave [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Orgreave?src=hash] decision. The lesson from Hillsborough is that this will not stand, the truth will be discovered & justice done.

— Ed Miliband (@Ed\_Miliband) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Ed\_Miliband/status/793125405234499585]From Frances O’Grady , the TUC general secretary

enltrTerrible decision to reject Orgreave inquiry, big blow to the families. It sends out a dangerous message too–corruption has a place to hide.

— Frances O'Grady (@FrancesOGrady) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/FrancesOGrady/status/793120709610500097]From Dave Prentis , the Unison general secretary

enltrAbsolutely outrageous that Amber Rudd ruled out an inquiry or independent review into Orgreave. Fight for truth and justice must continue

— Dave Prentis (@DavePrentis) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DavePrentis/status/793097874305318912]From Caroline Lucas , the Green party co-leader

enltrThe Government's decision is a travesty. @TheGreenParty [https://twitter.com/TheGreenParty] supports a full inquiry. #orgreavejustice [https://twitter.com/hashtag/orgreavejustice?src=hash] supports a full inquiry. https://t.co/KaGP3Nchso [https://t.co/KaGP3Nchso] supports a full inquiry.

— Caroline Lucas (@CarolineLucas) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/CarolineLucas/status/793125698978316288]block-time published-time 4.52pm GMT

Turning back to Ukip and Raheem Kassam for a moment, the Mirror’s Dan Bloom says the Times has responded to claims a Times journalist harrassed and intimidated Kassam’s parents. (See 9.43am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/31/nhs-spending-will-fall-on-a-per-head-basis-before-2020-says-health-committee-chair-politics-live?page=with:block-5817114ae4b01c528432e89a#block-5817114ae4b01c528432e89a]

enltrThe Times responds to Raheem Kassam's claims that he was "harassed" by a journalist knocking on his parents' door https://t.co/eUst6xjSQN [https://t.co/eUst6xjSQN] pic.twitter.com/SX65zLUgys [https://t.co/SX65zLUgys]

— Dan Bloom (@danbloom1) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/danbloom1/status/793131395354882048]block-time published-time 4.42pm GMT

Osborne reprimanded for not seeking watchdog's advice before launching Northern Powerhouse Partnership George Osborne has been criticised by a cabinet office lobbying committee for failing to declare his Northern Powerhouse Partnership to the watchdog before it was announced.

The government’s advisory committee on public appointments sent a critical letter to the former chancellor for failing to consult them before his non-profit organisation was announced in a blaze of publicity.

Though it said the Treasury had no concerns about the project, Osborne should have given prior warning, the committee said.

“The committee noted with concern that you sought advice on this appointment after you had launched the Northern Powerhouse Partnership,” Lady Browning, the committee’s chair, said in a letter to Osborne. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/563935/161013\_Letter\_to\_G\_Osborne\_-\_NPP\_.pdf]

The committee is unable to offer retrospective advice on appointments that have already been announced. Nonetheless, it would draw your attention to the normal restriction it would impose prohibiting the misuse of privileged information obtained while in public office.

The committee notes that in seeking to promote economic development in the North of England, this role will involve some dealings with government. However, it would expect you to refrain from making use, directly or indirectly, of privileged access derived from your role as a minister to influence government policy on behalf of the Northern Powerhouse Partnership.

Lib Dem leader Tim Farron said:

The chancellor has been rapped over the knuckles for not following due process; having been in the government for the last few years he should know these rules and abide by them.

It’s not good enough for him to bend the ministerial code simply to try and protect his failing Northern Powerhouse project.

George Osborne at the launch of the Northern Powerhouse Partnership. Photograph: Paul Ellis/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 4.23pm GMT

At the Orgreave Truth and Justice Campaign press briefing Kevin Horne, a former miner who was arrested at Orgreave, [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/29/orgreave-we-must-have-full-inquiry-trust-in-police] He said that campaigners had been “misled” and that their fight for justice would go on.

We do think we’ve been misled. What do we tell the families whose dads are dead, whose grandads are dead. We’ve got to go home with our tails between our legs and say we’ve failed. But we will go on. We will keep at it until we do get a decision. It might take a change of government. It will be there one day, same as Hillsborough.

He also said he did not accept Amber Rudd ’s point about Orgreave being different from Hillsborough because, as Rudd put it in her statement, “ultimately there were no deaths or wrongful convictions” at Orgreave. Horne said:

Hillsborough got justice. And we haven’t got any justice. There is no time limit on justice. I don’t understand these questions. Should we pursue child sex [cases]? Should we not look for war criminals? I don’t understand these questions, I really don’t.

He also said that the government had gone back on assurances that there would be an inquiry.

Theresa May sounded really positive when we met her. And then Amber Rudd [was] talking about formats for an inquiry. And now today we’ve just been custard-pied. We are really disappointed, to say the least. The fight will go on, there’s no doubt about that.

Kevin Horne, an Orgreave Truth and Justice campaigner Photograph: Sky News block-time published-time 4.05pm GMT

Corbyn says he is 'appalled' by Orgreave decision Here is Jeremy Corbyn , the Labour leader, on the Orgreave decision.

enltrAppalled that Government ruled out inquiry into Orgreave - denying truth and justice for victims and their families https://t.co/GrG7TwC5YP [https://t.co/GrG7TwC5YP]

— Jeremy Corbyn MP (@jeremycorbyn) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/793118271243444224]block-time published-time 3.56pm GMT

The Orgreave Truth and Justice Campaign are holding a press briefing at Westminster. They say that, when they met Amber Rudd earlier this year, she said that she would hold an inquiry, and that the only thing she needed to decide was what form it would take.

block-time published-time 3.54pm GMT

Here is a Reality Check from my colleague Denis Campbell about how much extra money is going into the NHS .

Related: How much extra money is the government really giving the NHS? [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/31/how-much-extra-money-tory-government-really-giving-nhs]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.57pm GMT

block-time published-time 3.50pm GMT

Sarah Wollaston , the Conservative chair of the Commons health committee, says that although Hunt does not agree with her committee’s view of the £10bn figure, she is sticking to it.

Hunt says he respects Wollaston. But he does not agree with Wollaston’s letter, and he thinks her calculations are wrong. The government has never claimed there was an extra £10bn going into the department for health’s budget, he says. He says the NHS asked for an extra £8bn over five years. It has got £10bn extra over six years. Or an extra £9bn over five years. Whichever figure you choose, it is bigger than £8bn over five years, he says.

block-time published-time 3.46pm GMT

Hunt is replying to Ashworth.

He says Labour cut health spending in Wales.

He says if Labour thinks the NHS is underfunded, it must accept that its policies at the last two elections were wrong.

block-time published-time 3.44pm GMT

Jon Ashworth , the shadow health secretary, told Hunt his figures had been discredited by the Commons health committee. He said they could only be more discredited if they were put on the side of a bus and driven around by Boris Johnson .

block-time published-time 3.43pm GMT

Hunt answers urgent question on NHS funding Jeremy Hunt, the health secretary, has just replied to an urgent question about NHS funding.

He said health spending had increased in real terms every year since 2010, and increased in real terms every year too.

He said health spending was 10% higher than the OECD average, and about the same as the EU average.

He said the NHS put forward its own plan for the future in 2015. It asks for a minimum of £8bn extra, and for this to be frontloaded, he said

But the NHS will receive an increase of £10bn over six years, he said. It would go up from £98.1bn in 2014-15 to £119.9bn in 2020-21, he said.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.44pm GMT

block-time published-time 3.35pm GMT

In the Commons Yvette Cooper , the Labour MP and new chair of the Commons home affairs committee, challenges Rudd over what she said about their being no miscarriage of justice at Orgreave. (See 2.53pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/31/nhs-spending-will-fall-on-a-per-head-basis-before-2020-says-health-committee-chair-politics-live?page=with:block-58175a3fe4b08d944ba4ca02#block-58175a3fe4b08d944ba4ca02] She says that 95 miners were charged and that some were remanded in custody before charges were dropped.

Rudd says that she made the decision carefully, having assessed whether there was a case for public inquiry. She does not address the miscarriage of justice point directly.

block-time published-time 3.32pm GMT

And here is some more reaction to Rudd’s decision from Labour MPs.

From Diane Abbott , the shadow home secretary

enltrIt is a grave injustice that there will be no statutory inquiry into the battle of Orgreave

— Diane Abbott MP (@HackneyAbbott) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/HackneyAbbott/status/793096473575616513]From Dan Jarvis From

enltrGiven the substantial concerns that exist, it is astonishing that the Home Secretary will not commit to an inquiry or review into #Orgreave [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Orgreave?src=hash].

— Dan Jarvis (@DanJarvisMP) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DanJarvisMP/status/793096878300725249]From Ben Bradshaw From

enltrExtremely disappointing the Govt rejecting inquiry into #Orgreave [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Orgreave?src=hash] @orgreavejustice [https://twitter.com/orgreavejustice] & not making a full Commons' statement explaining why.

— Ben Bradshaw (@BenPBradshaw) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BenPBradshaw/status/793097491545788416]From Michael Dugher

enltr1/2 No inquiry into #Orgreave [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Orgreave?src=hash] : This is a complete betrayal of campaigners & a spit in the face for every former coalfield community...

— Michael Dugher MP (@MichaelDugher) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MichaelDugher/status/793098221371453441]enltr2/2 Truth & justice denied + secrecy, re policing of the Strike, maintained. A political decision to protect the interests of the Tory party

— Michael Dugher MP (@MichaelDugher) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MichaelDugher/status/793098957706694656]From Mike Kane From

enltrThere is a certain stench emanating from this Government on a raft of issues but particularly #Orgreave [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Orgreave?src=hash]

— Mike Kane (@MikeKaneMP) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MikeKaneMP/status/793099859536572416]From Stephen Kinnock From

enltrV disappointed to see gov rule out an Orgreave inquiry, absolute disgrace. We'll keep fighting for #OrgreaveJustice [https://twitter.com/hashtag/OrgreaveJustice?src=hash] https://t.co/8Lt7KrjbEp [https://t.co/8Lt7KrjbEp]

— Stephen Kinnock MP (@SKinnock) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SKinnock/status/793101082352386048]block-time published-time 3.31pm GMT

Jon Trickett has also accused Amber Rudd of not holding an inquiry into Orgreave to protect Margaret Thatcher .

enltrI represent many men who were at #Orgreave [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Orgreave?src=hash]. Justice hidden is justice denied. Labour will set up an Inquiry as soon as elected to office.

— Jon Trickett (@jon\_trickett) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jon\_trickett/status/793098681297821696]block-time published-time 3.26pm GMT

Labour says it would hold an inquiry into Orgreave Jon Trickett, Labour’s national campaign coordinator, says Labour will hold an inquiry into Orgreave it it wins the election.

enltrI represent many men who were at #Orgreave [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Orgreave?src=hash]. Justice hidden is justice denied. Labour will set up an Inquiry as soon as elected to office.

— Jon Trickett (@jon\_trickett) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jon\_trickett/status/793098681297821696]block-time published-time 3.24pm GMT

One consequence of Amber Rudd ’s decision is that it shows Nick Timothy ’s doesn’t run the country (or at least, not every day). [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/08/grammar-schools-theresa-may-plans-for-inclusive-grammar-schools-slammed-politics-live?page=with:block-57d16d8ae4b07ac3d446a3ad#block-57d16d8ae4b07ac3d446a3ad] This is what Timothy, the prime minister’s co-chief of staff, wrote earlier this year in a blog calling for an inquiry. [http://www.conservativehome.com/thecolumnists/2016/05/nick-timothy-as-with-hillsborough-we-must-get-to-the-bottom-of-what-happened-at-orgreave.html] This is what Timothy, the prime minister’s co-chief of staff, wrote earlier this year

Of course, some people will argue that as we are talking about events that took place more than thirty years ago, we should let sleeping dogs lie. But the Hillsborough Independent Panel inquiry showed that sleeping dogs in South Yorkshire Police lied, lied and lied again, not just about their own conduct but about the victims and other football supporters. If we want to prevent that from happening in future, if we want to make sure the police are above corruption, collusion and cover-ups, we need to know when and how these things have been allowed to happen in the past...

The economy needed to be reformed, the unions needed to be faced down, and unprofitable pits needed to be closed. But if the police pre-planned a mass, unlawful assault on the miners at Orgreave, and then sought to cover up what they did and arrest people on trumped-up charges, we need to know.

block-time published-time 3.16pm GMT

The Liberal Democrats have criticised Rudd’s decision. This is from Brian Paddick, the former police officer who is the party’s home affairs spokesman.

People deserve answers about what happened at Orgreave. We must have confidence in our police forces and avoid any suggestion that there may have been a stitch-up by people in power to try to cover up wrong doing.

A full and proper inquiry is required to restore trust and confidence and I am dismayed that the home secretary has failed to establish one.

block-time published-time 3.13pm GMT

Sarah Champion, who has Orgreave in her Rotherham constituency, said campaigners had travelled down to London to watch in the public gallery, on the understanding they would be met by the Home Office and hear an inquiry announced. She said:

I am beyond shocked about this, I am incredibly frustrated for the people who will never see justice, for years research has been done by the Orgreave Truth and Justice Committee, and evidence gathered by the IPCC, and this feels like a complete snub to the people of South Yorkshire. So this is what they think of us.

block-time published-time 3.12pm GMT

And Liberty, the human rights organisation, has described Rudd’s decision as “deeply disappointing”.

enltrDeeply disappointing decision by @AmberRudd\_MP [https://twitter.com/AmberRudd\_MP]. We stand with you @orgreavejustice [https://twitter.com/orgreavejustice]. We stand with you #Orgreave [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Orgreave?src=hash]. We stand with you https://t.co/4F64lpv174 [https://t.co/4F64lpv174]. We stand with you

— Liberty (@libertyhq) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/libertyhq/status/793107180803194882]block-time published-time 3.11pm GMT

The Orgreave Truth and Justice Campaign has tweeted this.

enltrWe don't take no for an answer. Our fight for #orgreavejustice [https://twitter.com/hashtag/orgreavejustice?src=hash] continues.

Join us at Barnsley Miners Hall Tue Nov 1st 10am pic.twitter.com/IStXNWbKGy [https://t.co/IStXNWbKGy]

— Orgreave Justice (@orgreavejustice) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/orgreavejustice/status/793102275543785474]block-time published-time 3.08pm GMT

Amber Rudd 's Orgreave statement - Summary Here are the key points from Amber Rudd’s statement [http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Commons/2016-10-31/HCWS227/] explaining why she has rejected calls for an inquiry into Orgreave.

\* Rudd says that an Orgreave inquiry would produce “very few lessons” for modern policing and that this makes it hard to justify an inquiry.

There would... be very few lessons for the policing system today to be learned from any review of the events and practices of three decades ago. This is a very important consideration when looking at the necessity for an inquiry or independent review and the public interest to be derived from holding one.

\* She says policing has changed “fundamentally” since 1994, and she implies this makes it very unlikely that the Orgreave events could happen again.

There have been very significant changes in the oversight of policing since 1984, at every level, including major reforms to criminal procedure, changes to public order policing and practice, stronger external scrutiny and greater local accountability.

The operational delivery and practice of public order policing has moved on a great deal from the arrangements in 1984, and tactics have now been reviewed and altered several times both by the police and the courts.

Protections which were singularly lacking at the time of Orgreave now exist with the introduction in the mid-80s of the Police & Criminal Evidence Act which has vastly improved the way police investigations and powers operate.

The creation of the Crown Prosecution Service in 1986, with the introduction of independent CPS prosecutors, fundamentally altered the prosecution of offences. It ended the existence of ad hoc prosecution arrangements across the country whereby a mixture of police prosecutors and private firms of solicitors - hired by the police and acting for and on the instruction of the police – conducted prosecutions.

With regards to the external scrutiny of complaints against the police, this was strengthened by the creation, in 1985, of the Police Complaints Authority which was replaced in 2004 by the more effective Independent Police Complaints Commission and in turn will be replaced by the Office for Police Conduct in 2017. The exemplary standards of behaviour expected of everyone who works in policing were reinforced by the introduction of a statutory Code of Ethics, laid before this House in 2014.

Lastly, the introduction of directly elected Police and Crime Commissioners in 2012 has given the public a voice in shaping their local policing priorities and improved the accountability of police leadership.

\* She says she is not convinced that a proper investigation into Orgreave at the time would have prevented the Hillsborough tragedy.

The campaigners say that had the consequences of the events at Orgreave been addressed properly at the time, the tragic events at Hillsborough would never have happened five years later. That is not a conclusion which I believe can be reached with any certainty.

block-time published-time 2.53pm GMT

Diane Abbott , the shadow home secretary, says a letter from Rudd will not compensate for not having an inquiry. The police lied at Orgreave, she says. It was similar to Hillsborough.

Rudd says Hillsborough was very different. No one died at Orgreave, she says. And there were no miscarriages of justice, she says.

And that is it - for now. The questions on Orgreave are over, although the topic might come up again in the chamber when Rudd takes topical questions (ie, questions on anything, not on topics submitted in advance) after 3.15pm.

block-time published-time 2.50pm GMT

Rudd says she spoke to the head of the Orgreave Truth and Justice Campaign this morning. She has also sent the campaign a six-page letter. She understands why they are disappointed.

block-time published-time 2.50pm GMT

Sir Edward Leigh , a Conservative, suggests the government should set up a Commons select committee to carry out its own inquiry.

Rudd says that is an interesting idea. Existing select committees could do this, she suggests.

block-time published-time 2.49pm GMT

Labour’s Andy Burnham says Rudd has announced an “establishment stitch-up” that amounts to a “nakedly political act”.

Rudd says she has made her decision honestly, based on the evidence.

block-time published-time 2.48pm GMT

Rudd says the easier decision would have been to have an inquiry. But she cannot see how it would be in the public interest given the substantial changes to policing since the 1980s.

block-time published-time 2.47pm GMT

Dennis Skinner , the Labour MP, says Theresa May said there would be an inquiry into Orgreave when she was home secretary. Why has the government changed its mind?

Rudd says she has taken this very seriously, and spoken to May about this. There was no commitment made before, she says, only a willingness to look at all the papers – a willingness Labour did not show when it was in government.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.54pm GMT

block-time published-time 2.46pm GMT

Rudd says South Yorkshire police is under new leadership. She hopes it can make good progress.

block-time published-time 2.45pm GMT

In the Commons Amber Rudd has just said she has concluded there is no case for a review.

Labour’s Chris Matheson says this is a shameful decision. The government has led these families up the garden path, he says.

Rudd says the government has taken the time and looked at the document. She has met with the families and with the campaigning MPs. The fact she has taken a different decision does not make it dishonourable, she says.

block-time published-time 2.43pm GMT

Here is my colleague Alan Travis’s full story on this.

Related: Government rules out Orgreave inquiry [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/31/government-rules-out-orgreave-inquiry]

block-time published-time 2.42pm GMT

Hilary Benn says Rudd's Orgreave decision is 'shameful' Amber Rudd is about to be asked about her decision in the Commons.

The Labour MP Hilary Benn has tweeted this response.

enltrThis is shameful. It's time the truth was told and the Government is failing in its responsibility by ruling out an Inquiry. https://t.co/R53ULXQjQ1 [https://t.co/R53ULXQjQ1]

— Hilary Benn (@hilarybennmp) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/hilarybennmp/status/793099490827829249]block-time published-time 2.40pm GMT

Here is the full text of Amber Rudd’s statement on Orgreave. [http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Commons/2016-10-31/HCWS227/]

block-time published-time 2.39pm GMT

The home secretary, Amber Rudd , has rejected the possibility of an inquiry into the so-called “Battle of Orgreave”, the brutal clash between the police and miners during the 1984 miners’ strike.

The long-awaited decision will be regarded as a bitter blow to former miners and campaigners who hoped an inquiry would establish clear links between the misconduct by the South Yorkshire police atduring the Hillsborough disaster and their behaviour five years earlier at Orgreave.

But the home secretary Rudd ruled out any kind of inquiry, saying said that there could be very few lessons for the policing system of today to be learned from any review of the events of 30 years ago.

“This has been a difficult decision to make, and one which I have thought about very carefully. I have now concluded that there is not a sufficient basis for me to instigate either a statutory inquiry or an independent review,” said the home secretary in a Commons written statement.

“I know that this decision will come as a significant disappointment to the Orgreave Truth and Justice Campaign and its supporters and I have set out in a letter to them today the detailed reasons for my decision which include the following points.

“Despite the forceful accounts and arguments provided by the campaigners and former miners who were present that day, about the effect that these events have had on them, ultimately there were no deaths or wrongful convictions,” she told MPs.

The brutal clash on 18 June 1984 between 6,000 police officers from forces across the country and thousands of striking miners during a mass picket at coking works in South Yorkshire was a key moment in the 1980s’ miners’ strike.

block-time published-time 2.38pm GMT

Rudd says an Orgreave inquiry would produce 'very few lessons for the policing system today' Here is an extract from Amber Rudd ’s statement justifying her decision not to order an inquiry into Orgreave.

Despite the forceful accounts and arguments provided by the campaigners and former miners who were present that day, about the effect that these events have had on them, ultimately there were no deaths or wrongful convictions.

There have been very significant changes in the oversight of policing since 1984, at every level, including major reforms to criminal procedure, changes to public order policing and practice, stronger external scrutiny and greater local accountability.

There would therefore be very few lessons for the policing system today to be learned from any review of the events and practices of three decades ago.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.30pm GMT

block-time published-time 2.32pm GMT

Rudd says there will be no Orgreave inquiry The Home Office has announced that there will be no Orgreave inquiry. The Press Association has just snapped this.

There will be no statutory inquiry or independent review into the notorious clash between police and miners at Orgreave in 1984, home secretary Amber Rudd has announced.

block-time published-time 1.59pm GMT

Burnham warns of 'establishment stitch-up' as Rudd prepares to announce Orgreave inquiry Amber Rudd , the home secretary, is taking questions in the Commons this afternoon. The second question on the order paper, from the Labour MP Chris Matheson , is about when she plans to announce an inquiry into events at Orgreave and it is expected that the announcement will come in her reply.

My colleague Alan Travis has filed a preview story.

Related: Battle of Orgreave: home secretary to decide on new inquiry [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/31/battle-of-orgreave-home-secretary-expected-to-announce-new-inquiry]

On the World at One Andy Burnham , the former shadow home secretary and now Labour’s candidate for mayor of Greater Manchester, said he was worried that Rudd was going to announce a limited form of inquiry, amounting to a judge-led review of evidence. He said he feared that could amount to an “establishment stitch-up”. He told the programme:

The point I have made in response to that is that’s precisely what the Hillsborough families were offered in 1998. That was an establishment stitch-up, and that led to the Hillsborough cover-up lasting another decade. So if that is the announcement then that will fall short of what the campaign and others have been calling for.

He also said there were very strong parallels between the way South Yorkshire police behaved at Orgreave and the way they behaved at Hillsborough five years later.

As we learn more about the injustices of the past, and the 1980s, we’ve got to be prepared wherever the evidence takes us, however difficult that might be. And, after Hillsborough, that evidence trail led directly to the door of Orgreave. Same police force, same tactics. They tried to put the miners in the worst possible light after the events at Orgreave.

block-time published-time 1.40pm GMT

Lunchtime summary

\* Raheem Kassam, Nigel Farage’s former chief of staff, has withdrawn from the race to be Ukip leader. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/31/raheem-kassam-pulls-out-of-ukip-leadership-contest] (See 9.43am [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/31/nhs-spending-will-fall-on-a-per-head-basis-before-2020-says-health-committee-chair-politics-live?page=with:block-5817114ae4b01c528432e89a#block-5817114ae4b01c528432e89a] and 10.34am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/31/nhs-spending-will-fall-on-a-per-head-basis-before-2020-says-health-committee-chair-politics-live?page=with:block-5817171be4b08d944ba4c895#block-5817171be4b08d944ba4c895] Kassam did have the backing of Arron Banks, a key party donor, but Banks now says he is not backing anyone. He told talkRADIO:

I don’t think I’m going to be backing anyone at the moment. It’s a poor state of affairs if those [Paul Nuttall and Suzanne Evans] are the two choices. On a personal level I like Paul a great deal. But I think a number of the people that he associates with, particularly Suzanne Evans and Douglas Carswell , I really just don’t get on with... The problem is the party’s executive has been taken over by supporters of these people.

Banks also said in the light of the announcement that he might stop funding Ukip. Asked if he would carry on giving money to the party, he replied:

I don’t know. I will have to see what happens and what emerges. But I’m certainly not impressed with it so far.

\* Downing Street has said that Theresa May wants Mark Carney to stay on as governor of the Bank of England until 2021. My colleague Graeme Wearden has more on this on his business live blog.

Related: Theresa May backs Bank of England governor Mark Carney – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/31/mark-carney-bank-of-england-speculation-eurozone-gdp-business-live]

\* Damian Green, the work and pensions secretary, has said working is better for people’s health than “sitting at home living on benefits”. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/31/sitting-at-home-on-sickness-benefits-is-bad-for-health-damian-green] He was speaking ahead of launch a consultation on disability and sickness benefits. As Rowena Mason reports, it will look specifically at how people qualify for sick pay and doctors’ notes, and review the controversial work capability assessments which determine whether disabled people are eligible for welfare. Charities have welcomed the review of the WCA but there are some concerns that sick and disabled people could be pressured to return to work before they are ready.

\* Boris Johnson, the foreign secretary, has been holding talks about Libya with John Kerry, his UK counterpart. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/31/libya-crisis-talks-london-economy-near-collapse]

Boris Johnson with US secretary of state John Kerry and other European foreign ministers at the Foreign Office in London holding talks about Libya. Photograph: Yui Mok/PA

\* Sir Martin Sorrell has warned that slowing revenue growth at his advertising company WPP appears to be early signs of business nerves over Brexit. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/31/brexit-uncertainty-revenues-wpp-sir-martin-sorrell]

\* The Living Wage Foundation has announced new living wage rates. Its living wage, which is set at a rate calculated on the basis of what workers need to live, is not the same as the government’s “national living wage”, a beefed-up minimum wage. The foundation said in a news release: [http://www.livingwage.org.uk/news/new-real-living-wage-rates-announced-london-uk-0] has announced new living wage rates. Its living wage, which is set at a rate calculated on the basis of what workers need to live, is not the same as the government’s “national living wage”, a beefed-up minimum wage. The foundation said

The Mayor of London Sadiq Khan [https://www.london.gov.uk/people/mayoral/sadiq-khan] today announced that the new London Living Wage has increased from £9.40 to £9.75 per hour to reflect the higher cost of living facing families in the city – an increase of 3.7 per cent. This year over 300 more London-based employers have signed up to pay their staff the hourly rate required to make ends meet in the capital, bringing the number of London Living Wage employers to nearly 1000.

The UK rate has increased by 2.4% from £8.25 to £8.45. This is 17% higher than the government minimum for over 25s [https://www.livingwage.gov.uk/] which is £7.20 per hour. And in total nearly 1,000 employers have signed up since Living Wage Week [http://www.livingwage.org.uk/living-wage-week] last year bringing the total number of accredited Living Wage organisations to nearly 3000. [http://www.livingwage.org.uk/living-wage-programmes?qt-living\_wage\_schemes=0] last year bringing the total number of

block-time published-time 1.36pm GMT

Raheem Kassam is now backing Peter Whittle, the Ukip member of the London assembly, for the Ukip leadership. (See 9.43am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/31/nhs-spending-will-fall-on-a-per-head-basis-before-2020-says-health-committee-chair-politics-live?page=with:block-5817114ae4b01c528432e89a#block-5817114ae4b01c528432e89a] Whittle was on the Daily Politics earlier and said he wanted Ukip to replace Labour as the main opposition to the Tories.

enltrUKIP's first goal was the EU referendum. Our next one will be to replace Labour as the real opposition in this country! pic.twitter.com/alqXYwF9qY [https://t.co/alqXYwF9qY] referendum. Our next one will be to replace Labour as the real opposition in this country!

— Peter Whittle AM (@prwhittle) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/prwhittle/status/793070349915226113]block-time published-time 1.16pm GMT

The Lib Dems are confident that Nigel Farage’s endorsement of Zac Goldsmith will come back to haunt the newly independent candidate in his Richmond Park seat on polling day. On a walk around Richmond town centre with the Lib Dem candidate, Sarah Olney , Nick Clegg , the latest big name brought in to boost the campaign, was keen to stress the temporary Ukip leader’s support for Goldsmith to constituents who stopped to chat. He said:

For all those people who were originally attracted to Zac Goldsmith as a modern, idealist, attractive, faintly glamorous... minor royal, for those people, if you look back to his demeanour (when he was first elected), I think many people will be gobsmacked that he’s now Nigel Farage’s favoured candidate.

The Lib Dems projected an aura of confidence about their chances with Olney declaring her chances of winning at 10/10. She said it could not be a referendum on Heathrow as there was no candidate in favour of a third runway while Clegg said Goldsmith had been unable to stop the government taking the Heathrow decision when a Tory so would be even less influential as an independent. He recalled:

All the hours and hours I spoke to David Cameron and George Osborne (about Heathrow)... Goldsmith’s name never came up. Boris Johnson ’s did, they were worried about Boris Johnson (and his opposition to Heathrow).

There appeared to be plenty of support for the Lib Dems from passers-by, with Heathrow and Brexit - around 70 per cent of Richmond voters backed remain in the referendum - the big topics of concern.

Elizabeth, a floating voter said: “We all feel very unsettled [by the Brexit vote].” She told Clegg she wanted to see a more proactive approach by the government.

Sarah Olney said a Lib Dems victory in Richmond Park would tell the government “their current approach [to Brexit] is broken”. Olney, who lives in the north Kingston part of the ward, only joined the party after the 2015 election and until recently there was speculation the party would parachute in a big name candidate.

But, on Monday, Clegg was there to provide the glamour. It was the former Lib Dems leader in charming “I agree with Nick form” who attracted the passers-by and who people wanted their picture taken with.

Outside a coffee shop, a woman said: “ I’m trying to think of your name, Nick somebody.” Inside longstanding Richmond tapas restaurant Don Fernando, Clegg was able to show off his Spanish, presumably picked up from his wife, with a member of staff who subsequently complimented him, albeit Clegg received it somewhat sheepishly.

“You did alright when you were with David Cameron ,” the restaurant worker said.

“It didn’t exactly end well,” deadpanned Clegg.

Nick Clegg with Sarah Olney campaigning in Richmond Park Photograph: Haroon Siddique block-time published-time 12.30pm GMT

We’re also getting an urgent question on health funding, according to the BBC ’s Laura Kuenssberg .

enltrUrgent question on NHS funding been granted in the Commons this afternoon

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/793066981637382144]block-time published-time 12.25pm GMT

We’re getting a statement from Greg Clark , the business secretary, on Nissan this afternoon, after one from Damian Green , the work and pensions secretary, on the work, health and disability green paper.

enltr2 Statements today: 1. Improving lives: Work, Health and Disability Green Paper - @damiangreenmp [https://twitter.com/damiangreenmp] 2. Nissan : Sunderland - @gregclarkmp [https://twitter.com/gregclarkmp] 2. Nissan : Sunderland -

— Labour Whips (@labourwhips) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/labourwhips/status/793062573570686976]block-time published-time 12.17pm GMT

No 10 lobby briefing - Summary Here are the key points from the Number 10 lobby briefing.

\* Theresa May thinks Mark Carney is the best person to be governor of the Bank of England and wants him to stay, the prime minister’s spokeswoman said. Asked whether May wanted him to stay on, the spokeswoman said:

The prime minister has been clear in her support for the governor and the work he is doing for the country. It is clearly a decision for him but the prime minister would certainly be supportive of him going on beyond his five years.

Pressed on whether May saw the governor as “the right man for the job”, the spokeswoman replied: “Absolutely.”

\* The spokeswoman refused to be drawn on whether Greg Clark ’s comments yesterday meant the government wanted the UK to remain in the EU customs union. (See 9.25am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/31/nhs-spending-will-fall-on-a-per-head-basis-before-2020-says-health-committee-chair-politics-live?page=with:block-58170cf6e4b0219a00d3a8af#block-58170cf6e4b0219a00d3a8af] Asked about this, the spokeswoman said that May made it clear in the Commons last week that she did not see staying in or leaving the customs union as a binary choice.

\* The spokeswoman sidestepped a question about whether May Nadhim Zahawi’s call for the UK to continue to pay money into the EU ’s budget when it leaves. Zahawi was a leading pro-Brexit campaigner, but in an article in the Mail on Sunday yesterday [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3886348/Why-leading-Brexiteer-NADHIM-ZAHAWI-believes-8-5billion-price-worth-paying-year-stay-single-market-MAIL-SUNDAY-COMMENT-young-six-year-old.html] he argued that paying money into the EU budget after Brexit would be worth it to stop the EU being damaged and to preserve access to the single market. Asked if May welcomed this proposal, the spokeswoman said May had been clear that in future “decisions on taxpayers’ money should be taken in the UK”.

\* Downing Street rejected the claim from Dr Sarah Wollaston and other members of the Commons health committee about the government’s claim that the NHS is getting an extra £10bn being misleading. (See 9.12am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/31/nhs-spending-will-fall-on-a-per-head-basis-before-2020-says-health-committee-chair-politics-live?page=with:block-58170084e4b0219a00d3a87b#block-58170084e4b0219a00d3a87b] The spokeswoman said:

[There will] be an increase in real-terms funding of £10bn by 2021. This is [the sum] that NHS leaders told us they needed and we have delivered on it.

\* The spokeswoman said the government remained committed to the “triple lock” for pensioners. Yesterday Iain Duncan Smith, the former work and pensions secretary, said it should be scrapped. [https://inews.co.uk/essentials/news/politics/pensions-triple-lock-scrapped-iain-duncan-smith/] Today the spokeswoman said the government remained committed to it. She did not say for how long, but it was a Conservative manifesto commitment in 2015, suggesting it is safe until the next election.

10 Downing Street Photograph: Dylan Martinez/Reuters block-time published-time 11.50am GMT

May thinks Carney best man for job of Bank of England governor and wants him to stay, No 10 says I’m back from the Number 10 lobby briefing. The main point to emerge was that the prime minister’s spokeswoman gave strong backing to Mark Carney , saying that Theresa May would like him to stay on as Bank of England governor.

I will post a summary soon.

These are from Sky ’s Faisal Islam.

enltrNumber 10 repeats support for Carney: "clearly a decision for him, but the PM would be supportive of him.. going on beyond 5 years..."

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/793056393720979456]enltrNumber 10 said the PM has a "good working relationship" with Governor Carney, and asked if hes the "best man for the job" said "Absolutely"

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/793057106085765120]block-time published-time 10.59am GMT

This is from Channel 4 News’s Michael Crick on Raheem Kassam.

enltrFriend of Raheem Kassam suggests he wants to get to US quickly, to help Trump campaign, with view to getting a job if Trump wins

— Michael Crick (@MichaelLCrick) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MichaelLCrick/status/793040463573970944]I’m off to the Number 10 lobby briefing now. I will post again after 11.30am.

block-time published-time 10.34am GMT

What Kassam's announcement means - A 3-point analysis Until about a fortnight ago Raheem Kassam was a figure largely unknown outside Ukip circles. He was one of Nigel Farage’s chief advisers in the run-up to the 2015 and was credited/blamed for encouraging Farage to adopt increasingly hard right positions, especially on **immigration**. When he announced his leadership bid he seemed an unlikely candidate, partly because of his age (30) but more because his Twitter feed is littered with offensive comments that make Donald Trump sound diplomatic, [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/ukip-leadership-frontrunner-raheem-kassam-nicola-sturgeon-twitter-apology\_uk\_5813943de4b0672ea688ddc0] but he campaigned energetically, and was good at generating publicity. Given the internal dynamics of Ukip, his decision to withdraw from the contest may be more significant than it looks.

Here are three takeaways from the announcement.

1 - Paul Nuttall is now even firmer favourite to win than he was. His main rival is Suzanne Evans, the party’s former deputy chairwoman. Evans is a strong media performer but, as her interview with the Guardian at the weekend showed, [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/29/suzanne-evans-gaping-hole-in-british-politics-for-ukip] one many issues her views don’t square with traditional Ukip thinking. A survey of Ukip councillors last week showed Nuttall well ahead.

enltr. @paulnuttallukip [https://twitter.com/paulnuttallukip] is way, way ahead of @SuzanneEvans1 [https://twitter.com/SuzanneEvans1] and @RaheemKassam [https://twitter.com/RaheemKassam] in the Ukip leadership race (poll of councillors via @GoodwinMJ [https://twitter.com/GoodwinMJ] ) pic.twitter.com/EYf1r2G7KN [https://t.co/EYf1r2G7KN] )

— Sebastian Payne (@SebastianEPayne) October 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SebastianEPayne/status/790851920416112640] 2 - Nigel Farage is losing his grip on the party. Kassam was running as the Faragist candidate. “Our legacy is Nigel, Nigel is our legacy,” he said at his campaign launch last Friday. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/28/ukip-leadership-candidate-raheem-kassam-donald-trump-niqab-referendum] Now there does not seem to be a strong Faragist candidate in the contest, although Kassam is urging his supporters to back Peter Whittle, the leader of the (two-man) Ukip group on the London assembly.

3 - Arron Banks, the millionaire Ukip donor who was supposedly backing Kassam, was not willing to fund him properly. Kassam announced he had Banks’ backing less than two weeks ago. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/22/ukip-donor-backs-former-nigel-farage-aide-as-party-leader] But today Kassam says he cannot afford a proper campaign, implying that Banks is not willing to bankroll him. Banks is planning to fund an online “People’s Movement”, [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/10/arron-banks-man-who-bought-brexit] sometimes seen as a Ukip version of Momentum, and today’s news will reinforce suspicions that he is more interested in this than in continuing to fund Ukip. This morning, on Twitter , Banks has been coy about his plans.

In response to this

enltrWonder if @Arron\_banks [https://twitter.com/Arron\_banks] will throw his money and support behind Paul Nuttall , or focus on The People's Movement?

— Sebastian Payne (@SebastianEPayne) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SebastianEPayne/status/793029885522546688]Banks tweeted

enltrI wonder... https://t.co/5EirLviz0n [https://t.co/5EirLviz0n]

— Arron Banks (@Arron\_banks) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Arron\_banks/status/793030140011876352] Raheem Kassam launching his bid for the Ukip leadership last week. Today he has pulled out. Photograph: Neil Hall/Reuters block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.38pm GMT

block-time published-time 9.43am GMT

Raheem Kassam withdraws from Ukip leadership contest Raheem Kassam has announced that he is pulling out of the Ukip leadership contest. Kassam, a former aide to Nigel Farage who was running as the continuity Farage candidate, was always a relative outsider, and in a statement he says he is suspending his campaign because he has decided he cannot win.

Paul Nuttall , the former deputy Ukip leader, was already the strong favourite, and Kassam’s move means his chances of winning are now even higher.

Here is his statement in full.

As of today, I am formally suspending my campaign for UKIP leader.

After much consideration, I have decided not to pursue my campaign to be UKIP leader any further. This was a very difficult decision, and I want to thank everyone who supported me in the process.

It is a decision I have not taken lightly, but following meetings this weekend I realised the path to victory is too narrow. I would encourage my supporters to back Peter Whittle, who I think would make a fantastic leader of the party.

On their own, the following issues would not have caused me to take this decision, but taken together, the following reasons created an impossible route forward for me:

1. The top of the party is treating this like a coronation: I am not satisfied about the integrity of the process, and having put a number of complaints in to the party chairman, I was disappointed that incidents whereby Members of the European Parliament are using party databases to effectively campaign against me – ostensibly against the rules – were not challenged.

2. Disgraceful treatment by the media: I am tough and I can take it, but when Times journalists show up at my elderly parents’ house at dusk, intimidating them, I draw the line. Billy Kenber at the Times has a lot to answer for and I will be pursuing a harassment complaint further.

3. Fundraising: While we raised enough for our deposit, and got over 200 assentors to my nomination, we could not raise enough for this to be more than a digital campaign run from SW1, and to not feature at events all around the country would have made me a hypocrite, given how much I criticise the establishment for ignoring the country.

Over the next few weeks I will be providing a statement of accounts for all my donors, and in-keeping with my money pledge on my website, I will be giving them the choice as to what happens with the remainder of the money they donated. I will suggest we either: donate to the Royal British Legion or Help for Heroes , donate to the party, donate to Peter Whittle’s campaign. Those who want refunds are welcome to contact me.

I wish the UK Independence Party and whoever its new leader is all the best in ensuring Brexit happens, and in the upcoming electoral tests next year. I remain commited to the causes of the UK Independence Party, but sadly, at this campaign, it was a bridge too far for us.

I will be continuing at my job as Editor in Chief of Breitbart London, returning to the United States this week to cover the last leg of the presidential elections.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.59am GMT

block-time published-time 9.36am GMT

NHS Providers, a group representing hospitals, has put out a statement backing what the MPs from the health committee are saying. [https://www.nhsproviders.org/news-blogs/news/time-has-come-for-a-new-financial-settlement-for-the-nhs-and-social-care] This is from Chris Hopson, its chief executive.

We share the health committee’s concerns that short term pressures, combined with cuts to public health, social care and capital funding, risk overwhelming the NHS ’ ability to provide the quality of care we all want when funding increases significantly tail off from 2017/18 onwards. This points to an inevitable conclusion – that we need a new financial settlement for both the NHS and social care system that places both on a more sustainable footing.

block-time published-time 9.29am GMT

Here is the full text of the letter sent by Dr Sarah Wollaston and four other members of the Commons health committee to the Treasury telling the government that its claim to have given the NHS an extra £10bn is wrong (pdf). [http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-committees/Health/Correspondence/2016-17/chair-to-chancellor-NHS-funding-26-10-2016.pdf]

Sarah Wollaston . Photograph: Peter Byrne/PA block-time published-time 9.25am GMT

As my colleague Patrick Wintour explains in a detailed analysis of what Greg Clark , the business secretary, said yesterday about the assurances the government has offered Nissan , Clark implied that he wants the UK to remain in the EU customs union.

Related: Greg Clark's big reveal on 'demeanour' of Brexit negotiations strategy [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/30/greg-clark-brexit-negotiations-andrew-marr-show-nissan-auto-industry]

This morning Damian Green , the work and pensions secretary, was asked on the Today programme if Britain would remain in the customs union. We should assume nothing, he replied.

Assume nothing at the moment because, I think, a lot of this discussion tends to be fairly simple, fairly black and white.

block-time published-time 9.12am GMT

Autumn and winter are always the seasons when the state of the NHS becomes a growing concern and, right on cue, a day after the clocks went back, health funding is on the front pages. The Guardian has splashed with the news that five MPs, including Sarah Wollaston , the Conservative who chairs the Commons health committee, have written to the Treasury saying it should stop claiming that it has put an extra £10bn into the NHS because that’s not true. Here’s our story.

Related: Theresa May’s claim on NHS funding not true, say MPs [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/30/theresa-mays-claim-on-health-funding-not-true-say-mps]

The Daily Telegraph has also got this on its front, but it has headlined on the revelation that almost half of health authorities are planning to close hospital beds. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/30/almost-half-of-nhs-authorities-to-cut-hospital-beds-and-third-to/]

enltrTELEGRAPH: Hospital beds and A&E Units face axe #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/PUFXYwqAtj [https://t.co/PUFXYwqAtj]

— Neil Henderson (@hendopolis) October 30, 2016 [https://twitter.com/hendopolis/status/792846063103270912]This morning Wollaston has been on the Today programme defending her claims that the government’s £10bn ‘extra money for the NHS ’ figure is wrong. She told the programme.

Well, it’s only technically correct if you’re looking at spending on NHS England and you add an extra year to the spending review and you also take account of the switch from other budgets that we would normally think of as health spending. So, for example, you can only arrive at the £10bn by shifting money from public health budgets and from health education and training, and also by changing the date at which you calculate real terms increases. So, yes, you can see how they have arrived at the figure. But the real figure we feel should be quoted at £4.5bn which is considerably less... That’s over the period of the spending review and that’s the period that we usually talk about increases in spending. We wouldn’t normally, say for other government departments, just add an extra year.

She also rejected the claim that Simon Stevens , NHS England’s chief executive, has said that the government has given him what he wants. In fact, health spending is due to fall on a per head basis towards the end of this parliament, she said.

[Stevens] was very clear when he came before our committee during our inquiry that if you look at the middle years, next year and the year after, we are going to be seeing a far more constrained situation, and certainly not what he asked for. So, certainly, for 2018-19 we will be seeing a per capita fall in funding for the NHSat a time when our demographics [are changing], the increase in older people, a 21% increase in the number of people over 65 in the last decade up to 2015.

Here is a clip from Wollaston’s interview.

enltr'Government wrong on NHS spending' - @sarahwollaston [https://twitter.com/sarahwollaston] says actual figure £4.5bn rather than £10bn they have claimed https://t.co/BfALjw4bMg [https://t.co/BfALjw4bMg] says actual figure £4.5bn rather than £10bn they have claimed pic.twitter.com/BVT6qNe3F2 [https://t.co/BVT6qNe3F2] says actual figure £4.5bn rather than £10bn they have claimed

— BBC Radio 4 Today (@BBCr4today) October 31, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCr4today/status/792994381645148160]I will report more on this if the story moves on.

Otherwise, it’s a patchy day. Here is the agenda.

10am: The Orgreave Truth and Justice campaign holds a meeting ahead of an announcement expected today from Amber Rudd , the home secretary, about whether to hold an inquiry into allegations of police rigged evidence after a clash between police and miners at Orgreave in 1984.

10.25am: Nick Clegg , the former Lib Dem leader, campaigns in the Richmond Park byelection.

11am: Number 10 lobby briefing.

12pm: Nominations close in the Ukip leadership contest.

Afternoon: The department for work and pensions publishes its health and work green paper.

Also today Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary, is holding talks today with his US counterpart John Kerry about Libya.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The billionaire tech investor in a speech painted a dark picture of America as he praised the GOP nominee as a ‘political outsider’ who would reverse US decline

Peter Thiel has defended his support of Donald Trump, dismissing concerns about the Republican nominee’s anti-**immigrant** and anti-Muslim campaign positions as the result of the media “taking Trump literally” but not “seriously”.

Thiel used a speech Monday at the National Press Club in Washington to praise the Republican candidate as a “political outsider” who would reverse America’s decline.

“It is not a lack of judgment that leads Americans to vote for Trump,” the PayPal co-founder and billionaire tech investor said, referencing the presidential candidate’s boast[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-leaked-recording-women] that he could sexually assault women without consequence. “We’re voting for Trump because we judge the leadership of our country to have failed.”

The media is always taking Trump literally. It never takes him seriously, but it always takes him literally

Peter Thiel

Thiel’s speech came in response to a firestorm of criticism in Silicon Valley[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/oct/19/peter-thiel-support-donald-trump-mark-zuckerberg] over his pledge to donate $1.25m to the Trump campaign on 15 October. The timing of the donation, just days after numerous women made allegations of sexual assault or misconduct against Trump, prompted many within the tech industry[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/oct/17/project-include-y-combinator-donald-trump-peter-thiel] to call for companies such as Facebook and Y Combinator to sever ties with the investor.

Thiel acknowledged the criticism in his speech, complaining that “louder voices have sent a message that they do not intend to tolerate the views of one half of the country” and pointing out that an op-ed in the Advocate[http://www.advocate.com/commentary/2016/10/14/peter-thiel-shows-us-theres-difference-between-gay-sex-and-gay] said Thiel was “an example of a man who has sex with other men” but was “not a gay man” because of his politics.

“The lie behind the buzzword of diversity could not be made more clear,” he said. “If you don’t conform then you don’t count as diverse, no matter what your personal background.”

“Diversity” is a charged concept for Thiel. Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook, who has Thiel on his board of directors, defended his politics as an important part of his company’s diversity. In his 1995 book The Diversity Myth: Multiculturalism and Political Intolerance on Campus[http://www.independent.org/store/book.asp?id=38#t-0], Thiel wrote: “Real diversity requires a diversity of ideas, not simply a bunch of like-minded activists who resemble the bar scene from Star Wars.”

In his speech, Thiel painted a dark picture of America, referencing the country’s “overpriced healthcare system”, student debt crisis and stagnant wages for American workers. He criticized free trade policies that he said had resulted in “the heartland [being] devastated” and lambasted the “wasting of trillions of dollars of taxpayer dollars on faraway wars”.

He categorized the country’s problems as a series of “bubbles” akin to the housing bubble or the dotcom bubble and criticized the “heedlessness” of the elite in ignoring them. Current “bubbles” threatening the country include the “trade bubble”, “war bubble”, “**immigration** bubble” and “globalization bubble”, he said.

“It shouldn’t be surprising to see people vote for Bernie Sanders or Donald Trump, who is the only outsider left,” he said, later adding that he would have liked to see Trump and Sanders face off in the general election “because I think both of them viscerally felt the decline”.

Related: The hypocrisy of Facebook's silence on Peter Thiel's support for Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/oct/18/donald-trump-peter-thiel-support-facebook]

Throughout the speech, and during a later question-and-answer session, Thiel glossed over some of Trump’s most prominent and controversial statements.

Asked about Trump’s statements proposing the construction of a wall on the US-Mexico border and a ban on all Muslims entering the country, Thiel suggested that Trump supporters do not actually endorse those policies.

“I don’t support a religious test. I certainly don’t support the specific language that Trump has used in every instance,” he said. “But I think one thing that should be distinguished here is that the media is always taking Trump literally. It never takes him seriously, but it always takes him literally.”

The billionaire went on to define how he believes the average Trump supporter interprets the candidate’s statements. “I think a lot of voters who vote for Trump take Trump seriously but not literally, so when they hear things like the Muslim comment or the wall comment their question is not, ‘Are you going to build a wall like the Great Wall of China?’ or, you know, ‘How exactly are you going to enforce these tests?’ What they hear is we’re going to have a saner, more sensible **immigration** policy.”

During his speech at the Republican national convention, which Thiel attended as a keynote speaker[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/jul/21/peter-thiel-republican-national-convention-proud-to-be-gay], Trump was interrupted with chants of “Build a wall.”

Thiel also defended Trump’s failure to release his tax returns, saying that we know enough about the candidate’s business dealings. “We can debate how many zeros he has in his net worth, but he has a lot,” Thiel said.

The investor, who initiated a secret legal campaign against Gawker after the publication outed him as gay, asserted that “we have a less talented group of people” running for office today because of the media taking transparency in a “toxic” direction.

He also defended his secret funding of the lawsuit, brought by the wrestler Hulk Hogan, that bankrupted the now defunct media website Gawker[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/aug/16/univision-buys-gawker-media-auction-bankruptcy-hulk-hogan]. Thiel accused a former Gawker editor of being “an aspiring child pornographer” and called the entire publication a “singularly sociopathic bully”, and portrayed his backing of the lawsuit as an act of charity.

“If you’re a single-digit millionaire like Hulk Hogan, you have no effective access to our legal system,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Guardian Australia’s new monthly column Stream Lover highlights films and series that are fresh to your local on-demand services

What’s on tonight? Thanks to the tyranny of digital choice, the answer’s never been less clear.

Each month online services add new films and series, and subtract older ones, so we’ve trawled the major Australian streaming sites for highlights to save you an hour-long scroll.

Stan Film: Truth (2015, US), director James Vanderbilt – out now

Related: Truth review – Cate Blanchett in the eye of a journalistic storm[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/mar/06/truth-review-cate-blanchett-60-minutes-george-w-bush-war-record]

Shot in Sydney with an ensemble of supporting Australian actors, Truth dramatises 60 Minutes’ 2004 exposé of the period in which then-president George W Bush went awol from the military in the 1970s. At the time, 60 Minutes’ story was so scandalous that, although it was largely right, the authenticity of key documents was questioned, and producer Mary Mapes (Cate Blanchett as a fierce woman pushed to the edge of self-doubt) and anchor Dan Rathers lost their jobs.

With Robert Redford cast as Rathers, the shadow of journo classic All the President’s Men looms tall over Truth. Though Truth doesn’t reach those heights, it’s a pretty good iteration of the genre, wrapping you up in the ethos of table-slamming self-righteousness, just as a good journo movie should. And from the mad vantage point of the US election campaign, it’s fascinating to see the disgracing of Mapes and Rathers as part of a broader political witch-hunt in what we thought at the time were the USA’s gloomiest days.

Truth is like a devoted fan’s love letter to the great newsroom dramas that preceded it, and an enjoyable and smart film for a night in.

Film: Alice (1990, US), director Woody Allen – out now

Related: Woody Allen: 'There are traumas in life that weaken us. That’s what has happened to me'[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/aug/25/woody-allen-traumas-in-life-weaken-us-cafe-society-amazon]

Woody Allen’s latest, Cafe Society, is in theatres, but his magical, odd film from 1990 makes for far less masochistic viewing: it’s Woody in a good mood.

With her wide, anxious face and hurried eyes, Mia Farrow’s heroine is a Woody stand-in: a Manhattanite whose existential dissatisfactions coalesce into a longing for an affair with a divorced musician called Joe. Alice’s treatments from a Chinese doctor (please turn your Hollywood-racism filters to HD) supernaturally switch off her inhibitions.

There are two lovely observations at the heart of Alice: the first is that there is a particular type of person for whom infidelity is actually incredibly difficult, even when they desire it; and the second is that all types of people have ways of insisting on unhappiness via increasingly elaborate forms of self-sabotage. On the surface, Alice has everything she should want (wealth, a husband, lovely children); as a character, she also has the compassion of her film-maker – an unusual thing to treasure in an Woody Allen film.

Film: Volcano (Ixcanul) (2015, Guatemala/France), dir. Jayro Bustamante – out now

Related: Ixcanul review – a fascinating blend of modernity and ritual[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/sep/12/ixcanul-review-fascinating-blend-of-modernity-and-ritual-toronto-film-festival]

An Australian theatrical release evaded this Berlin film festival competitor, but it’s well worth a look on VOD.

Volcano is a small, simple, clash-of-civilisations arthouse film set on a coffee plantation on the low banks of a volcano in present-day Guatemala. Our Mayan heroine María is set for a local arranged marriage, but yearns to run away with another man, Pepe, for a new life in the United States. She is torn: “What else is there?” in the US, she asks Pepe. “Money. Dollars,” he replies while the camera remains on María’s face. “What does the air smell like there?” He doesn’t know. “Here, the air smells of coffee. And of the volcano.”

The really special thing about Volcano is its palpable creation of this remote place, with clean cinematography that captures life in the plantation in long, wide, unmoving shots. Through that honest film-making approach, debut writer-director Jayro Bustamante lets the story unfold like a fable, and makes Volcano a lovely, living eulogy to a culture that may soon be lost.

• Honourable mentions:Frackman[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/mar/23/frackmans-accidental-activist-theres-blood-in-the-water-and-im-the-shark] (film, 5 November), Nightcrawler[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2014/sep/06/nightcrawler-review-jake-gyllenhaal-toronto-film-festival] (film, 18 November), What We Do In the Shadows[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2014/nov/20/what-we-do-in-shadows-review] (film, 25 November), Nick Cave: 20,000 Days on Earth[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2014/sep/19/20000-days-on-earth-review-nick-cave-artistic-legacy-documentary] (film, 27 November), No Activity[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/oct/26/no-activity-patrick-brammall-and-darren-gilshenan-deliver-australian-farce-at-its-finest] (TV, season one, out now)

Netflix Australia TV: Black Mirror, season three (2016, UK), created by Charlie Brooker – out now

Related: Black Mirror review – this nightmare sterile world is only five minutes away[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/oct/21/black-mirror-review-charlie-brooker-nightmare-sterile-world-is-only-five-minutes-away]

“There’s no cure for the internet. It’ll never go away.” It’s always been pessimistic, but episode three of Black Mirror’s new season delivers the dystopian drama’s thematic mandate in two brutal sentences.

Now a Netflix Original, the latest Black Mirror instalments continue the template set early in the series: each hour-long episode is a self-contained, speculative science-fiction about one element of technology gone rogue – episode one, for instance, shows a Pinterest-y pastel world in which every person is reduced to a numerical rating via a social media app – with a twist in the final moments that usually sends the protagonist to madness, social expulsion or death.

The difference now is that showrunner Charlie Brooker’s bleak outlook is increasingly expressed in classical horror conventions, most notably in episode two’s haunted house concept. Black Mirror is not always subtle and never light viewing, but it remains anchored in beautifully observed truths about how tech amplifies existing anxieties and unhappinesses.

TV: The Crown, season one (UK/US, 2016), created by Peter Morgan – 4 November

Netflix’s entry into British longform storytelling and the company’s most expensive production to date, The Crown is indeed a must-watch – but not for the reasons you might think.

Based on a viewing of the first two episodes, Netflix has applied the sensibility of prestige UK film-making to television production: Stephen Daldry (The Reader, Billy Elliot) directs a script from Peter Morgan (The Queen) presenting an origin myth of Queen Elizabeth II, beginning with the decline of King George VI’s health in late 1940s and newlywed Elizabeth’s premature ascent to throne.

With its original programming, Netflix’s genius may be its ability to tap into the cultural zeitgeist of each country: where House of Cards is a melodramatic thriller that undermines US political institutions, The Crown is an immaculately-art-directed propaganda biopic aimed at humanising those in the monarchy[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/oct/27/the-crown-writer-peter-morgan-ducked-chance-to-meet-queen] and positioning the Queen as a kind of proto-feminist.

Mmmmm, politically dubious addictive longform prestige trash. Thank you, Netflix.

Film: The Big Short (US, 2015), director Adam McKay – out now

Related: Housing blew up the global economy in 2008 and we learned nothing[https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/jan/29/housing-global-economy-2008-the-big-short-financial-crash]

This Oscar-winner (for best adapted screenplay) is part of a subgenre of post-GFC dramas like Arbitrage and 99 Homes — talky, officey, dramatic affairs that make mortgage securities sexy. In The Big Short, big-time corporate trickery, fraud and corruption is unlaced by nerdy dudes who balance throwaway lines with Hollywood’s idea of financial-speak.

It’s a love/hate genre. If you like Aaron Sorkin stuff[http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0815070/], chances are this will be right up your alley.

From the Observer[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/jan/24/the-big-short-review-crash-riveting-steve-carell-christian-bale] : “A blackly catastrophic comedy, a story of greed, venality, incompetence and barefaced corruption in which the good guys are the renegades who see disaster coming and stake their shirts on the apocalypse. Unlike the slick suits and killer sheen of Oliver Stone’s Wall Street, this is a world of chaos and disorder filled with misfits who understand numbers more than people.”

• Honourable mentions:Zootopia[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/mar/21/disney-diversity-animation-zootopia-zootropolis] (film, 15 November), Hook (film, 16 November), Gilmore Girls: A Year in the Life[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/oct/25/gilmore-girls-revival-netflix-first-trailer-watch] (series, 25 November).

Foxtel Play Film: Brooklyn (2015, UK), director John Crowley – 12 November

Related: Brooklyn review – Saoirse Ronan shines in a heartfelt and absorbing adaptation[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/nov/05/brooklyn-review-saoirse-ronan-shines-in-nick-hornby-colm-toibin-drama]

Set between Ireland and Brooklyn in the 1950s, this terribly romantic drama is a New York story and an **immigrant** story. It’s about the finality of cross-continental **immigration** for previous generations – no yearly trips home, no weekly Skype calls – and what it might mean to marry somebody who your mother and your sister will never meet; to have your heart cleaved between two places, and everything that goes with that.

Beautifully old-fashioned in its sensibility, with a script by Nick Hornby based on Colm Tóibín’s novel, it features a performance of great stillness and sensitivity from Saoirse Ronan as a young woman caught between two continents.

Film: 45 Years (2015, UK), director Andrew Haigh – 4 November

Related: 45 Years review – Tom Courtenay and Charlotte Rampling superb as couple freshly possessed by the past[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/aug/27/45-years-review-tom-courtenay-and-charlotte-rampling-superb-as-couple-freshly-possessed-by-the-past]

45 Years plays out like a horror relationship drama – an anti-romance – in that it preys on your worst fears about your partner, and unspools in a slow-motion pace to engage a feeling of pure dread.

On the week before their 45th wedding anniversary party, Kate (Charlotte Rampling) learns of a past relationship of her husband (Tom Courtenay) that throws the nature of their own marriage into doubt; the discovery is a poison compelling her on a search for more clues that plays out until the very moment of their party.

In any other relationship drama, the revelation would be of rank infidelity, but director Andrew Haigh’s script is unusual in its non-idealism and its emotional intelligence: it is founded on the notion that a large part of your partner is a stranger to you, and that although you needn’t share everything with them, those very unshared things can open an unbridgeable chasm. Newlyweds: avoid this.

• Honourable mentions: Divorce[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/oct/11/divorce-review-sharon-horgan-sarah-jessica-parker] (TV, season one, through November), The Wire[https://www.theguardian.com/media/series/the-wire-re-up] (TV, out now), Bran Nue Dae[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2010/jul/25/bran-nue-dae-germaine-greer] (film, 20 November).

SBS On Demand Film: Body Melt[http://www.sbs.com.au/ondemand/video/11694659590/body-melt http://www.sbs.com.au/ondemand/video/11694659590/body-melt] (1994, Australia), director Philip Brophy – out now

Overlooked in the story of Australian cinema, artist Philip Brophy’s trashy horror follows a marketing scheme gone wrong: an effervescent vitamin drink designed to advertise a luxury homeworld actually melts people’s bodies from the inside out.

Drenched in fake blood and green slime, Body Melt evolves the George Romero horror tradition of portraying zombie shoppers in shopping centres to satirise consumerism: Brophy’s vision of a dead-end upper-middle-class housing estate is scarier than any American slasher and remains politically on-point today.

Harold from Neighbours as the villainous doctor screaming “Fuck the chain stores!!!” could be a key moment of Australian film. Listen for a scrambled sample of the 1990s aspirational health series Healthy, Wealthy and Wise jingle in the soundtrack.

Film: Oldboy[http://www.sbs.com.au/ondemand/video/328368707566/oldboy] (2003, South Korea), director Chan-wook Park – out now

Related: How would you make Oldboy's ending darker?[https://www.theguardian.com/film/filmblog/2011/nov/29/oldboy-remake-darker-ending]

A fall-down drunk is bailed out of a police station by a mate and immediately recaptured by a mystery lunatic and imprisoned in a seedy hotel room. For 15 years. He’s fed nothing but valium gas, fried dumplings and television; he tattoos the years on his forearm and plots his escape to find his captor and claim his vendetta, all the while wondering what landed him in that police cell in the first place.

Oldboy’s art-direction is reminiscent of the paintings of David Lynch[https://www.google.com.au/search?q=paintings+of+David+Lynch&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwib6tbkvvrPAhUFVxoKHVKnC8IQ\_AUICCgB&biw=1440&bih=761], its neo-noir vision of Seoul like the run-down, acid-rain shine of Blade Runner, while its thematic obsession with hyper-cruelty and the crime genre itself recalls a less slick, lower-budget David Fincher.

Director Chan-wook Park has gone on to be one of the most acclaimed and adventurous figures of global art cinema, at the helm of which is South Korean cinema. His latest, The Handmaiden, is an erotic thriller about lesbians who must kill to free themselves from male tyranny (!) and is currently in select theatres. If you want to know more about where this auteur started, queue up Oldboy at once.

ABC iView TV: You Can’t Ask That[http://iview.abc.net.au/programs/you-cant-ask-that/LE1517H003S00] (2016, Australia) – out now

Related: Screen bites: can a show like You Can't Ask That change the conversation?[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/aug/01/screen-bites-can-a-show-like-you-cant-ask-that-change-the-conversation]

This clever single-concept show leaps over taboos to ask the unaskable questions. Fat people are asked “Why don’t you eat less”; transgender people, “Have you had the surgery?” Anonymous viewers pose the questions online and people from the relevant marginalised group give their answers. They do it with great insight, self-awareness and snappy, self-deprecating humour, and the show becomes an exemplar of allowing diverse people their own voices in media.

Simon Copland wrote for Guardian Australia[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/aug/01/screen-bites-can-a-show-like-you-cant-ask-that-change-the-conversation] : “Yes, there are questions about sex, drugs and crime – some that could be considered extremely insulting. But the show doesn’t treat those issues as scandalous but rather just as a normal part of people’s lives. It ends up being extremely genuine and heartfelt: real people, sitting with friends, families or lovers, having real conversations about the realities of their lives. From these conversations, we can actually learn a lot.”

TV: The Not So Secret Life of the Manic Depressive: 10 Years On[http://iview.abc.net.au/programs/not-so-secret-life-of-the-manic-depressive-10-years-on/ZW0916A001S00] (2016, UK) – out now

Related: Stephen Fry opens a window on to male depression – we must let boys cry | Ally Fogg[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jun/11/stephen-fry-male-depression-boys-cry]

A decade ago, a BBC series about Stephen Fry’s bipolar disorder[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2006/jul/21/mentalhealth.broadcasting] helped to shift the national dialogue about mental health in the UK. This year a follow-up doco[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/feb/01/stephen-fry-to-feature-in-bbc1-mental-health-season] picked up the conversation, and was released in Australia to coincide with the ABC’s Mental As programming.

The centrepiece of the program is filmed sessions with Fry’s psychiatrist, in which they discuss his terrifying self-management habits like “creating sleep” via a nightly cocktail of Xanax and vodka.

The documentary sensitively asks difficult questions. Are treatments improving? Does diagnosis always result in better management of symptoms? To those profiled, including Fry, the answers are clearly often “no”.

In going beyond the positive spin of much public mental-health discussion and into the much greyer realm of shifting diagnoses and burdensome medications, this program makes an unusually candid contribution to the destigmatisation of psychiatric illnesses.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Sussan Ley contradicts Peter Dutton, saying people on bridging visas won’t be affected, and Julie Bishop says only **refugees** whose claims were processed in Australia will be exempt

Government ministers have struggled to identify who would be affected by the proposed lifetime ban on **refugees** in offshore detention travelling to Australia, with the health minister, Sussan Ley, contradicting the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, on Q&A.

Ley was asked if the policy would affect people in Australia on bridging visas. She replied: “No, because the people who are affected by this are those on Manus and Nauru now.”

When the host, Tony Jones, interrupted to say that Dutton’s office had said it would affect those on bridging visas, Ley revised her answer and said “the reason for that is they would have been processed on either Manus or Nauru”.

Related: Could a mild outbreak of humanity be behind the Coalition's cynical new asylum politics? | Katharine Murphy[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/could-a-mild-outbreak-of-humanity-be-behind-the-coalitions-cynical-new-asylum-politics]

“There are very few people who have been processed in Manus and Nauru who are now in Australia,” she said.

Ley also praised conditions in offshore detention. “You have to see the camps and understand their lives and really appreciate that the generosity that we are offering them is well above many other countries,” she said.

What would you say to supporters of the govt’s proposed legislation to ban **refugees**? Wickham & @sussanley[https://twitter.com/sussanley] #QandA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/QandA?src=hash] https://t.co/IQcdqSjQbz[https://t.co/IQcdqSjQbz] — ABC Q&A (@QandA) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/QandA/status/793041503190786048]

On Tuesday the foreign affairs minister, Julie Bishop, clarified that people in Australia for medical treatment would be affected by the ban if they were part of the “same cohort” as those in offshore detention. Only those whose claims were processed in Australia would be exempt, she suggested.

On Sunday the government announced it would prevent **refugees** and asylum seekers on Manus Island and Nauru coming to Australia[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat] even on a tourist visa, unless they were children when placed in offshore detention.

Bishop told ABC’s AM program her understanding was the law would apply to those in offshore processing centres, including those who had sought medical treatment in Australia because they were part of the same cohort.

Bishop said the proposed ban would not affect people whose asylum claims had already been processed in Australia, including those on temporary protection visas and bridging visas.

The foreign affairs minister said people who were not **refugees** should return to their country of origin, **refugees** on Manus Island could resettle in Papua New Guinea, and those on Nauru could resettle there or in Cambodia.

Related: Backpacker tax restores 'balance' with local workforce, Sussan Ley tells Q&A[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/01/backpacker-tax-restores-balance-local-workforce-sussan-ley-qanda]

“There are others we will seek to resettle in one of a number of countries... We are in the process of negotiating with a number of countries[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/new-asylum-laws-third-country-resettlement-peter-dutton].”

Bishop denied the **refugee** travel ban was motivated by “domestic political considerations” including the rise of One Nation.

“We must never allow the criminal people-smuggling syndicates to get back into business, that’s what the legislation is aimed to prevent,” she said.

Asked about UN high commissioner for **refugees** concerns about the ban, Bishop said the policy was consistent with other bans in the Migration Act

Dutton has cited advice from the attorney general’s department, Australian government solicitor and **immigration** department to insist the ban is legal.

**Immigration** lawyer Robert Manne told AM that without the full details it was “extremely difficult” to know whether the law would result in cancellation of bridging visas.

“It’s hard to see what possible purpose could be served from cancelling the visas of people brought back from Nauru and Manus Island, many of whom have been recognised as **refugees**.”

Related: New asylum laws pave the way for third-country resettlement, Peter Dutton says[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/new-asylum-laws-third-country-resettlement-peter-dutton]

Labor’s agriculture spokesman, Joel Fitzgibbon, said on Q&A that Ley’s failure to correctly answer the question was “the beginning of the unravelling” of the policy.

Bill Shorten has said it seemed “ridiculous” a **refugee** would be banned from coming to Australia as a tourist or on a business trip, but Labor has said it will wait to see details before it takes a position on the ban.

Several Labor MPs came out against the government’s proposal[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/labor-mps-oppose-refugee-ban-despite-leadership-saying-it-will-wait-and-see] on Monday, but the Greens have called on Labor to commit to oppose it.

Guardian Australia contacted Dutton for comment.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With the tax yet to pass the Senate, the health minister says the 19% rate is fair to working holidaymakers, local jobseekers and employers

Backpackers should be taxed to restore the balance between imported labour and young local people who need a start, the health minister, Sussan Ley, has said.

With the backpacker tax still in limbo almost 18 months[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/27/lifes-a-beach-as-backpacker-tax-fiasco-descends-to-new-lows?CMP=share\_btn\_tw] after it was announced, Ley told the ABC’s Q&A rural special in Mildura on Monday there had been resistance among food producers to using local people for seasonal picking work.

National Farmers’ Federation representatives told a Senate committee last week that agriculture sourced 25% of its workforce from working holidaymakers, but in some fruit-growing regions the proportion was much higher.

Asked why the government needed to introduce the tax, Ley said it was about getting the balance right between local and imported labour.

“The balance is between the imported backpacker labour and local young people who need to get a start in rural Australia,” Ley said.

“Now I know a lot of farmers because I represent many in my electorate and they say, ‘Don’t give me local people because they don’t turn up and they don’t have a go.’

“I understand that there are challenges. But that’s where the balance lies.”

How beneficial to Australia do you think it is to steal from backpackers in tax? @sussanley[https://twitter.com/sussanley] & @GermanoEmma[https://twitter.com/GermanoEmma] #QandA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/QandA?src=hash] https://t.co/FvNKuqc0vM[https://t.co/FvNKuqc0vM] — ABC Q&A (@QandA) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/QandA/status/793045606717456384]

In the 2015 budget, the then Abbott government said it would impose a 32.5% backpacker tax from an effective rate of zero. But after increasing opposition from the farming and tourism industry, the Turnbull government announced a review of the tax in the election campaign.

Related: Life's a beach as backpacker tax fiasco descends to new lows[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/27/lifes-a-beach-as-backpacker-tax-fiasco-descends-to-new-lows]

In September, the treasurer, Scott Morrison, announced a tax of 19%[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/27/backpacker-tax-scott-morrison-announces-cut-from-325-to-19] but introduced two new savings measures. Under the changes, backpackers will repay 95% of their superannuation in tax when they leave the country and there will be a $5 rise in the passenger movement charge.

The backpacker bills and associated savings measures have passed the lower house, but remain under investigation by a Senate committee.

Ley said the existing system meant backpackers effectively paid no tax but also meant they were often exploited.

“While you might think these are working holidaymakers, can I say I’ve seen busloads of working holidaymakers in the most appalling conditions driven from Sydney, housed in one room, and effectively rorting this to the nth degree,” Ley said.

“I think it demonstrates where there is a tax break, people take it. So this 19 cents lands exactly where it need to sit. There is competitiveness between Canada, New Zealand, UK and other places.”

Labor’s agriculture spokesman, Joel Fitzgibbon, also on the panel, said the government had simply tried to raise revenue from backpackers but he would not nominate a rate that Labor would support.

The party has refused to say whether it will support the Coalition’s 19% rate when the bills come back to the Senate.

“When the government half backflipped and went from 32.5% to 19%, it insisted the new measures be revenue-neutral,” Fitzgibbon said.

“They increased the departure tax and raped and pillaged the superannuation of backpackers to make it revenue neutral. The only principle here from the government’s perspective is revenue.”

The other panellists were Stefano de Pieri, chef and author of A Gondola on the Murray; Emma Germano, general manager of I Love Farms; Dean Wickham, executive officer of the Sunraysia Mallee Ethnic Communities Council; and Katrina Myers, an avocado farmer and mental health advocate.

What would you say to supporters of the govt’s proposed legislation to ban **refugees**? Wickham & @sussanley[https://twitter.com/sussanley] #QandA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/QandA?src=hash] https://t.co/IQcdqSjQbz[https://t.co/IQcdqSjQbz] — ABC Q&A (@QandA) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/QandA/status/793041503190786048]

Ley also confirmed that some **refugees** in Australia on bridging visas would be affected by a ban on asylum seekers[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat] who arrive by boat from ever being allowed into the country.

“The reason for that is they would have been processed in either Manus or Nauru or an offshore processing centre,” Ley said. “That’s what’s being targeted with this legislation.”

The ban will apply to any adult who has been sent to detention centres on Nauru or Manus Island since 19 July 2013.

Ley could not tell the panel how many people would be affected by the legislation. “There are very few people who have been processed in Manus and Nauru who are now in Australia,” Ley said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**FBI director Comey may be under investigation for Hatch Act violationHillary Clinton’s email controversy explainedDonald Trump to rally in Michigan with eight days to go until election day

block-time published-time 7.53pm GMT

Speaking at a rally in Grand Rapids, Michigan, this morning, Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump praised James Comey for writing to Congress about the FBI’s review of Hillary Clinton emails.

Donald Trump praises FBI director for letter to Congress – video[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/31/donald-trump-fbi-james-comey-congress-video] Trump said Comey had guts for the move and jokingly thanked Huma Abedin and Anthony Weiner. He also said Clinton’s election would lead to a constitutional crisis.

block-time published-time 7.49pm GMT

The scene outside of Donald Trump’s upcoming rallies in Warren, Michigan:

enltr"Just remember with Trump it'll all treats no tricks!" (At Trump Rally in Warren, MI) pic.twitter.com/CIo7mmVr8z[https://t.co/CIo7mmVr8z]

— Anne Helen Petersen (@annehelen) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/annehelen/status/793131537843752960]block-time published-time 7.39pm GMT

Report: FBI concluded Russia undermining election, avoided saying so because it was 'too close' to Election Day FBI director James Comey reportedly argued that although the FBI had concluded that the Russian government was involved in attempts to undermine the legitimacy of the U.S. electoral process, it was too close to Election Day for the government to say so publicly, according to a report from CNBC.[http://www.cnbc.com/2016/10/31/fbis-comey-opposed-naming-russians-citing-election-timing-source.html]

Citing a former FBI official, CNBC reported that Comey kept the FBI’s name off of a statement released on October 7 declaring that “the US intelligence community is confident that the Russian government directed the recent compromises of emails from US persons and institutions, including from US political organizations,” and that “these thefts and disclosures are intended to interfere with the US election process.”

“A foreign power was trying to undermine the election,” the official told CNBC. “He believed it to be true, but was against putting it out before the election.”

Comey clearly felt differently about possible emails on Anthony Weiner’s computer.

block-time published-time 7.17pm GMT

Congressman Jim Jordan, the chair of the Freedom Caucus of tea party-aligned Republicans in the House of Representatives, is one of the sharpest critics of Hillary Clinton and the Obama administration, but the latest person to receive criticism from the Ohio congressman is the Republican director of the FBI.

“I think this was probably not the right thing for [James] Comey to do - the protocol here - to come out this close to an election,” Jordan told Fox News Radio host Brian Kilmeade this morning.[http://radio.foxnews.com/2016/10/31/rep-jim-jordan-r-oh-i-think-this-was-probably-not-the-right-thing-for-comey-to-do-to-come-out-this-close-to-an-election/] “But this whole case has been mishandled, and now it is what it is.”

“He probably felt in light of what he did before he had to bring this out,” Jordan continued. “Quite frankly, because he had done the press conference and all the things he had before he probably did have to send a letter to Congress like he did last week. But I would argue all of this has been wrong from the get go in the way it’s been handled.”

The Office of Special Counsel, an independent federal investigative agency, will neither confirm nor deny[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/31/james-comey-fbi-hillary-clinton-hatch-act-election] any the existence of investigation into Comey for violating the Hatch Act, a law designed to prevent federal officeholders from abusing their power to influence an election.

block-time published-time 6.51pm GMT

Democratic party officials in four swing states have sought federal court injunctions against the Trump campaign and its affiliates, alleging they plan to intimidate minority voters on election day.

Donald Trump in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Photograph: Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images The lawsuits argue that the Trump campaign, along with the nominee’s close confidant Roger Stone and state Republican party officials are “ conspiring to threaten, intimidate, and thereby prevent minority voters in urban neighborhoods from voting[http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/16-2514-As-Filed-Complaint.pdf] ”, citing Trump’s ongoing efforts to recruit “ election observers[https://www.donaldjtrump.com/landing/volunteer-to-be-a-trump-election-observer] ” and Stone’s plans, as revealed by the Guardian[https://viewer.gutools.co.uk/us-news/2016/oct/20/citizens-for-donald-trump-exit-poll-roger-stone-rigged-election-claim], to conduct unorthodox “exit polling” on election day, as evidence of potentially “virulent harassment”.

The lawsuits follow another legal action made in federal court in New Jersey l ast week by the Democratic National Committee[http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-10-27/democratic-party-sues-gop-over-trump-s-election-rigging-claims], which argues that the Republican National Committee is in violation of a 1982 consent decree that forbids the organisation from monitoring polls on election day.

Stone told the Guardian last week his group “Stop The Steal” planned to conduct exit polling in nine major cities in swing states, ostensibly to counter “election theft” and gauge the accuracy of electronic voting machines. But a number of polling and election law experts cast doubts on the methodology and suggested the process could be a smokescreen for voter intimidation.

The Republican nominee has for months warned supporters of a “rigged election” and encouraged them to monitor polling areas in cities such as St Louis, Chicago and Philadelphia. The lawsuits, filed by state democratic parties in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Arizona and Nevada would cover many of the cities Stone said he intended to target.

The filings argue that such efforts, along with Trump’s rhetoric, could violate both the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which outlawed discriminatory voting practices in the American south and the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, which outlawed intimidation against African American voters.

Election law experts said it was unclear whether courts would issue a broad order, as requested in the filings, to simply prevent voter intimidation, but could look in more detail at the temporary restraining order requested against Stone’s exit polling.

“It could be useful in getting the word out about these activities and secondly getting the [Republican state] parties and [Trump] campaign on record saying they will not engage in these activities,” said Rick Hasen, an election law expert at the University of California and whose Election Law blog first reported the lawsuits on Monday[http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88351].

The Republican National Committee has been under a consent decree since the 1981 gubernatorial election in New Jersey when the group sent armed off-duty law enforcement officers to patrol polls in minority neighborhoods. These volunteers wore arm bands that identified them as an unofficial “Ballot Security Task Force” and erected posters warning against voting fraud. The RNC dismissed the lawsuit as “completely meritless” last week.

Stone’s exit pollers, self-titled “vote protectors”, had originally planned to use similar non-official identification badges, until these were removed from the organisation’s website late last week. The organisation is still encouraging its volunteers to live stream video from polling stations.

The Guardian contacted Stone and the Trump campaign for a response to the recent lawsuits and is awaiting a response.

block-time published-time 6.40pm GMT

Hillary Clinton sought to play down the impact at her first public event of the week.

“Most people have decided quite a long time ago what they think about all this,” she told a rally in Ohio. “Now what people are focused upon is choosing the next president and commander-in-chief.”

But there was less direct criticism of the FBI than over the weekend and Clinton said they were welcome to look at the emails of her aide Huma Abedin.

“I am sure a lot of you may be asking what this email business is about and why in the world the FBI would decide to jump into an election without any evidence and it’s a good a question,” she said to boos from the young crowd at Kent State University in Ohio.

“By all mean they should look at them and I am sure they will reach the same conclusion as when they looked at my emails: there is no case.”

block-time published-time 6.31pm GMT

Donald Trump’s companies have deleted thousands of documents and records from court proceedings, often defying court orders, according to a Newsweek investigation[http://www.newsweek.com/2016/11/11/donald-trump-companies-destroyed-emails-documents-515120.html] - despite his anger at Hillary Clinton deleting emails from her private server.

Journalist Kurt Eichwald explains the tactics Trump would use to hide documents:

Over the course of decades, Donald Trump’s companies have systematically destroyed or hidden thousands of emails, digital records and paper documents demanded in official proceedings, often in defiance of court orders. These tactics—exposed by a Newsweek review of thousands of pages of court filings, judicial orders and affidavits from an array of court cases—have enraged judges, prosecutors, opposing lawyers and the many ordinary citizens entangled in litigation with Trump. In each instance, Trump and entities he controlled also erected numerous hurdles that made lawsuits drag on for years, forcing courtroom opponents to spend huge sums of money in legal fees as they struggled — sometimes in vain — to obtain records.

Trump would file untruthful affidavits, ignore deadlines and employ top delaying tactics, says Eichwald.

block-time published-time 6.13pm GMT

Trump says it 'took guts' for FBI chief to send letter to Congress Trump claimed on Monday that the FBI had stumbled across a digital “motherlode” and predicted they would discover missing work-related emails that had been deleted from Clinton’s computers.

“650,000?.. I think you are going to find the 33,000 that are missing,” he told supporters in Michigan. “I think we hit the motherlode as they say in the mining industry.”

He also urged FBI director James Comey to resist political pressure from those criticizing his decision to disclose the investigation.

“He’s gotta hang tough because a lot of people think he did the wrong thing, but he did the right thing,” Trump told the Grand Rapids rally. “I was not his fan but what he did he brought back his reputation.”

“It took guts for director Comey to do what he did,” he added, to chants of “lock her up” from the crowd.

block-time published-time 6.05pm GMT

UK golf resort owned by Trump summonsed for alleged privacy breach A Scottish golf resort owned by Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] is being taken to court for allegedly breaching the privacy of a rambler photographed by staff without her consent or knowledge.

The resort in Aberdeenshire was served with a court summons on Monday after Trump’s Scottish lawyers admitted that two staff members took mobile phone images of Rohan Beyts while she was on the course in April.

Trump International Golf Club Scotland[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/scotland], owned by the Republican presidential candidate, has been ordered to appear at Edinburgh sheriff court on 22 December to respond to a civil action lodged in the small claims court by Beyts this month.

Beyts is seeking damages of up to £3,000 ($3,650) after TIGCS rejected her initial requests by letter[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/rambler-sues-trump-golf-resort-scotland-breach-of-privacy] for an apology and damages. Her civil action claims the company is guilty of a criminal offence under the UK’s data protection and privacy legislation, after an investigation by the Guardian[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/11/trump-scottish-golf-resort-admits-breaching-data-protection-law?CMP=share\_btn\_tw] revealed the resort was in breach of the Data Protection Act.

The resort admitted it was not registered under the act with the Information Commissioner’s Office despite operating at least nine CCTV cameras and holding confidential records on its staff, its thousands of customers and its suppliers. It subsequently registered with the ICO in August.

In the US, meanwhile, Trump has threatened to sue any cinema that screens the documentary, You’ve Been Trumped Too. Made by Anthony Baxter, the film is a sequel to You’ve Been Trumped, in which Baxter was seen being forcibly arrested[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/sep/12/film-makers-arrested-donald-trump-scottish-golf-resort] by police as he investigated allegations of intimidatory behavior against the property tycoon’s neighbors in 2010.

Read the rest of the article here[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/31/uk-golf-resort-owned-donald-trump-summonsed-alleged-privacy-breach].

Related: UK golf resort owned by Trump summonsed for alleged privacy breach[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/31/uk-golf-resort-owned-donald-trump-summonsed-alleged-privacy-breach]

block-time published-time 5.57pm GMT

Donald Trump’s campaign is refusing to pay a $767,000 bill to a Florida pollster, reports the Washington Post[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/10/31/donald-trump-is-refusing-to-pay-his-campaign-pollster-nearly-three-quarters-of-a-million-dollars/?postshare=7601477933633852&tid=ss\_tw].

The Trump campaign hired GOP strategist and pollster Tony Fabrizio in May. Trump’s latest campaign filings show that it is disputing over three quarters of a million dollars to Fabrizio’s company.

The Trump campaign already paid $624,000 for Fabrizio’s services.

block-time published-time 5.40pm GMT

“Her election would mire our government and country in a constitutional crisis that we can not afford,” says Trump, arguing that an investigation into Hillary Clinton’s email will last years and cripple the economy.

block-time published-time 5.38pm GMT

“Thank you Huma! Good job Huma! Thank you Anthony Weiner!” says Trump to laughter at Michigan, referencing how the FBI is examining emails that came to light due to the investigation of Weiner sexting with an underage girl.

block-time published-time 5.33pm GMT

“It took guts for director Comey to make the move he made in light of the opposition he had where they’re trying to protect her from criminal prosecution... it took a lot of guts,” says Trump in Michigan.

block-time published-time 5.30pm GMT

enltrIt's a festive stage for Trump today in Grand Rapids (??: pooler @alivitali[https://twitter.com/alivitali] ) pic.twitter.com/11SevR8sxj[https://t.co/11SevR8sxj]

— Ashley Killough (@KilloughCNN) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/KilloughCNN/status/793142731518410753]The pool reporter Ali Vitali also notes that Trump’s son-in-law Jared Kushner is also in attendance today.

block-time published-time 5.27pm GMT

“When I win on November 8, I am going to bring your jobs back to America,” Trump tells the crowd in Michigan.

“We’re going to make Michigan the economic envy of the entire world once again,” he says.

block-time published-time 5.24pm GMT

Donald Trump takes to the stage in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

block-time published-time 5.20pm GMT

White House will not 'defend or criticize' FBI chief The White House says it will not “defend or criticize” FBI chief James Comey’s decision to alert Congress on Friday to new emails relating to the use of a private email server by Hillary Clinton just 11 days out from the election.

Josh Earnest, White House secretary, said Comey is a well-regarded official and that the White House does not have enough information to support or not support his actions.

“The president doesn’t believe that Comey is deliberately trying to affect the outcome of an election, or that he’s secretly strategizing to benefit one candidate or political party,” said Earnest in a press briefing.

block-time published-time 4.49pm GMT

Interesting article in the Washington Post[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/inside-evan-mcmullins-10-years-undercover-in-the-cia/2016/10/30/10347aa6-9d42-11e6-9980-50913d68eacb\_story.html?utm\_term=.9baefd420321] about Evan McMullin, the independent candidate, who was an undercover CIA agent for a decade. Because of security concerns, little information about this time has previously been made public:

McMullin joined the CIA as a student trainee while an undergraduate at Brigham Young University. He would alternate semesters between the university and training at CIA headquarters in Langley, Va. During that time, he spent a year in Israel and Jordan learning Arabic. He also worked for a **refugee** resettlement program run by the United Nations.

After graduating in 2001, McMullin joined the CIA’s directorate of operations, which runs clandestine missions abroad. He was in a computer training class at Langley headquarters when the 9/11 attacks occurred. After that, McMullin’s 18-month training to be an undercover operative was sped up, and he soon found himself in a southwest Asian country where the U.S. military was deeply engaged in the new war on terror. The specific country remains classified to protect his contacts there.

The CIA station chief who supervised McMullin in his first overseas assignment told me that McMullin stood out among all the new case officers because of his insistence on going outside the safe confines of the embassy to meet and develop human- intelligence assets. As a Mormon, McMullin could not indulge in the vices that often help to build such bonds, so he used his piousness and his experience before college as a missionary in Brazil to his advantage.

... McMullin served his later years as an undercover officer in Iraq while the U.S. military was battling a brutal Sunni insurgency and collecting intelligence on what was then called al-Qaeda in Iraq but is now the Islamic State. McMullin worked in Iraq until 2010, when the country achieved a degree of stability and the terrorist threat was temporarily minimized.

block-time published-time 4.37pm GMT

CNN 'completely uncomfortable' with leaked Clinton debate question CNN is “completely uncomfortable” with news that acting DNC head Donna Brazile allegedly leaked debate questions to Hillary Clinton’s campaign.

CNN spokesperson Lauren Pratapas released a statement on the revelations from today’s latest Wikileaks release of emails supposedly from Clinton campaign chief John Podesta, that show Brazile alerted Clinton that a question on the Flint water crisis would be asked during her debate with Bernie Sanders.

Pratapas’ statement reads:

On October 14th, CNN accepted Donna Brazile’s resignation as a CNN contributor. (Her deal had previously been suspended in July when she became the interim head of the DNC.) CNN never gave Brazile access to any questions, prep material, attendee list, background information or meetings in advance of a town hall or debate. We are completely uncomfortable with what we have learned about her interactions with the Clinton campaign while she was a CNN contributor.

block-time published-time 4.32pm GMT

Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] falsely claimed at a rally on Sunday that Hillary Clinton wants to let “650 million people pour in” to the US and “triple the size of our country in one week”.

Speaking in an airplane hangar in Albuquerque, New Mexico[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/newmexico], Trump again pushed his hardline **immigration**stance and warned of the dangers posed by what he described as Clinton’s “open borders” policy.

Trump took his alarmist rhetoric to a new height when boasting about his endorsement from the union which represents ICE and border patrol officers. He told them: “You know, it would be much easier working for Obama or working for crooked Hillary because frankly when you’re working for Hillary, she wants to let people just pour in.”

Trump continued: “You could have 650 million people pour in and we do nothing about it. Think of it, that’s what could happen. You triple the size of our country in one week. Once you lose control of your borders you have no country.”

The Republican nominee’s campaign has long used strident rhetoric about **immigration**. He alleged in his June 2015 campaign announcement that the Mexican government was deliberately sending rapists[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/02/donald-trump-racist-claims-mexico-rapes] across the border and has repeatedly compared Syrian **refugees** to “the Trojan horse”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/donald-trump-syria-refugees-us-immigration-security-terrorism].

Trump though has never suggested that Clinton, whom he has long derided as “a globalist”, supported tripling the size of the US through a mass migration unprecedented in world history.

Although Clinton is long on the record in favor of comprehensive **immigration** reform and a path to citizenship for undocumented **immigrants**, there is no evidence she favors increasing the US population by 650 million, a total roughly equal to the combined population of Canada, Mexico and the European Union.

Read the rest of the article here[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/31/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-650-million-people-immigration].

Related: Donad Trump says Clinton would let 650 million people into US in a week[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/31/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-650-million-people-immigration]

block-time published-time 3.57pm GMT

New Podesta emails show Clinton received leaked debate question A new batch of emails leaked by Wikileaks from the gmail account of John Podesta, Hillary Clinton’s campaign manager is out today, seeming to show Donna Brazile, the interim head of the DNC and a CNN contributor, giving Clinton a heads up about a likely debate question the day before she was due to take on Bernie Sanders at a primary debate.

enltrBrazile 2 weeks ago: "I never had access to questions and would never have shared them with the candidates if I did"

Yeah, ok. pic.twitter.com/8jBOZ4G8q6[https://t.co/8jBOZ4G8q6]

— Gabby Morrongiello (@gabriellahope\_) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/gabriellahope\_/status/793094919275544577]A woman did ask about the Flint water crisis at the next debate.

On October 11, Brazile released a statement – after earlier Podesta emails supposedly showed Brazile leaking a CNN town hall question – declaring: “As it pertains to the CNN debates, I never had access to questions and would never have shared them with the candidates if I did.”

enltrDonna Brazile statement on Wikileaks emails pic.twitter.com/LqblQt6Kjo[https://t.co/LqblQt6Kjo]

— Zeke Miller (@ZekeJMiller) October 11, 2016[https://twitter.com/ZekeJMiller/status/785915299593801729]In another message, Podesta emails Neera Tanden, the president of Center for American Progress, about Clinton’s prospects and questions her “instincts” in the campaign.

Leaked John Podesta email Photograph: Wikileaks WikiLeaks has been publishing batches of the leaked emails all month, after publishing leaks from the Democratic National Committee’s emails in October. Podesta and the Clinton campaign have refused to confirm the emails are genuine.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.28pm GMT

block-time published-time 3.26pm GMT

From Washington bureau chief Dan Roberts in Cleveland

The Republican campaign is seizing on signs of momentum to target an expanded map of states that it now sees as winnable, including once safely Democratic territory in industrial Midwest.

Donald Trump was due to speak in Grand Rapids and Warren in Michigan on Monday, before appearing with running mate Mike Pence in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, on Tuesday.

Until his polling gap began to narrow again last week, Trump had been forced back back to a dwindling number of competitive-looking swing states, while it was Hillary Clinton who was expanding her campaign ambitions by eyeing Republican territory in Utah, Arizona and Georgia.

But renewed optimism among Republicans, particularly after the FBI letter, has created an unusually vast national battleground for both candidates to cover, particularly as Trump’s economic populism scrambles traditional demographic dividing lines.

Michigan and Wisconsin have both been hit hard by the loss of manufacturing jobs and were the scene of surprise defeats for Clinton during the Democratic primary when large numbers of blue-collar workers favored Bernie Sanders.

Signs of fresh Democratic nervousness in Wisconsin first became apparent last week when the Clinton campaign suddenly announced a new advertising blitz. Sanders has now been despatched to help campaign for Clinton in the state on Wednesday.

The impact of early voting may also be forcing Trump to look further afield for the necessary electoral college votes however. States such as a North Carolina, which were seen as must win for Republicans, have seen heavy early turnout among Democrats and may be relatively immune from any late swing away from Clinton.

If he cannot win North Carolina but picks up the must-win states of Florida and Ohio, Trump’s best hope of pulling off a shock victory would rely on over-performing either in rustbelt states like Michigan and Wisconsin, or closing ground rapidly in the North East by wining New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and a congressional district in Maine.

Clinton meanwhile is redoubling her efforts to prevent Trump from even reaching this point. Two stops on Monday in Ohio will be followed by three stops in Florida on Tuesday and another swing to North Carolina later in the week as Democrats look to nip any resurgent Republican hopes firmly in the bud.

block-time published-time 3.25pm GMT

“It’s surprising to me that anybody would say that ‘you’re beyond the pale’ for a position that’s taken by around half the country,” says Peter Thiel, in his DC address.

“This is the first time I’ve done something that is conventional... and it’s been the most controversial thing ever,” he adds.

block-time published-time 3.23pm GMT

Clinton strong in Nevada early voting Jon Ralston, dean of Nevada journalism, has been tracking early voting in Nevada[http://www.ktnv.com/news/ralston/the-nevada-early-voting-blog] and he thinks Hillary Clinton looks strong.

Dems are up 15 points in Clark (it was 16 in 2012), which is a point above registration, and that firewall is going to get to 60,000-plus, unless something strange happens. I repeat: Trump appears to have no path here, but the Senate race is not quite over yet.

Nevada is one of three states, with Ohio and Florida, to have voted for every presidential winner since 1996; it’s also a very important state for Trump this year.

After Sunday, the Dems are leading in Nevada by 34,000 votes. So far voter turnout is 31% of all voters.

block-time published-time 3.07pm GMT

“Real events seem like the rehearsals for Saturday Night Live,” says billionaire Peter Thiel, kicking off his chat about why he’s backing Trump.

block-time published-time 3.03pm GMT

Billionaire Peter Thiel is about to address the National Press Club in DC about why he supports Donald Trump.

block-time published-time 3.00pm GMT

Former AGs speak out against Comey's handling of Clinton emails Former Attorney General Michael Mukasey penned an op-ed in the Wall Street Journal[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-fbi-directors-dishonorable-choice-1477863402] questioning the FBI’s handling of the entire investigation into Hillary Clinton’s emails.

The publicity around the case “do no credit to him [FBI chief James Comey], or to the leadership of the Justice Department, of which the FBI is a part,” writes Mukasey.

He continues:

Friday’s announcement had a history. Recall that Mr. Comey’s authority extends only to supervising the gathering of facts to be presented to Justice Department lawyers for their confidential determination of whether those facts justify a federal prosecution.

Nonetheless, in July he announced that “no reasonable prosecutor” would seek to charge her with a crime, although Mrs. Clinton had classified information on a private nonsecure server—at least a misdemeanor under one statute; and although she was “extremely careless” in her handling of classified information such that it was exposed to hacking by hostile foreign nations—a felony under another statute; and apparently had caused the destruction of emails—a felony under two other statutes. He then told Congress repeatedly that the investigation into her handling of emails was closed.

Those decisions were not his to make, nor were the reasons he offered for making them at all tenable: that prosecutions for anything but mishandling large amounts of classified information, accompanied by false statements to investigators, were unprecedented; and that criminal prosecutions for gross negligence were constitutionally suspect.

Former AG Eric Holder’s Washington Post op-ed[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/eric-holder-james-comey-is-a-good-man-but-he-made-a-serious-mistake/2016/10/30/08e7208e-9f07-11e6-8832-23a007c77bb4\_story.html?utm\_term=.bb2886061c76] today also points out Comey’s previous public statements in July about Clinton’s emails were problematic and against DOJ policy.

This controversy has its roots in the director’s July decision to hold a news conference announcing his recommendation that the Justice Department bring no charges against Hillary Clinton. Instead of making a private recommendation to the attorney general — consistent with Justice Department policy — he chose to publicly share his professional recommendation, as well as his personal opinions, about the case. That was a stunning breach of protocol. It may set a dangerous precedent for future investigations. It was wrong.

Over the weekend, the Clinton campaign got nearly 100 former federal prosecutors and Department of Justice officials, including Holder and former Deputy AG Larry Thompson, to sign an open letter questioning Comey’s behavior.

Perhaps most troubling to us is the precedent set by this departure from the Department’s widely-respected, non-partisan traditions. The admonitions that warn officials against making public statements during election periods have helped to maintain the independence and integrity of both the Department’s important work and public confidence in the hardworking men and women who conduct themselves in a nonpartisan manner.

We believe that adherence to longstanding Justice Department guidelines is the best practice when considering public statements on investigative matters. We do not question Director Comey’s motives. However, the fact remains that the Director’s disclosure has invited considerable, uninformed public speculation about the significance of newly-discovered material just days before a national election. For this reason, we believe the American people deserve all the facts, and fairness dictates releasing information that provides a full and complete picture regarding the material at issue.

The full letter is available on Clinton’s website[https://www.hillaryclinton.com/briefing/statements/2016/10/30/open-letter-from-former-federal-prosecutors-and-high-ranking-officials-of-the-u-s-department-of-justice/].

block-time published-time 2.39pm GMT

Peter Thiel to explain his support of Trump Controversial billionaire Peter Thiel, who secretly funded the Hulk Hogan lawsuit that shut Gawker down, will speak at the National Press Club in Washington, DC at 11am today about why he supports Donald Trump.

Thiel, a Facebook board member, donated $1.25 million to the Trump campaign two weeks ago.

He wants today’s address to be a dialogue.

“Ideally, this will have the give-and-take of debate,” he told the New York Times[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/31/technology/peter-thiel-defends-his-most-contrarian-move-yet-supporting-trump.html]. “Obviously, I’ll get some very tough questions about Trump. But I thought the best way to advance the discussion was not to have some completely contrived format. The future of this country depends on us engaging with the tough questions.”

block-time published-time 2.25pm GMT

Sport is surely more unpredictable than an election, but still.

enltrCubs have slightly better chance of winning World Series than Trump does winning Presidency. Split screen via @FiveThirtyEight[https://twitter.com/FiveThirtyEight] @jonkarl[https://twitter.com/jonkarl] pic.twitter.com/yx095451e1[https://t.co/yx095451e1]

— David Wright (@WrightUps) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/WrightUps/status/793086877846867969]block-time published-time 1.57pm GMT

Original 'Daisy girl' stars in Clinton nuclear weapons ad The original “Daisy girl”, from the 1964 Lyndon B Johnson ad warning of nuclear war, appears in a Hillary Clinton ad warning of Trump’s embracing of nuclear weapons.

“The fear of nuclear war that we had as children, I never thought our children would ever have to deal with that again. And to see that coming forward in that election is really scary,” says Monique Corzilius Luiz in the newly released ad.

enltr"The fear of nuclear war that we had as children, I never thought our children would ever have to deal with that again." pic.twitter.com/7LYCDaUau9[https://t.co/7LYCDaUau9]

— Hillary Clinton (@HillaryClinton) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/793072337960697857]And for old times sake, here’s the original Daisy ad (over 50 years later and it stands up well as a fear-inducing ad, don’t you think?).

block-time published-time 1.35pm GMT

On Thursday Melania Trump will deliver a speech in Philadelphia, her first since her address at the Republican National Convention in July, which was partly copied from a speech by Michelle Obama.

enltrNew: the next First Lady, @MELANIATRUMP[https://twitter.com/MELANIATRUMP], to deliver speech in suburban #Philly[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Philly?src=hash] on Thursday. #MAGA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/MAGA?src=hash]

— Kellyanne Conway (@KellyannePolls) October 30, 2016[https://twitter.com/KellyannePolls/status/792760066080473089]When Trump mentioned last week in an interview with George Stephanopoulos that Melania would be making two to three speeches before the election, she appeared surprised:

enltrDonald Trump tells @GMA[https://twitter.com/GMA] Melania will be making "two or three speeches" https://t.co/uK3nCE5p1h[https://t.co/uK3nCE5p1h] https://t.co/UFgEF1lcsT[https://t.co/UFgEF1lcsT]

— ABC News (@ABC) October 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/ABC/status/791605547862597632]block-time published-time 1.25pm GMT

Ex-congressman Joe Walsh - he of the recent “if Trump loses, I’m grabbing my musket” comments - may despise Hillary Clinton, but he doesn’t agree with FBI chief James Comey’s actions either.

enltrPolitics aside, James Comey has screwed this thing up from the get go.

He wrongly let her off in July & he wrongly stuck it to her Friday.

— Joe Walsh (@WalshFreedom) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/WalshFreedom/status/792892327337553921]enltrU may hate me, but I'll always say what I believe.

I want Trump to win, but what Comey just did to Hillary Is wrong & really unfair to her.

— Joe Walsh (@WalshFreedom) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/WalshFreedom/status/792898831134359553]enltrHillary is corrupt as hell, but the FBI Dir has no right to mess with an election.

He goes public cuz of emails no one has seen? Just wrong

— Joe Walsh (@WalshFreedom) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/WalshFreedom/status/792908247258783744]block-time published-time 12.33pm GMT

Happy Halloween and welcome to our live-wire coverage of the 2016 race for the White House. It’s a scary time for the Clinton campaign, after the director of the FBI alerted Congress on Friday to newly discovered emails[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-fbi-director-comey-emails] relating to the investigation into Hillary Clinton’s private email server. FBI chief James Comey has also had a fright, coming under fire for what might be seen as some rather partisan behavior.

The FBI has acquired a warrant[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-fbi-director-comey-emails] needed to examine thousands of emails found on a laptop used by Clinton’s top aide Huma Abedin, whose estranged husband, Anthony Weiner, is under investigation for allegedly sending illicit texts to a minor.

As many as 650,000 emails[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/laptop-may-include-thousands-of-emails-linked-to-hillary-clintons-private-server-1477854957] were found about a month ago during the separate investigation of Weiner, reports said. Some of them may have been sent through the Clinton private server and perhaps not examined by the FBI in its initial investigation of the Clinton emails, which ended with no charge in July.

Eight days out from the election, the effect of all this remains uncertain. Here, Dan Roberts asks if it will cost Clinton the election[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/hillary-clinton-lose-election-fbi-email-investigation]. Here, a Morning Consult/Politico poll[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/10/clinton-emails-comey-poll-politico-morning-consult-230519] has Clinton still three points ahead.

Related: James Comey: Hillary Clinton email inquiry is FBI chief's latest controversy[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/james-comey-fbi-director-hillary-clinton-email]

Comey slammed for election interference Eric Holder, attorney general in the Obama administration from 2009 to 2015, wrote an op-ed in the Washington Post[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/eric-holder-james-comey-is-a-good-man-but-he-made-a-serious-mistake/2016/10/30/08e7208e-9f07-11e6-8832-23a007c77bb4\_story.html?hpid=hp\_no-name\_opinion-card-e%3Ahomepage%2Fstory&utm\_term=.6091e9fe3bdf] saying Comey broke justice department policy by possibly interfering with an election and commenting on an ongoing investigation:

These rules have been followed during Republican and Democratic administrations. They aren’t designed to help any particular individual or to serve any political interest. Instead, they are intended to ensure that every investigation proceeds fairly and judiciously; to maintain the public trust in the department’s ability to do its job free of political influence; and to prevent investigations from unfairly or unintentionally casting public suspicion on public officials who have done nothing wrong.

Director Comey broke with these fundamental principles.

Holder joined dozens of formal federal prosecutors[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-fbi-director-comey-emails] criticizing Comey for contacting Congress about the emails just 11 days out from the election.

Senate minority leader Harry Reid, meanwhile, launched a blistering attack on Comey, accusing him of possibly violating the law:

My office has determined that these actions may violate the Hatch Act, which bars FBI officials from using their official authority to influence an election. Through your partisan action, you may have broken the law.

Reid also claimed, without citing evidence, that Comey’s FBI had withheld information about links between the Trump campaign and Russia.

Congressman Steve Cohen, a Democrat from Tennessee, called on Comey to resign:

If Director Comey cares about the bureau and the rule of law, as I have felt he has in the past, I’m sure upon reflection of this action, he will submit his letter of resignation for the nation’s good.

The Clinton campaign has called for Comey to explain what is going on – so far there is no indication that the FBI or Comey will clarify anything.

Related: Clinton emails: FBI gets warrant as Comey told he may have broken law[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-fbi-director-comey-emails]

Clinton camp goes quiet

Joe Scarborough, host of NBC’s Morning Joe, noted this morning that Clinton surrogates avoided coming on TV to discuss the email drama:

enltrWe have been asking Clinton campaign officials and senior Democrats to come on the show all weekend.

The invitation remains wide-open.

— Joe Scarborough (@JoeNBC) October 31, 2016[https://twitter.com/JoeNBC/status/793044973184815104] Where the rallies are today Today Trump is in Michigan, a state most expect to vote Democratic: he has a rally in Grand Rapids at 12pm, then another in Warren at 3pm. His VP pick, Mike Pence, is hosting three events in Florida. Clinton is in another battleground state, Ohio, hosting early vote rallies in Kent and Cincinnati. Her veep, Tim Kaine, is in North Carolina.

Please join us in the comments.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**US Treasury secretary tells Oxford Union there has been a rise in anxiety in many countries over the ‘lopsided’ economy

Liberal democracy and free market capitalism are under threat unless governments do more to tackle inequality, the US Treasury secretary has warned on a visit to the UK.

Jack Lew called for Britain and the EU to ensure their economies remain “highly integrated” when Britain leaves the bloc[http://uk.reuters.com/article/us-usa-treasury-lew-idUKKBN12V14Z]. He linked the vote for Brexit[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum] to a more general rise in anxiety among people over how economies have evolved and the “lopsided” nature of gains.

With just over a week to go to the US presidential election[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/us-elections-2016] and against the backdrop of a tight race[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/democratic-senators-fbi-director-comey-clinton-emails-letter] between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, Lew told an audience in Oxford that populism was on the rise in many countries, calling it “a challenge in so many parts of the world right now”.

Lew told the Oxford Union debating society: “Clearly it was an issue during the vote here and the decision whether or not to remain part of the European Union. It’s clearly a part of the elections taking place in the United States this year. And if you look around in Europe, it’s part of elections in so many countries in Europe.”

He said people’s worries about their economic situation and economic prospects stemmed from many sources, including technological changes and globalisation.

“In the United States – and I would hazard to say that this is true here in the vote for Brexit – there is some anxiety that flows from the way that the modern economy has evolved that is looking for a solution,” he said.

“Why don’t people feel good? They are looking at an economy that increasingly seems lopsided,” he added, saying many workers who paid tax felt wronged by what they saw a business tax system where “on the international side you see a whole lot of international firms organising themselves to avoid paying in some cases any taxes”.

The onus was on government to reform the tax system, to increase investment in people so that they have the right education and skills for the modern workplace and to spend on infrastructure, according to Lew, who has served as Treasury secretary under president Barack Obama since 2013 after a stint as White House chief of staff.

Without such moves, he predicted drastic long-term consequences. “We run the real risk that middle class, working class people say, ‘I see the economy is growing but I don’t see how I am going to benefit from it.’ The danger, if that is where things drift to, is not just a short-term political one, I actually think it’s a fundamental threat to liberal democracy and to free market capitalism.”

Without referring specifically to Trump and his proposal to build a wall between the US and Mexico, Lew also addressed rising concerns among voters over **immigration**.

“We have a history [in the US] of ‘everyone should have an opportunity’, and you look at the way the modern economy has evolved and people are beginning to question that proposition.

“When people question that proposition they lash out and historically one of the places people lash out is against outsiders. And I don’t think it’s a surprise to see that when people are anxious they lash out on issues like **immigration**. But the answer is not to put up borders that are impermeable … but it’s also not to ignore the anxieties,” Lew told his audience in Oxford.

Related: There's comfort in the GDP figures – but it's strictly early days[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/27/theres-comfort-gdp-figures-early-days-philip-hammond]

Touching on a debate at the heart of the UK’s referendum battle, when pro-Brexit MP Michael Gove remarked “people in this country have had enough of experts”[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/09/michael-gove-experts-academics-vote], Lew also raised concerns about widespread scepticism over fact-based analysis.

“I fear that there is a growing distrust of authorities in general … The alternative to relying on expert analysis is making decisions more emotionally and that worries me,” he said.

He also championed US efforts to strike free trade deals but said politicians had a responsibility to convey to people how those trade deals were improving economic growth and living standards. Barriers, on the other hand, hindered economic growth, he added, in another apparent dig at Trump’s protectionist policies.

Lew also congratulated himself and his administration for progress made on shoring up financial stability since the global crisis.

He said conversations with big banks in the week after the Brexit vote showed him that moves to build up capital and readiness to deal with shocks was paying dividends. But he stressed that the fact the global economy had been able to withstand shocks like the referendum should not lead to complacency.

“We should never take our eye off the ball in terms of asking what is the threat of the future … False complacency is a thing to worry about,” he said.

Earlier on Monday, Lew met with bank bosses in London. Following the discussions his spokeswoman relayed the Treasury secretary’s pleas for an orderly Brexit process. “The secretary reiterated that a transparent, smooth and cooperative process that results in a highly integrated economic relationship is in the best interests of Europe, the United States, and the global economy,” she said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Officers carry out identity checks and bulldoze tents near Métro station amid calls for action to find people shelter

French police have carried out identity checks on migrants and **refugees** sleeping rough in a camp in northern Paris and bulldozed dozens of tents, sparking anger in the city.

The operation started shortly after 8am on Monday and took humanitarian organisations by surprise. People considered eligible to apply for asylum were taken away by bus; others were threatened with expulsion. Many were scrambling to retrieve their few belongings as the clearing operation began.

The rough sleepers, many of them from Afghanistan, claimed they had no time to collect their belongings, including tents and sleeping bags, as riot police were drafted in to clear the area.

“We are human, not animals. We need help and you’re treating us like dogs,” one shouted at an officer. “We need homes, we need to be protected, not this,” said another.

Houssam El Assimi, of the humanitarian organisation La Chapelle Debout, said: “This is a roundup. They are throwing people on to the streets … and taking others into detention.”

The group later condemned the operation and said people were being sent to unsuitable and insanitary accommodation while awaiting their fate.

In a statement, the group said: “The term ‘giving them shelter’ can sometimes mean institutional mistreatment, insalubrious lodgings, a lack of support from social, legal and health services.

“What’s more, it’s a complete waste of taxpayers’ money.”

The shanty town of tents and cardboard shelters under the arches of Stalingrad Métro bridge in northern Paris, not far from the Eurostar terminal at the Gare du Nord, is home to about 2,500 migrants and **refugees**, according to officials. Support groups claim the number exceeds 3,000.

At the weekend, the French president, François Hollande, vowed to evacuate the Stalingrad settlement, saying Paris had a “duty to receive” migrants and **refugees**.

The French authorities described Monday’s action as an “administrative control” before an eventual evacuation of the camp. No date for the dismantling of the ad-hoc settlement has been given. On Saturday, the prime minister, Manuel Valls, said it would happen in the coming week.

Anne Hidalgo, the mayor of Paris, wrote to the interior and housing ministers to stress the need for dismantling the Stalingrad camp and find accommodation for its inhabitants. She described it as “a dramatic humanitarian and health issue”.

“The situation has become unacceptable, as much for the local population as for the migrants. We insist there is an absolute necessity to find shelter for these people,” she wrote.

“This method of waiting for the situation to reach crisis point before housing them has gone on for too long.”

It is the third time the French authorities have broken up the camp since January. Within weeks, people returned or new arrivals set up home under the Métro. Up to 80 new migrants and **refugees** are believed to turn up in the French capital every day.

Ian Brossat, a deputy mayor in the city, told France Télévisions: “This situation has become unacceptable and brings shame on our country. To see people in the streets, in these makeshift camps in the sixth biggest economic power in the world is clearly not acceptable.”

Asked whether the numbers had been boosted following the closure of the **refugee** camp at Calais, Brossat added: “It’s hard to say, but it doesn’t matter. It’s enough that they are there and it’s high time that the operation to find them shelter was carried out.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Republican presidential nominee makes outlandish **immigration** claim at a rally in New Mexico while also stoking fears of voting fraud in Colorado

Donald Trump falsely claimed at a rally on Sunday that Hillary Clinton wants to let “650 million people pour in” to the US and “triple the size of our country in one week”.

Speaking in an airplane hangar in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Trump again pushed his hardline **immigration** stance and warned of the dangers posed by what he described as Clinton’s “open borders” policy.

Trump took his alarmist rhetoric to a new height when boasting about his endorsement from the union which represents ICE and border patrol officers. He told them: “You know, it would be much easier working for Obama or working for crooked Hillary because frankly when you’re working for Hillary, she wants to let people just pour in.”

Trump continued: “You could have 650 million people pour in and we do nothing about it. Think of it, that’s what could happen. You triple the size of our country in one week. Once you lose control of your borders you have no country.”

The Republican nominee’s campaign has long used strident rhetoric about **immigration**. He alleged in his June 2015 campaign announcement that the Mexican government was deliberately sending rapists[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/02/donald-trump-racist-claims-mexico-rapes] across the border and has repeatedly compared Syrian **refugees** to “the Trojan horse”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/donald-trump-syria-refugees-us-immigration-security-terrorism].

Trump though has never suggested that Clinton, whom he has long derided as “a globalist”, supported tripling the size of the US through a mass migration unprecedented in world history.

Although Clinton is long on the record in favor of comprehensive **immigration** reform and a path to citizenship for undocumented **immigrants**, there is no evidence she favors increasing the US population by 650 million, a total roughly equal to the combined population of Canada, Mexico and the European Union.

Related: Kellyanne Conway: Trump fan yelling ‘Jew-S-A’ behaved in ‘deplorable’ way[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/donald-trump-rally-jew-s-a-media-kellyanne-conway]

Trump’s comments on **immigration** came hours after he further stoked[http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/30/politics/donald-trump-write-in-ballots/index.html] fears of election fraud in a rally in Colorado.

There, in a state where all voters can vote by mail, he suggested the electoral process was insecure and that his supporters should show up in person at polling places on election day and request a new ballot.

The Republican nominee has long suggested without basis that, as part of “a rigged system”, there is major in-person voter fraud in the US. A recent study found only 31 cases of in-person voter fraud out of a billion ballots cast between 2000-2014.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It is a year since the Iraqi city was liberated, but people are slow to return, reeling from the damage inflicted by their former captors

Beside the sun-bleached bones, the tangles of human hair and greying piles of clothes exposed by wind and rain, a leaflet newly dropped by the Iraqi army fluttered in the wind. “We are coming to save you from Isis!” the text announced, two years too late for those buried in the mass grave below.

Ten minutes’ drive away is the ruined city of Sinjar, where whole streets lie in rubble, shop shutters are still branded with the religion of their owners – Islamic State marked them so that militants knew where to loot – and every tangle of steel and stone could hide an unexploded bomb.

Sinjar and the region around it in northern Iraq, a centre for the minority Yazidi group and symbol of their suffering under Isis, was liberated nearly a year ago[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/13/tyranny-has-gone-kurds-and-yazidis-celebrate-recapture-of-sinjar-from-isis]. But since then there has been little clearance, no rebuilding, and no formal investigation of the mass graves that have been found – although some are now marked by wire fence or tape. There has been no restoration of public services or call for **refugees** to return.

The whole area still feels ghostly and abandoned, still waiting for life to return nearly a year after Isis left. The only residents are cats, wary soldiers, and a few shopkeepers who serve them. The destruction is so complete that officials are considering leaving the ruins as a monument to their people’s suffering.

“Seventy percent of the city is destroyed. There is an idea to build a new Sinjar and keep this just for a memorial,” said local government spokesman Nasir Pasha Khalaf. “Clearing this and rebuilding will be more expensive than just starting again.”

As the militant group is pushed slowly out of Mosul and strongholds in the villages surrounding it, the glacial pace of recovery is a bleak warning of the challenges ahead; a reminder that getting rid of the fighters is just the end of the beginning.

Related: The cunning and cruel bombs used by Isis to stall the Mosul offensive[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/29/isis-booby-trapped-toys-mosul]

This is partly because the damage to communities under Isis rule was not just physical. Militants blew up streets, homes and churches, but also exploded the delicate web of relationships, political and personal, that held together one of Iraq’s most religiously diverse regions.

The trust that once meant Yazidis and Muslims served as godparents for one another’s children has been shattered, with many **refugees** saying neighbours joined Isis to persecute them. One of the group’s top emirs, or commanders, in the area came from the city. “They were all local people, hitting us, kicking us with cables, telling us we must convert,” said one Sinjar woman in her late 50s who was captured by Isis and held for nearly a year. She asked not to be named to protect relatives who were still in captivity.

In Sinjar city the Arabic letter Y, scrawled on buildings to alert Isis members to Yazidi property, provides further testament to the fact that attackers knew the families they would enslave and massacre.

The persecutors were particularly cruel to a group they branded “devil worshippers” for their reverence of a peacock angel. Many Yazidi **refugees** say they will struggle to live alongside Sunni Muslim neighbours again while the memory of Isis atrocities that some participated in is still fresh, particularly the mass graves dotted around the area.

Arabs may also be wary of punishment for actual or suspected collaboration. Several Arab villages on the road to Sinjar mountain have emptied since the militants fled last year[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/24/after-isis-kurds-arabs-iraq-peshmerga-islamic-state-zumar], and now lie just as ruined as those laid waste by militants.

The pre-Isis order is probably gone for ever, and helping frightened communities build a new one is a challenge that authorities will likely face across the Nineveh plains around Mosul, one of the most diverse places in Iraq.

When state-sanctioned Shia militias this week announced that 5,000 fighters had joined the push for Mosul[http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/iraqs-shiite-militias-thousands-join-push-mosul-area-43170926], in an area south-east of Sinjar near the city of Tel Afar, it rekindled anxieties about whether Iraq can contain the sectarian and religious tensions exploited and exacerbated by Isis, and prompted a sharp rebuke from Turkey.

“Tel Afar is an entirely Turkmen town. If Hashd al-Shaabi starts terrorising it, then our response will certainly be different,” said Turkey’s president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, using the Arabic name for the militia group.

One big obstacle to the rebuilding of Sinjar is the frontline still just a few kilometres away. Its streets are still within mortar range. Isis recently launched two failed but bold suicide assaults on the city, perhaps trying to draw troops and focus away from the battle for Mosul.

In one attack, a squad tried to punch through peshmerga defences with armoured bulldozers, and used an improvised bridge soldered to a vehicle to cross berms in the road. They were stopped, and one fighter was captured, some distance from the city, but the fighting is still unnerving for some.

“We came back because of our sheep,” said Laila, 56, preparing an olive crop in an empty house near their damaged former home in which she is squatting with her husband and son. “But now the security situation is getting worse, so we think we might leave again.”

Even on the other side of the massive Sinjar mountain, which sheltered hundreds of thousands from Isis in August 2014 and still houses more than 2,000 **refugees**, there is fear and suspicion.

Yazidis are reluctant to entrust their lives again to the Kurdish peshmerga forces, who effectively abandoned them to massacres and sexual slavery by fleeing their posts as Isis advanced. They have little more faith in the Iraqi army.

Related: Islamic State using hostages as human shields in Mosul - UN[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/28/islamic-state-uses-hostages-as-human-shields-mosul-says-un]

“We want internationally (sic) forces” reads graffiti scrawled on the shutters of a shop in the town of Snuni, on the other side of the mountain.

And while the town escaped with little physical damage, because Isis only stayed there for a few months, the political fallout from the fight against the terrorist group has effectively blocked its restoration.

Syrian Kurdish fighters who had been trying to stake out a presence in the area before Isis swept in were the first group to take up arms for Yazidis, winning huge popular support from locals but bitter resentment from the government of Iraqi Kurdistan, and igniting simmering rivalry into full-blown confrontation.

The two groups have since recruited widely from among Yazidis, and their dozens of fighters face off around the mountain. The area is dotted with rival checkpoints, billboards of competing martyrs and jumpy guards.

The showdown appears to have blocked any attempt to restore power or water, restart schools or encourage the hundreds of thousands of **refugees** stranded in camps to return home. Some Yazidis fear that the hollowing out of local services and life may be intentional.

“Everybody would come back if there were public services, water and electricity,” said Saoud Fahad, a 24-year-old who runs a money-changing shop, and came home within days of Isis’ departure. “We went to the mountain when Isis came, but as soon as they left, I came back and rented this shop,” he said. “We believed that if we left, and everyone left, there would be no more Yazidis in the mountain.”

In nearby Sinjar city, a sprawl of fading graffiti in an Isis office boasts, “The caliphate will endure.” Though Islamic State itself may be gone, its politics of hate and violence still cast a long shadow.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Agency to investigate emails on Clinton aide’s computer; Dakota pipeline protesters plan ‘last stand’; Springsteen shares what he learned from his mom

FBI obtains warrant to search Clinton aide’s laptop The FBI has obtained a warrant to investigate emails found on a laptop used by Clinton aide Huma Abedin, as part of its investigation into the Democratic presidential candidate’s use of a private email server while serving as secretary of state. The move came as the Senate minority leader, Harry Reid, said the FBI director, James Comey[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/james-comey-fbi-director-hillary-clinton-email], may have broken the Hatch Act, which bars federal officials from using their official authority to influence an election, by his decision to send a letter to Republican congressional committee chairs on Friday announcing the new development. That showed “clear intent to aid one political party over another”, Reid said, adding a claim that Comey was not releasing information linking the Trump campaign to Russia. Reports said FBI investigators had known for weeks they might find pertinent emails on Abedin’s device, which was shared with her estranged husband Anthony Weiner, who is under investigation over alleged illicit texts to a minor. Clinton called on Comey to “put it all out on the table”; Donald Trump said the email scandal was “worse than Watergate”.

Clinton emails inquiry: FBI gets warrant as Comey told he may have broken law[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-fbi-director-comey-emails]

Will Hillary Clinton lose?

The Democrat is losing support just as the Republican is experiencing a resurgence. While Clinton still stands to win, a shift in sentiment appears to have begun with the WikiLeaks release of emails that showed how much even Clinton aides worried about blurred boundaries between business, charitable and political interests. In an election that many describe as an unpopularity contest, it may not take much more to swing the mood of independents. A Monday morning Consult/Politico poll, though, still had Clinton in the lead[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/10/clinton-emails-comey-poll-politico-morning-consult-230519], eight days out from the vote.

Will Hillary Clinton lose the US election because of the FBI email investigation?[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/hillary-clinton-lose-election-fbi-email-investigation]

How the world sees the US election Many countries have shown a preference for Clinton but Trump has pockets of support, as Guardian journalists around the world explain. In Russia, warm words about Putin from Trump and a slightly more positive tone of television coverage relating to the real estate tycoon have both left their mark. A Russian poll found that 22% of Russians had a positive opinion of Trump, compared with just 8% for Clinton. In Mexico, Trump’s rise has stirred unease and indignation. Iranians have been amused by the bitter rivalry been Clinton and Trump. In an unprecedented move, state TV broadcast the last presidential debate.

How the world views the US elections, from Israel to North Korea[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/31/world-opinion-us-election-russia-china-mexico-europe]

Dakota pipeline: protesters plan ‘last stand’ Native American protesters are preparing to take a “last stand” against the Dakota Access pipeline this week. The Standing Rock protesters in North Dakota have been fighting the $3.8 bn pipeline[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/01/native-american-north-dakota-oil-pipeline-protest] since April but were dealt a blow last week when police raided their camps and arrested hundreds[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/29/dakota-access-pipeline-native-american-protesters], paving the way for construction of the final stretch of the controversial oil project. “There isn’t much land left between the water and the equipment,” said Cheryl Angel, a member of the Sicangu Lakota tribe. “They’re right there. They have breached our sacred ground.”

Dakota Access pipeline protesters set for ‘last stand’ on banks of Missouri river[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/31/north-dakota-access-pipeline-protest-last-stand]

Oakland ‘mega-evictor’ serves 3,000 notices A pro-tenant group says a landlord who has a seat in Oakland’s housing cabinet is also the top evictor in the city, where a housing shortage has reached crisis levels. William Rosetti and his firms have filed more than 3,000 eviction notices, the first step in removing a tenant, making the Bay Area real estate executive Oakland’s No1 “mega-evictor”.

Oakland’s ‘mega-evictor’, the landlord who filed over 3,000 eviction notices[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/31/oakland-eviction-notices-affordable-housing-crisis-rent-bay-area]

Sinjar, one year on Beside the sun-bleached bones, the tangles of human hair and greying piles of clothes exposed by wind and rain, a leaflet newly dropped by the Iraqi army fluttered in the wind. “We are coming to save you from Isis!” the text announced. Too late for those buried in the mass grave below, writes Emma Graham-Harrison. Sinjar, a centre for the minority Yazidi group and symbol of their suffering under the Islamic State, was liberated nearly a year ago. The whole area still feels ghostly and abandoned, still waiting for life to return.

Fear and suspicion haunt Sinjar a year after liberation from Isis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/31/fear-and-suspicion-haunt-sinjar-a-year-after-liberation-from-isis-mosul]

Support the Guardian’s fearless journalism The Guardian is an independent voice in this year’s election. That means no bias or corporate owner influencing our coverage. But in-depth political reporting takes a lot of time, money and hard work to produce. If everyone who reads our coverage helps to pay for it, our future will be more secure. Support the Guardian with a monthly payment, or a one-off contribution.

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Brexit points Jewish **refugees**’ descendants back towards Germany Following the British vote to leave the European Union, descendants of tens of thousands of German Jews who fled the Nazis are making use of their legal right to become German citizens. German authorities have reported a twentyfold increase in the number of restored citizenship applications – a right reserved for anybody who was persecuted on political, racial or religious grounds during the Nazi dictatorship, as well as their descendants. The chairman of the UK Association of Jewish **Refugees**[http://www.ajr.org.uk/] said that for many, applying for citizenship of a country that treated their ancestors so badly was a “considerable psychological challenge”.

Descendants of Jewish **refugees** seek German citizenship after Brexit vote[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/30/uk-descendants-of-jewish-refugees-seek-german-citizenship-after-brexit-vote]

Cubs hopes stay alive as fans wave the W flag The W flag is what the Cubs traditionally fly at Wrigley Field, writes Greg Couch, and it went up on Sunday night when the Cubs beat the Cleveland Indians 3-2 in Game Five of the World Series – the first time the team has won in the series at home since 1945. It must be an incredible feeling to be a Chicago Cubs player, Couch writes. You walk around town and everyone is talking about you, cheering you, thanking you, loving you, telling you how fantastic you are, naming breakfast cereals after you. The series stands at 3-2 to the Indians: Game Six is on Tuesday in Cleveland.

Aroldis Chapman shines to keep Cubs’ World Series alive[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/oct/30/world-series-chicago-cubs-cleveland-indians-game-5-aroldis-chapman]

A world without animals A couple of years ago, we heard news that the population of all vertebrate species had fallen by 50% in 40 years. On Thursday, we were told that by 2020 the figure is likely to rise to 66% of all vertebrates. It’s no wonder conservationists are shouting. They are desperate to get their message heard. Animals, it seems, are on the way out. And no one appears to much care.

Imagine a world without animals. You’ll soon see how much we need them[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/31/world-without-animals-pollinating-crops]

Mixed blessings of mezcal’s popularity Mezcal, tequila’s stronger and smokier relative, has become a staple spirit in trendy bars across Mexico and the US, and it has inevitably attracted the interest of global alcohol giants. Traditionally produced in small batches by farmers who use artisanal methods, the agave-based drink has struck a chord with the growing sector of consumers passionate about slow food, farmers’ markets and craft drinks. Local growers, though, are worried a unique spirit is under threat.

Mezcal’s meteoric rise continues, but not all industry insiders are ready to toast[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/29/mezcal-spirits-tequilla-meteoric-rise]

In case you missed it … On a UK tour promoting his autobiography, Born to Run, Bruce Springsteen says politics is about the way you live your life – a system of belief he learned from his mom. “My mother was basically decent, compassionate, strong, willful,” he told the Guardian’s Michael Hann. “She insisted on creating a world where she could make her children feel as safe as possible, even though she certainly had her faults in that area. But she was consistent. You could count on her. Day after day after day. And she was very strong.”

Bruce Springsteen: ‘You can change a life in three minutes with the right song’[https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/oct/30/bruce-springsteen-interview-born-to-run-change-someones-life-right-song-donald-trump]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**While many countries have shown a preference for Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump has pockets of support, as Guardian journalists around the world explain

Russia Russia has played an unexpectedly prominent role in this year’s US election, although the extent of the Kremlin’s involvement in hacking Democratic servers[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/16/putin-russia-us-democrats-hacking-cyber-attacks] and the WikiLeaks disclosures will probably never be known.

What is clear is that Moscow has enjoyed making trouble. Vladimir Putin has a personal dislike of Hillary Clinton going back to her time as secretary of state, while Trump fits perfectly into the mould of “chaos candidates” that Russia has supported in other western countries.

It would take a conspiracy theorist to believe Trump is actually a Kremlin stooge rather than simply a “useful idiot”, and some in Russia believed a Trump presidency could actually have more potential for conflict than a Clinton one.

Related: Entire US political system ‘under attack’ by Russian hacking, experts warn[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/oct/14/hillary-clinton-email-hack-russia-cybersecurity]

Under Clinton, relations would be unlikely to be rosy but would probably stay within a long-established paradigm of mutual distrust and limited cooperation on certain issues.

US politics tends to be portrayed as driven by geopolitical interests rather than personalities, and so most ordinary Russians assume that little will change, whoeverwins. Still, the warm words about Putin from Trump, and the slightly more positive tone of television coverage relating to the real estate tycoon, have both left their mark. A poll over the summer found that 22% of Russians had a positive opinion of Trump, compared with just 8% for Clinton.

Shaun Walker[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/shaun-walker] in Moscow

Mexico

Trump’s rise has stirred more unease and indignation in Mexico[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/23/donald-trump-mexico-government-erique-pena-nieto] than perhaps any other country. He launched his campaign by describing Mexican migrants as rapists and robbers and promised to build a border wall, with Mexico paying.

Trump’s wall and his pledges to rip up the North American Free Trade Agreement, or Nafta, and slap tariffs on Mexican-made products have also caused preoccupation in business circles, which over the past 25 years have bet on closer US relations.

Mexicans have responded by mocking Trump with memes, lampooning him with piñatas and burning him in effigy[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/25/mexicans-donald-trump-effigy-easter-judas], but ironically the candidate may have ceded the position of most-hated political figure to Mexico’s own president. Enrique Peña Nieto was widely rebuked for sharing a platform with Trump at the presidential palace in August and failing to challenge his anti-Mexican comments.

Meanwhile, Trump has frequently been compared to Mexico’s own perennial outsider, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, a leftwing populist who has twice refused to accept election results which went against him.

Other parts of Trump’s discourse sound eerily familiar to Mexicans, such as his pledge to lock up his opponent.

Some have even mused that Trump has finally cracked the idea that the US is a model for Mexico. “I’ve never felt so third world as when I saw the gringos in crisis because things could happen there that already happened here,” tweeted Esteban Illades, editor of the Mexican magazine Nexos.

David Agren[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/david-agren] in Mexico City

Iran In Tehran, one thing is certain: no matter which candidate wins the US presidential race, Iran will face a tougher time ahead. Even Hillary Clinton – seen in Tehran as the lesser of the two evils – has consistently been more hawkish on Iran than Barack Obama.

But Iranians have been amused by the bitter rivalry been Clinton and Trump and in an unprecedented move, state TV broadcast the last presidential debate.

Trump’s talk of election-rigging gave hardliners a sense of schadenfreude, reminding them of Washington’s accusations that Iran’s 2009 vote was rigged. Meanwhile, the tycoon’s toxic rhetoric and use of the media remind many of their own former president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

Although Clinton served as secretary of state under Obama, she is mainly seen as the architect of the economic sanctions that brought Iran back to the negotiating table, rather than the person who secured last year’s nuclear deal. Credit for the landmark deal goes to her successor, John Kerry.

Related: Iranian view of Donald Trump: familiar but no atomic challenger[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/iran-blog/2016/apr/29/iran-view-donald-trump-ahmadinejad-us-presidential-race-nuclear-deal-hillary-clinton]

Iranians have not forgotten Clinton’s past comments on Iran, and an extract from a 2008 interview with ABC has been shared widely on social media. In the clip, she says: “I want the Iranians to know that if I’m the president, we will attack Iran... we would be able to totally obliterate them.” The comments came after a question about a hypothetical Iranian attack against Israel but have been circulated more recently out of context.

Analyst Ahmad Shirzad told the reformist newspaper Shargh that Obama had been “Iran’s best choice” to avoid confrontation – and that it was unlikely that Clinton would match him.

Saeed Kamali Dehghan[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/saeedkamalidehghan], Iran correspondent

China

The rulers of one-party China are not known for asking the masses what they think of their political masters, and there have been no official polls on the US elections.

But the Communist party has made no attempt to disguise its own delight at the political turmoil unfolding on the other side of the Pacific.

“For a long time, many Americans regarded US democracy as the gold standard,” one prominent scholar mused[http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1012141.shtml] in the party-run Global Times newspaper. “But more and more Americans feel shame about this kind of democracy, and this year’s election.

“Chinese people can evaluate the US system of democracy when watching its general election.”

A study released last month by the Pew Research Center[http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/10/05/2-china-and-the-world/] suggested that if China could vote, Hillary Clinton would come out on top.

Pew said 37% of Chinese held a positive view of Clinton compared to just 22% for her Republican rival. Forty per cent viewed Trump unfavourably against 35% for Clinton.

Those figures may reflect a distaste for the way in which Trump has made China-bashing a recurrent feature of his campaign, accusing it of “raping” the US and creating global warming as a “hoax”.

They might also speak to approval for Clinton’s outspokenness on civil rights issues. Chinese feminists still revere Clinton for a 1995 speech she gave at a UNconference in Beijing in which she declared: “Human rights are women’s rights – and women’s rights are human rights[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xXM4E23Efvk].”

But if the people prefer Clinton, some suspect the party itself is secretly hoping a Trump presidency would boost China’s quest for superpower status by dealing a severe blow to its main rival.

Tom Phillips[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/tomphillips] in Beijing

Canada The American election has been closely watched north of the border, with many in Canada nervously wondering who will end up at the helm of Canada’s largest trading partner.

The US accounted for 60% of Canada’s global trade in 2014, a relationship underpinned by Nafta. Trump, who has described the agreement as “the worst trade deal in history,” [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/29/obama-trudeau-pena-nieto-ottawa-trump-brexit] has vowed to renegotiate the terms and would move to withdraw the US from the deal if Canada and Mexico refuse.

Polls suggest Canadians overwhelmingly support Hillary Clinton, with up to 80% of Canadians saying they would cast their vote for her. But Trump has attracted a small, but loyal legion of fans in Canada[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/22/canadians-4-donald-trump-us-election-politics] who say his promise to green-light the Keystone XL pipeline shows that a Trump presidency could benefit to Canada.

Little about Clinton’s campaign has been discussed in Canada. Instead her candidacy has come to be defined by who she is not: Trump. Canadian politicians on both the left and right have voiced concerns over the Republican nominee,

but Justin Trudeau, Canada’s prime minister, has repeatedly shied away from offering his views on the candidates. “I’m not going to pick a fight with Donald Trump right now. I’m not going to support him either, obviously,” he told a forum in early March.[http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-huffington-post-town-hall-1.3479722]

It was a softening of the stance he took in December when he described Trump’s proposal to bar foreign Muslims as “ignorant [and] irresponsible”.

But Trudeau has since become increasingly tight-lipped, heeding advisors who warn that Canada must not be perceived to be interfering in the American election.

Ashifa Kassam[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/ashifa-kassam] in Toronto

Israel No foreign relationship is more important to Israelis than the relationship with the US, and the scrutiny of potential occupants of the White House has had all the passionate intensity of the weighing of a potential prom night date.[http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/US-elections-Who-is-best-for-Israel-America-and-the-world-447273]

After the Obama-Netanyahu years, which have been marked by a frosty and difficult relationship, the question – boiled to its crude simplicities – is whether Hillary would be more friendly than Obama[http://www.timesofisrael.com/leaked-emails-show-hillary-keen-to-patch-things-up-with-netanyahu/] and whether Trump, despite his pro-Israel noises, is tainted by the antisemitism of some of his supporters.

Oddly, given the history of Obama’s relationship with the Israeli prime minister and Benjamin Netanyahu’s controversial speech to Congress[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/03/netanyuahu-congress-iran-nuclear-deal-path-to-bomb] opposing the Iran deal, Netanyahu has been unexpectedly cautious on the elections.

Of more immediate concern to Netanyahu and his allies in recent weeks has been whether, in the time between election day and the inauguration, Obama might launch or support a new initiative on the Israel-Palestine peace process.

Netanyahu met both candidates[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/23/benjamin-netanyahu-israel-trump-clinton-meeting] during his visit during the UN general assembly but otherwise has been discreet – although Israel Hayom, the free mass distribution paper nicknamed the “Bibiton” for its support of Netanyahu, has seemed most sympathetic of the Israeli media to Trump.

Related: Donald Trump links Mexico border wall plan to Israel's 'successful' separation barrier[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/26/donald-trump-links-mexico-border-wall-plan-to-israels-successful-separation-barrier]

If there has been less interest in Hillary Clinton it is because she is seen as a known quantity, cautiously regarded as more supportive of Israel than Obama.

Trump, however, is seen as a different issue. Although he has said he “would be great for Israel” and has pointed to his Jewish son-in-law Jared Kushner, others remember earlier comments where he said he would be neutral on the Israel-Palestine issue.

The reality is that despite his sometimes strongly pro-Israel statements (and the apparent support of one of Netanyahu’s biggest backers, the casino magnate Sheldon Adelson) Trump alarms many Israelis.[http://www.haaretz.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/opinion/1.700648]

Where they see in Clinton a continuation of a status quo and experience of the region, Trump’s approach to foreign policy is seen as wayward, imprecise at best, and contradictory.

His comments in December to the Republican Jewish Coalition, in which he said he suspected many members wouldn’t back him because he was rich and didn’t want their contributions, was seen by some in the Israeli media as reinforcing stereotyping of Jews.

His stance on other other issues, including **immigration**, and his racist remarks about Mexican migrants were also seen as deeply uncomfortable.

More serious still has been the kind of people that Trump has attracted and the views of people and groups Trump himself has retweeted.

The liberal daily Haaretz framed the question in a bald but careful headline: Donald Trump an anti-Semite? Israel’s Top GOP Supporter Insists Otherwise.[http://www.haaretz.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/world-news/u-s-election-2016/.premium-1.748122]

Peter Beaumont[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/peterbeaumont] in Jerusalem

Middle East In the Middle East, many are wary of what a new president in the Oval Office will mean for American policy in the region. Washington’s traditional allies are eager for a more hawkish leader than Obama, whose nuclear deal with Iran and reluctance to deploy US forces against the regime of Bashar al-Assad in Syria have fueled fears of an American realignment towards Tehran and away from the Arabian Gulf states.

While Clinton is often seen as a known quantity in the region – and one who is more likely to defend America’s longtime allies and clients – most see Trump as an unknown whose unpredictability could further destabilize the region.

Trump’s incendiary comments on banning Muslims from entering the country have also aroused disbelief and mockery, but social media users often note that Trump’s populist demagoguery matches that deployed by Arab despots.

Others in the region see the Trump candidacy as a symbol of Western democracy and values gone awry, hinting at a more profound global realignment.

“From our point of view, the revolutions of the Arab spring were an inflection point to measure the West’s strength in defending democracy, and they failed,” wrote Jamil Matar, a columnist in the Lebanese newspaper Assafir. “What hope now do we have in a West that is in constant decline?”

Kareem Shaheen[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/kareem-shaheen] in Beirut

North Korea Kim Jong-un is hoping Donald Trump will be the next occupant of the White House. The North Korean leader has not publicly commented on the US presidential election, but if state media is to be believed, Trump represents his best hope of engagement with the west.

The DPRK Today newspaper has described the billionaire property mogul as a “wise politician” and “prescient presidential candidate”.

“It turns out that Trump is not the rough-talking, screwy, ignorant candidate they say he is, but is actually a wise politician and a prescient presidential candidate,” Han Yong-muk wrote in a column.

Related: Donald Trump on North Korea going to war: 'Good luck, enjoy yourself folks'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/02/donald-trump-north-korea-war-nuclear-weapons]

Residents of the North Korean capital, Pyongyang, believe Trump would be more open to dialogue – a key regime demand that would allow it to use its nuclear programme to secure a no-first-strike guarantee from the US and the resumption of international aid.

Keisuke Fukuda, a Japanese journalist with Toyo Keizai magazine, said he had interviewed North Korean citizens who were “looking forward to change” in Washington’s political direction.

The desire to talk appears to be reciprocal. In June, Trump said he would welcome a visit to the US by Kim Jong-un, although he would stop short of honouring the dictator with an official state dinner.

Despite North Korea’s growing isolation, eight years of the Obama presidency have not been all bad for the country. Clinton’s approach to the regime is not expected to differ significantly from Obama’s policy of sanctions and international isolation – measures she supported as secretary of state and which have failed to dent Kim’s missile and nuclear weapons programmes.

Trump has called on China to do more to rein in Pyongyang’s nuclear ambitions – perhaps the only North Korea initiative on which he and Clinton agree.

Justin McCurry[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/justinmccurry]

Japan and South Korea North Korea’s apparent enthusiasm for a Trump presidency could be connected to his desire to dismantle the postwar arrangements that many believe have ensured the security of the US’s most important allies in the Asia-Pacific, Japan and South Korea.

In a campaign speech late last year, Trump described Japan, where 47,000 US troops are based, as a security freeloader. “If somebody attacks Japan, we have to immediately go and start world war III, OK? If we get attacked, Japan doesn’t have to help us,” he said. “Somehow, that doesn’t sound so fair.”

Trump’s frequent claim that Japan is taking advantage of US largesse is inaccurate. Tokyo contributes ¥192bn ($1.84bn) a year towards maintaining the US military presence. US bases in Japan cost about $5.5bn a year, according to the Pentagon, about half of which goes on salaries and other personnel costs.

South Korea, meanwhile, contributes $850m a year – about half the cost of maintaining 28,500 troops on the southern side of the heavily fortified border that divides the Korean peninsula.

Yet Trump has returned to the theme throughout the campaign: “As far as Japan and other countries, we are being ripped off by everybody in the world,” he said at an event in Las Vegas. “We’re defending other countries, we’re spending a fortune doing it. We have to tell Japan, in a very nice way, we have to tell Germany, all these countries, South Korea, we have a say, ‘You have to help us out.’”

More alarming than Trump’s claim that Japan is not pulling its weight on bilateral security ties is his suggestion that Japan and South Korea should end their dependence on the US nuclear umbrella and develop their own nuclear deterrents.

That, many analysts agree, could spark an Asia-Pacific arms race that would further destabilise an already tense region.

Justin McCurry[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/justinmccurry] in Tokyo

Afghanistan Just as Afghanistan has been almost entirely absent from the two presidential campaigns, neither are the US elections a topic of debate in Afghan media, where the war with the Taliban and domestic political chaos take up most of the bandwidth.

To the extent the elections are discussed by ordinary Afghans, conversations centre around Trump, particularly his demonization of Muslims, which gathered pace after the Orlando nightclub shooting in June. The perpetrator, Omar Mateen, was of Afghan origin, and Trump’s explicit linking of Afghans to terrorism earned him widespread contempt.

Afghans in general seem unsure of what either candidate has in store for their country, apart from two indications from the Trump campaign: his proposed ban on Muslims from entering America; and his calls to pull American troops home, or at least limit their role in Afghanistan, which would likely have a destabilising effect on the country. Neither is popular with Afghans.

Recently, though, Afghans have mostly treated the US elections with a certain sarcastic distance. After the third presidential debate, Trump’s refusal to accept the election results if he did not win led to a wave of snarky commentary on social media. Some suggested that perhaps Afghan president Ashraf Ghani would need to fly to Washington to broker a national unity government deal, as the US secretary of state, John Kerry, did after the divisive 2014 Afghan election.

Sune Engel Rasmussen[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/sune-engel-rasmussen] in Kabul

Germany If Hillary Clinton were to run against Donald Trump for the German presidency, she would win by a landslide. An October survey run by the polling institute Infratest Dimap found that 86% of Germans would vote for the former US secretary of state. An earlier poll discovered that even among supporters of the rightwing populists Alternative für Deutschland, only one in four could imagine voting for Trump.

The widely held view is that a Trump presidency would add further turmoil to an increasingly unstable global economy, a development which Germany, as an exporting nation, would suffer particularly strongly. “Donald Trump could endanger our prosperity,” wrote Die Welt.

Related: Germany believes Trump presidency would batter US economy, report says[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/01/germany-donald-trump-us-economy]

But Der Spiegel also noted a distinct lack of enthusiasm for Clinton’s presidency among the German public. “The fact that Clinton’s public appearances can be wooden should not lessen our faith in her. How often has Angela Merkel been accused of a lack of passion? And now she is the most respected leading politician in the world.”

The German chancellor herself has barely commented on the presidential race. Having been attacked by Trump for “ruining Germany”, Merkel has consistently passed on the opportunity to retaliate, though her dislike of political grandstanding is well-known.

Germany’s foreign minister, on the other hand, has been more outspoken, doing away with diplomatic protocol when he described Trump in August as a “hate preacher”. Frank-Walter Steinmeier openly stated he was “not neutral” on the question of the US presidency, and that listening to the Republican candidate’s tirades made him “frightful of what will happen to this world” if he came to power.

Philip Oltermann[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/philip-oltermann] in Berlin

Italy In Italy, a country that traditionally has great affection for the US, support for Hillary Clinton runs high, with polls showing that about 63% of Italian voters would support the former secretary of state over Donald Trump.

Italians are well aware that the Republican candidate has been compared to two of the country’s own former leaders: the fascist Benito Mussolini, and Silvio Berlusconi, the billionaire media mogul who won three elections but who was ultimately brought down by a series of tax and sex scandals.

With the wisdom of hindsight, Trump has been labelled “America’s Berlusconi”. In La Repubblica, the columnist Vittorio Zucconi said that, notwithstanding the obvious similarities between the two men – their hair, their treatment of women as sexual objects, their alleged avoidance of tax – both had captured the hearts of a certain class of voters who hate the political establishment. Among these voters, stories about the candidates’ foibles did nothing to dent their popularity. Both could only be brought down by their own self-destructive tendencies, Zucconi concluded.

Gianni Riotta, the former editor of Il Sole 24 Ore, said that – despite being a “disastrous” prime minister – Berlusconi was a more astute politician than Trump has proven to be, having counted both George W Bush and Vladimir Putin as friends. Berlusconi – a confirmed billionaire with vast media holdings – was also a better businessman, Riotta said.

In Italy, the race for the White House is almost always interpreted through the lens of the country’s own fractured political landscape, and Italy’s political leaders have not shied away from choosing sides. True to his own centrist instincts, prime minister Matteo Renzi, head of the Democratic party, publicly sided with Hillary Clinton even before she won the Democratic nomination.

On the right, the xenophobic head of the Northern League, Matteo Salvini, travelled to the US to lend his support to Donald Trump, while a top official of the anti-establishment Five Star Movement said he would side with Jill Stein, the Green party candidate.

Stephanie Kirchgaessner[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/stephanie-kirchgaessner] in Rome

United Kingdom The Foreign Office is already preparing to breathe a sign of relief if its favoured candidate, Hillary Clinton, romps home: it would mean a reliable president who is more emotionally engaged with Europe, the renewed threat posed by Russia, and a solution to the Syria crisis.

Britain sees its relationship with the US as key to countering the perception that Brexit will lead to a more isolationist UK foreign policy.

Relations between the UK and the US under David Cameron and Barack Obama were never poor, but they were punctuated by bumps: the Commons failure to back military action against Syria’s use of chemical weapons in 2013, Cameron’s risky and ultimately disastrous pledge to stage a referendum on Brexit, and Obama’s criticism that the UK and France took their eye off the ball in Libya, allowing the country to descend into chaos. Above all, Obama never seemed able to grasp the impact of the **refugee** crisis caused by the Syrian war.

As the UK negotiates its departure from the European Union, Clinton will hope that it does not lead to an acrimonious divorce that destabilises the world economy. The softer the Brexit, the happier the White House will be. A President Clinton would also hope Brexit does not lead to a downgrade of Nato, or duplication with a more assertive EU foreign and defence policy. Increasingly Clinton may find herself needing to choose between Britain and Europe, something that that will make the foreign office distinctly queasy.

Foreign secretary Boris Johnson has already been manoeuvring to show his personal support for a more muscular Syrian policy in line with Clinton’s own long-stated support for a no fly zone. Britain will also be at the front of the queue if she chooses to take a more assertive line with Putin. At present, Britain has been the rhetorical outrider, but it may get some practical backing from the White House. The UK will hope stabilisation of its defence budget, the renewal of Trident nuclear submarines, and its willingness to send troops to the Baltic states will ensure that it remains at the front of the queue when it comes to security co-operation, if not a trade deal.

Patrick Wintour[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/patrickwintour] in London

Iraq Iraq is currently consumed by the battle to retake Mosul from Isis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/29/iraqi-shia-militias-tighten-noose-on-isis-with-mosul-offensive], and preparing for its own elections next year, so the US election has received relatively little attention – even though the outcome is likely to be critical to Iraq’s future.

Renewed American military and financial support has been key to the fight against Isis, particularly in the current campaign to retake Mosul, the jihadi group’s last major stronghold in the country.

Over $1.6bn was provided for training and equipping Iraqi forces in 2016 alone. US special forces troops and air power are providing key support to the broad coalition now marching on the city.

Related: How will new fighting in Iraq affect Trump v Clinton? Probably not much[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/battle-mosul-iraq-isis-donald-trump-hillary-clinton]

The US also sends hundreds of millions of dollars to Iraq for non-military aid, which will be particularly needed in Mosul.

The US defence secretary, Ash Carter, has said he is already in talks about possible support for reconstruction[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-usa-idUSKCN12M03U]. But Trump has criticised the Mosul operation, and long made clear he wants to reduce foreign aid, particularly to countries he thinks “hate” the United States.

Resentment about the 2003 invasion and its fallout would probably put Iraq on that list. Clinton by contrast is expected to continue backing Iraq in its fight against Isis, and more broadly.

So Iraqis who are following the election closely are most likely to back a Clinton victory. Even in northern Kurdistan, where Republicans are generally popular, there is little support this year for a man seen locally as “a bigot and uncontrollable”.

Emma Graham Harrison[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/emma-graham-harrison] in Irbil

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Given the government might be about to present some **refugees** on Nauru and Manus with an opportunity to get out of limbo, perhaps it’s best we don’t look too closely while they mask it with deranged, macho theatrics

Inside the Coalition, there is a strong expectation that the government will shortly unveil a third country resettlement deal to try and fix Australia’s diabolical problem of 2,000 people languishing indefinitely in **immigration** detention centres.

There have been hints about this for the past few months.

A month and a half ago the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, opened the door to resettling **refugees** detained on Nauru in New Zealand.

That particular door wasn’t open very long. The hint of a shift in policy appeared in an interview Dutton did with the al-Jazeera network[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/peter-dutton-open-to-refugees-on-nauru-being-resettled-in-new-zealand] that hit the public domain on 15 September.

Related: New asylum laws pave the way for third-country resettlement, Peter Dutton says[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/new-asylum-laws-third-country-resettlement-peter-dutton]

By that evening, troubled by an unauthorised message arrival (the interview was broadcast earlier than anticipated) Dutton closed the door[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/asylum-seeker-processing-at-nauru-will-continue-for-decades-says-dutton]. Australia’s regional processing relationship with Nauru would continue for “decades” he said by way of clarification.

There was a another batch of significant talk when Dutton and Malcolm Turnbull went to the United Nations, and said Australia would take **refugees** from camps in Costa Rica[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/21/australia-will-take-refugees-from-costa-rica-camps-turnbull-tells-un]. Perhaps the third country wasn’t New Zealand but the United States. Perhaps it was both.

The latest batch of internal speculation has been triggered by the government on Sunday sounding the political trumpets[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat] before revealing plans to introduce new legislation to ban asylum seekers who arrive by boat from ever being allowed into Australia.

While confirming nothing, Turnbull and Dutton have certainly done nothing definitive over the past 24 hours to hose down speculation the new batch of ritualised punishment for unauthorised arrivals is, somehow, a necessary prerequisite to third-country resettlement.

Obviously if there is some prospect of ending the unconscionable arbitrary detention of thousands of people who have committed absolutely no crime, then this would be a welcome development, a means to an end, with the end goal being the clearing of the wretched offshore camps.

Related: Bill Shorten calls **refugee** ban 'ridiculous' as Coalition attacks Labor for indecision[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/labor-mps-oppose-refugee-ban-despite-leadership-saying-it-will-wait-and-see]

If this is the actual objective, in any rational universe, the government would engage the ALP, and work constructively to get it done.

But this is asylum politics, so the prospect of anyone inhabiting a rational universe is slim.

And so we’ve seen the same old rubbish.

The government has decided to convert what could be a prelude to trying to do something minutely humane for asylum seekers into an operatic political smash-up on Labor’s weakness on border protection.

Why? Well who knows.

A couple of possibilities: sounding manly on the boats does throw a bone to the Hansonites, which is moderately helpful, when the Hansonites are fully intent on coming after your base.[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/28/pauline-hanson-leaves-coalition-at-crossroads-and-both-roads-lead-north]

Pauline Hanson declared on morning television on Monday **refugees** weren’t welcome in Australia. The prime minister, travelling in South Australia, chose not to disavow Hanson’s statement. “I am not going to run a commentary on others,” Turnbull said.

Apart from a crude bit of political signalling to your fractured base, perhaps it’s just a simple political diversion: a two-card trick.

Just think about it like this: if the government is going to try to shift some people out of indefinite detention, this is obviously a significant change of pace in the story the government likes to tell about border protection, particularly in a febrile environment where parliamentarians think it’s a political plus to declare **refugees** are not welcome in this country.

Let’s cut to the chase. If this is about to happen, it will be the first moderately humane thing the government has done in this wretched policy space. The mild outbreak of humanity could confuse some of the government’s cheerleaders and amplifiers, who apparently think mercy should never apply to people who seek asylum by turning up in a boat.

Related: And now a new cruelty is heaped upon the victims of our nation's political expedience | First Dog on the Moon[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/31/and-now-a-new-cruelty-is-heaped-upon-the-victims-of-our-nations-political-expedience]

Given the government might be about to present some people with an opportunity to get out of the limbo we’ve put them in because of our deranged domestic political debate, perhaps it’s best from their perspective if we don’t look too closely at the Coalition making preparations to be “soft” on border protection – or God forbid, frame the news coverage from that perspective.

Best we look at Labor being “soft” on border protection. And the first run has worked precisely to script, the party’s left faction out in horror at the latest policy atrocity, the Labor leader Bill Shorten trying to sound like he’s saying no while leaving himself room to say yes[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/labor-mps-oppose-refugee-ban-despite-leadership-saying-it-will-wait-and-see].

Could they be that cynical?

You bet they could be that cynical.

Just ask those poor souls in detention on Nauru.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As the balance of migration tips, Europe could learn a lot from the positive narrative of the New World

**Immigration** is likely to remain an overarching theme in European politics. And for a long time yet. It was at the heart of the UK referendum campaign (although this concerned mostly intra-EU migration), and it is set to dominate French and German elections next year (focusing on **immigration** from outside Europe). In the summer of 2015 Angela Merkel predicted[https://www.yahoo.com/news/merkel-says-migrants-bigger-challenge-eu-greek-debt-181432878.html?ref=gs] that migration and asylum would “in the future preoccupy” Europe “much, much more” than financial issues have done. One year on, there is little reason to dispute this.

Related: Survey finds 70% of migrants arriving in Europe by boat trafficked or exploited[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/18/70-of-migrants-to-europe-from-north-africa-trafficked-or-exploited-un-united-nations-survey]

A record 3,800 people have perished in the Mediterranean[http://www.france24.com/en/20161026-mediterranean-sea-migrant-deaths-2016-record-refugees] since the beginning of this year, according to the United Nations. Europe may have closed off the Aegean and Balkan routes, but more people are drowning than ever before in the central Mediterranean desperately trying to reach Italy.

The migration issue has shaped political discourse in Europe, and is likely to continue to shape it. On one side are liberal internationalists attached to fundamental asylum principles or to the dream of a borderless world; on the other are xenophobic fence-builders who see migration as a modern version of barbaric invasions threatening culture and civilisation. The latter, alas, tend to hold sway.

One of the collateral damages of post-truth politics is that not only the present gets distorted – the past gets rewritten as well. Racist videos online depict fantasies of Europe “before” and “after” migration. “Before” is depicted with orderly scenes of 1950s streets, shops and parks where an all-white population strolls or plays happily. “After” is groups of dark-faced men attacking women, rioting against the police, shouting “Allahu Akbar”.

The essential narrative of bigots is that our European world is collapsing under the onslaught of mass arrivals from cultures that we cannot possibly mingle with. In France, a theory called the “ great replacement[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11323557/Enfant-terribles-literary-vision-of-an-Islamic-France.html] ” has spread to large parts of the right and certainly the far-right. It states that, as a result of **immigration**, the nation’s core population is set to be replaced by non-European outsiders who will wreck the country’s identity. There are also echoes of this in Germany’s Pegida movement,[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/27/pegida-germany-anti-immigrant-group-polarising-dresden] whose full name is “Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the west”.

Debunking these myths can be hard work. Hatred and passions overtake rational approaches and documented facts get swept away. It is even harder when Europe’s long history of almost constant population movement and mixing of cultures is ignored, untaught or forgotten. For example, it’s often said that the arrival of Arabs and Muslims in France started when post-second world war reconstruction efforts required a new labour force, or after Algeria became independent in 1962. Yet Algerians (especially from Kabylie[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabylie] ) have been in France for at least a century. The French historian Benjamin Stora[http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/29/world/europe/a-life-spent-remembering-a-war-france-has-tried-to-forget.html?\_r=0] says the real challenge of **immigration** is “the challenge of knowing the other” – and it goes both ways.

The 2015 **refugee** crisis has held up a mirror to Europeans: it’s forced them to ask themselves who they are, how they define themselves and their actions. The 1.3 million people[http://time.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/4434720/1-3-million-migrants-2015-pew/] who reached the continent last year represented only 0.2% of the EU’s total population[http://www.stand.ie/refugee-crisis-are-the-numbers-really-that-big/]. It should have been manageable. Germany alone took in roughly 800,000[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/20/germany-raises-estimate-refugee-arrivals-800000]. That’s equivalent to 1% of its own population[https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2015/aug/20/asylum-seekers-eu-comparison-germany-datablog], and is the same number it absorbed in 1992 when people fled the Balkan wars and ethnic Germans left the former Soviet Union..

Bigots claim that Europe is collapsing under mass arrivals from cultures we cannot possibly mingle with

If there was a crisis in 2015, it had less to do with the **refugees** – who knew what they were fleeing and where they wanted to go – and much more to do more with European governments and societies who did not all step up to the plate. In fact, Europe isn’t confronted with a **refugee** and migrant crisis. It’s the **refugees**and migrants who are confronted with a crisis of Europe. The scandal is that, in the Mediterranean, they have been paying with their lives.

Demographers point out that the pivotal migration year for Europe was 2014. That’s when Europe for the first time surpassed the US as a destination for **immigrants**, according to the French demographer François Héran[http://www.college-de-france.fr/site/colloque-2016/symposium-2016-10-14-14h30.htm]. Around 1.9 million legal **immigrants**[http://ec.europa.eu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration\_and\_migrant\_population\_statistics] came to the EU (population 508 million) and 1 million to the US[http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/06/us/immigration-statistics-fast-facts/] (population 319 million). With that, the European ratio became 3.7 legal **immigrants** per 1,000 inhabitants, while the US’s was 3.1. This is the new, transformative reality many Europeans have yet to acknowledge.

Historically, Europe exported its population, whether to distant colonial possessions for conquest and domination, or to the New World as a consequence of poverty, persecution or war. Now, it has become the foremost magnet and **refuge** for those who seek safety and a better life. We are simply much richer and more stable than many other parts of the world.

And our diversity is set to grow, but not in the “great replacement” scenario. Europe needs **immigration** as an injection of youth and dynamism if in the decades to come it wants to address its workforce and pension problems.

Europeans were once the huddled masses on boats reaching Ellis Island, in New York, or Pier 21 in Halifax[http://www.pier21.ca/home/], Canada’s gateway for **immigrants** – both now museums. I visited Pier 21 a few years ago, and spent some time looking at pictures of Hungarian **refugees** who had fled the repression of the 1956 Budapest uprising and celebrated their arrival[http://time.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/3878232/the-hungarian-revolution-of-1956-photos-from-the-streets-of-budapest/]. Perhaps Viktor Orbán[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-07-28/orban-says-he-seeks-to-end-liberal-democracy-in-hungary], Hungary’s self-avowedly “illiberal” prime minister, who shuns **refugees**, should take a look. Perhaps other European politicians should too.

Canada and the US are countries whose creation derived from the movement of people to faraway shores; European nations are rooted otherwise. But Europe could draw inspiration from the capacity to form a positive narrative that embraces migration instead of treating it mainly as a threat. Europe, as the new continent of **immigration**, will increasingly need that narrative.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The chase is back on as the sentient synths increase in number. Plus: is Nigel Farage too unfunny to spoof?

This was not written by Sam Wollaston. When Wollaston came to work yesterday, he was told that the Guardian had issued a standardisation programme across all operations, and that his would no longer be a human role. This review was therefore produced by a synth, a green-eyed anthropomorphic robot, using statistical analysis of the electrical responses in the brains of a test group of sentient synths who were shown the television programme Humans[http://www.channel4.com/programmes/humans] (Channel 4, Sunday).

Oi! What do you mean that would be an improvement?

I was begging for it, I guess. But I’m still here – just, for about another five minutes, if things keep progressing as they are. In this series-two opener, Joe loses his job as a regional distribution manager to a synth. Science fiction? Maybe, but in the real world of logistics, last week a driverless truck made a delivery of beer in Colorado[https://www.wired.com/2016/10/ubers-self-driving-truck-makes-first-delivery-50000-beers/]. As with Black Mirror[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/black-mirror], if this stuff is not here already, it is really not so far off. The Singularity Is Near[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/singularity-is-near.html].

And look, on TV at least, the singularity is here, in Joe and Laura’s new house, where the builder synth has a new assistant. A human one, a boy, who is part of a government scheme to get people back to work. Man works for machine. How do Joe and Laura, the boy and you feel about that?

It’s one of the beauties of Humans[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/humans] : it constantly throws up interesting questions about tech and the future that also resonate with the present and relate to humanity, ethics, politics, **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/immigration] even. (Synths are basically **immigrants** – they do all the shitty jobs and now people feel threatened by them.) In the first series, these were mainly questions about whether you would get one; and, if so, would you have sex with it; and, if so, and if you were also with someone else, to what extent would that be cheating on them (it gets more complicated with sentient synths, like Anita, with whom Joe had sex). Now, it’s getting more complex still, as sentience spreads. It is about procreation, morality and rights.

That is what is happening – sentience is spreading. Niska, another sentient synth, ran off with the consciousness code, remember? Now a lesbian living in Berlin, she releases the programme on to the net. So that, in Bolivia, an underground mining synth suddenly feels his fingers and a strong urge to see daylight. At a Nottingham chemical plant, another worker synth drops her load and makes a run for it. They hook up with Max and Leo who are still hanging around in the woods. The miner came here by stowing away on trucks and ships. Ring any bells? But there are bad guys in the woods, too, with vans and guns, out to get them. Humans is a pulse-quickening thriller, and the chase is back on. Noooo, the Bolivian gets shot, before he has even chosen himself a name.

Anita, meanwhile, works at a failing beach cafe, doing her best not to show she has feelings to her nice, unbusinesslike employer/owner who she clearly has feelings for. When she can, she slips away to feel the grass, or the sea breeze on her cheek and other un-robot-like things.

And Joe and Laura are seeing a relationship counsellor because of what happened with Anita. The counsellor’s a synth, and that might be a good idea – basing her advice on statistical evidence. Plus, Joe and Laura appear to be able to open up and be honest to her in a way they might not be able to if she was human. They also seem to be re-bonding with each other over the absurdity of the situation. Shrinkbots – along with automated lorry drivers and regional distribution managers – may make sense. Human writing, I’m hoping, might hold out a little longer. Humans is certainly very humanly written – by Sam Vincent and Jonathan Brackley[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2015/jun/10/humans-robot-drama-series], both humans, I think. And it’s a very human show.

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In Nigel Farage Gets His Life Back[http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b081v8yc] (BBC2, Sunday), Kevin Bishop gets the voice, the intonation, the wheezy smoker’s laugh and the mannerisms of his subject so spot on that it soon doesn’t matter that he doesn’t look much like him. A spoof doc that follows the interim Ukip leader around after his (third) resignation in July – to the pub, to the man-cave. It’s not actually very funny. Perhaps that is because a good impression alone is no longer enough, or because the mockumentary format is wearing a little thin. Or – and, again, this could be seen as testament to the spot-onness of Bishop’s performance – it could simply be that Nigel Farage[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/nigel-farage] isn’t very funny, either.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Labor senator Lisa Singh and MP Linda Burney express personal concerns about ‘cruel’ and ‘inhumane’ plan, but Shorten has reserved the party’s position

Bill Shorten says it seems “ridiculous” a **refugee** would be banned from coming to Australia as a tourist or on a business trip, as several Labor MPs came out against the government’s proposal to prevent **refugees** in offshore detention ever visiting the country.

But the Labor leader has not committed to opposing the government’s plan.

Labor senator Lisa Singh and MP Linda Burney have expressed personal concerns.

Singh said: “I don’t know what Labor will decide to do … Obviously I hope we vote this down and see it for what it is.”

Under the proposed laws announced on Sunday[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat], **refugees** and asylum seekers on Manus Island and Nauru would not be able to come to Australia even on a tourist visa, unless they were children when placed in detention.

Related: New asylum laws pave the way for third-country resettlement, Peter Dutton says[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/new-asylum-laws-third-country-resettlement-peter-dutton]

Singh, who has been seconded to the Australian delegation at the United Nations, believed the policy was “clearly contrary to the New York declaration[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/19/the-guardian-view-on-the-new-york-declaration-better-than-nothing] ” on **refugees** and migrants that the Australian government agreed to in September.

In a Facebook post[https://www.facebook.com/senatorlisasingh/?fref=ts], she said the proposal was “cruel” and “out of step with the rest of the world”. She said it was “stupid” because of the economic contribution of **refugees** to Australia and the harm it would cause Australia’s bid for a UN human rights council seat.

“And if their turning boats back is working, why on earth is this needed? Sounds like a government with no ideas, no policy solutions and no heart.”

Burney said she was “deeply concerned” by the proposal.

“I have had many people contact me today and yesterday who were very distressed at the prospect that this is what government is moving,” she said. “Their concern is that it’s inhumane, that it’s something they can’t reconcile as decent Australians.”

Shorten said the opposition would “look closely at the legislation when the government can be bothered releasing it”.

“It seems ridiculous to me that a genuine **refugee** who settles in the US or Canada and becomes a US or Canadian citizen is banned from visiting Australia as a tourist, businessman or businesswoman 40 years down track,” he said.

Shorten said “people who come via a people-smuggler should not be allowed to settle here” but labelled the proposal a distraction from “the Liberals’ total failure to secure any durable and credible third country resettlement”.

Shorten accused Malcolm Turnbull of “sucking up to One Nation to fight off Tony Abbott and keep his job”.

Addressing concerns the law would breach international law because it amounted to penalising people for seeking asylum, the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, said on Monday the proposal was “absolutely consistent with our international obligations”.

According to the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/new-asylum-laws-third-country-resettlement-peter-dutton], the attorney general’s department, the Australian government solicitor, and the **immigration** department’s counsel have all cleared the proposal.

At a press conference in Sydney, Dutton said Labor “either supports it or they don’t” and were acting like an “undisciplined rabble” by declaring their personal views on social media.

At a press conference in Yalata in South Australia on Monday, Turnbull said Labor had failed to stop asylum seeker boats and the government was now dealing with that failure.

“All we are seeking for them to do now is to support this legislation,” he said. “It sends a strong and unequivocal message. It is critically important.

“There is a battle of will between the people of Australia and their government and the people smugglers.”

The treasurer and former **immigration** minister, Scott Morrison, said Bill Shorten had “already blinked” because he had not responded to the policy within 24 hours.

“There’s no time for blinking” he said. “You need to know what you stand for, and you need to know what you’re going to do.”

He said Labor was “vexed” and “totally paralysed” on the issue. “The Labor party is being asked to legislate their articulated policy before the 2013 election … The fact that they’re tying themselves in knots tells everybody what they need to know about the Labor party on this issue.”

Related: Asylum seekers face lifetime ban from entering Australia if they arrive by boat[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat]

Labor MP Terri Butler said the government must explain the motivation for the law. “They must explain why it is consistent with international law – not just make assertions to that effect,” she said.

A number of other Labor figures including the former MP Melissa Parke and the former New South Wales premier Kristina Keneally have expressed opposition.

Govt's new asylum laws will be another flagrant violation of Int'l law. Meanwhile Aust seeks seat on UN human rights council...— Melissa Parke (@MelissaParke01) October 30, 2016[https://twitter.com/MelissaParke01/status/792858239968739329]

So now we're banning **refugees** who found **refuge** in other countries from even visiting Australia? That's ridiculous. Shameful. Appalling.— Kristina Keneally (@KKeneally) October 30, 2016[https://twitter.com/KKeneally/status/792601421073887232]

On Monday Labor frontbench MP Andrew Leigh told Sky News the key was to ensure the 800-odd people on Manus and a similar number on Nauru were resettled, and the bill would do nothing to achieve that.

Dutton has said the law may pave the way to a resettlement deal with a third country[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/new-asylum-laws-third-country-resettlement-peter-dutton] to clear the camps, as it would prevent those resettled from returning to Australia through a “back door”.

The Greens leader, Richard Di Natale, told Radio National the government’s plan was “barbaric, cruel, shameful, cynical politics”.

“I just hope and urge the Labor party and the crossbenchers to join with the Greens and make sure it doesn’t get past the Senate,” he said.

Nick Xenophon and Derryn Hinch have said they will wait to see the details; One Nation strongly supports the move.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Opposition politicians raise concerns after business secretary caves in to pressure to reveal details of talks with carmaker

Nissan was convinced to stay in the UK with a promise of no tariffs or extra bureaucratic burdens on the car industry after Brexit, the business secretary has finally revealed, prompting fears that sector-by-sector deals could cost the taxpayer “colossal amounts of money”.

Greg Clark caved in after four days of pressure in an interview on Sunday to reveal some details of how the government convinced the Japanese manufacturer to produce a fleet of new vehicles at its Sunderland plant. The Tory minister said he wrote to Nissan [https://www.theguardian.com/business/nissan] with a series of four assurances as he went “all out” to allay concerns about Brexit, promising that the government was confident of securing a deal that would keep the car industry competitive.

“Our intention, our negotiating remit, when it comes to the discussions with our European partners, is to have a constructive dialogue and look for the common interest here,” Clark told the BBC ’s Andrew Marr Show. “Our objective would be to ensure we have continued access to the markets in Europe [https://www.theguardian.com/world/europe-news] and vice versa without tariffs and bureaucratic impediments, and that is how we will approach those negotiations.” He suggested that this applied to the car industry in general and possibly to other major sectors of UK business.

That suggests No 10 is seeking a free trade relationship for the automotive industry that at least brings benefits similar to membership of the single market and customs union. Theresa May has however said she wants greater **immigration** controls and freedom from the oversight of the European court of justice – a combination that Brussels politicians have repeatedly said is unachievable.

The admission prompted questions about the financial cost of protecting the industry from the impact of Brexit. Nick Clegg , the former deputy prime minister, wrote to Clark, his former cabinet office colleague, warning that a series of deals for different industry sectors could cost the taxpayer “colossal amounts of money” in subsidies.

The Liberal Democrats’ spokesman on Brexit also raised the prospect that the UK might have to continue paying billions into the EU budget in order to secure preferential trading terms with the single market for certain industries or all of them.

On the promise relating to Brexit, Clark told Marr that the UK could not know the outcome of negotiations with the other 27 members but that it was “very important that we make a commitment to keep competitive the UK industry” through the government’s industrial strategy.

The business secretary said there was no specific promise to compensate Nissan if it did face tariffs, because that would not be allowed under competition laws, but the letter of comfort had been sufficient to persuade the carmaker to continue investing in north-east England. The letter contained promises of a continuation of funds for training, skills and scientific research, and regional relocation grants.

In his letter to Clark, Clegg said the news that Nissan was staying was welcome, but questioned whether the assurances were “part of a planned strategy with a desired endpoint or a one-off concession which shows those that shout the loudest get the best deal from ministers”.

Clegg, who is playing a leading role in the Open Britain campaign group, called for more clarity on what it meant for No 10’s wider Brexit strategy.

Related: Greg Clark's big reveal on 'demeanour' of Brexit negotiations strategy [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/30/greg-clark-brexit-negotiations-andrew-marr-show-nissan-auto-industry]

“Any assurances given about our future relationship with the customs union and the single market would go to the very heart of the Brexit negotiations, revealing whether the government is intending to stay within either, or whether you intend to negotiate a patchwork of carve-outs, subsidies and sectoral arrangements, which will create winners and losers and may cost the taxpayer colossal amounts of money,” he said.

Clark’s interview led to further criticism that the government had been telling industry more about No 10’s negotiating aims than the UK electorate. Clive Lewis, the shadow business secretary, said: “While we welcome the commitment to securing tariff-free trade for the automotive sector, Greg Clark has raised more questions than he’s answered. What about other manufacturing sectors, or services, which, let’s not forget, account for 90% of our economy? Nor has the government said anything about how is tariff-free access is going to be achieved.”

Keir Starmer [https://www.theguardian.com/law/keir-starmer], the shadow Brexit secretary, told ITV ’s Peston on Sunday that Nissan “has been told more about it than we have in parliament”, adding that the government had “got to come clean”. The senior Labour MP also accused the prime minister of prioritising greater **immigration** controls over the health of the UK economy as she headed towards triggering Brexit early next year.

Related: Theresa May lied and lied again to become PM | Nick Cohen [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/30/theresa-may-lie-and-lied-to-become-prime-minister]

He said he intended to ask an urgent question in the House of Commons on Monday to urge ministers to reveal any guarantees that they may have given. “There may be a financial element to it – I accept that. They say no money is changing hands,” he told Peston. “I don’t know. We need to know and I’m going to try and raise this in parliament … because something has been said.

“It’s good Nissan are investing, of course it’s good, but there are other businesses up and down the country of every size and every sort that need [reassurance].”

Mike Hawes , the chief executive of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, said he was “greatly encouraged” by Clark’s comments.

“It is important government makes it a priority to safeguard the competitiveness of this important and globally successful sector as we leave the EU ,” he said.

“This means maintaining a competitive business environment, ensuring talent can be recruited from abroad and securing the benefits we currently enjoy in the single market, including tariff-free trade unhindered by any customs bureaucracy.”

A key question for May will be whether she is willing for the UK to continue paying into the EU budget in order to secure tariff-free trade without bureaucratic customs checks.

Nadhim Zahawi, a leading Brexit supporter and Conservative MP for Stratford-upon-Avon, wrote in the Mail on Sunday that paying a proportion of the UK’s annual £8.5bn would be worth it for favourable trading arrangements combined with freedom from the EU ’s **immigration** rules and the jurisdiction of its courts.

“I was one of those who campaigned to leave, but the government should be absolutely clear that our motive is not for the European Union [https://www.theguardian.com/world/eu] to fail – we just don’t think it is right for us,” he wrote.

“That is why we should pay a proportion of the £8.5bn that we will save through leaving back into its budget. We should help bridge some of the EU ’s funding gap, but only on the condition that the EU delivers our demand of providing British businesses with tariff-free access to the single market.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Business secretary Greg Clark sought to allay Brexit concerns and convince company to build next two models in Sunderland

Nissan was told the UK was seeking an EU deal that would mean no tariffs for car manufacturers and no bureaucratic impediments to trading, Greg Clark, the business secretary, has revealed.

Clark said he wrote to Nissan with a series of four assurances as he went “all out” to allay concerns about Brexit and convince the company to build its next two models in Sunderland.

The government has been under pressure for days to reveal what it promised Nissan to secure the investment and whether there would be any implications for taxpayers in future.

Related: Nissan throws UK car industry a lifeline but GM could hit the road [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/29/nissan-uk-car-industry-brexit-lifeline-gm-hit-the-road]

Three days after the deal was announced, Clark revealed on the BBC ’s Andrew Marr Show he had told Nissan the government was confident of getting a deal that would mean the whole car industry remained competitive.

That suggests No 10 is seeking a free trade relationship similar to the single market and customs union. At the same time, Theresa May has said she wants greater **immigration** controls and freedom from the oversight of the European court of justice; a combination of aims that Brussels politicians have repeatedly said is unachievable.

Clark said: “Our intention, our negotiating remit, when it comes to the discussions with our European partners is to have a constructive dialogue and look for the common interest here. Our objective would be to ensure we have continued access to the markets in Europe and vice versa without tariffs and bureaucratic impediments, and that is how we will approach those negotiations.”

He suggested that this applied to the car industry in general, and possibly other major sectors of UK business.

The government repeatedly refused to confirm [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/27/no-10-denies-sweetheart-deal-with-nissan] it had given Nissanany written guarantees last week, but Clark revealed on Sunday that he had sent the carmaker a letter containing four assurances. He said the promises included a continuation of funds for training and skills, regional relocation grants, scientific research and keeping the industry competitive at the point the UK leaves the EU .

On the promise relating to Brexit, he said the UK could not know the outcome of negotiations with the other 27 members but it was “very important that we make a commitment to keep competitive the UK industry” through the government’s industrial strategy. The business secretary said there was no specific promise to compensate Nissan or other carmakers if they did face tariffs because that would not be allowed under competition laws.

Clark’s interview immediately led to criticism that the government has been telling industry more about No 10’s negotiating aims that the UK electorate. Keir Starmer, Labour’s shadow Brexit secretary, told ITV ’s Peston on Sunday that Nissan “has been told more about it than we have in parliament,” adding that the government had “got to come clean”.

The senior Labour MP also accused the prime minister of prioritising greater **immigration** controls over the health of the UK economy as she headed towards triggering Brexit early next year.

Related: Nissan is an early sign of the downturns and the divisions Brexit could bring | Will Hutton [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/01/gates-closing-tensions-rising-brexit-feels-tangible-and-frightening]

Starmer said the government still needed to disclose the terms of any deal struck with Nissan .

He said he intended to seek an urgent question in the Commons on Monday to try and compel ministers to reveal any guarantees that they may have given.

“There may be a financial element to it – I accept that. They say no money is changing hands,” he told Peston On Sunday.

“I don’t know. We need to know and I’m going to try and raise this in parliament … because something has been said.

“It’s good Nissan are investing, of course it’s good, but there are other businesses up and down the country of every size and every sort that need (reassurance).”

A key question for May will now be whether she is willing for the UK to continue paying into the EU budget in order to secure tariff-free trade without bureaucratic customs checks.

Nadhim Zahawi, a leading Brexit supporter and Conservative MP for Stratford-upon-Avon, wrote in the Mail on Sunday that paying a proportion of the UK’s annual £8.5bn would be worth it for favourable trading arrangements combined with freedom from the EU ’s **immigration** rules and the jurisdiction of its courts.

“I was one of those who campaigned to leave, but the government should be absolutely clear that our motive is not for the European Union to fail – we just don’t think it is right for us,” he wrote.

“That is why we should pay a proportion of the £8.5bn that we will save through leaving back into its budget. We should help bridge some of the EU ’s funding gap, but only on the condition that the EU delivers our demand of providing British businesses with tariff-free access to the single market.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**New law to include **refugees** and will apply to any adult sent to Manus Island or Nauru since July 2013

The Turnbull government plans to ban asylum seekers who arrive by boat from ever being allowed into Australia.

The ban will apply to any adult who has been sent to detention centres on Nauru or Manus Island since 19 July 2013.

It means adults who have previously tried to enter Australia by boat since July 2013, but who have chosen to return home, will never be allowed to get a visa to Australia – even as a tourist.

The government plans to backdate its ban to 19 July 2013, because that is when the former prime minister Kevin Rudd said: [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/19/kevin-rudd-labor-asylum-border-protection] “As of today, asylum seekers who come here by boat without a visa will never be settled in Australia.”

Related: Manus Island staff told deportations will begin this month [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/06/manus-island-staff-told-deportations-will-begin-this-month]

The ban will not apply to children.

Malcolm Turnbull announced the plan on Sunday during a joint press conference with the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton .

He said the law change was necessary to support key government border protection policies, including temporary protection visas, regional processing and boat turnbacks.

He said it would send the “strongest possible signal” to those who are trying to persuade asylum seekers currently on Nauru and Manus Island that Australia’s government would eventually change its policy and allow them to settle in Australia.

He said this was a “battle of will” against criminal people smugglers and Australians “should not underestimate the scale of the threat”.

“These people smugglers are the worst criminals imaginable,” Turnbull said. “They have a multibillion-dollar business. It is a battle of will. We have to be very determined to say no to their criminal plans.”

The government plans to amend the 1958 Migration Act to achieve its goal when parliament sits next week.

Turnbull said he expected Labor’s support for the legislation, given it was “entirely consistent with the party’s stated public position” from 19 July 2013.

“Mr Shorten now has the opportunity to express clear, unequivocal support for this very strong statement of long-standing Coalition, and so far as we understand opposition, policy,” he said.

“They must know that the door to Australia is closed to those who seek to come here by boat with a people smuggler: it is closed.

“We accept thousands of **refugees** and we do so willingly. But we will not tolerate any repeat of the people smuggling ventures which resulted in over 1,200 deaths at sea under the Labor party, and 50,000 unauthorised arrivals.”

Dutton said some asylum seeker advocates were still telling people on Nauru and Manus Island that they would be coming to Australia at some stage.

“And those people are living in false hope and it cannot continue,” he said.

“So today, through this legislation, we send a very clear message to all the parties concerned that Australia will never be an option for people to seek to come here illegally by boat.”

The deputy opposition leader, Tanya Plibersek, said it was too early to say if Labor would support the bill.

“It’s a distraction from Peter Dutton ’s hopeless mismanagement of his portfolio,” she said. “It is extraordinary that, three years on, the government has not found third countries to resettle those people who are in limbo on Manus Island and Nauru.”

Turnbull dismissed the suggestion that the measure would be unfair to those deemed to be **refugees** who had tried to get to Australia by boat, given it would prevent them from getting any type of visa in the future.

“It’s a very clear, unequivocal message,” he said.

David Manne, from the **Refugee** and **Immigration** Legal Centre, said the government’s proposed ban appeared to be “completely unnecessary”.

“Why are these measures seen as necessary when the government for some time has said they have got things under control?” he said on ABC television.

Manne questioned whether the flexibility the government has to exercise humanitarian discretion would be lost in this change.

“It would not only be unnecessary this policy, but also extremely potentially counterproductive because there are always going to be people... who simply cannot be resettled anywhere or sent back,” he said.

The Greens criticised the announcement, saying the Turnbull government had “sunk to a new low” in its “latest attempt to punish innocent people seeking asylum”.

Related: Broadspectrum reported to be taking over **refugee** welfare services on Nauru [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/26/broadspectrum-reported-to-be-taking-over-refugee-welfare-services-on-nauru]

“The proposed new laws are an escalation of the cynical race to the bottom, which sees our fellow human beings again used as a tool to seek domestic political advantage,” the Greens **immigration** spokesman, senator Nick McKim, said.

“This is about absorbing nothing more than One Nation votes. As Amnesty International recently made plain, the mistreatment of people for a political purpose is torture.

“It runs contrary to international law and our obligations under the **refugee** convention. The government should have been aware of this, but of course they have just run the solicitor general out of office.”

The One Nation leader, Pauline Hanson, welcomed the government’s proposal, tweeting: “Good to see that it looks like the government is now taking its cues from One Nation. Just like last time.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HEREImmigration** minister says fears that families would be divided by laws banning travel to Australia can be overcome by use of ministerial discretion – or moving to another country

A proposed law banning asylum seekers in offshore detention on Manus Island and Nauru from coming to Australia would prepare for a resettlement deal with a third country to clear the camps, **immigration** minister Peter Dutton has suggested.

Dutton told ABC radio on Monday ministerial discretion could prevent families being separated by the policy, or that Australia could help families move elsewhere to encourage **refugees** to accept resettlement in third countries.

He said the law, announced on Sunday[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat], was designed to put into action the principle that “people who seek to come by boat won’t be settling in Australia”.

“We are keen to get people off to third countries if they can’t return to their country of origin,” he said. “We are working with a number of countries now.

“What we don’t want is if somebody is to go to a third country that they apply for a tourist visa or some other way to circumvent what the government’s policy is by coming back to Australia from that third country.”

Related: Peter Dutton says getting women and children off Nauru is 'first priority'[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/20/peter-dutton-says-getting-women-and-children-off-nauru-is-first-priority]

Dutton said the policy was consistent with Labor’s policy that people who arrived by boat would not settle in Australia, though it goes much further in banning visits to Australia on any type of visa after resettlement elsewhere.

Asked about earlier comments that at first indicated the government was open to a deal with New Zealand[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/peter-dutton-open-to-refugees-on-nauru-being-resettled-in-new-zealand], then appeared to rule it out[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/asylum-seeker-processing-at-nauru-will-continue-for-decades-says-dutton], Dutton said: “What I’ve said is... that the deal structured by the Gillard government was essentially a backdoor way to get to Australia.”

He said the proposed law was not linked to a plan for Australia to take **refugees** from camps in Costa Rica[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/21/australia-will-take-refugees-from-costa-rica-camps-turnbull-tells-un], denying that was the first plank of a deal to have **refugees** in offshore detention accepted by the United States.

Asked how the policy would affect **refugees** and asylum seekers with families in Australia[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/18/australian-woman-with-family-on-nauru-pleads-for-end-to-offshore-detention], Dutton said: “There is a ministerial discretion to act in the public interest.

“So there may be individual cases around families, for example, where the minister of the day can provide a migration outcome, so that person can be allowed in.”

Dutton said that “where there are family units that are separated we will look at those circumstances and if it’s possible and we have a third country option available to those families, we will talk to them about that option”.

He noted the policy did not apply to children who were under 18 when they went into offshore detention.

Dutton said he was “absolutely confident” the law was both constitutional and consistent with international law, citing legal advice from the international division of the attorney general’s department, the Australian government solicitor and counsel in the **immigration** department.

Labor has said it will need to see the bill before finalising its position on the proposal.

The deputy opposition leader, Tanya Plibersek[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/tanya-plibersek], has said the proposal is “a distraction from Peter Dutton’s hopeless mismanagement of his portfolio”.

“It is extraordinary that, three years on, the government has not found third countries to resettle those people who are in limbo on Manus Island and Nauru.”

The Greens criticised the announcement, saying the Turnbull government had “sunk to a new low” in its “latest attempt to punish innocent people seeking asylum”.

Related: Nauru, detention, the ABC and us: putting misconceptions about Australia and **refugees** to rest | Richard Ackland[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/24/nauru-detention-the-abc-and-us-putting-misconceptions-about-australia-and-refugees-to-rest]

“The proposed new laws are an escalation of the cynical race to the bottom, which sees our fellow human beings again used as a tool to seek domestic political advantage,” the Greens **immigration** spokesman, Nick McKim, said.

“This is about absorbing nothing more than One Nation votes. As Amnesty International recently made plain, the mistreatment of people for a political purpose is torture.

“It runs contrary to international law and our obligations under the **refugee** convention.”

On Monday One Nation leader Pauline Hanson welcomed the policy, telling Channel Seven’s Sunrise: “I think you need to make a tough stand and put out a clear message.

“**Refugees** are not welcome here.”

Senator Derryn Hinch said he suspected the proposal was designed “to wedge the Labor party, knowing they will split on this”.

Hinch said he supported the major parties on offshore detention, but suggested it was unjust that a child brought to Australia could not return as a tourist at age 20 or 30, although that is not being proposed.

“I will in general support the government and the opposition, but will look at the fine print,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Exclusive: Case appears to be first relating to alleged abuse of an asylum seeker to make it to Nauru’s courts, and is likely to focus attention on country’s legal system

Nauruan police have charged a person with indecent assault of a six-year-old asylum seeker who was held in Australia’s care, in what appears to be the first case relating to alleged abuse of an asylum seeker that has made it to Nauru’s courts.

The decision published in October[http://www.paclii.org/nr/cases/NRDC/2016/61.html] shows Nauruan police charged an unnamed individual with the alleged indecent assault of an asylum seeker in October last year, when she was six.

The full circumstances of the allegation are unknown and it is unclear whether the events took place inside or outside the Australian-run detention centre. The identity of the alleged perpetrator was suppressed by the court, with the girl identified only as MU. It is not clear whether the girl has had her claim for **refugee**status considered.

Related: Revealed: Nauru prosecutors under fire from judiciary in asylum-seeker cases[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/30/revealed-nauru-prosecutors-under-fire-from-judiciary-in-asylum-seeker-cases]

Advice provided to the court by four medical and welfare staff from the Australian government’s contracted service provider, International Health and Medical Services, set out the difficult circumstances of the girl’s case and the impact of the alleged assaults and her prolonged detention.

“M is was a six-year-old girl who had been exposed to adverse life events such as parental separation, migration, prolonged detention and alleged sexual abuse,” the staff wrote.

“As a consequence M now presents with emotional and behavioural disturbances such as anxiety, night terrors and social isolation.”

The Australian government has consistently sought to diminish both the seriousness and the veracity of abuse and assault claims made by asylum seekers held in Australia’s care on the remote Pacific island.

Following the publication of the Nauru files[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] by the Guardian, the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton[https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/11/labor-will-reintroduce-bill-to-force-mandatory-reporting-of-child-abuse-after-nauru-files], said he “won’t tolerate any sexual abuse whatsoever”. He suggested asylum seekers had made false claims of abuse because they wanted to come to Australia.

The case is likely to focus further attention on the Nauruan legal system’s capacity to handle allegations of abuse. Many legal experts and former detention staff have warned that asylum seekers on Nauru may never be able to obtain justice.[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/jun/09/asylum-seekers-abused-on-nauru-may-never-get-justice-says-former-adviser]

Related: Asylum seekers abused on Nauru may never get justice, says former adviser[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/jun/09/asylum-seekers-abused-on-nauru-may-never-get-justice-says-former-adviser]

Magistrate Emma Garo ruled in a preliminary decision that the child’s evidence would be heard in closed court. But she declined to grant a prosecution request that the girl not be made available for cross-examination by the defence.

The medical and welfare staff had strongly urged the court not to require her to appear to give evidence. “A court appearance is highly likely to adversely affect her overall presentation, increasing her subjective stress and trauma,” they wrote.

“The emotional vulnerability of a child should always be taken into consideration when subject to court appearance. It is the writers’ expert opinion that evidence for M’s testimony should be gathered through more appropriate means, such as written statements or audio recordings outside the courtroom or other adverse environment.”

But Garo wrote: “My reading of the recommendation provided in the report is that her evidence could still be taken by the court but in a less stressful and less imposing environment outside of the courtroom or in an alternative less imposing environment.”

Garo said the girl should provide evidence but in an environment that was as “child-friendly” as possible.

In Australia there are significant restrictions[https://www.judcom.nsw.gov.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Sexual\_Assault\_Trials\_Handbook.pdf] on the cross-examination of alleged victims of sexual or indecent assault, and limits on cross-examination of children.

But under Nauru’s Criminal Procedure Act[http://www.paclii.org/nr/legis/num\_act/cpa1972188/] it appears to be left largely up to the court to consider whether restrictions should apply.

Guardian Australia has put questions to Dutton and his department. Neither responded to requests for comment on the case.

The government ifaces a Senate inquiry[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/13/the-nauru-files-labor-to-call-for-parliamentary-inquiry-into-abuse-allegations] into allegations of abuse at the Nauru detention centre.

The secretary of the **immigration** department, Michael Pezzullo, recently told a Senate estimates hearing[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/17/nauru-giles-dominate-senate-hearing-as-third-detention-facility-in-png-revealed] that the department had taken “immediate and appropriate” action when responding to incidents on Nauru.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UK prime minister declines to make extra commitment after French president had urged Britain to consider its ‘moral duty’

Theresa May has declined to make any extra commitments on receiving child **refugees** affected by the demolition of the Calais **refugee** camp, after the French president, François Hollande, rang her to ask for the Britain to consider its “moral duty”.

Downing Street said the UK has already taken a “considerable number of unaccompanied minors”, and several hundred more children and young people would be arriving in the coming weeks.

The government has taken about 274 child **refugees** this month, mostly those with family ties to the UK under the Dublin regulation. David Cameron also promised earlier this year to take an unspecified number of vulnerable child **refugees** from France, Greece and Italy after coming under pressure to accept an amendment to the law from the Labour peer Alfred Dubs[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/21/house-of-lords-votes-to-let-lone-child-refugees-come-to-britain], who was rescued in the second world war Kindertransport evacuation.

But May is still facing calls from French politicians, some British MPs and charities to speed up its processes and take more unaccompanied minors who had been living in the Calais camp but are now being transferred across France.

Hollande revealed on Saturday that he had pressed May to take Britain’s fair share of the 1,500 asylum-seeking children left in Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/29/hollande-britain-must-take-fair-share-of-calais-refugee-children] who are due to be been dispersed to reception centres throughout his country.

Related: Calais: French and British officials keep passing the buck to the very end[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/28/calais-french-british-officials-passing-buck-end]

He spoke to May to ensure that British officials would “accompany these minors to these centres and would play their part in subsequently welcoming them to the United Kingdom”.

“Their transfer to Britain is urgent,” he added. “We ask you to take your responsibilities and assume your moral duty by immediately organising their arrival.”

It is understood the phone call between Hollande and May centred on practical steps required to process the children’s claims after they have been relocated to specialist reception centres.

But sources said the prime minister did not make any new commitments to France that the UK would take in more child **refugees**, saying it was already taking action in accordance with the Dublin regulation and Dubs amendment.

A No 10 spokesman said:“We are firmly committed to working with the French to safeguard and protect children who remain in Calais – and that includes transferring eligible children to the UK safely and as soon as possible.

“We have already transferred a considerable number of unaccompanied minors to the UK so far this year, and as the home secretary told parliament this week, several hundred more children and young people will be brought to the UK in the coming days and weeks.”

The dismantling of the Calais camp began last week[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/26/operation-to-clear-calais-refugee-camp-finishes-ahead-of-schedule] and is expected to be complete by the end of Monday.

A final service at a makeshift church in the camp took place on Sunday, attended by a small number of **refugees** and migrants who have not been transferred to reception centres across France.

By the weekend, around 5,000 people had so far been evacuated. A 1,500 remaining unaccompanied minors were housed in a camp made from shipping containers, before they are transferred to reception centres around France.

The announcement dismayed charities[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/29/calais-camp-charities-attack-uk-and-france-over-unaccompanied-children], which warned the dispersal policy could mean that many children might attempt to run away from the authorities out of fear.

UK Home Office officials had expected to process the children’s applications in Calais. However, a source told the Guardian on Saturday that “the French have pulled the plug” on the scheme.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Denis Villeneuve’s Arrival is the latest film to imagine an encounter with extraterrestrials. In real life, the rules of **alien** engagement are complicated...

If we find **aliens**, or they find us, what happens next? Most of the answers to that question come in the form of films. There’s Contact (we build a space ship), District 9[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2009/sep/03/district-9-review] (coexist unhappily), Close Encounters of the Third Kind[https://www.theguardian.com/film/close-encounters-of-the-third-kind] (friendly abductions) and Independence Day (bang!). Next week, Denis Villeneuve’s Arrival[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/sep/01/arrival-review-amy-adams-denis-villeneuve-alien-contact] will give its answer, but what’s the plan in the real world?

Related: Arrival review: heartfelt **alien**-contact movie communicates spectacular ideas[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/sep/01/arrival-review-amy-adams-denis-villeneuve-alien-contact]

Well, there has been a lot of thought about it. “There’s a big debate within the whole community over whether we should respond or not,” says Dr John Elliot[http://www.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/staff/dr-john-elliott/], joint coordinator for the UK Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence (Seti) Research Network – although he admits that it may not be a choice that any single body gets to make. Seti’s policy, once it is fairly sure that an intercepted signal is an **alien** message, will be to share it openly to allow people all over the world to try to understand it. Thereafter, it will be hard to stop anyone from answering. “I would have thought that there would be a reply made in some form at some point round the globe by someone with the required equipment,” Elliot says.

This scenario imagines receiving a transmission, but not **alien** visitors themselves. The chance of that is considered remote, even by those who expect **aliens** to exist, because even **aliens** are presumed to work within the laws of physics. In summary: our galaxy is a flattish disc about 100,000 light years across, and our planet is right at a sparse edge of it; only a small proportion of the planets in our galaxy are within, say, 1,000 light years of us. As a result, even a craft from such a nearby planet travelling directly towards us at half of light speed – which may be impossibly fast for a machine with life inside it – would take 2,000 years to get here. Why would it come? And what are the chances of it arriving exactly now?

**Alien** transmissions could be passing by all the time, however. Much of the problem is a matter of linguistics. Part of Elliot’s work is to devise and understand languages that might make sense to an intelligent **alien** – so-called xenolinguistics. “It’s the same as if you’re in the Amazon rainforest and you encounter a lost tribe,” he says. “You’d include their message, or part of it, as an echo. But you’d need to have something simple at the front and build upon it.” A good part of the work could be done by sending simple binary images – perhaps a picture of a rock – and starting to establish words from there.

The trouble is, it won’t happen quickly. If the **aliens** are only 100 light years away, their message will be 100 years old by the time we get it – as will our reply by the time it turns up. “It’s a 200-year turnaround even just to say hello,” says Elliot. We might improve on this by imagining a technology that can send messages faster than light, but then we have overturned a fundamental law of physics, which leaves yet more explaining to do.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Activists at the Malheur wildlife **refuge** were carrying guns – but ‘if native people were armed, we would be killed,’ says an activist at Standing Rock

Johanna Holy Elk Face couldn’t help but chuckle. The 63-year-old Native American was one of hundreds of activists gathered to block construction of the Dakota Access pipeline on Thursday, when police with tanks and riot gear surrounded them and began making mass arrests[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/27/north-dakota-access-pipeline-protest-arrests-pepper-spray].

Related: Dakota Access pipeline: Native Americans allege cruel treatment[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/29/dakota-access-pipeline-native-american-protesters]

The situation was sad and frightening, she said, but there was a fleeting moment of levity when one officer on the loudspeaker warned the demonstrators not to shoot “bows and arrows”.

“We all laughed,” Holy Elk Face said, noting that she wouldn’t even know how to use a toy bow and arrow.

For some Native American activists, the officer’s comment was the latest sign that a highly militarized police force has little understanding of indigenous culture and is set on treating the protesters like violent rioters, regardless of their tactics.

The notion that the criminal justice system is biased against Native American protesters came into sharp view hours later, when a jury in Portland, Oregon, issued a verdict of not guilty[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/27/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-brothers-not-guilty-trial] for white militia leaders who staged an armed occupation of federal land to protest government policies.

The fact that protesters with guns were acquitted on the same day police arrested 141 “water protectors”, who have often relied on indigenous songs and prayers to convey their message, sparked a firestorm on social media about white privilege[http://www.vox.com/identities/2016/10/27/13447038/oregon-wildlife-refuge-verdict] and police brutality against people of color.

At the Standing Rock camps in North Dakota, where the fight against the $3.8bn oil pipeline is escalating[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/29/dakota-access-pipeline-native-american-protesters] dramatically, Native Americans said the Oregon verdict was an infuriating and painful reminder that the law treats them differently – and that the odds are stacked against them in their high-stakes battle to save their land.

‘If native people were armed’ On the surface, there are parallels between the Dakota Access pipeline protest and the Oregon militia standoff, in which the brothers Ammon and Ryan Bundy[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/13/oregon-militia-standoff-trial-begins-ammon-ryan-bundy] seized the Malheur national wildlife **refuge**[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/03/oregon-militia-threatens-showdown-with-us-agents-at-wildlife-refuge] in a protest against the government’s treatment of ranchers.

In both cases, protesters declared willingness to risk their lives[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-family] to fight for land rights, and law enforcement responded that the protests were illegal and dangerous[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/25/north-dakota-oil-pipeline-protest-arrests-journalists-filmmakers].

The Oregon and North Dakota camps both grew organically in remote rural areas. Visitors to both locations have met activists from across the US who have bonded over harsh weather conditions, mistrust of the government and fear of the police. Protesters on horseback were common sights at Malheur and Standing Rock.

But the underlying tactics and core beliefs sharply diverged. The ultra-conservative activists who seized the Malheur **refuge** were fighting against environmental restrictions[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/08/oregon-militia-standoff-demands-what-comes-next] aimed at protecting open space and public lands – policies cowboys said had slowly eroded their way of life[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/17/oregon-militia-standoff-occupation-dwight-steven-hammond].

In North Dakota, the Native American-led movement is grounded in the idea that the land is sacred and must be preserved. The Paitue tribe in Oregon[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/06/oregon-militia-malheur-wildlife-refuge-paiute-indian-tribe-sacred-land], which historically occupied the Malheur land, vocally opposed the takeover, saying that if any group had a claim to the property, it was Native Americans.

Unlike at Standing Rock, many of the activists in Oregon were heavily armed[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/09/oregon-militia-wildlife-refuge-heavily-armed-men], some openly carrying powerful assault weapons. The militiamen said that if necessary, they were prepared to defend[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/protesters-occupying-oregon-wildlife-refuge-ask-militia-members-to-join-them-1451839748] themselves against government agents.

Ultimately, the presence of guns helped them avoid police confrontations at the **refuge** – and paved the way for their legal victory[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/28/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-trial-not-guilty-reactions].

Police and federal officials were deliberately passive[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/05/oregon-standoff-federal-agents-remember-waco], saying they didn’t want a shootout. The FBI allowed the occupation to drag on for weeks, with numerous high-profile leaders freely leaving the **refuge** and returning.

When prosecutors attempted to argue[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/13/oregon-militia-standoff-trial-begins-ammon-ryan-bundy] in court this month that protesters had “intent” to conspire against and impede government workers, the defense pointed out that public officials had not come to the **refuge**and formally ordered the activists to leave.

The Standing Rock activists have declared their commitment to remaining unarmed, posting signs throughout the camps that say “NO WEAPONS”. Perhaps as a result, they have faced a much more aggressive response from law enforcement.

The local sheriff’s office has admitted to firing bean bags and deploying pepper spray, and during one high-profile confrontation private guards for the pipeline allegedly allowed dogs to attack activists[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/26/north-dakota-pipeline-protest-guard-dogs-charges].

Xhopakelxhit, a Native American activist at Standing Rock, said that arming indigenous protesters didn’t seem like a viable option.

“If native people were armed like the Bundy militia,” she said, “we would be killed.”

‘We’re treated like animals’ While Ammon Bundy left his protest site and went to a Chinese restaurant without facing any threat from police[http://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/ammon-bundy-oregon-standoff-trial-testimony-day-3/], Holy Elk Face said officers ignored her pleas to let her go without taking her into custody.

She said she was caught in the middle of a confrontation and was trying to get out of the way, but police didn’t listen.

“We’re not doing anything. We’re sitting here. We’re elderly,” she said on Saturday after her release from jail.

The plastic handcuffs hurt her wrists, but she said she was particularly disturbed that police wrote a number on her arm in marker, in an apparent effort to keep track of the many people they had brought into the local jails.

“It’s almost like the Holocaust,” she said. “I felt like we were being treated like animals.”

Nicole Taylor, a protester from the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa, said it seemed obvious to her that police would not have violently targeted the North Dakota movement if its leaders were not Native American.

“I think they’re racist,” she said, adding: “They’re doing this for money and greed.”

Taylor said that when she sees police use violence against protesters, it sometimes makes her wish the Native Americans armed themselves. But she acknowledged the results could be disastrous: “It’d be world war three.”

Xhopakelxhit said law enforcement tactics were part of a much broader trend of mistreatment of Native Americans, noting that police killed indigenous people at an alarmingly high rate[http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2016/2/native-lives-matter-goes-beyond-police-brutality.html].

Jason Hopson, a 30-year-old member of the Muscogee Creek nation, said law enforcement’s recent actions had made him so enraged that it was hard not to consider whether protesters should fight back in a more substantial way.

“It’s discouraging to continue to be peaceful,” he said, adding that the acquittal of the Bundys provided further proof that an armed demonstration could be more effective.

But ultimately, Hopson said, he felt the group’s message must remain peaceful. “We want them to realize this is about their grandkids’ water,” he said.

The Bundys’ message to Standing Rock Related: How the Oregon militia acquittals reflect the appeal of white nationalist agitators[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/29/oregon-militia-bundys-acquittals-anti-government-right-influence]

Some of the Oregon activists celebrating victory this week expressed support for the Native American leaders in North Dakota, saying they hoped the not guilty verdict would inspire continued resistance.

Asked about Standing Rock after his release from jail on Thursday night, the Oregon defendant David Fry[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/27/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-brothers-not-guilty-trial] said: “They need to take a look at this and realize battles can be won. They need to stay strong and not let the federal government push them around and coerce them into believing that they might be guilty.”

Angie Bundy, Ryan Bundy’s wife, said of the pipeline protests: “I’m proud of them for standing their ground.”

The Oregon and North Dakota demonstrations should both serve as a wake-up call to government officials that if they ignore citizens’ grievances, people will organize, Angie added.

“I’m just hoping that people won’t have to protest. I’m hoping the government will remember who they work for.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In Florida, Democrat Patrick Murphy tries to highlight hypocrisy, but Republican Marco Rubio has proved resilient in a key Senate race

As Marco Rubio and Patrick Murphy squared off in the final debate of their Florida Senate race, the discussion turned to the Syrian civil war. Rubio, a former presidential candidate and member of the Senate intelligence committee, challenged his rival’s understanding of the factions on the ground. Murphy, a two-term congressman, reverted to a familiar line.

Related: Inside a Donald Trump rally: good people in a feedback loop of paranoia and hate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/donald-trump-voters-rally-election-crowd]

“It just goes back to the same point,” he said, “that Senator Rubio continues to support Donald Trump, and it is shameful that he stands there with him.”

The audience laughed, faintly, at one of nearly 20 mentions of the Republican presidential nominee[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/donald-trump-voters-rally-election-crowd] during the one-hour debate. When Murphy next mentioned Trump, Rubio was quick with a rejoinder based on a famous Joe Biden rebuke of Rudy Giuliani[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DteDRD6cbbM] : “A noun, a verb and Donald Trump: that’s his answer to everything.”

The race in Florida, among the most closely watched in the country, could help determine whether Republicans keep control of the Senate. Democrats see the vote as a referendum on Trump. But Murphy’s mentions of the businessman underscored the potential limitations of using the top of the ticket to mount attacks down the ballot.

Murphy has questioned how Rubio can endorse Trump, whom Rubio has called “a con man”, untrustworthy with the nuclear codes, and “the most vulgar person ever to aspire to the presidency”. In recent weeks, polls have given the Democrat hope, in part because Trump is trailing Hillary Clinton in Florida by around three points. But with nine days left before Election Day, Rubio is about seven points up on Trump in the state.

‘Less than ideal choices’ This week, both candidates spoke to the Guardian. “I’ve said all along that these are less than ideal choices before us,” Rubio said, “and that’s why we need a senator willing to stand up to the next president no matter who it is – even if it’s from your own party.”

Rubio was speaking on the day the FBI director, James Comey, said the agency was reviewing emails that might be pertinent to the closed investigation into Clinton’s use of a private server while secretary of state.

“The question now is will Patrick Murphy still 100% trust Hillary Clinton, as he has said in the past,” he said.

Murphy, who spoke earlier in the week after appearing with Clinton at a rally in Coconut Creek, said there was no comparison between the Democratic and Republican presidential nominees.

“I’m grateful that Senator Rubio’s connecting me to Secretary Clinton,” Murphy said. “You look at what she’s been fighting for her entire life, and you contrast that to Donald Trump. You talk about a contrast of both qualifications and temperament for who our next world leader is going to be.”

Citing Trump’s litany of inflammatory comments – against **immigrants**, Muslims, women, the Gold Star parents of an Iraq war hero, prisoners of war and more – Murphy said it was “appalling to a lot of Floridians that Marco Rubio continues to stand by Donald Trump’s side”.

“A lot of people had the courage to stand up to Donald Trump,” he added, noting the flurry of Republicans who withdrew their support earlier this month after a video was unearthed from 2005[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/08/john-mccain-donald-trump-sex-boast-tape] in which the former reality TV star bragged about groping and kissing women without consent.

Rubio, despite condemning Trump’s comments, was not among them. His has kept Trump at a distance, however, making no campaign appearances with the nominee despite his frequent presence in Florida.

Rubio’s rationale rests primarily in the balance of the supreme court, where the vacancy left by Antonin Scalia remains. In the primary, Rubio doubted whether Trump would nominate a conservative. He told the Guardian a list of potential appointees released by Trump was “encouraging”.

“We’ll have to wait and see who wins the election and whether he’ll actually do that,” Rubio said. “But they’ll be held to the same standard, whether it’s a Republican president or a Democrat president … I’m looking for people that will apply the constitution according to the original intent of the words of the constitution.”

Rubio also expressed confidence that he would be judged on his own record. Saying his opponent lacked any legislative accomplishments despite having served in Congress for four years, Rubio touted his own work on issues such as human trafficking, sanctions against Venezuela and Hezbollah, and veterans affairs.

Asked if he would be willing to work with Clinton, he stopped short of naming potential areas of agreement. “I have a record of working with people across the aisle, and I’ll work with anyone if they’re pursuing ideas that I think are good for America,” he said.

Murphy, whose time in Congress has been been spent in the minority, denied he had little to show. He listed funding for the Everglades, preventing cuts to a key component of Medicare, and securing lower flood insurance rates, and stated his commitment to issues such as climate change, equal pay and raising the minimum wage.

He has nonetheless struggled with a lack of name recognition, compounded by limited resources after national Democratic groups withdrew millions of dollars in reserved ad spending.

The decision has drawn criticism from some observers, for its apparent abandonment of a race many believe is winnable. Others complain of a missed opportunity to deliver a fatal blow to Rubio, whom many believe will make another run for the presidency, potentially challenging Clinton in 2020.

But some involved in Democrats’ efforts to retake the Senate defended their move, citing Florida’s expensive media markets in comparison to battlegrounds such as Indiana, Missouri, and North Carolina, where money can prove more influential.

“I do think the threat of him running for president in 2020 is real,” a Senate Democratic strategist said of Rubio. “But our goal is to take back the Senate and win the White House right now. We’re not running a campaign for 2020.”

‘The height of cynicism’ Another Democratic strategist familiar with the Florida Senate race said internal polling conducted by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and the Clinton campaign showed Murphy trailing Rubio by high single digits. On Thursday, FiveThirtyEight[http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/senate-update-rubio-is-keeping-the-republicans-hopes-alive-in-the-senate] gave Rubio an 81% chance of defeating Murphy, finding the sitting senator ahead in 48 of 50 public polls.

Pressure to reinvest in the race did pay some dividends last week, when a Super Pac affiliated with Senate minority leader Harry Reid confirmed it was transferring a seven-figure sum to a pro-Murphy super pac in Florida. Nonetheless, Murphy has largely had to rely on earned media coverage and high-profile surrogates.

Among the most vocal has been Barack Obama, who called Rubio’s support for Trump “the height of cynicism”.

“How can you call him a ‘con artist’ and ‘dangerous’ and object to all the controversial things he says and then say, ‘But I’m still gonna vote for him?’ C’mon, man!” Obama said at a campaign stop in Miami Gardens.

“That’s the sign of somebody who will say anything, do anything, pretend to be anybody, just to get elected. And you know what? If you’re willing to be anybody just to be somebody, then you don’t have the leadership that Florida needs in the United States Senate.”

Clinton has also urged voters to back Murphy and made a familiar connection: “Unlike his opponent, Patrick Murphy has not been afraid to stand up to Donald Trump and his dangerous, divisive campaign.”

Related: Donald Trump's ghostwriter on being the 'Dr Frankenstein' who made a monster[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/30/donald-trump-tony-schwartz-art-of-the-deal-out-of-control]

Such high-profile support, however, may prove too little, too late. For one thing, Rubio has a solid base of support among Hispanic voters, many of whom identify with the Spanish-speaking son of Cuban **immigrants** and in 2012 accounted for 17% of Florida’s electorate.

Murphy ramped up his outreach to the Hispanic community – somewhat belatedly, some say. In doing so, he sought to revive Rubio’s involvement in a comprehensive **immigration** reform bill in 2013, noting that the senator backed away from the issue when faced with backlash from conservatives.

It has been an uphill battle. In Miami’s Little Havana recently, at one of Clinton’s 81 Florida field offices, volunteers labored to get out the vote. Dozens of voters, mostly Latino, entered and left the building.

Among them were Azalia and Lucia Rodriguez. Originally from Nicaragua, they were motivated in part by resentment of Trump and said they would vote for Clinton. They did not support Rubio, they said. But they also did not plan to vote for Murphy.

Their reason? They hadn’t heard of him.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Trump’s crowd is full of honest and decent people – but the Republican’s invective has a chilling effect on fans of his one-man show

This is what greets you when you arrive at a Trump rally: two 18-wheelers parked outside the sports stadium where the Republican nominee will be speaking, placed end-to-end so that nobody can miss them. The front truck, painted white, has “The Donald for President” scrawled across its side, above the slogans: “All lives matter”, “Build the wall”, and “Keep Mexican dope in Mexico”.

It is a relatively gentle introduction to Trumpworld, a scattering of antagonism for the gathering crowd. If only the same could be said about the yellow truck parked right behind it.

“Hillary for prison”, it says beside a picture of Hillary Clinton behind bars. Another image of the Democratic presidential candidate has her brains spilling out of her skull with the caption: “Concussion wired”. Bill Clinton is seen laughing above the words: “Just realized if Hillary wins … I get interns”. A final shot of Hillary has her pointing at her husband and saying: “Bill! Monica gave you what?”

A couple of hundred feet away, in full view of the trucks, thousands of supporters patiently line up to hear their idol. Many of them have been here for hours. Many have small children in tow, including Jillian Major, a school food provider (“I’m a lunch lady”) who has an eight-month-old son in her arms and her daughter, 10, standing by her side.

What does Major think of the flood of revelations about Trump’s sexual indiscretions? I ask, trying to keep my voice down so that the girl won’t hear. “Hillary Clinton’s still married to Bill,” the mother replies, unflustered, “and he had oral sex in the White House, so she can’t say anything.”

Related: Election diary: Trump pledges to #DrainTheSwamp and Clinton turns 69[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/29/election-diary-donald-trump-hillary-clinton-birthday]

Isn’t she worried about the impact on her daughter of potentially having someone in the White House who brags about groping women’s genitals? “I’ll teach my own daughter to be independent and stand up for herself; that’s my job, not the president’s.”

A column of men and women stomp past heading for the front of the line, a confidence in their step as they march by sporting Harley-Davidson leather jackets. Who are they? Where are they going?

“We’re Bikers for Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/jul/19/bikers-for-trump-at-rnc-openly-carry-guns-video], and we’re going to join the VIP line,” says one of the club. “We ride for Trump; they make sure we get in.”

After only 15 minutes in Trumpworld, already the incongruities are overwhelming. Bikers in the VIP line, coming to support a real estate tycoon who lives in a $100m gilded penthouse[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3303819/Inside-Donald-Trump-s-100m-penthouse-lots-marble-gold-rimmed-cups-son-s-toy-personalized-Mercedes-15-000-book-risqu-statues.html]. A mother absolving Trump for his self-proclaimed sexual predation[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/08/donald-trump-lewd-tape-groping-recording-apology-debate-republicans] as her 10-year-old daughter listens in. Thousands lining up to Make America Great Again in the shadow of an 18-wheeler covered in crude sexual references.

As the bewildering 2016 presidential election draws to a close, some basic questions are left hanging in the air. After we have spent months watching the impossible happen, of hearing the defense of the indefensible, of observing American values – one after another ­– fall like bowling pins, it’s time to ask: what has this sometimes maddening, bizarre, gruesome, hilarious, shocking, scary Trump phenomenon been about? More urgently, once the pall of this most baffling of presidential elections has cleared and 8 November fades into the background, what will the Donald have left behind?

Some of the answers to those questions come easily, shared freely by Trump’s supporters as they wait in line. Conspiracy theories are one aspect of the destruction wrought by Hurricane Donald likely to be with us for a long time.

Here’s Vjekoslav Grgas, a Croatian American, standing dutifully in the non-VIP line. In five short minutes, he rattles off a litany of horror stories. Did you know that three men were assassinated at the Democratic national convention in July to cover up the fact that they were the source of the WikiLeaks dump of hacked Democratic emails? Or that the liberal financier George Soros bankrolled several US foreign policy disasters, and that Hillary Clinton personally pocketed 99% of the donations to the Clinton Foundation following the 2010 Haiti earthquake? In a rare note of discordance with the Republican nominee, he even adds that Trump was wrong to finally admit[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/16/donald-trump-barack-obama-birther-video] last month that Barack Obama is an American, as the US president’s birth certificate was obviously Photoshopped.

Other elements of the Trump phenomenon are more difficult to tease out. Phrases are thrown out from the line with such repetitive frequency that they take on the blandness of cliches. One of the VIP Bikers for Trump, John Hearl, is among many at the rally who says he likes the reality TV star because unlike career politicians, Trump “speaks his own mind”.

“Trump’s going to say what needs to be said, and if that offends somebody, well then, they just have to understand the goal of all this.”

Which is?

“America first.”

A little further ahead in the VIP line stands Carole Urban, wearing a sequined hat in the colors of the American flag. She says she is also looking forward to hearing Trump speaking, because “he’s down to our level. He’s not like past presidents who prepare a beautiful speech but it’s not coming from the heart. He speaks it like it is.”

Beautiful speeches from past presidents. Is she referring to Obama?

She pulls her shoulders back and with a note of indignation says: “When I first heard Obama I was elected, I thought he could improve our country. I voted for him in 2008. I was so disillusioned in him – after four years, he helped ruin this country.”

Was part of that disillusionment to do with Obama’s “beautiful speech”, as she puts it?

She shrugs a second time. “Yes, I was angry about his oratory. The way he was speaking, it touched my soul, it was so beautiful. A black person, everyone says, but he’s actually mulatto. I thought he could do a great job helping American people, but it didn’t happen like that.”

When I ask Urban about how, as a woman, she feels about Trump’s self-confessed sexually predatory behavior, she gets indignant. “I’m sick and tired of this being brought up. Words come out in the wrong way at times; you put your foot in your mouth. I don’t think Donald Trump is remotely derogatory to women.”

To follow Urban’s train of thought: Trump is loved by his supporters not just because of the content of what he says, such as his seemingly endless ability to insult anyone from Mexicans[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2015/06/16/trump\_mexico\_not\_sending\_us\_their\_best\_criminals\_drug\_dealers\_and\_rapists\_are\_crossing\_border.html] to Muslims[http://www.cnn.com/2015/12/07/politics/donald-trump-muslim-ban-immigration/] to African Americans[http://www.cnn.com/2016/08/19/politics/donald-trump-african-american-voters/] to women[http://www.cosmopolitan.com/politics/news/a44629/donald-trump-insults-women/]. It’s also the way he says it. It’s the language he uses: unscripted, unpolished, and not infrequently unintelligible. He is the antithesis of the fancy, considered Obama, with the Harvard law degree and the “beautiful speech”.

The contrast is worth exploring. Here is Obama speaking on the campaign trail at a similar end-game stage in the 2008 election: “Hope! That’s what kept our parents going when times were tough. It’s what led **immigrants** from distant lands to come to these shores against great odds and carve a new life for their families in America; what led those who couldn’t vote to march and organize and stand for freedom, that led them to cry out: ‘It may look dark tonight, but if I hold on to hope, tomorrow will be brighter.’”

And here is Trump speaking tonight at the rally, reproduced verbatim: “Bikers love me. I will see these bikers, oftentimes on Harleys, not always, but a lot of times. I feel so safe with these bikers. A lot of times they don’t want to come inside, they just want to make sure I feel safe. I love you guys, I love you guys.”

Or this on his rival: “Hillary lied. No, no, no, she lied. She’s a liar. And she lied and she lied. She lied. It’s so important we vote in November so that we get rid of these liars, these incompetent people, the Hillary Clintons.”

So what if Trump’s diction is less than perfect? There are no rules on how a would-be president should communicate with the people, nor are there minimum standards of rhetorical prowess for the White House.

What seems apparent is that Trump has given his followers the license to emulate him in throwing caution to the wind and saying things that previously were considered unacceptable. Trump has also opened a new era in American politics in which it doesn’t matter what you say or how you say it. Be as offensive as you like. Speak your own mind.

Related: Stop right there: assuming a Hillary Clinton victory is downright dangerous | Kate Aronoff[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/28/hillary-clinton-poll-assuming-win-is-downright-dangerous]

Inside the sports stadium, the impact of the Republican presidential nominee’s anti-oratory is all around us. Many are wearing “Hillary Clinton For Prison” T-shirts. Others have shirts that say “Proud member of the basket of deplorables”, a reference to the Democratic nominee’s unflattering description[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/10/hillary-clinton-half-of-trumps-supporters-go-into-the-basket-of-deplorables-video] of half of Trump’s following. A third T-shirt design scattered among the crowd has the face of Bill Clinton superimposed on the famous 2008 rainbow-colored Obama poster, with the word Hope replaced by Rape.

As the rally gets rowdier, whipped into a half-frenzy by the warm-up speakers, “Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up!” chants fill thestadium.

The former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani comes on to introduce the main speaker and immediately launches into a story about locker rooms, turning the candidate’s excuse for why he bragged about grabbing “pussy” into a joke. Then he turns his comments on Clinton, adding: “I’m going to get down off the stage with you into the basket of deplorables. Because unlike Clinton, you speak the truth. You’re for real, she’s a phoney.”

There’s a disconnect between the ugly schoolyard name-calling coming from the speakers and the outward appearance of their audience. Yes, there are the usual smattering of patriotic followers in costume of the sort that frequent any Republican event: women robed in the Stars and Stripes; men posing as Uncle Sam with crooked top hats like wonky chimneys on their heads. But most Trump supporters wear the unassuming uniform of middle America: jeans, checked shirt and jacket.

Most, too, are in work, and their median income[http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-mythology-of-trumps-working-class-support/] is in fact above the national average. Until Trump and his surrogates get to work on them, the thousands filling the arena come across as wholly unexceptional: a genial bunch intent on enjoying themselves for the night, rather than die-hard fanatics baying for Clinton’s blood.

It’s the children who are the most striking. There are lots of them peppered around the stadium, from toddlers in diapers to wide-eyed teenagers taking it all in.

“I think Trump will bring back jobs,” says Ben, aged 13. “And he’ll close the borders down to Mexicans and illegal **immigrants** so that less young people like me die of opioid addiction.”

It’s a hefty thought for a 13-year-old. Does Ben know of anyone who’s died of a painkiller overdose? “No, I don’t know anyone personally.”

The crowd is at it again, raising a deafening cry of: “Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up!” – a powerful civics class for a middle-schooler.

Ben reacts to the chant: “I think Clinton lied in front of federal Congress and continues to lie about her emails. She’s unfit to be president.”

Trump enters the auditorium and the atmosphere rises to another level. Before he arrived it was already electric; now it’s like one of those static balls that make your hair stand on end.

The candidate launches into his routinely un-beautiful speech. “If you’re talking about Crooked Hillary, what about the crooked media? CNN is a disgrace. CNN is a disgrace.”

A huge boo erupts from the stadium floor as the crowd turns towards the media compound where reporters and camera operators are penned in for the duration. Trump’s invective has an immediate and chilling impact among the crowd. Men and women who only moments ago were pleasantly talking to us, sharing generously their reflections on the state of the nation, are now jabbing their fingers in our direction and spitting: “CNN sucks! CNN sucks! CNN sucks!” The hatred is intimidating.

“I’m telling you, folks, they are so dishonest,” Trump continues. “Without the media Hillary Clinton couldn’t be elected dog-catcher.”

He pauses, strutting up and down the stage like Mick Jagger in a business suit. He looks elated.

“Unshackled” is how he later describes his mood. But better than that would be “unbothered”. Donald Trump seems no longer bothered about the election, whether he wins or loses. He no longer cares about his perceived humiliation at the hands of CNN. Perhaps all he cares about is the adoration he is feeling right here, right now, in the Trumpworld bubble, surrounded by his adoring devotees.

And then it dawns. Trump is not just an enabler of his people. They enable him, too. This is a never-ending feedback loop of paranoia, hate, fear and envy that drives them – good, honest, decent people – down to the muddy bottom.

Related: Trump's rise and Brexit vote are more an outcome of culture than economics[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/28/trumps-rise-and-brexit-vote-are-more-an-outcome-of-culture-than-economics]

“Is there any more fun to be had than at a Trump rally?” Trump says, before launching into his favorite dialogue with the crowd that by now comes as second nature.

“We are going to build a…”

“Wall,” boom the Trumpistas.

“Who is going to pay for the wall?”

In the split second before the inevitable answer comes from the crowd, I turn around to look at Ben, seated a couple of rows behind me.

“Mexico!” shouts the 13-year-old. The boy is smiling, and clapping gleefully.

Before Trump departs for his private jet and Fifth Avenue apartment modeled on Versailles, this unlikely man of the people has a final word for his presidential fans. “You’re going to look back on this rally for the rest of your life,” he tells them. “This is a movement like you’ve never seen before and you will never see again. Believe me, it will never happen again.”

His point is clear: the marvel of Trumpworld can never be reconstructed by anyone other than the greatest political real estate developer of them all, Donald Trump. His one-man show is reaching the end of its run, but its impact may endure in a coarser, darker discourse even if he does lose on 8 November.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Kati Marton’s ninth book, True Believer, is a fascinating and stirringly relevant portrait of a devout communist from Boston who worked for the Soviet regime

“It’s no exaggeration to say that the story of Noel Field is in my DNA.”

Kati Marton takes a sip of coffee. Her parents were Hungarian journalists, jailed by the Soviet regime in Budapest in the 1950s. Her father was kept in a secret police prison cell that once held Field, in a jail that also held Field’s wife, Herta. When all concerned were free, Endre and Illona Marton[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/11/01/AR2005110101850.html] were the first and only journalists to interview Field. The Martons then fled to America.

Related: The spy who couldn’t spell: how the biggest heist in the history of US espionage was foiled | Yudhijit Bhattacharjee[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/26/spy-couldnt-spell-how-biggest-heists-us-espionage-history-foiled]

And who was Noel Field? He was a Boston quaker, born in 1904, a brilliant mind who completed Harvard in two years and joined the state department. He was also a devout communist who died in exile in Hungary, far from Washington DC. As the title of Kati Marton’s remarkable new book has it, he was a True Believer: Stalin’s Last American Spy[https://www.amazon.com/dp/1476763763/ref=pd\_lpo\_sbs\_dp\_ss\_1?pf\_rd\_p=1944687462&pf\_rd\_s=lpo-top-stripe-1&pf\_rd\_t=201&pf\_rd\_i=1849043442&pf\_rd\_m=ATVPDKIKX0DER&pf\_rd\_r=SAGV0PNZCJZVM6PYRBR0].

On a glorious October morning in New York, in a cafe on West 76th, Marton and I discuss that new book, her ninth. It mines a rich seam: spies and spying, central Europe between the wars and after, the devastating effects of totalitarianism, fanaticism and betrayal.

“I have a fascination with espionage that goes back to my earliest childhood,” she says. “I think I first heard the word ‘spy’, the Hungarian word for it, when I was six years old when my parents were falsely accused of being spies – for being good journalists really, the last independent journalists in Budapest in the 1950s. And the intersections between my saga and Noel Field’s saga are bizarre.”

In precis, Field’s bizarre saga is this. Appalled by the horrors of the first world war, an internationalist and pacifist, he was pushed left by the Great Depression, the executions of Sacco and Vanzetti[http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/magazine/archive/1927/03/the-case-of-sacco-and-vanzetti/306625/] and President Hoover’s brutal treatment of the Bonus Army[https://zinnedproject.org/materials/the-bonus-army/]. Seeking to correct the repressive course he thought his country was on, to prevent another war, Field began to pass documents to Russia.

In Spain during the civil war, he worked for the League of Nations. During the second world war, he ran aid for the Unitarian Service Committee – and channelled it to communists first. He also worked for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), a predecessor of the CIA. In peacetime, he went to Prague. He hoped to find new purpose but he was seized, taken to Hungary, imprisoned and brutally tortured.

Field became a pawn in the last Stalinist purges, his name deployed in show trials to incriminate others though he was never tried himself. As Marton tells in shattering sequence, in the most extraordinary passages of an extraordinary book, family members went behind the Iron Curtain to find him. They paid a terrible cost. Field’s faith never wavered, though, and in Budapest in 1970 he was buried with full Soviet honours.

‘The fixed point has always been Budapest’ In Marton’s last book but one, Enemies of the People[http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/01/books/review/Furst-t.html], she told her parents’ story: how they were taken from her when she was five, how they came back, how they fled to freedom. She then wrote Paris: A Love Story[https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/books/paris-a-love-story-by-kati-marton/2012/08/31/8b554d8c-f058-11e1-adc6-87dfa8eff430\_story.html], a meditation on her marriage to the diplomat Richard Holbrooke and her grief after his sudden death[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/14/richard-holbrooke-obituary] in 2010. Then she turned homewards once more.

“My life has been a rather turbulent one,” she says, after 40 years or more[http://www.womanaroundtown.com/sections/woman-around-town/woman-around-town-kati-marton-her-own-person] as an award-winning journalist and writer, “but the fixed point has always been Budapest and what happened in those years, because they were shrouded in mystery. My parents did not fancy talking about either the communist period or even less the one that preceded it.

“When I finished my last book I was looking for a way to get out of my own saga. And I picked up [the historian] Arthur Schlesinger’s memoir, A Life in the 20th Century[https://www.nytimes.com/books/00/11/26/reviews/001126.26franket.html], and up popped this name, Noel Field, as someone who had worked with Schlesinger and the OSS and whom Schlesinger had never trusted.”

Marton began work, quickly finding that “surviving family members were very receptive to my research because they themselves didn’t know very much”. The Field family made available correspondence which “forms very much the spine of this book”.

Marton discovered a truly extraordinary character, a man whose motives might genuinely be described as good who ended up working against his own country, in the service of a nightmare regime. Field suffered brutally for such loyalty. But he was directly implicated in the death of at least one person and his name was used to condemn many others. Throughout the book, the horrors of the Gulag loom large.

“It’s a human drama in a political context,” Marton says, “but to me what’s interesting is what motivates such a person – well-born, superbly educated with every privilege, poised on a dream career – to espouse one of the most violent, destructive ideologies?”

She cannot have imagined that her attempt to answer this question would be published at such a propitious time. For one thing, the book has come out in the midst of a presidential election in which one candidate’s apparent ties to Russia and a brutal Russian leader[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/30/donald-trump-paul-manafort-ukraine-russia-putin-ties] have been constantly, hotly and sensationally debated.

Related: Donald Trump and Russia: a web that grows more tangled all the time[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/30/donald-trump-paul-manafort-ukraine-russia-putin-ties]

When the name “Donald Trump” comes up in conversation, Marton – a friend of the Clintons – grimaces and elides, though she alights on an issue nonetheless distinctly linked to the rise of the Republican presidential nominee.

“I’m very involved with **refugee** issues,” she says. “I’m an overseer of the International Rescue Committee[https://www.rescue.org/] and I’m a **refugee** myself, having benefited from American largesse. And [in the 1930s] as now the country was showing its worst side, its least generous side to **refugees**, in that case fleeing Nazism. And this played a big role in Field’s radicalisation.

“Of course the connection to today’s world is very interesting to me, regarding the power of an idea to blind a man and how fanaticism works. And when I finished writing this, I thought: ‘Holy cow, how am I ever going to get the public’s attention when the public is obsessed with Trump and the ‘war against terror’?”

“So I thought, ‘Well, I’m going to write an essay and put it right at the front of the book, called The Capture of Minds, whereby I connect the capture of young, **alienated**, lost idealists today by a really destructive, toxic but addictive ideology, that is Islamic fundamentalism, with its 1930s equivalent, which was global communism and Stalinism, for another disenchanted generation which had basically given up on their own countries’ ability to set things to rights.

“America then was a nation that was deeply divided, and its youth had given up on politics as usual. So they were very susceptible to a messiah promising to right every wrong.”

Witches in the government Inevitably, reviewers[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/11/books/review/true-believer-kati-marton.html?\_r=0] of Marton’s book have cited the novels of John Le Carré, presenting Field as a spy who did not come in from the cold. The sheer naivety of her subject, however, sometimes brings the book closer, in a bizarre way, to the comedies of PG Wodehouse. In one extraordinary scene, Field, intoxicated on his faith, bounds up the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to sing the Internationale in Russian, horrified NKVD handlers milling embarrassedly about below. Imagine a great lost masterpiece – Psmith[https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2014/may/07/pg-wodehouse-creative-writing-leave-it-to-psmith-reading-group] : Stalinist Spy.

But if there is comedy in Marton’s larger story, it is pitch black. Somehow, while Field was spying for Stalin in 1930s Washington, he went undetected. Some suspected him in Europe but the story of how he went east – was arrested, jailed, tortured and finally released into carefully controlled retirement – is shot through with instances of remarkable human frailty.

Orwell also looms over Marton’s tale, in Spain and in the cells and torture chambers of eastern Europe. Some reviewers have questioned[http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/sep/20/book-review-true-believer-stalins-last-american-sp/] the impact of Field’s activities, but Field was real: a genuine spy for the totalitarian Soviet regime. And he was not alone, in his spying and in the terrible, contradictory price that he paid.

By the time of the communist witch-hunts of the 1950s, Marton says, the reds under America’s bed existed mostly in the tortured mind of Senator Joe McCarthy[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/donald-trump-on-terror-mccarthyism-for-new-age]. “But in the 30s, in the highest reaches of the American government, I’m talking in the White House, the state department, there were witches … I loved finding these super-weird nutcases who absolutely believed in Stalin and were then destroyed by him.

Related: How Cambridge spy Guy Burgess charmed the Observer’s man in Moscow[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/28/cambridge-spy-guy-burgess-charmed-observer-files]

“J Edgar Hoover, who eventually came to run the reign of terror in Washington, when he knew everything about everybody’s lives, was flat-footed when it came to members of the US government who were betraying their own country.”

Among Americans who spied for Russia, such as contemporaries and friends Alger Hiss[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/oct/19/joan-brady-alger-hiss-was-framed-by-nixon] and Laurence Duggan[https://www.nytimes.com/books/99/01/03/reviews/990103.03persict.html], Noel Field may indeed be a minor figure. Certainly his name is not nearly so well known as those of Guy Burgess, Kim Philby, Donald Maclean and Anthony Blunt, the “Cambridge spies” who chose to betray Great Britain[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/oct/23/mi5-mi6-coverup-cambridge-spy-ring-archive-papers].

“He’s different from Philby and his ilk,” Marton says. “Noel Field was a desperately needy man. He was much less of a cynic than your lot, if I may call them that. He was needy of family, a larger family, and a sense of belonging, which the party offered even if he was not allowed to join that party until he was useless to Moscow as a spy.

“Then he joined, and typically for this man who never failed to make the wrong choice, he joined the Communist party in the year that it imploded, 1956, with Khrushchev denouncing Stalin followed by the Hungarian revolution, the first armed popular uprising against Soviet rule. That’s when Field finally came in from the cold, as an open member of the Communist party.”

Marton’s book may help bring Field to the light, alongside Hiss and Philby, Blunt and Maclean in the halls of Anglo-American infamy.

\* True Believer: Stalin’s Last American Spy, by Kati Marton, is out now in the US. It is published in the UK[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/true-believer-453061.html] on 3 November.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Criticisms call into question Australian government’s insistence that Nauruan system is capable of properly administering justice to the people it sends there

A Nauruan magistrate has criticised the country’s prosecutors over their handling of a case brought against a **refugee** on the island who threatened to set fire to himself and his family.

In a scathing rebuke[http://www.paclii.org/nr/cases/NRDC/2016/29.html] the magistrate said the legal team was “ignorant of its prosecutorial duty”.

A series of decisions from the district court of Nauru have recently been published online, giving a rare glimpse into the Nauruan justice system – which the Australian government and its **immigration** department have consistently maintained is robust and capable of handling complex matters.

These statements have been repeated following the Guardian’s publication of the Nauru files[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention], which revealed the devastating trauma and abuse inflicted on children held by Australia in offshore detention.

Related: Asylum seekers face lifetime ban from entering Australia if they arrive by boat[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/30/asylum-seekers-face-lifetime-ban-on-entering-australia-if-they-arrive-by-boat]

But the court decisions filed on the Pacific Legal institute’s website[http://www.paclii.org/nr/cases/NRDC/2016/] show that questions linger over the capacity of the Nauruan police and prosecutors.

In one case the Nauruan police charged an asylum seeker for threatening to kill himself and his family. The man had made a disclosure of self-harm and threatened to set fire to himself and his family.

Nauru subsequently removed attempted suicide from its criminal code, on 28 April 2016, but the man was charged before this occurred – and a string of cases[http://www.paclii.org/nr/cases/NRDC/2016/26.html] show that self-harm threats and attempts are still being prosecuted using the alternate offence of threatening to kill and arson[http://www.paclii.org/nr/cases/NRDC/2016/38.html].

The man’s case proceeded to hearing in June 2016. The magistrate queried the prosecution’s gathering[http://www.paclii.org/nr/cases/NRDC/2016/29.html] of statements from key witnesses to the incident, who were all staff contracted by Australia to provide **refugee** settlement services.

One of the case workers employed by Connect Settlement Services gave a statement but then refused to sign it. The magistrate questioned why the prosecution had failed to appropriately take statements and explain this to the court.

“Does this court not need an explanation coming from the prosecution to enable this court to strike a balance in the exercise of its discretion on whether or not to grant bail to the defendant?” she wrote.

“I find this aspect of the prosecution submission, so strange and ignorant of its prosecutorial duty to assist the court.”

The police and magistrate Emma Garo eventually ruled[http://www.paclii.org/nr/cases/NRDC/2016/48.html] that the prosecution had failed to make out their case.

“The end result is there is no evidence before this court to show the defendant has a case to answer,” she wrote. “The charge against the defendant is dismissed and the defendant is acquitted.”

Other decisions raise further concerns about the conduct of the Nauruan prosecutors.

In another case[http://www.paclii.org/nr/cases/NRDC/2016/52.html] where a case was brought against an asylum seeker for sabotage, prosecutors and police failed to take statements from an unnamed Filipino employee relevant to the case. Garo wrote that there was “no explanation” from prosecutors about why they failed to do so.

In another case[http://www.paclii.org/nr/cases/NRDC/2016/54.html], not related to any of the asylum seekers or **refugees** held in Australia’s care, Garo criticised police for failing to execute an arrest warrant authorised for a case for a period of nine months.

“No explanation has been given to the court as to why there has been a delay in executing the bench warrants to have the defendant arrested and brought before the court,” she wrote.

“In the absence of an explanation for the delay in executing the bench warrant, the delay must be deemed to be unreasonable and taken in favour of the defendant to mitigate in favour of a reduction in sentence.”

And in a further case[http://www.paclii.org/cgi-bin/sinodisp/nr/cases/NRDC/2016/40.html] relating to an assault prosecution, Nauruan officers took a witness statement that was provided in Nauruan and translated it into English without taking any original recording.

Garo wrote that the situation left the police statements “tainted with such an unfairness” that they were inadmissible to the court.

“In this case we have the English translation as translated by the police without the Nauruan version being actually recorded.

“There is nothing to compare or even analyse whether the translations as are recorded are an accurate translation of what has been asked and answered in Nauruan. The absence of the Nauruan version of the interview, cannot take the prosecution case any further.”

The Nauruan government has been contacted for comment about the handling of the cases.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Britain’s self-image is going to need some updating, because ‘stout-hearted saviour of those in need’ just doesn’t seem quite right

When I moved to Britain in 1990, I was pretty happy with my new home. But there were two things I couldn’t understand: first, why there were only four channels on TV (four! It was like living in a third-world country); second, why Britons were so obsessed with the second world war (that’s right, it’s not just the Germans who notice this). Britain and I have since compromised on the TV issue, because while you can still count the number of channels on one hand, at least we’re united in the international language of streaming.

But I have long since fathomed the war obsession. Countries forge their self-image on what they deem to be their greatest hour, and all who come after it live in its shadow. For more than 70 years, Britain has been able to think of itself as the plucky country that refused to betray the continent’s neediest citizens, who fought against its basest sentiments and, in doing so, saved Europe. I’ve occasionally wondered how different the national character would be if Britain had given into appeasement: would people be even more self-deprecating? Or would they instead try to style out their collective shame with arrogance and affected rudeness, comme les Français?

These are merely hypothetical musings, of course, but I am fascinated by how a country’s self-image affects the national character, particularly when this self-image starts to corrode. Perhaps that’s not surprising, given that I come from America, a country that so prides itself on self-reliance that the prospect of more affordable healthcare is still viewed by many of those who need it most as a gateway to reds under the bed.

One of my favourite novels is The Remains Of The Day [https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/dec/06/kazuo-ishiguro-the-remains-of-the-day-guardian-book-club], again unsurprisingly, given that it consists of an outsider’s take on the British character (the author, Kazuo Ishiguro, was born in Japan). The turning point in that book comes when the British aristocrat, Lord Darlington, instructs his butler, Stevens, to fire two young Jewish maids, because, well, you know. This, Ishiguro shows but never says, is an example of how the British character can go so wrong, thinking it is upholding national values but in the process betraying morality.

How different Lord Darlington was from one of my favourite film characters, Miss Price (Angela Lansbury) in Bedknobs And Broomsticks [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0066817/], who pluckily takes in three child evacuees, even though she’d only gone into town to collect her post. When I moved to Britain, Miss Price – singing her way up Portobello Road with three grubby kids in tow – pretty much summed up the British character for me. And given that my local train station for many years was Paddington, the landing spot of Britain’s most famous **refugee** – welcomed in by the Brown family with only jars of marmalade to recommend him – this, for a long time, seemed pretty accurate. After all, as that book’s author, Michael Bond, has said many times, the inspiration for his bear [https://www.theguardian.com/childrens-books-site/gallery/2016/jan/13/paddington-through-the-ages-michael-bond] came from his memory of child **refugees** during the war.

A certain amount of idealisation is involved when it comes to defining a national character. Still, I think we can all agree that Britain’s self-image is going to need some updating, because “stout-hearted saviour of those in need” just doesn’t seem quite right for a country that completely flips its wig over the prospect of 70 child **refugees**. “Residents of picturesque Devon village tell of their fury at ‘bizarre’ decision to send 70 young migrants there,” bellowed one recent headline [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3865588/Residents-picturesque-Devon-village-tell-fury-bizarre-decision-send-70-young-migrants-arrived-UK-jungle.html], suggesting the decision would be less bizarre if the “young migrants” – AKA child **refugees** – were sent somewhere less picturesque. Will Staines do? Can we check their teeth there?

Related: Trump's troubles show we have turned a corner: women's stories are being heard [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/22/donald-trump-troubles-show-turned-corner-womens-stories-being-heard]

“What responsible parent would put an actual child in the hands of such people?” stormed one rightwing columnist [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3863466/PETER-HITCHENS-child-refugees-fleeing-France-bad-coffee.html], displaying the common anti-**refugee** tendency to think only about where the **refugees** are now, not what they were fleeing from.

Once, it was a source of pride that those in need wanted to come here. Last weekend Labour MP Chi Onwurah tweeted that someone had put up a mocking poster [https://twitter.com/ChiOnwurah/status/790510050594947072] in a communal kitchen in parliament, depicting a pensioner captioned as a child **refugee**. The Sun, David Davies and everyone else seeking adult faces among the child **refugees** claim they are merely trying to keep Britain “safe” for future generations; but if we’re going to engage in this long-view thinking, how about looking at what kind of Britain we want our children to be defined by. There seems to be a lot of concern about the bad hombres exploiting “that famous British hospitality”. I don’t think we need worry about that for much longer.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Daughter of ‘the British Schindler’ calls on home secretary to extend same compassion as greeted the 669 children evacuated to Britain in 1939

The daughter of the British humanitarian who organised the Czech Kindertransport operation that saved 669 children on the eve of the second world war has written to the home secretary to urge that Britain extend the same “compassion and warmth” to the child **refugees** of Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/28/fears-for-calais-refugee-camp-children-who-were-bound-for-the-uk].

In an open letter[http://www.helprefugees.org.uk/news/barbara-winton-kindertransport-survivors-speak/] to Amber Rudd, Barbara Winton, whose father became known as “the British Oskar Schindler”, writes: “My father, Nicholas Winton, witnessed the appalling conditions children were enduring in the **refugee** camps in Czechoslovakia in 1939 and was determined to give them the chance of a better, safer life by bringing them to Britain.”

While many children returned to Czechoslovakia after the war, others, whose families had been murdered by the Nazis, remained in Britain and “became valuable, integrated citizens”, she says.

It is estimated there are 6,000 people across the world alive today thanks to the rescue.

She wrote: “Despite some disgruntled voices, much like today, protesting the dangers of allowing into our country those from such foreign cultures, the overwhelming response was one of compassion and warmth … Even at a time when city evacuations were being planned for British children, homes were found for these vulnerable young **refugees**.”

Now Winton is calling on the government to do the same for hundreds of unaccompanied child **refugees** stranded in Calais after the demolition of the makeshift camp.

She said: “Those who have travelled across Europe to Calais, to escape the life-threatening dangers of their home country, are hoping desperately to find the sanctuary their parents dared to believe Britain would once again offer.”

Related: The Guardian view on child **refugees**: too little, too late | Editorial[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/27/the-guardian-view-on-child-refugees-too-little-too-late]

The story of what Nicholas Winton achieved did not become public until 40 years after the event, and in 2003 he was knighted for “services to humanity in saving Jewish children from Nazi occupied Czechoslovakia”.

Two women, now in their 80s, who were among those rescued from the Nazis by Winton’s initiative, have also written to the government urging that the children stranded in Calais be brought to the UK.

Eve Leadbeater, 85, was brought to Britain in July 1939 as an unaccompanied minor and taken in by a primary schoolteacher who had responded to an appeal put out by Winton.

She wrote: “In the last few months I have been putting myself in the place of those unaccompanied children in Calais fleeing their own horrors; the contrast with my own experience has left me distressed and in tears.”

She said the increased animosity toward **immigrants** since the referendum has left her in shock: “In 2016 do we live in the same country that welcomed me in 1939?

“I keep thinking what those children could contribute to the UK. As an honest, hard-working British citizen since 1945, I hope I have repaid some of my debt to this country by teaching children in secondary schools and working as a charity volunteer in my retirement.”

Another Kindertransport child, Dr Lisa Midwinter, said she would have perished in the Auschwitz concentration camp with the rest of her family had it not been for the “generosity of the British government”.

In a separate letter she wrote that “we must now urgently help the Calais **refugee** children”.

Between 1938 and 1939, a large-scale British humanitarian operation brought 10,000 mostly Jewish children fleeing Hitler’s growing threat from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia to safe homes in the UK.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**At one of 450 swiftly converted properties across France, arrivals from Calais are recovering – and intent on learning French as fast as possible

Outside the Chteau de Montlaville in the wine village of Chardonnay, the faint tapping sound of a table tennis match coming from a veranda was the only sign of the 21 **refugees** who had been bussed from the squalid Calais camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/calais-camp-is-dismantled-along-with-dreams-of-getting-to-the-uk] to a temporary new home amid the vineyards of Burgundy.

Related: Calais minors lured from camp then abandoned by authorities[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/27/calais-camp-minors-children-abandoned-uk-france-human-rights]

“I’d forgotten what it felt like to sleep in a bed or to be warm,” said Ahmed, 25, who fled violence in Sudan and spent months in Calais living in a damp, leaking tent, hoping he could stowaway on a lorry to Kent. “It’s a relief to begin to feel safe now,” he said.

He queued from 5am to be on the first French government bus out of Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/world/calais] this week, as the state moved thousands of **refugees** and migrants to towns and villages across France when demolition of the camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/25/calais-camp-demolition-begins-charities-call-protection-minors-children-unicef] began. On the eight-hour journey through the French countryside, he stared at the motorway with no idea where he was going to end up. “All I knew was that I had to give up on England and try for a new life in France. Now I want to learn French, settle, be safe, give something back.”

I didn’t agree with a massive arrival. Two to three families would have been better perceived in the village

Paul Perre, mayor of Chardonnay

His new home was a shared room in this manor house in the Burgundy village that gave its name to the Chardonnay[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2008/sep/07/foodanddrink30] white grape. It was not a grandiose chteau but a basic former holiday retreat for groups of children and teenagers who once camped in the garden. In total, 450 properties across France have been swiftly found to serve as temporary accommodation centres for the Calais **refugees** and migrants – ranging from a disused geriatric hospital in the Brittany oyster town of Cancale to former children’s holiday camps in rural villages or empty council flats in an apartment block outside the southern city of Toulouse.

The **refugees** and migrants can only stay there for up to three or four months to – as the government said – “reflect on their future”, rest and, if they choose, begin the process to apply for asylum before being moved on to other specialised centres for asylum seekers.

These temporary reception centres are the latest stopping place in an ongoing journey that to many still seemed as if it would never end. But volunteer doctors were on hand to diagnose and examine the physical condition and potential post-traumatic stress of people who fled home and pushed on for over a year without attending to their health. For many, the first few days was spent gently recovering as the exhaustion from their travels finally set in. For most, their first aim was pressing: to learn French as fast as possible.

Ahmed had stepped outside to walk through Chardonnay, which has only 90 residents in its cluster of houses, with a total population of 200 including the farm houses set in the surrounding vineyards. He and four other Sudanese men had wanted to find a supermarket, but the quiet village has no shops, the nearest supermarket was 8km away.

Looking out at the autumn colours of the vineyards stretching as far as the eye could see, the stress and exhaustion from the Calais camp was clear in his face. The rural landscape and the quiet of the village seemed a little disorienting after the upheaval, and months of travelling across Africa and Europe.

“I know one day in the future everything will be ok, but there’s still further to go. It’s not over yet,” he said.

When the first coach arrived from Calais this week, several volunteers from the village were organising how they could help with French lessons, activities and donations. But the far-right and some of the French right have launched a nationwide “Not in my village” campaign against taking the Calais migrants, and some in Chardonnay were critical of their arrival.

Paul Perre, the mayor of Chardonnay, told the Guardian he wasn’t consulted on the plan to house the **refugees** and migrants, which was decided by the state prefect, and he didn’t like it. “I didn’t agree with a massive arrival,” he said. “Two to three families would have been better perceived in the village, better adapted to a village with only 90 people.”

The state prefect’s office insisted that the French republic had a “humanitarian duty of solidarity” to help those who had been sleeping rough in Calais.

This summer, Chardonnay had already provided a temporary home for 30 people when police cleared a fetid squatter camp south of Dunkirk on the northern coast and bussed the **refugees** and migrants south. Their stay passed well. But at a village meeting, some locals had voiced their opposition, complaining that having **refugees** in Chardonnay was a security risk, that they would scare children waiting for the school bus in the morning, prove damaging to the village or that house-prices would drop. One local alleged that migrants had once taken a bunch of grapes from a vine. Others complained that **refugees**’ bikes didn’t have proper lights on them.

On Saturday, Marine Le Pen[https://www.theguardian.com/world/marine-le-pen] ’s far-right Front National intends to hold a rally in the nearby commune of Digoin against the Calais migrants being brought there and to Chardonnay.

In her stone house in the village, Fabienne Durcy, a French teacher, sat at her wooden dining table planning her voluntary language lessons for the arrivals from Calais, and preparing to welcome the migrants. She had already taught the men who were brought to Chardonnay this summer from the squat near Dunkirk. “They were incredibly dedicated to learning French,” she said. “At first they were very tired after all that they’d lived through, and they rarely left the reception centre, but after about two weeks you could see the change in their faces as life began to normalise.”

Christophe Lambert, an art teacher who also gave voluntary lessons to the migrants, had founded a local association, Amigrants de Chardonnay, or Chardonnay Friends of Migrants, to counter what he felt was a barrage of negative campaigning from the right and far-right. He said: “I tell people: ‘If my son or daughter was far away, needed help and had nothing, I would hope that someone helped them.’ That often changes the way people think about it.”

He said Chardonnay had a track-record of social involvement going back to the second world war, in the French resistance and in setting up local wine co-operatives to help poverty-stricken families. One 85-year-old woman who lived nearby said: “I lived through the war, we always had our suitcase ready. So I’m not surprised to see others who have fled their homes elsewhere.”

The year’s grape harvest is over, and there is no a question of **refugees** and migrants working in the village, as they will claim asylum later via bigger towns. “The first thing I want to do is learn French, then one day work,” said one Sudanese man outside the manor house. “It’s very good to be here, yet normal life still feels far off.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Employers say they pay the ‘going rate’ but the president of the nascent Korean Workers Union says ‘it’s like slave labour’

For many, the promises vanish, and the exploitation begins, at the airport.

They are young, some overseas for the first time, Korean students and workers, lured to Australia with promises of sun and fun, good, well-paying jobs, a chance to study or a working holiday.

Instead, they find themselves housed in overcrowded hovels, indentured to labour in construction, late-night cleaning, or restaurants, under brutal conditions and for as little as $9 an hour.

In many cases, workers have no contract, and no idea for whom they are ultimately working. In others, workers have their passports seized so they cannot leave.

Related: 7-Eleven is the tip of the iceberg in worker exploitation. So who's turning a blind eye? | Joo-Cheong Tham[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/12/7-eleven-is-the-tip-of-the-iceberg-in-worker-exploitation-so-whos-turning-a-blind-eye]

The Australian government’s fair work ombudsman says it has uncovered “persistent” underpayment of Korean workers in Australia, mainly in New South Wales, with at least 24 Korean businesses sanctioned in the past two years.

Prof Allan Fels, the head of the government’s newly established migrant workers taskforce, told the Guardian that exploitation of migrant workers in Australia was “systemic … in that it is deeply embedded in the practices of some businesses”.

Several Korean employers caught exploiting their staff have claimed they believed there was a below-award “going rate” for migrant workers, or relied on other Korean business owners to tell them what appropriate wages were.

Meeting with the Guardian in inner Sydney, Joe Haln says he was regularly exploited in a series of jobs across Sydney – and sacked when he spoke up – and says exploitation within the close confines of the Korean community in Australia is rife.

He says, in many cases, workers were controlled from the minute they arrive in Australia.

“Agents are closely connected with the exploiters themselves, and everything is organised, right from the beginning. When people arrive at the airport there is somebody there to take them and put them in a van and take them to accommodation. It is accommodation, but it is like a slave camp.”

Seven or eight people in room... Animals should not be kept like this, let alone people

Joe Haln, Korean Workers Union

“They are put in a room, seven or eight people to a room, to sleep, and then they are woken up very early in the morning and driven to the building site, they don’t even know where they are, they don’t know who they are working for, and they are made to start working.”

“These are like forced labour camps, it is like slave labour, these people aren’t free at all.”

Haln said in some cases migrant workers have their passports are taken from them. They are not given employment contracts, and there is no agreement on conditions or rates of pay. The face exorbitant deductions from the money that they are paid for rent, food, or other expenses.

Others, particularly students studying in Australia, find jobs through the Korean local media, where jobs are advertised in Korean without any reference to award rates, or conditions. Some openly advertise pay rates as low as $12 an hour. The national minimum wage in Australia is $17.70 an hour.

Haln is now president of the nascent Korean Workers Union, which aims to protect Korean migrant workers from the systemic abuse he says has exploited, and continues to exploit, thousands, and to inform new workers of their rights.

He says workers are often kept in bleak conditions, crowded into already-overfull houses, especially in the Sydney suburbs of Strathfield and Lidcombe.

“The accommodation is very bad, very bad. Seven or eight people in room, they cannot stretch their legs. Animals should not be kept like this, let alone people.

“This is a cruelty, this is a brutality.”

Many of the Korean workers in Australia are employed on construction sites, building residential apartments or office blocks, or by cleaning companies who have contracts to clean city offices overnight. Others take jobs in restaurants across the city.

For many of those in construction, they work in jobs they are not properly trained for, and without protective equipment. Should they be injured, or seek to complain, they find themselves in a labyrinthine maze of contractors and subcontractors, an arcane chain to which there is no apparent end.

“There is no paperwork, no contract,” Haln said. “People don’t even know who they are working for, so they don’t know who to complain to. Nobody takes any responsibility.”

Student visa-holders in Australia are restricted to working 40 hours a fortnight during term - but are often compelled by employers to work far beyond that quota, and often at massively depressed rates of pay.

Students find themselves compromised and, essentially, trapped: if they complain, or refuse to keep working, they are dismissed instantly, and they are unable to take their case to authorities because they know they are in breach of their visa conditions, and risk having their right to stay in Australia cancelled altogether.

“Sometimes the employer says, ‘I will report you to **immigration** and you will be deported.’ There is nothing these people can do. They are very afraid,” Haln said.

‘I had to work more shifts or be sacked’ Esther Kim (not her real name) came to Australia to study business. She knew little of Australia beyond a reputation for sunshine and open spaces. As a qualified chef, she quickly found work in a Sydney Korean restaurant to support herself through her studies.

Her student visa mandated she work no more than 40 hours a fortnight.

“But the boss told me I had to work more shifts, many more shifts than 20 hours a week, or they will sack me. And they said I will not be able to get any other job, they will tell other employers not to hire me, the say I won’t get a job anywhere.”

“I was being paid $15 an hour – [the award is, at a minimum, $23.64] – but I was under the threat to get sacked, I couldn’t complain to anyone. They knew I was working more than 20 hours a week, and they said, ‘We will report you to **immigration** and you will be deported.’”

We work like slaves, always ‘quick, quick, quick’. And we have no time to eat lunch, or dinner, or go to the toilet

Esther Kim, chef

She said working conditions were oppressive: staff were shouted at and abused, told they were hopeless and constantly threatened they would be dismissed for “working too slowly”.

Kim told the Guardian she and other workers were abused regularly: “They said, ‘You fucking idiot’, ‘You whore,’ ‘You are stupid’”

She says restaurant staff were kept in a climate of fear. “We work like slaves, always ‘quick, quick, quick’. And we have no time to eat lunch, or dinner, or go to the toilet.

“We are always afraid, they like to keep us fearful. We are always very tired, very afraid.”

Kim says she stopped eating, lost significant amounts of weight, and couldn’t sleep for the stress. “I ended up crying, many, many times.

“I expected Australians to be respectful, respecting women and workers, but these are Korean people doing this, not Australians. They are exploiting other Koreans because they know they can, and there is no way we can complain.”

The myth of ‘the going rate’ Haln says Korean workers were particularly vulnerable to exploitation because of a number of factors, particularly:

\* Language – many Korean workers, when they arrive in Australia, don’t speak strong English and so would struggle to find work outside the Korean community. If they upset one employer in the close-knit Korean community they fear being blacklisted by all employees as troublemakers.

\* Cultural – there is not a culture of worker organisation in Korea. Unions in the Republic of Korea are seen as political, radical and anti-government, so few workers arrive in Australia with a history or connection with organised labour.

\* Naivety – many who arrive are unaware – and are kept unaware by the exploitative nature of their employment – of Australia’s legal protections for workers, award rates or conditions, and other legal employer obligations, such as safety equipment.

There are now in Australia at any time about 1 million people on temporary residence visas with rights to work – mainly working holiday makers, 457 visa holders, students and New Zealanders.

According to census figures, there are more than 75,000 Koreans living in Australia, more than half of those in Sydney. Fewer than 10% speak English at home.

The office of the fair work ombudsman says it has uncovered a string of cases involving exploitation of Korean workers over the past two years, dominated by “persistent underpayment” of workers.

Several migrant employers have told the ombudsman they undercut minimum wage rates because they paid agoing rate for overseas workers.

The ombudsman, Natalie James, says the so-called “going rate” for overseas workers of any nationality is a myth that must be dispelled.

James says it is illegal for employers to arbitrarily set and pay low, flat rates of pay, and that minimum wage rates apply to everyone in Australia – including visa holders – and are not negotiable.

Last year the operator of a Korean restaurant in Sydney told the fair work ombudsman he advertised for staff for as little as $12 an hour because he feared retribution from competitors if he offered the award rate.

The restaurateur told of pressure from the Korean business community to recruit workers at below-award wages and revealed that businesses which did not comply feared retribution.

Another Korean national who started a business in Australia relied on other business owners in the Korean community to set his pay rate.

“While I understand there are cultural challenges and vastly different laws in other parts of the world, it is important for business people operating here to understand and apply Australian laws,” James says.

In the wake of the 7-Eleven scandal[http://www.smh.com.au/interactive/2015/7-eleven-revealed/] – where franchisees were discovered to be paying as little as $5 an hour to workers – the minister for employment, Michaelia Cash, announced the establishment of a migrant workers taskforce, charged with weeding out and reforming worker exploitation in the Australian economy.

“A number of recent high-profile cases where vulnerable migrant workers have been underpaid and exploited at work have exposed unacceptable gaps in the system,” Cash said.

“While the government acknowledges that the majority of employers do the right thing by their employees, we will not tolerate exploitation in Australian workplaces.”

Related: The global plight of domestic workers: few rights, little freedom, frequent abuse | Rebecca Falconer and Annie Kelly[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/mar/17/global-plight-domestic-workers-labour-rights-little-freedom-abuse]

The government has also increased fines for employers who exploit workers, as well as increasing funding for the office of the fair work ombudsman, and strengthening its powers.

The former Australian Competition and Consumer Commission head Prof Alan Fels, who has been appointed to chair the taskforce, says migrant workers are “highly exploitable” and vulnerable on a number of levels.

“They are willing to work for low pay, because that’s better than no work at all, their bargaining power is weak, and they generally have a lack of knowledge about Australian conditions and award rates.

“It’s also the case that they are generally not unionised, and there might be other ties, family ties, cultural ties, or an obligation around their visa, that means they are vulnerable to exploitation.”

He says the vast majority of exploited workers come from South Asia, China and Korea.

Fels’ taskforce – which will include representation from the departments of **immigration**, employment, education, as well as the tax office, attorney general’s office, the border force and the fair work ombudsman – has a broad remit to identify the systemic “weakness that create the conditions that allow exploitation of vulnerable migrant workers … and make improvements to stamp out exploitation”.

Dave Oliver, secretary of the Australian Council of Trade Unions , says while any measures to reduce exploitation of foreign workers are welcome, the government’s measures are “too little, too late”.

Related: Myer, 7-Eleven and Pizza Hut scandals show many workers don't get a fair go[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2015/dec/10/myer-7-eleven-and-pizza-hut-scandals-show-many-workers-dont-get-a-fair-go]

“Prime minister Malcolm Turnbull and minister Cash have spent the past three years saying that there are no problems with our temporary skilled migration schemes.

“Unfortunately, the evidence available from our affiliated unions and other sources is that both Australian and overseas workers are being disadvantaged and migrant workers are exploited on a regular basis under the current policy and program settings that govern temporary work visas.”

Oliver says the taskforce membership should include representation from unions, non-governmental organisations and community groups “who help migrant workers on an everyday basis”.

“Since the new modern slavery and labour trafficking provisions came into force in 2013, the department of **immigration** has not prosecuted one employer. More vigorous safeguards need to be in place to protect the interests of overseas workers on temporary visas.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**French authorities lay on buses to move more than 100 teenagers to reception centres around the country

French authorities have bowed to international pressure over the treatment of more than 100 child **refugees** left stranded in the dismantled Calais camp, agreeing to lay on buses for those still in the area and transfer them to reception centres around the country.

As groups of minors faced the threat of a third night sleeping rough in the largely destroyed camp, French officials arrived with three coaches on the same street in which the press and teenagers were kettled on Thursday.

Shaista Ahmad Sheehan, the Liberal Democrat peer who has been campaigning for the rights of teenagers at the camp for more than a year, hailed the development as “fantastic news”. Concerns remained, however, after the police refused to let any independent observer past a police line to confirm that none of the teenagers were being taken to a detention centre.

The children, aged between 11 and 18, and up to 30 adult migrants filed through the police line silently to take their places on the bus.

Lady Sheehan, who had written to the home secretary, Amber Rudd, on Friday morning calling on her to reach an urgent resolution with the French, appealed to the sous-préfet of the Pas-de-Calais, who stood on the police line. He refused to let her in to observe the group’s removal.

“He told me they are under French protection now and they will protect their human rights,” she said. She added that there were fears some migrants could be “taken to a detention centre and deported”.

“We cannot be sure about any of their assurances. We have to judge by the evidence we have seen and what we have seen is shambolic,” Sheehan said.

The development comes after France blamed Britain for failing to take responsibility for the group of **refugees** who remained sleeping in makeshift conditions in the debris of the camp.

The French rebuke from the interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, came as a diplomatic standoff between the two nations unfolded over who was responsible for the last unaccompanied **refugee** children.

Cazeneuve expressed surprise late on Thursday at the implicit criticism from his British counterpart, Rudd, in a statement that appeared to reprimand the French for failing to safeguard and care for the remaining children.

Related: Calais minors lured from camp then abandoned by authorities[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/27/calais-camp-minors-children-abandoned-uk-france-human-rights]

The French government said Cazeneuve and his ministerial colleagues had “learned with surprise the declarations of Ms Amber Rudd”.

The official statement added: “The French ministers hope … the United Kingdom will quickly execute its responsibilities to take in these minors who hope to come to the United Kingdom. This is the best way to give them the protection they are due.”

The dispute between the two governments followed months of reluctance on both sides to take responsibility for the thousands of vulnerable asylum seekers who had gathered in Calais. France has rehoused nearly 6,000 people, including more than 1,000 minors who have been given shelter in shipping containers in the Calais camp.

The UK has taken between 240 and 300 children, and is expected to take a few hundred more.

On Friday morning, more than 100 children were still stranded in the smouldering camp waiting for French police and authorities to decide their fate. Dejected and in despair, they huddled in makeshift shelters in a school area on the perimeter of the camp with 15 British volunteers who spent the night guarding them from potential fire or people traffickers. The abandoned school is an unheated structure, made from chipboard and tarpaulin by volunteers.

Alice Sturrock, 22, from Edinburgh said: “It was a grim night. It was cold. Some of the minors had to sleep outside on the ground.

“The CRS [French riot police] came in the middle of the night and were mildly threatening. They shone their torches around the children and then left. Then this morning the police chief showed up and asked us for a count of people and a count of minors.”

It was the second night that children had been forced to sleep rough after French authorities lured them out of the camp with the promise of transport to a reception centre where they were to be assessed for potential **refuge** in the UK, either through the Dublin agreement or the Dubs amendment[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/22/lone-child-refugees-unaccompanied-dubs-amendment-arrive-uk-calais] to **immigration** laws.

However, in an extraordinary day they were instead kettled by heavily armed police and left to stand in the cold for six hours before they were abandoned and told they could go back into the camp, where fires were still burning.

Sheehan, who was there to witness the operation, said the British and French authorities were flouting children’s human rights: “Children have rights – family, shelter and protection – under the convention on the rights of the child[http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx] ”, a UN treaty declaring that all children are “entitled to special care and assistance”.

Volunteers counted 113 young people who self-declared as 17 or under in the school on Friday morning, including 46 aged 17, 33 aged 16, 12 aged 15 and five aged 13.

Elsewhere in Calais, police were manning the train station, where they picked up three or four migrants just after dawn.

On Thursday night they were also stopping others who had left the camp. Charities have criticised the French for closing down their migrant registration programme after three days despite evidence that they had not given enough time to process hundreds of adults and minors in the camp.

Another volunteer with Care4Calais, who has been a prominent figure in the shepherding of children to various locations at the request of the French, said: “I don’t think they ever intended to do anything yesterday for the children. It is just disgusting what they did.”

The **Refugee** Youth Service (RYS) said as many as 15 minors were refusing to get into the buses on Friday because they did not know where the buses were going.

Michael McHugh, a volunteer, said: “What is really baffling is that the NGOs and volunteers have been brushed off so many times in the past few years, and yet the state was quite willing to pass responsibility of age verification to us. This is a safeguarding concern and it should not be us taking responsibility and risking having a child left behind because we didn’t guess the age correctly.”

He also raised the issue of what the authorities were going to do with **refugees** who would inevitably show up in the coming days, weeks and months. “Everyone likes a nice narrative, a beginning and a middle and an end, but this story is not over.”

The charity said an Eritrean brother and sister of 15 and 16 had showed up on Thursday night and were separated because there was room for the girl in a female-only secure camp, but not for the boy.

“I had to walk this girl up this morning, holding her hand, to the bus. She was terrified. It was the only way to reunite them,” said Dannie Fisher of the RYS.

McHugh added: “This is far from over. There are still 1,500 children in the container camp, some of them really terrified.

“There are some children who saw what was going on and were so scared they went to Paris, where presumably they will be sleeping rough. Everything about this operation has put children in danger.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Red Cross says Calais **refugee** camp demolition should not have gone ahead without every child being accounted for

Fears are growing for the welfare of children, some as young as 12, still stranded in the ruins of the migrant camp in Calais after it emerged that some never made it onto UK-bound buses arranged by the Home Office.

The Red Cross warned that some of these children were in danger of disappearing before they can be brought to safety. The children had been interviewed and registered and approved to travel to the UK under the terms of Dubs amendment legislation.

Related: Calais: France bows to pressure on abandoned **refugee** children[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/28/calais-france-rebukes-britain-over-abandoned-refugee-children]

Alex Fraser, director of **refugee** support at the British Red Cross, said: “We are extremely concerned to hear reports of children sleeping rough following the demolition of the Calais ‘Jungle’. The demolition should not have gone ahead without every child being accounted for and given a safe place to stay.

“Many of the children who remain in Calais have a legal right to come to the UK, but there is now a real risk some will disappear, when they should have been brought to safety. The UK government should be urging the French government in the strongest terms to ensure that no child is left without shelter tonight.”

Lawyers representing some of the children eligible to travel to the UK have been unable to contact them and fear that they have left Calais to try their luck elsewhere in France or have been dispersed by the French authorities even though their names are on a list to come to the UK.

Some local authorities have accused the Home Office of preventing them from bringing Dubs amendment children into the UK several months ago, a move which they say could have avoided some of the current chaos and confusion.

Steve Cowan, the Labour leader of Hammersmith and Fulham council, said: “Hundreds of the Calais **refugee** children have had legal rights to be in safe, clean, loving foster homes in the UK for a very long time. The government owes those desperate children a full explanation as to why it left them to suffer the horrors of that camp for so long.

“A large number of the children are still there – some sleeping outside on these bitterly cold nights, others still victims of ongoing criminal activity. We now need to see some big, bold and generous action from the British government. That means they need to work closely with the charities and volunteers on the ground and get the children to the UK where ours and many other councils stand by ready to take them.”

The Home Office said: “We will not facilitate a situation where councils prioritise one group of children over another once in the UK – especially when so many have undergone similar experiences along their journey.

“We have only recently received agreement from the French government that we could bring Dubs cases to the UK. Without their agreement it was not possible to make progress on taking non-family cases from Calais.”

A French government spokeswoman said that the first lists of children identified as being suitable to be relocated to the UK had been given to the UK governmentin May, and that the French authorities did not want to prevent these children from coming to the UK.

She said the children who had been sleeping rough in the camp had arrived at the facility in the last two or three days, and were not longstanding residents.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Each year the number of deaths in custody rises. Black Lives Matter and UFCC are putting that message out on the streets, while state institutions stay silent

On Wednesday morning London and Manchester woke up to bus stop adverts – apparently from the Home Office – but subverted and repurposed to highlight the issue of deaths in custody. They’re designed by Black Lives Matter UK[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/06/black-lives-matter-uk-found-vital-social-justice] (BLM UK) to draw attention to the United Families and Friends Campaign[https://uffcampaign.org/] (UFFC), and its memorial procession tomorrow[https://uffcampaign.org/]. The unofficial “Home Office” posters act as a true public service announcement, reclaiming public space for a conversation that is urgently required.

The UFFC is an 18-year-old coalition of families whose loved ones have died while in the custody of the state – the police, mental health institutions, prisons and **immigration** detention centres. Each year their numbers swell as the death count increases. It’s clear that there is no one root cause or institution to be blamed – the problems are complex and never single issue.

That breadth had to be represented in our bus stop hijacks, and so we tried to draw it all together by presenting the posters in the style of those being criticised. They expose the truth that the institutions are too careful to ever say explicitly themselves, and we did it in the familiar self-satisfied tone of the often dismissive statements issued after deaths. These institutions of the state have all demonstrated disregard for the families and communities affected by their actions.

Related: Jermaine Baker shooting: IPCC 'failed to hold Met to account'[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/14/jermaine-baker-shooting-ipcc-failed-to-hold-met-to-account-family-says]

In the year since the 2015 UFFC memorial procession we have seen several examples of just this. Last December Jermaine Baker[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/dec/22/jermaine-baker-inquest-adjourned-until-2016] was shot dead during a police operation in Wood Green. The independent police complaints commission (IPCC) arrested an unnamed officer in order to carry out its investigation, only for firearms police in the Met to respond by threatening to lay down weapons[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3367467/Incensed-gun-cops-ll-lay-weapons-step-duty-protest-officer-shot-gangster-charged.html] and walk off the job if he or she were charged.

A tactical firearms commander involved in the same case has recently taken retirement[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/14/jermaine-baker-shooting-ipcc-failed-to-hold-met-to-account-family-says] from the police. The officer was facing allegations of gross misconduct that can no longer be addressed. Baker’s family took legal action to try to prevent the retirement, a course of action the IPCC initially said it would support. But after that support was withdrawn, a judge ruled that the officer shouldn’t be prevented from retiring, and thus escaping the allegations made.

And last month the CPS announced that it had ruled out charges[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/15/sean-rigg-cps-rules-out-charges-police-officers-death-in-custody] against officers involved in the arrest, restraint and detention of Sean Rigg. Following a damning narrative verdict from a jury at the 2011 inquest into his death, the IPCC reopened its investigation and referred the case to the CPS to consider for prosecution. In the past eight years the Rigg case highlighted a number of failings by the IPCC and Metropolitan police, but even now the CPS continues to let down the family by refusing to prosecute.

It is precisely this attitude, with each institution imagining itself free of wrongdoing and answerable to no one, that we wanted to get across in the posters.

Approximately half of all deaths[http://www.inquest.org.uk/issues/mental-health-deaths] in or following police custody involve a person with some kind of mental health issue. It’s a familiar refrain in cases that involve prisons, psychiatric units and **immigration** detention too. As such it’s a shared concern for many of the families in the UFFC coalition. Yet the way that the general public appreciates deaths in custody is sketchy at best. If they were to learn the truth it would surely provide pause for thought.

Related: Why do UK media fail to cover the deaths of black people in custody?[https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2016/apr/19/why-do-uk-media-fail-to-cover-the-deaths-of-black-people-in-custody]

That is where organisations like the UFFC come in. It has been making these criticisms of the state far longer than we have at Black Lives Matter – but if we can help spread that message people will be shocked by what they learn, and change can happen. That’s why we put the UFFC at the centre of our “subvertising” campaign. BLM UK isn’t starting this conversation but drawing attention to one that was already there. That way many more of us can take action over it.

Every October the UFFC holds a march to remember those they are fighting for – it will do the same again tomorrow[https://uffcampaign.org/2016/09/22/uffc-annual-rally-procession-2016/]. The processions have typically received far less attention than they deserve, hopefully our unofficial “Home Office” campaign can help to change that and highlight their important fight for justice.

The adverts say that the Home Office doesn’t want you to join the memorial procession. That’s because the justice system has shown it can’t, or won’t, stand with these families. If they will not, then it falls to all of us to do so.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Despite being adopted at almost four years old by American parents, a court ruled that he is not a US citizen despite living almost his entire life there

Thirty-seven years after being adopted to the US, Adam Crapser is being deported back to South Korea, his birth country – a place he knows very little about, where he doesn’t speak the language, and to a culture he has had little to no exposure to.

When he lands in Seoul, Crapser, 41, will be able to write his name in Korean and recite the Korean alphabet. With only that, he will need to fill out documents to become an official Korean citizen, open a Korean bank account, get a job to support himself, and money to secure the expensive deposit for an apartment rental.

But first, “I will try to find a place to stay and rent a room,” he said Tuesday, in a phone interview from the Northwest Detention Center in Tacoma, Washington, where he’s been held for nearly nine months.

On Monday, Crapser’s two-year-long **immigration** case[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/apr/03/adam-crapser-deportation-korean-adoption-system-immigration] came to an end when, in a courtroom located in the detention center, Judge John C O’Dell denied Crapser’s plea to cancel his deportation removal and Crapser waived his right to appeal. He could be deported as early as three weeks from now. But in the meantime, the Korean consulate in Seattle must issue him travel documents, and **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement has to arrange his flight out of the US.

Related: Korean adoptee in **immigration** battle fights to remain in his country — the US[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/apr/03/adam-crapser-deportation-korean-adoption-system-immigration]

His ordeal began in January 2015 with a knock on his door. Two Department of Homeland Security officers told him he was facing deportation charges because, despite being adopted at almost four years old by American parents, he was not a US citizen.

Before 2001, foreign-born adoptees such as Crapser weren’t granted automatic citizenship, instead entering the US on foreign-born adoption visas. Last November, Senator Amy Klobuchar, a Minnesota Democrat, introduced the Adoptee Citizenship Act, which would grant retroactive citizenship to all foreign-born adoptees. Then in June, a companion bill was introduced in the House, but there has been no movement in Congress since.

His first adoptive parents, a strict couple, relinquished custody to the state of Oregon’s foster care system in 1985, when he was around 10 years old, after deciding they didn’t want him any more. After bouncing around foster homes, he was adopted into the Crapser family. Those parents were eventually arrested in 1991, charged with 34 counts of rape, sexual abuse and criminal mistreatment, including extreme physical assault. They were eventually found guilty of 12 of those charges. Adam Crapser was 17 at that time.

“Most people don’t understand that I didn’t ask to come here [US],” he said about his adoption. “I got placed with some idiots but I went on to live my life the best I could.”

Most people don’t understand that I didn’t ask to come here. I got placed with some idiots

Adam Crapser

He sighed: “It obviously wasn’t good enough.”

A troubled childhood then became a troubled adulthood, but things had settled down by the time the **immigration** authorities knocked on his door in 2015. He was living in Vancouver, Washington, with his wife and two young daughters, a third on the way.

Crapser had filed for a green card in 2012, trying to finally do what his adoptive parents had never gotten around to doing. But a standard background check in the application flagged his criminal record.

According to the Korean government, there are only 10 other adopted Koreans, known as deportees, who grew up in the US as children but were then deported as adults.

Other Korean deportees like Crapser have said that they were left at the Incheon airport – alone, with no plan and no money. Because Crapser’s case has been highly publicized, he has garnered an immense amount of support from many, including the Korean adoptee community. “A lot of deportees unfortunately didn’t have the support that I have,” he says. “I was fortunate and have braced myself for this.”

John Compton, internal adviser of Global Overseas Adoptee Link, an adoptee-led nongovernmental organization in Seoul, says he will try to meet Crapser upon his arrival in Korea. He’s also scrambling to find a place for Crapser to sleep on his first night in Seoul.

A little financial aid has been given to other deportees by a Korean government group, Korea Adoption Services, but Compton says it has run out of funds.

In a country that places a high value on higher education and language skills, finding a job will be difficult. Other Korean deportees work low-wage jobs with no tips in restaurants or bars.

Crapser does not have a college degree and has minimal language skills – he only recently learned the alphabet and his name because another Korean at the detention center taught him. “I have to see if there are English-speaking [jobs] or it’s going to be really difficult,” he said. Nonetheless, he can’t work until he has Korean government identification and a bank account.

Even with that ahead of him, Crapser sounds eager to go – this nightmarish experience has opened his eyes to **immigration**.

“It made me see the brutality of the **immigration** system,” he says. “You are property of the federal government and now I am a Korean citizen, waiting to be picked up.”

It made me see the brutality of the **immigration** system. You are property of the federal government

Adam Crapser

The stress of Crapser’s deportation proceedings has taken a physical and emotional toll on him – even affecting his personal relationships. In July 2015, a reported domestic dispute with his wife, Anh, ultimately led to his arrest and placed him in NWDC.

Now he has spent the greater part of 2016 locked inside a complex that resembles a drab suburban business park. He describes life inside as “a place that breaks you”.

“[The detention centers] pressure people so people will sign their rights off and self-deport,” he says.

He spends the majority of his time in a 70-person dorm. He says he is only allowed to go outside one hour a day, but in order to be alone, he chooses to stay inside. He says he hasn’t seen sunlight for 75 days.

There is a sense of relief in his voice: “I can’t wait to get out of here. This place is hell.”

Although he is being kicked out of the US – a place he didn’t have a choice to come to in the first place – he is striving to find the good in his bad situation.

In December, Korean television company MBC found his birth mother.

“My plan is to just to get over there to spend time with my biological family and immerse myself with [them],” he said with excitement. “I think she [his birth mother] is happy to see me.” And he has since reconciled with his wife and says she plans to follow him to Korea with their three daughters.

“I have lived some very hard times in America,” he said softly, but “I am still alive and still breathing.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**At a rally in Geneva, the cries of ‘lock her up!’ are loud and every negative opinion poll or media report only entrenches the support of Trump fans

Whatever doubts gnaw at Donald Trump at dead of night, his hardcore supporters will not allow him to give up the dream of the White House.

All 18 people interviewed by the Guardian at a Trump campaign rally in the battleground state of Ohio on Thursday night challenged the basic premise that he is losing. If anything, they seemed even more convinced than he is that opinion polls and mainstream media cannot be trusted so he should not throw in the towel.

Trump, channelling the mix of vexation and continued hope, said: “I’ve been saying if we win ‘cos I want to be nice, right, but the people are getting angry at me so we’ll just say when we win on November 8.”

Related: Former Miss Finland is 12th woman to accuse Trump of sexual assault[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/27/trump-twelfth-woman-sexual-assault-accusation-ninni-laaksonen]

But the omens are not good. As Hillary Clinton dominates opinion polls and gets positive signs from early voting, Trump has stopped formal, major donor fundraising events for the Republican party. He has reportedly cut back on transition plans and taken time off the campaign trail to open his new hotel[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/26/donald-trump-opens-international-hotel-campaign-trail-brand] in Washington. Recently Trump dolefully asked supporters whether they were glad he ran, adding: “I’ll let you know on the evening of November 8 whether I’m glad.”

The candidate’s rally at a sports complex in Geneva – his third in Ohio on Thursday – drew an estimated 7,000 people but was far from full, in contrast to his swashbuckling early campaign. It was overwhelmingly white, including many retirees. But those who did attend waved “Trump/ Pence” and “Make America great again” signs and chanted “Lock her up!” and “Build the wall!” with the usual gusto.

They nodded approvingly when Trump described his opponent as “unstable” and jeered when Trump reeled off a list of State Department expenditures during Clinton’s tenure as secretary, including $79,000 on Barack Obama’s books, $630,000 to try to make State Department Facebook pages more popular and $88,000 to send three comedians to India.

They whooped with delight when the showman made reference to Vice-President Joe Biden’s recent comment[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/25/donald-trump-says-he-would-love-to-beat-up-joe-mr-tough-guy-biden] that he would like to take him behind the gym. “You know what you do with Biden? You go like this.” Trump turned to one side and blew a puff of air from his mouth. “And he’d fall over.” He added: “I dream about Biden. Boy, would that be easy. That would be an easy function.”

Towards the end of the event, two Vietnam war veterans moved through the crowd with a giant Trump/ Pence sign. “Now that’s a beautiful, big sign,” Trump said. “Now those are fans.” Later one of them, Tom Line, 68, a retired construction worker, said: “I think Donald Trump will keep fighting. I don’t think he’s a man who gives up. None of us really believes in the polls because of the way the situation is with the media. We don’t know who to believe any more.”

This view was shared by Wesley Gaul, a 57-year-old consultant. “I don’t think there’s any sign of him giving up,” he said. “Look at all the people here. I live around here and there are Trump signs in every yard and only two Clinton signs in 30 miles. I don’t believe the polls. I think the people’s vote will shock everyone.”

Then there was Devon Coffin, 24, a maintenance mechanic wearing a profane t-shirt that referenced Monica Lewinsky. He said: “He’s doing three rallies a day, seven days a week. That’s not giving up. That’s a man on a mission. We’ve got a broken system and this is our way of taking it back.

“Hillary Clinton is a corrupt globalist. She’s going to be eight more years of Obama, taunt Russia and take money from people who pay taxes and give to people who don’t want to work. I know people who don’t work and have more food in their fridge than me.”

And if she wins? “I’m not going to burn down the White House because this is still my country,” Coffim replied. “It doesn’t mean we’re done trying.”

Others echoed Trump’s own view that the media and the polls are rigged against him and that size of the crowds he draws to rallies – which he holds more frequently than Clinton – demonstrates his grassroots support. In May Trump told the New York Times[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/12/us/politics/donald-trump-campaign.html] : “Word of mouth is the No 1 thing. And the word of mouth at my rallies is like, ‘You’ve got to go see it’. And you know, one person goes and they talk about it to 20 people.”

Michael Seckely, 39, a US Marine, said: “He ain’t going to quit. If you follow the numbers of people who come out to these events, you have to believe there’s opportunity. It’s like you go to a football game and the crowd is so big, you play hard. If there are no fans, you might want to go home real quick. This guy is doing two or three shots a day. If you compare it to her, it’s overwhelmingly in his favour.”

If there are problems... that’s when you talk about pitchforks.

Michael Seckely, a US Marine, on accepting the election result

Will Seckely accept the election result? “If you wake up on the ninth and Hillary Clinton’s the president and there’s no proof of problems, then you have to accept it. If there are problems, I’m going to argue it. That’s when you talk about pitchforks. Violence? You’re talking to a marine who is in combat. It wouldn’t bother me either way.”

Like Trump, many of his loyalists are clinging to the hope that his campaign can emulate the shock British vote to leave the European Union in June. Nigel Farage, then leader of the UK Independence party, called it a victory for the “little people” over the establishment and has appeared alongside Trump at rallies.

Marte Sellura, 65, an artist, said: “I feel we’re in a similar situation to Brexit. I listen to Nigel Farage’s speeches all the time. I feel that we in America are in tune with the British on **immigration** issues. America has woken up: there is a globalist agenda. Those things we though are conspiracy theories are not conspiracy theories any more; they’re happening.”

Sellura, wearing a t-shirt depicted a rifle with the slogan: “The people will never surrender”, also launched a critique familiar to consumers of conservative media such as Breitbart News and Fox News. “The polls are lying. We all know they’re rigged. The real polls show him 10 or 15 points higher. The only way she can win is to have it rigged horribly. They all know they’re going to steal it. There is massive evidence of voter fraud: dead people are voting, illegal **immigrants** are voting. It’s been a Democratic tradition.”

Sellura also claimed that the involvement of TV presenter Billy Bush, cousin of George W Bush, in the lewd 11-year-old video that rocked Trump’s campaign was evidence of a conspiracy by the “Bush-Clinton family”. “We feel we’re up against a crime family that makes the Russian mob and the Sicilian mobs look like schoolboys.”

Trump took his usual swipes at the “dishonest” media during Thursday’s rally, eliciting boos and whistles. Chris Burton, 65, a building restorer, said: “The media are full of BS it’s unbelievable that people don’t go down and burn the newspapers out of existence. It’s just lies.”

Most of those interviewed said they would have to accept the outcome and move on without a violent backlash, but not everyone. “I don’t want to live under President Clinton,” said one man, who did not wish to be named. “I think there’ll be a revolution. People will rise up and take over the government. A civil war has happened before so it’s not unthinkable today.”

Queuing outside the arena was retired secretary Irena Rus, 75, from Melania Trump’s home country, Slovenia. When she explained she had **immigrated** legally and learned English, Trump supporters congratulated her and shook her hand. Asked if Trump was losing, she pointed to the long queue and said: “Can you see this? No, I don’t think so, because the news media make him lose. He’s doing a good job campaigning. He’s the only one who speaks the truth.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A corruption of shared humanity has been at the heart of injustice for too long. We must reject this

Almost all human beings have the capacity for empathy. Everyone has the potential to be at least troubled, or feel genuine anguish, about the suffering of other human beings. We recognise that, like us, other humans have insecurities and ambitions; we fall in love and have relationships that end in heartbreak; we worry about our children’s wellbeing; we say things we regret; we’re occasionally kept awake by fears or worries; and we try to impress people we look up to. We see things in others that we see in ourselves, and that binds us together. But what happens when we no longer see a specific group as human?

Related: Calais's **refugee** children are sleeping rough because of Tory policy[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/27/theresa-may-policies-calais-rough-sleeping-children-camp-refugees-tories]

In Men Against Fire[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/oct/25/reflections-on-black-mirror-by-those-for-whom-science-fiction-became-reality] – the penultimate episode in Charlie Brooker’s extraordinary new Black Mirror series – soldiers are sent to mow down fanged, shrieking zombie-like “roaches”. They relish slaughtering them – they even derive sexual kicks from doing it. But the victims are actually human beings. It emerges that the soldiers have had implants inserted that – as far as they can see – transform their desperate civilian targets into bloodcurdling monsters deserving of no compassion. As a military psychiatrist tells a soldier distraught at discovering the truth: “Humans are genuinely empathetic as a species. We don’t want to kill each other, which is a good thing, until your future depends on wiping out the enemy.”

As the Calais **refugee** camp burns[https://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2016/oct/26/fires-burn-in-calais-jungle-as-demolition-operation-continues-video], there are few who wish to kill those who flee war, persecution or dictatorship. But it is pointless to pretend there is much support for the cause of **refugees**. As a group their humanity has been systematically stripped away. They are not like you, or your family, or your neighbours. Rather they are seen as a collective blob composed of faceless deceitful criminals, potential rapists and murderers who will steal homes, jobs and resources. If we believed they were like us or our children, we would not tolerate their mass drownings in the Mediterranean.

Last year, Sky News tweeted[https://twitter.com/SkyNews/status/618353597173133312] about a migrant who “died trying to reach Britain through the Channel tunnel on a freight train”. The responses were not representative of the decent majority: they were extreme sentiments but nonetheless instructive. “I’m sorry are we meant to feel sorry for these criminals??”, asked one. “Oh well one less to drain Britain’s economy got no sympathy for them,” said another. “Nearly made it … bet was chuffed to bits!!!” cackled another. Others were more to the point – a simple “good” sufficed.

It is always comforting to imagine that those who express such cruelty – let alone inflict it – are sociopathic. However these are not sociopaths, who make up a tiny fraction of the population. And there is a significant difference between glibly embracing a stranger’s death on Twitter and killing them yourself.

But the truth is that much of the violence throughout our species’ bloodstained history was not inflicted by people incapable of empathy. Atrocities were committed by people who, in other scenarios, would help a pensioner cross the road, smile endearingly at a stranger’s infant in a train carriage, or come to the assistance of someone they’d never met before who was in distress.

In the Balkan wars of the 1990s, neighbours, colleagues, even friends, murdered one another[http://www.cracked.com/personal-experiences-2022-6-awful-things-i-learned-surviving-genocide.html]. It didn’t matter who they were: they were members of a group who, it was believed, posed an existential threat to the killers’ own community. Western colonialism was predicated on stripping humanity away from colonial subjects. Pseudo-scientists and anthropologists developed theories of Africans being innately inferior to people of European origin. Until 1967, Indigenous Australians were regulated by the country’s law as “flora and fauna”[http://www.independent.ie/world-news/asia-pacific/aborigines-mark-40-years-as-human-beings-26293153.html] : they were officially wildlife, like the kangaroo. British public opinion would not have tolerated the avoidable famines that potentially killed tens of millions in India if the public had believed Indians were like them.

It is always comforting to imagine that those who express such cruelty – let alone inflict it – are sociopathic

In the 1930s, nazism enveloped Germany, a nation regarded as one of the most civilised and cultured on Earth. Stripping away the humanity of Jews, Slavs and other “undesirables” was a precondition to murdering them. In the Polish town of Poznan in October 1943, Heinrich Himmler officially confirmed[http://ww2history.com/key\_moments/Holocaust/Himmler\_s\_Posen\_speech] the Nazi Holocaust. “We must be honest, decent, loyal and comradely to members of our own blood and to nobody else,” he declared.

There is no systematic industrialised attempt to exterminate millions of people today, but hundreds of thousands have perished in Syria’s killing fields, and the UNdescribes the treatment of Yazidis as genocide. Our grim history is littered with other reminders of the logical extremes of dehumanisation. As social neuroscientist Professor Tania Singer puts it[https://www.cogneurosociety.org/empathy\_pain/], a “natural capacity for empathic resonance can easily be blocked – not just in psychopaths – but in all of us: simply because we think someone was unfair or is not belonging to ‘our tribe’”. This is a theme that I continually return to[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/28/hillsborough-could-happen-again-police-views-liverpool-fans] because the corruption of shared humanity is at the heart of injustice.

It also provides clues about how we might respond. Political linguists have argued that the right often uses stories to make an argument, while the left falls back on facts and statistics. But we’re human beings, not machines. Take the **refugee** crisis. What, at least momentarily, shifted attitudes? It was when a little Kurdish boy, Alan Kurdi[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees], washed up dead on a Turkish beach. All of a sudden, **refugees** were human beings again: like the kids playing football on your street.

Related: Don’t stigmatise disabled people as workshy | Frances Ryan[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/27/dont-stigmatise-disabled-people-workshy]

In Britain, benefit claimants have long been subjected to relentless demonisation. I often recall the case of Stephen Taylor, a 60-year old army veteran who had his benefits stopped because he wasn’t actively seeking work. Instead he was volunteering for the Royal Legion[http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/war-hero-stephen-taylors-benefits-2895202], raising money for injured former comrades. It’s a story that always provokes a sharp intake of breath: mentioning the hundreds of thousands who have had their benefits stopped does not. Similarly, responding to a Daily Mail story about a benefit “scrounger” living in luxury with the government’s own estimate of benefit fraud – that is, 0.7% of social security spending[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/371459/Statistical\_Release.pdf] – doesn’t work. The story trumps the statistic.

Injustice becomes less tolerable if the victims are human beings rather than cockroaches. Dehumanisation leads to the tolerance of suffering at best, to murder at worst. Restoring our shared humanity isn’t easy, not least because powerful interests – from media outlets to politicians – relentlessly seek to undermine it. But it is the only hope for a troubled world.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Far right groups are gaining a global foothold because they echo mainstream discourse which has shrunk the political horizon to issues of border paranoia, terror, and security

In 2016, hate travels fast. News that the Soldiers of Odin were conducting vigilante patrols in Melbourne’s CBD[http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/vigilantestyle-group-soldiers-of-odin-patrolling-melbourne-cbd-20161009-gry51g.html] coincided with reports of renewed activity by the group in Canada, a widening presence in the United States, as well as ongoing incidents at their point of origin, in Europe.

The group was founded in Finland in late 2015 by Mika Ranta, who has a long history as a white supremacist activist. Members of the group in Finland are allegedly responsible for the murder of a young anti-racist activist[http://finlandtoday.fi/the-neo-nazi-attack-against-jimi-28-who-later-died-after-being-released-from-hospital-explained/]. This year the group has exploded, in Europe and internationally. It’s growth in the United States has been so rapid that the Anti Defamation League was moved to issue a special report on the group, which it described as an “anti-**refugee** vigilante group”.

The ADL noted that the group had thousands of Facebook supporters, an increasing presence on the streets throughout the country, and had been instrumental in activism opposed to the settlement of **refugees** in states like Montana.

Related: Why are we surprised by every populist politician? Voting for them can be a rational choice | Jason Wilson[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/13/why-are-we-surprised-by-every-populist-politician-voting-for-them-can-be-a-rational-choice]

The central idea the Soldiers push is an association between Muslims – both **refugees** and **immigrants** – and crime. Alexander Reid Ross, a US-based anti-fascist researcher and author of the upcoming book, Against the Fascist Creep, says they are part of a “radicalisation of the right that is grounded in the reaction to the spectre of ‘**refugees**’ and ‘**immigrants**’.”

Their offer of protection is explicitly pitched at white fears about Arabs and other migrant groups. Their name and iconography refer directly to Norse mythology, which they interpret in racial terms[https://antifascistnews.net/2016/04/21/soldiers-of-odin-plan-meet-up-in-lodi-lake-ca-on-april-30th/]. As Reid Ross puts it, “they explicitly present themselves as preservers and defenders of the white race in spiritual terms”.

In this context, one thing that sets them apart from other groups is their street patrols – an idea they’ve brought to Melbourne. Alan Dutton works for the Canadian Anti-racism Education and Research Society ( CAERS[http://www.stopracism.ca/] ). He says that in that country, patrols are one way that the Soldiers are “trying to appear to support civil responsibility. But that seems to be a strategy to gain social license to raise money and recruit members”.

He added that while the Soldiers discourage open, public racism in their online communities, and try to disavow the unapologetic white supremacism of European chapters, they “have been unable to explain why, if they disavow racist violence, they assume the name of a racist and violent group”.

The same question could be asked of the Melbourne chapter, which similarly plays down the racist associations of their name and group. Indeed, the Age’s reporting on the group has been criticised in some quarters for similarly backgrounding the group’s far right associations.

Kieran Bennett, an Australian political blogger and antifascist researcher, faulted the Age for not seeing that the Soldiers “are implementing a tried and tested racist strategy”. Like many far right groups, they offer security that they say the state has failed to provide.

“Fascist rhetoric centres around the idea that the state has failed the ‘nation’ in some way … they are purporting to react to this failure.”

In the US context, Reid Ross says that “they thrive off the anti-government movement, and its attempts at replacing the federal government with localised systems of right-wing, sovereign power”, and there is a lot of crossover with so-called patriot groups and other right wing militia.

In Melbourne, some of the members of the Soldiers of Odin have been drifting around the far right for a while. Long standing blogger and researcher on the far right in Australia, Andy Fleming, says the Soldiers’ leader, Jay B Moore (who featured in the Age’s report), was previously a member of the Patriots Defence League of Australia.

“They’re drawn from an already-existing milieu,” he says, “and you could argue for some of them it’s a rebadging – they’ve taken off they’re PDLA gear and put on Soldiers of Odin gear instead.”

Given that the PDLA was itself a splinter group from the Australian Defence League, and that he estimates that the Soldiers in Melbourne number no more than 20, they need to be understood in the context of the fractious history of the far right.

So far they have attended far right rallies and intermittently clashed with other far right groups like the True Blue Crew. According to their Facebook page, they are planning to attend the “Battle of Eltham” rally this weekend, where a number of far right groups will be protesting the decision to re-settle Syrian and Iraqi **refugees**[https://www.facebook.com/events/1129066260508415/] in St Vincent’s care facility in Eltham, in the Northern Suburbs of Melbourne.

Related: Extremist militias recruiting in fear of Clinton winning election, activists say[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/18/us-militia-recruiting-clinton-trump-election-patriot-movement]

Their numbers may be small in Australia so far and that may, in part, indicate a fragmentation of the local far right. The uptake of Odinist branding may be a matter of convenience – window dressing for personality conflicts in a movement stacked with big egos.

But what’s undeniable is that the common currency of international far right groups is Islamophobia, and that social media allows far right activists to make common cause across national boundaries.

If such groups are gaining more of a foothold throughout advanced democracies, it may be because they echo mainstream political discourse, which for a generation has shrunk the political horizon to issues of border paranoia, terror, and security.

The best way to defeat them, long term, will be to build real alternatives to the politics of fear and resentment.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The high-profile trial over the takeover of the Malheur wildlife **refuge** sparked a national debate about the public land rights of ranchers in the American west

A jury ruled that brothers Ammon and Ryan Bundy were not guilty of conspiring against the government, a surprising end to the high-profile Oregon standoff trial that sparked national debates about public lands and the rights of ranchers in the American west.

The decision, unveiled in federal court in Portland on Thursday, is a blow to the US government, which had aggressively prosecuted the rightwing activists who led an armed takeover of public property to protest American land-use regulations.

The Bundy brothers, who orchestrated a 2 January takeover of the Malheur national wildlife **refuge**, were acquitted on Thursday on a number of serious charges, along with five other defendants. Only a day earlier the court dismissed a juror over fears of bias, raising concerns that the trial would drag on for weeks.

The Bundy family’s public fight with the government first ignited in 2014 when the patriarch Cliven, now 70, led an armed standoff[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/19/nevada-armed-militia-cliven-bundy-victory-federal-government] with law enforcement at his desert ranch in Nevada.

Related: Rebel cowboys: how the Bundy family sparked a new battle for the American west[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-family]

For decades, Cliven had refused to pay grazing taxes[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jun/01/cliven-bundy-standoff-grazing-rights-nevada-ranch], claiming that the US Bureau of Land Management had no authority to restrict his use of public lands by his property. Authorities said Cliven’s debt climbed to more than $1m and eventually, law enforcement attempted to seize his cattle. But officers were forced to retreat when hundreds of supporters, some heavily armed, showed up to defend the ranch in Bunkerville, an hour north of Las Vegas.

The dispute and lack of prosecution galvanized ultra-conservative activists and militia groups[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-family] across the west, and the Bundys launched a second fight with the BLM in January 2016 – in a remote part of eastern Oregon.

In response to the imprisonment of two Harney County ranchers, who were prosecuted for arson[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/17/oregon-militia-standoff-occupation-dwight-steven-hammond], Ammon and Ryan led a group of activists in an occupation of the Malheur national wildlife **refuge**[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/03/oregon-militia-threatens-showdown-with-us-agents-at-wildlife-refuge], an obscure bird sanctuary.

Ammon declared[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/07/oregon-standoff-militia-leader-ammon-bundy-sheriff-meeting] that he and other protesters, some who openly carried firearms and took over government buildings and equipment, would stay camped at the site until the ranchers were freed and the **refuge**land was given to locals to control.

The tense standoff began in January and dragged on for 41 days[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/11/oregon-militia-standoff-final-surrender-met-with-shouts-of-hallelujah], and police eventually launched mass arrests and killed one of the leaders[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/28/oregon-militia-standoff-lavoy-finicum-shooting-dead-police-malehur-national-wildlife-refuge], LaVoy Finicum[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/05/lavoy-finicum-hailed-as-one-of-the-biggest-patriots-before-funeral], in a roadside confrontation.

Prosecutors charged the Bundy brothers and 24 other defendants[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/15/oregon-militia-standoff-felony-charges] with conspiracy to impede officers through use of force, intimidation or threats, and some also faced additional charges of firearm possession[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/09/oregon-militia-prison-charges-government-bundy-standoff] and theft of public property.

Some of the defendants signed plea deals in hopes of getting shorter prison sentences, and a total of seven defendants have been on trial since September.

The court proceedings have drawn packed crowds of rightwing supporters who see the Bundy family as a symbol of the American west[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-family] and the fight against government overreach, as well liberal environmentalists who have called for harsh prison sentences to send a message that the government will protect public lands[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/08/oregon-militia-standoff-demands-what-comes-next] and promote conservation.

During the trial, which featured colorful testimony from rural Bundy fans and local law enforcement critical of the occupation, federal prosecutors argued that the protesters organized a “dangerous” invasion[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/13/oregon-militia-standoff-trial-begins-ammon-ryan-bundy] and conspired to stop **refuge** workers from doing their job.

Ammon’s attorney and other defense lawyers have argued that the defendants were leading a peaceful demonstration and were lawfully speaking out against federal actions and policies.

Prosecutors also revealed during the court proceedings that US authorities relied on more than a dozen confidential informants[http://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/government-informants-defense-rest/] during the occupation, and defendants’ lawyers have raised concerns about how the government has used that information and how those individuals shaped the actions at the **refuge**.

“These ranchers who have taken a stand are the last ranchers standing,” Janalee Tobias, a Utah activist who traveled to the **refuge**, told the Guardian.

The gun rights advocate, who testified[http://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/10/defense\_resumes\_with\_testimony.html] on behalf of the defense earlier this month, argued that the Bundys were not aggressors and were trying to educate people.

A separate trial, involving Ammon, Ryan, Cliven and two other Bundy men[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/03/donald-trump-cliven-bundy-government-standoff-nevada], is planned for next year in Nevada on charges stemming from the 2014 Bunkerville standoff.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**John McDonnell sets out Labour’s vision for a fairer departure from the EU , as GDP figures show stronger than expected economic growth.

block-time published-time 5.54pm BST

It’s time to draw a veil over this live blog. There’s not much point in having a closing summary, as it would be much the same as the lunchtime version, perhaps with the addition of the dropping of the education bill [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-58122334e4b0219a00d394fb#block-58122334e4b0219a00d394fb], the suspension of Jenny Tonge [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-581224fae4b08d944ba4b4f6#block-581224fae4b08d944ba4b4f6] and the UK intervention over Calais [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-58122effe4b08d944ba4b531#block-58122effe4b08d944ba4b531].

So: thank you very much for reading, and Andrew will be back next week.

block-time published-time 5.47pm BST

UK protests at children stranded outside Calais migrant camp This from my colleague Alan Travis:

The prospect of 50 **refugee** children being stranded outside the Calais migrant camp for a second night has triggered a high level protest from the British government and a demand that the children be provided with an immediate safe place to go.

The home secretary, Amber Rudd , spoke to her French counterpart, Bernard Cazenuve, on Thursday afternoon, telling him that the children who remained in Calais had to be properly protected.

“She reaffirmed the UK’s commitment to working with the French to make sure all minors eligible to come to the UK continue to be transferred as quickly as possible,” a Home Office spokesperson said.

“Any child either not eligible or not in the secure area of the camp should be cared for and safeguarded by the French authorities. We understand specialist facilities have been made available elsewhere in France to ensure this happens.”

The clear implication of the pressure from the home secretary is that the promised buses should be provided for those **refugee** children who have been pushed outside the camp to take them to a new reception centre.

The Home Office confirmed that a further group of Calais children arrived in Croydon on Thursday with more expected in the coming days.

The call followed renewed pressure from amongst others Yvette Cooper , the chair of the Commons home affairs committee. She said had been in touch again with Home Office ministers to urge them to put serious pressure on the French authorities to provide an immediate safe place for children to go.

“They also need to accelerate the British assessments and transfers to get more children and teenagers into stable accommodation and to urgently free up more places in the container camp too,” Cooper said.

“Children need safe accommodation to stay in tonight – they cannot be left to sleep rough by the side of the road again. This has to be sorted before it is too late.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.16pm BST

block-time published-time 5.32pm BST

The written statement in which the Department for Education smuggled out the news that it had dropped an education bill [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-58122334e4b0219a00d394fb#block-58122334e4b0219a00d394fb] which had been in the Queen’s speech was certainly worded in an opaque way – on this link to the statement [http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Commons/2016-10-27/HCWS223/] it’s the last sentence of the fourth paragraph.

This seems to have confused Labour’s education team, which has released a statement from Angela Rayner , the shadow education secretary, saying the plan for new grammar schools had “been abandoned as a result of the huge pressure Labour has put the government under”.

But it’s not the grammar school plans. This was an entirely different education bill, mainly related to obliging schools to become academies, some of which had already been dropped.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.37pm BST

block-time published-time 5.17pm BST

Workers leave the Nissan car plant in Sunderland. Photograph: Scott Heppell/AFP/Getty Images My colleague, Rowena Mason, has written about the government’s refusal to say what, if any, special deal has been promised to Nissan in return for the Japanese carmaker committing to its Sunderland plant. Here’s an extract:

Downing Street is refusing to disclose what state support has been given to Nissan in order to convince the car manufacturer to boost production Sunderland plant, despite its worries about Brexit.

N0 10 insisted there was no “sweetheart deal” with the Japanese company but acknowledged that Theresa May had given some assurances to the wider industry that they would protected from the impact of Brexit.

The prime minister hailed the car company’s decision as “fantastic news” and a vote of confidence in the UK, as Nissan said it will build the next Qashqai and X-Trail models at its Sunderland factory, safeguarding more than 7,000 jobs. The company said this had been made possible by government “assurances and support”.

The news that thousands of jobs would be safe for some years was widely welcomed but May quickly came under political pressure from Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn to be transparent about any private sweeteners offered to Nissan to encourage it to make the announcement.

She has met privately with Nissan executives and Greg Clark , the business secretary, has also met its representatives on a recent trip to Japan....

No 10 refused to say what has been promised to the car industry in the aftermath of Brexit and declined to say if any public money was involved, although it signalled it had not made any declaration to the EU about a proposal to offer state aid.

“The assurances are that we will get the best possible deal from

leaving the EU ,” May’s deputy official spokesman said. “There was no special deal for Nissan .”

Asked whether Nissan had been promised it will not face tariffs when it exports to Europe, he added: “I can’t be any clearer. The dialogue we’ve had with Nissan as we do with other companies is a reassurance that we are determined to get the British industrial sector the best possible deal. It is a reassurance. There is no deal. We have a dialogue with Nissan and many other companies.”

block-time published-time 5.04pm BST

Liberal Democrats suspend Jenny Tonge My colleague Harriet Sherwood has filed this:

The Liberal Democrats have suspended Jenny Tonge, a member of the House of Lords, from the party following renewed criticism by the Jewish community over alleged antisemitic comments.

Tonge was previously suspended from the Lib Dems in 2012 over alleged anti-Israel comments. She has not taken the party’s whip in the Lords since.

A spokesman for the Liberal Democrats said: “She has been suspended. She was not a member of our group in the House of Lords, she was an independent peer, she has had her membership suspended.”

He added: “We take her comments very seriously and have acted accordingly.”

Thursday’s move came after Tonge hosted a meeting at the House of Lords this week at which Israel was reportedly compared to terror group Islamic State and Jews were blamed for the Holocaust. The remarks were made by a speaker at the meeting, which was organised by the Palestinian Return Centre, which live-streamed the event on its Facebook page.

The Israeli embassy in London said the meeting was a “shameful event which gave voice to racist tropes against Jews and Israelis alike”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.16pm BST

block-time published-time 4.56pm BST

The education secretary, Justine Greening. Photograph: Daniel Leal-Olivas/AFP/Getty Images There has been a very quietly-announced change to the government’s education plans. My colleague, Richard Adams, has more:

The government has announced it is dropping the education bill unveiled in this year’s Queen’s speech, abandoning a raft of proposals that had already proved unpopular but vowing to press ahead with plans to reintroduce grammar schools.

The bill had been introduced by former education secretary Nicky Morgan [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/publications/educational-excellence-everywhere] in March but was quickly shorn of its most controversial clauses, including forcing all state schools in England to become academies by 2020, and ending statutory places for parent governor.

Justine Greening, the education secretary, signaled the ditching of the bill with elliptic phrases in a written statement to parliament on the unrelated Technical and Further Education bill.

“We have rightly reflected on our strategic priorities and the proposals for education legislation put forward at the time of the Queen’s speech,” Greening said in the statement.

“My department has renewed its focus on ensuring everything we do drives towards improving social mobility with an emphasis on not just the most disadvantaged families but also on those that are just about managing. Our ambition remains that all schools should benefit from the freedom and autonomy that academy status brings.

“Our focus, however, is on building capacity in the system and encouraging schools to convert voluntarily. No changes to legislation are required for these purposes and therefore we do not require wider education legislation in this session to make progress on our ambitious education agenda.”

With two bills already in the legislative pipeline – the Children and Social Work bill and the Higher Education and Research bill – and a third announced today, the Department for Education was unable to cope with the further workload entailed by the remnants of Morgan’s bill.

block-time published-time 4.39pm BST

A quick note: earlier I mentioned that [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811be49e4b0219a00d392d0#block-5811be49e4b0219a00d392d0] the by-election for Richmond Park, at which Zac Goldsmith will seek to re-take his seat while standing as an independent, was likely to take place on 1 December. This date has now been confirmed.

block-time published-time 3.56pm BST

Our latest Politics Weekly podcast is up. My colleague Rowena Mason hosts chat on everything from Heathrow and Zac Goldsmith to Calais.

Related: Heathrow third runway and Calais camp demoliton – Politics Weekly podcast [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/audio/2016/oct/27/heathrow-third-runway-and-calais-camp-demoliton-politics-weekly-podcast]

block-time published-time 3.08pm BST

Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary. Photograph: David Gadd/Sportsphoto Ltd./Allstar Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary, has written a long Facebook post [https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\_fbid=1325115197538524&id=142202379163151] about her decision to use an opposition day debate in parliament to demand the UK [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/26/labour-call-for-uk-to-withdraw-support-for-saudi-led-coalition-in-yemen-fails] withdraw support for the Saudi-led coalition fighting in Yemen, which has been implicated in numerous civilian casualties.

In it she details the reason why she felt the motion was necessary, saying support for the Saudis in Yemen “must be suspended until the alleged violations of international humanitarian law in that conflict have been fully and independently investigated”

The motion was defeated by 283 to 193, a tally that reflects the fact that a number of Labour MPs did not vote. Thornberry is critical of both this and the Conservative opposition to the move:

[Withdrawing UK support] would have been the right message to send to the rest of the world. That would have reflected what we should stand for as a country. And that is why I was so disgusted that all but one brave Tory MP voted against sending such a message, and disappointed that some of my Labour colleagues abstained from doing so.

block-time published-time 2.51pm BST

Some Brexit hotline news from my colleague Libby Brooks.

When is a hotline not a hotline? Nicola Sturgeon revealed at this lunchtime’s first minister’s questions that the so-called Brexit hotline to David Davis, offered to devolved leaders by Theresa May at their meeting on Monday, has a significant time delay.

“The only new information we got on Monday was that the UK government has set up what they have called a ‘hotline’ to David Davis – I can share with the Chamber today that [Scottish government Brexit minister] Michael Russell’s office called that hotline this week.”

“He called it just before midday on Tuesday, it took until after 6pm yesterday to actually get David Davis on the hotline, that’s 36 hours. So yes, there is now a telephone line we can call, it’s just currently not very hot.”

block-time published-time 2.41pm BST

Lunchtime summary It’s a slightly late lunchtime summary, but just about qualifies:

\* John McDonnell has used a speech in London [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811f82de4b01c528432d442#block-5811f82de4b01c528432d442] on Labour’s position over EU departure to call for a “people’s Brexit” as against what he called a “bankers’ Brexit”.

\* The business secretary, Greg Clark , has refused to say whether Nissan was offered a one-off deal over Brexit terms [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811f3e1e4b01c528432d42a#block-5811f3e1e4b01c528432d42a] before the Japanese carmaker committed to manufacturing two models at its Sunderland plant.

\* While Theresa May has hailed the Nissan deal as “fantastic news” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811d3aee4b0219a00d3934c#block-5811d3aee4b0219a00d3934c], Jeremy Corbyn has called on the government [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811fcd2e4b08d944ba4b418#block-5811fcd2e4b08d944ba4b418] to make public any inducements offered.

\* The attorney general, Jeremy Wright , has raised the possibility of a law change [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811cd47e4b01c528432d367#block-5811cd47e4b01c528432d367] after the acquittal for rape [https://www.theguardian.com/football/2016/oct/14/footballer-ched-evans-cleared-of-in-retrial] of Ched Evans , in which the re-trial heard details of the sexual history of the footballer’s accuser.

\* Michael Gove has used an interview to describe his decision to run for prime minister “a mistake” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811caade4b01c528432d35e#block-5811caade4b01c528432d35e]. He also predicted that the UK would leave [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811eb18e4b08d944ba4b3ae#block-5811eb18e4b08d944ba4b3ae] both the EU ’s single market and customs union after Brexit.

\* Ukip has announced it will not stand a candidate against Zac Goldsmith [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811fa77e4b08d944ba4b408#block-5811fa77e4b08d944ba4b408] in his upcoming by-election, saying he resigned as an MP “on a matter of principle” over Heathrow expansion.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.58pm BST

block-time published-time 2.14pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn has called for the details of any government deal with Nissan to be made public. On a visit to Blackburn to see motor mechanic apprentices, he said (quotes via PA):

It must be made public, because it is public money that will be used if there are any inducements that have been offered and quite obviously, if you are offering big inducements to one industry or one manufacturer, then all the others will quite reasonably say, ‘Well, what about us?’

We are only a few months into Brexit and we don’t know what the terms of the agreement are between Nissan and the government.

I’m pleased there’s going to be continued investment in Sunderland that protects those jobs and obviously helps to develop manufacturing industry, but the concerns are still there. We have to have market access in Europe in order to keep British engineering industries going.

block-time published-time 2.10pm BST

Zac Goldsmith. Photograph: Dan Kitwood/Getty Images In a political endorsement that Zac Goldsmith might not entirely welcome, Ukip has backed the now-former MP for Richmond Park over his opposition to the expansion of Heathrow.

Ukip has also decided to not stand a candidate against Goldsmith, who is seeking re-election as an independent. The Ukip candidate took 4.2% of the vote in the 2015 election [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics/constituencies/E14000896], finishing fifth.

You’ll remember that some Labour MPs called for their party to not oppose [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/labour-frontbenchers-urge-party-not-to-contest-richmond-park-byelection] the Lib Dems in seeking to re-take the seat, but were rebuffed. The Greens, meanwhile – who got 6% of the vote in 2015 – are reportedly thinking about withdrawing their candidate [http://bright-green.org/2016/10/26/greens-set-to-stand-candidate-in-richmond-park-but-remain-open-to-lib-dem-discussions/] to help the Lib Dems.

A Ukip spokesman said:

Zac Goldsmith has resigned on a matter of principle and Ukip admire him for having the courage to do so. Ukip have always believed that Gatwick was a preferred option to Heathrow.

Recognising Zac as a principled man, who was fully committed to helping get Britain out of the European Union , Ukip Leader Nigel Farage, in conjunction with our national executive committee, have agreed that we will not be fielding a candidate in the upcoming by-election for Richmond Park.

block-time published-time 1.53pm BST

It’s a bit delayed, but I’ve finally got a full copy of John McDonnell ’s speech on Brexit. Here’s a few sections from it:

The EU is a flawed institution, but we judged it better to fight for its reform than to leave. By a majority, the referendum shows that the British people made a different choice.

Britain voted to leave the EU , and that decision should be and must be respected. We have to now think about what Britain after Brexit will be like.

As the negotiations get underway, we will face a series of choices. “Hard” versus “soft” Brexit does not cover it. We will need to decide on our openness to trade, investment, and migration.

Labour will always prioritise supporting jobs, growth, and the public finances in making those choices.

But this is not only about getting the best possible deal for the British people in any negotiations. It is about our values, and who we are as a society. It is about our identity, as much as it is about the kind of economy we live in.

And:

There ought to be a political consensus on finding a deal that protects jobs, prosperity, and the public finances. Yet there is a minority Tory opinion that favours a scorched earth approach. They are making the running in the government’s own Brexit negotiations.

The government is hurtling towards a chaotic Brexit that will damage our economy, and hurt the poorest and most vulnerable most of all. By pulling up the drawbridge and tearing up longstanding ties to Europe, we will inflict huge and unnecessary pain on our society.

Yet a hard-line Tory minority believe that if we allow market forces to tear through our society in the wake of Brexit, we will emerge a more productive society. It is the fantasy of turning our whole country into a giant offshore tax haven, with rock-bottom wages and no public services....

Let me be clear: those who voted Conservative in 2015 are not the same as the Tory establishment. Like me, you will have friends who have voted Conservative. They don’t want a bankers’ Brexit any more than I do.

The simple truth is that the Tory establishment cannot be trusted to make a success of Brexit. They want to take control for themselves, not the many. They want to turn Britain into a Singapore of the north Atlantic.

And:

We are also committed to making sure that Brexit works for everyone not an elite few. The Tories want to cut special deals for bankers, and cut taxes for big multinationals.

Labour would work with our European neighbours to protect our key industries like steel, and negotiate deals with the EU to make sure big multinationals like Google pay their fair share in tax.

Labour will take back the economic levers of power currently in the hands of the EU , such as state aid rules, and return them to the people.

Not a bankers’ Brexit for the lucky few, but a people’s Brexit for the many.

block-time published-time 1.39pm BST

Business secretary refuses to say if Nissan was granted special deal The business secretary Greg Clark . Photograph: Justin Tallis/AFP/Getty Images The business secretary, Greg Clark , has just treated listeners of BBC Radio 4’s World at One to a masterclass in political waffling. By my count, host Martha Kearney asked him six times whether the government had struck some sort of deal with Nissan over potential post-Brexit tariffs to persuade the carmaker to build new models in its Sunderland plant [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/27/nissan-to-make-new-qashqai-and-x-trail-models-in-britain].

Each time Clark answered an entirely different question, and at great length. Not a man afraid of numerous sub-clauses in a sentence, he at times resembled a contestant on another Radio 4 show, Just a Minute [http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006s5dp], seeking to run down the clock without actually saying anything of note.

To give you a flavour, here’s Clark’s first two answers, in full:

I think we’ve established a clear understanding of the seriousness of the government’s intention to make sure that the car manufacturing industry not only retains its competitiveness, but actually, through our commitment through the industrial strategy we’re developing for investment in research and innovation and science – especially on very important technologies like electric vehicles – that we are going to be even more a magnet for investment in the future.

And over the weeks that I’ve been having conversations with Nissan , and indeed other companies, I think we do have mutual confidence that this is going to be a very exciting place to invest, and that’s what we agreed.

And:

We talked about the Brexit negotiation and obviously it is something that was in their minds, but the first thing we were able to show was that we are absolutely determined to do a good deal with our European friends and neighbours.

There’s strong mutual interest in the automotive sector in particular, where there is mutual exporting from one country to another, and from Britain to the rest of the EU , supply chains are quite integrated. So we not only have the ambition and the intention but actually good grounds for looking forwards to a good relationship here.

A bit later, Clark came close to an actual answer on one point, saying there had not been a specific deal on compensation over possible tariffs, but that was as precise as it got:

There’s no question of financial compensation over tariffs, because we’ve said that what is necessary is that we are going to maintain the competitiveness of the sector.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.44pm BST

block-time published-time 1.05pm BST

The shadow chancellor, John McDonnell . Photograph: Will Oliver/EPA I’m still lacking a copy of John McDonnell ’s Brexit speech, but here are some more full quotes from it via PA:

Labour are not about to make cynical promises like the Conservatives on reducing migrant numbers, knowing full well they can’t be met on the scale, or timescale, with the methods they propose.

It is not migrants [who are] to blame for low pay and insecurity at work, or the high cost of housing, it is the failure of our whole economic model, which is not supplying the investment in work, or in housing, that people need. We have to change the model.

What we experienced during the referendum... people voted on a whole range of issues, one of which was their concern about the low standard of living. They actually looked at migration being exploited by employers and others to undermine that standard of living.

What we will negotiate is a future with Europe that protects people’s standards of living, that doesn’t allow migration to be used and exploited in that way. And in that way I believe we can build a coherent, cohesive Britain in the future.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.18pm BST

block-time published-time 1.02pm BST

Gove predicts UK will leave EU single market and customs union Michael Gove on BBC2’s Daily Politics Photograph: BBC1 Michael Gove , who has in the last couple of days sat on more sofas than a new homeowner touring Ikea , has just been on BBC2’s Daily Politics, where he faced a slightly less bruising time than he did earlier on Sky News [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811caade4b01c528432d35e#block-5811caade4b01c528432d35e].

Asked about his attitude to how the UK should manage Brexit, Gove said he was certain this would involve quitting the EU ’s single market, as well as probably leaving the bloc’s customs union:

I don’t have the same degree of 100% certainty I do about the single market, but I think it’s pretty clear we should be outside the customs union too.

Gove argued that leaving the single market would be “a liberation”, and pointed to today’s news about Nissan [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/27/nissan-to-make-new-qashqai-and-x-trail-models-in-britain], describing this as “the best news Sunderland has had since Paolo di Canio was sacked [https://www.theguardian.com/football/2013/sep/22/paolo-di-canio-sunderland-sacked] ”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.19pm BST

block-time published-time 12.42pm BST

I’m still awaiting the full text of John McDonnell ’s speech – perhaps it’s being sent in the post – but in the interim, my colleague Jessica Elgot has sent some details of what the shadow chancellor said about today’s Nissan announcement in a post-address Q&A:

John McDonnell , Labour’s shadow chancellor, criticised the deal done with Nissan as a “chaotic” strategy. In a speech where he had criticised the government for appearing to prioritise financial services over manufacturing and small businesses, said there had been no public discussion of the deal hashed out for the car maker.

“We know nothing about it,” he said. “Are they literally going to decide factory by factory which one gets support? We have to have a comprehensive plan, and this is chaos at the moment.”

“We are trying to get a consensus and heal the divisions the referendum brought and we cannot do that with secret deals behind closed doors. It will divide our country once more.

“The first deal looked like it would be protecting financial services, paid for by others. And now with Nissan , other manufacturers are saying what are we going to get? We have to have a comprehensive plan. What we need is more openness and transparency and accountability.”

However, Labour’s mayor of London Sadiq Khan is set to call on the government to prioritise the City’s EU passporting rights at a speech at the City of London Corporation’s annual dinner tonight.

McDonnell said he was also determined to protect financial services, but would not prioritise a “bankers’ Brexit” over other industries. “It sends out messages to the rest of our economy that special deals are being cooked up. We will fight for every job in financial services sector, but it cannot be done in a chaotic way.”

block-time published-time 12.29pm BST

The Scottish parliament building. Photograph: Murdo Macleod for the Guardian David Mundell , the Scottish secretary, has appeared before a committee at Scotland’s devolved parliament, and told them there will be no “special deals” for different parts of the country under Brexit.

Questioned by MSPs on Holyrood’s Europe committee, Mundell said:

What is envisaged... is there would be a single agreement for the whole of the United Kingdom.

That doesn’t mean that within that agreement there can’t be specific issues that would relate to Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland. There won’t be a Scotland-only agreement, or a Wales-only agreement, or a Northern Ireland-only agreement.

There will be a United Kingdom agreement, but that agreement can include differential arrangements in different parts of the United Kingdom if, as part of the negotiation process, that is seen to be the best way forward.

There are very specific issues to specific industries but there won’t be special deals, and it is absolutely wrong to characterise a suggestion that certain areas of parts of the country will get a special deal and Scotland will not.

This is a growing issue for the Brexit process. Earlier in the week, Nicola Sturgeon was pretty damning [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/24/nicola-sturgeon-says-brexit-meeting-was-deeply-frustrating] about a meeting in London involving Theresa May and the leaders of the devolved administrations, saying she was frustrated by the apparent vagueness of government plans so far.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.41pm BST

block-time published-time 12.13pm BST

Lord Owen. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA David Owen, the former Labour foreign secretary and SDP leader, as well as a campaigner for Brexit, has warned that the UK must press ahead with negotiating trade deals or risk being “pushed over a cliff” economically.

At a speech in Switzerland Lord Owen said (quotes again via PA):

The UK has to be able to start negotiating international trade agreements before exit. This is a non-negotiable issue. So is the UK having full World Trade Organisation membership in our own right.

To fail to have these two issues put into operation and sanctioned under UK law in the European Communities Act legislation would be gross negligence.

Under any of the options for negotiating we must have these safeguards, or we otherwise face being pushed over a cliff edge after waiting for an EU decision in 2018-19 which might prove to be unacceptable.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.41pm BST

block-time published-time 11.44am BST

John McDonnell speaking in central London. Photograph: Toby Melville/Reuters McDonnell is – I assume – still speaking, but I still don’t have a copy of what he has said from his people.

In other news, here’s our latest takes on the GDP figures and the Nissan announcement.

Related: UK economy defies Brexit vote slowdown fears [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/27/uk-economy-defies-brexit-slowdown-fears]

Related: Nissan to make new Qashqai and X-Trail models in Britain [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/27/nissan-to-make-new-qashqai-and-x-trail-models-in-britain]

block-time published-time 11.29am BST

Sky News, the only channel showing the John McDonnell speech live, has cut away from it to bring more reaction to the Nissan deal. You have to wonder if that was deliberate timing on the part of the government. His press people have yet to send me the text of the speech – I’ll give more extracts when I can.

My colleague, Jessica Elgot, is there.

enltrJohn McDonnell speech at Institute of Directors - says Tory right pursuing a "scorched earth" policy on Brexit which risks jobs & growth pic.twitter.com/WGkruFvAP9 [https://t.co/WGkruFvAP9] - says Tory right pursuing a "scorched earth" policy on Brexit which risks jobs & growth

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) October 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/791584945848320000]enltrMcDonnell has also said breakfast instead of Brexit three times which is a bit distracting

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) October 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/791585390884954112]block-time published-time 11.23am BST

McDonnell: government wants to make UK 'Singapore of the north Atlantic' McDonnell is talking about how, he says, many voters felt economically left behind, which in part prompted the Brexit vote. Labour cannot seek to “wind the clock back” to an idyllic pre-referendum past which never existed, he warns.

He then outlines what he calls a “nightmare vision” of some Conservatives who, he says, seek to turn the UK after Brexit into a low-tax, low-regulation economy.

McDonnell says the government wants to make the UK “a Singapore of the north Atlantic”, and says many Tory voters do not share such aims:

They don’t want the bankers’ Brexit any more than I do.

In contrast, he says, Labour would seek a “people’s Brexit for the many”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.43pm BST

block-time published-time 11.17am BST

PM calls Nissan announcement 'fantastic news' To break off briefly from McDonnell, Theresa May has just released a statement on Nissan ’s decision to commit to manufacturing in Sunderland:

This is fantastic news for the UK. Nissan is at the heart of this country’s strong automotive industry and so I welcome their decision to produce the Qashqai and a new model at their Sunderland plant.

It is a recognition that the government is committed to creating and supporting the right conditions for the automotive industry so it continues to grow, now and in the future.

This vote of confidence shows Britain is open for business and that we remain an outward-looking, world-leading nation.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.44pm BST

block-time published-time 11.14am BST

John McDonnell speaks in central London. Photograph: Sky News John McDonnell has begun his speech in central London. He has outlined Labour’s insistence that the Bank of England must stay independent [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2016/oct/27/labour-to-warn-theresa-may-against-bankers-brexit-politics-live?page=with:block-5811c5eee4b0219a00d39305#block-5811c5eee4b0219a00d39305].

He is now explaining Labour’s response to Brexit, and begins by saying that the party has to accept the referendum:

We should not pretend that the result should be undone.

block-time published-time 11.10am BST

The production line at Nissan car plant in Sunderland. Photograph: Nigel Roddis/Reuters More good post-Brexit economic news on our Business Live blog – it seems that Nissan is about to confirm it will build two models, the Qashqai and X-Trail, at its plant in Sunderland. This followed worries expressed by the Japanese auto giant about the prospects for UK manufacturing after the country left the EU .

As commenters have noted immediately, this would seem to indicate that Nissan has managed to extract from the government some sort of guarantee over compensation if it ends up needing to pay tariffs post-Brexit to export vehicles to the EU .

Read the full details here:

Related: UK GDP: Economy grew by 0.5% after Brexit vote – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/27/uk-gdp-growth-figures-brexit-impact-economy-business-live]

block-time published-time 10.54am BST

Attorney general suggests law could be changed in wake of Ched Evans case The attorney general, Jeremy Wright , has raised the possibility of a change to the law in the wake of the acquittal for rape [https://www.theguardian.com/football/2016/oct/14/footballer-ched-evans-cleared-of-in-retrial] of Ched Evans , in which the jury at the footballer’s re-trial heard details of the sexual history of his accuser.

The case prompted warnings that women might in the future be put off reporting sexual assaults to avoid such inquisitions in court. Jess Phillips and some other female Labour MPs, are seeking a change to the law [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/24/rape-victims-trial-evidence-labour-women-ched-evans].

Speaking about the case at attorney general’s questions in the Commons, Wright said (quotes from PA):

There is concern here and we need to accept that that concern is sensible and deal with it.

I think what we need to look at is a number of things. We need to understand more about the decision in this particular case, we need to understand whether a change in the law is appropriate, and if not whether it is sensible to look at the guidance that is given to judges about when this evidence is admissible and the guidance that judges give to juries about how that evidence should be used.

I think we need to do all of those things before we are in a position to understand what, if any, changes are needed.

block-time published-time 10.46am BST

Michael Gove says running for PM was "a mistake" Michael Gove . Photograph: Stefan Wermuth/Reuters Michael Gove has just been interviewed on Sky News, and it’s fair to say that his interrogator, Adam Boulton, quite enjoyed giving the former justice secretary a good kicking.

Boulton asked Gove if he felt “a prize idiot” for deciding to drop his initial support for Boris Johnson to replace David Cameron so he could run himself, only to finish third in the vote of Tory MPs. Gove conceded he had made some wrong decisions:

I made a mistake. I should either have paused before supporting Boris in the way that I did or, having agreed to support Boris, I should have stuck with it. The final thing that I’ve said is that having made that decision not to support him but to run myself, I should probably have presented my case in a different way to the way that I did.

Boulton, who seemed to be having enormous fun, pressed Gove on which was his worst error, “supporting Boris, knifing Boris or thinking you were fit to be prime minister”. The reply: “Oh, I don’t know”

After Gove spoke of his happiness at having played a role in the successful leave campaign, Boulton noted that Johnson, as foreign secretary, now had a much bigger role in shaping Brexit, telling Gove: “That was another cunning plan that misfired, if you like”.

Gove finally said: “Of course, I lost, and there you go”.

As the interview ended and the cameras pulled away, Boulton could be heard exclaiming, “Well, that was fun!” I’m not sure if Gove would agree.

enltr"You must feel a prize idiot": @michaelgove [https://twitter.com/michaelgove] on #ToryLeadership [https://twitter.com/hashtag/ToryLeadership?src=hash], @BorisJohnson [https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson] and #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] and #AOP [https://twitter.com/hashtag/AOP?src=hash] and @adamboultonSKY [https://twitter.com/adamboultonSKY] and https://t.co/v9VRMA8ykI [https://t.co/v9VRMA8ykI] and

— Sky News (@SkyNews) October 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SkyNews/status/791569788426268673]block-time published-time 10.18am BST

My colleague Jessica Elgot has been sent another extract from John McDonnell ’s upcoming speech – a section about how Labour would promise to protect the independent of the Bank of England :

We have seen Conservative backbenchers attack the governor of the Bank of England, followed up by a Conservative prime minister questioning the Bank of England ’s independence.

Labour gave the Bank of England independence to stop Tory chancellors leaving monetary policy to the whims of their backbenchers. Operational independence for monetary policy, as I’ve made clear in the past, should be sacrosanct.

Labour will fight any moves by this Tory government to undermine that independence and we will resist attempts to blame the Bank of England for failed Tory economic policy.

block-time published-time 10.15am BST

A resident leaves the migrant camp in Calais. Photograph: Sean Smith for the Guardian There is likely to be discussion today as to whether the UK could have done more to assist unaccompanied child **refugees** in the Calais camp, which is now being dismantled by French authorities. Charities expressed alarm last night at teenagers seemingly sleeping rough in Calais, despite authorities’ stated intention to process all people in the camp before it was knocked down.

My colleague Lisa O’Carroll, who is in Calais, has sent this statement from Save the Children :

The situation for children in Calais after the demolition is the worst it’s ever been. Vulnerable children slept under bridges, outside warehouses and in the Jungle camp itself, which has become an increasingly volatile environment.

Dorothy Sang, a Save the Children aid worker in the camp, said:

Last night, we spent hours trying to negotiate a place for three young Eritrean boys – two were 13 years old and the other was 14 years old. Despite their pleading and most of the jungle being burnt to the ground, these boys were refused. They had to spend another night in the Jungle, which is now the most dangerous it has ever been for children.

It’s disappointing to see this being reported as a ‘success’ when so many vulnerable children have been left behind and so many more have run away. We may never know where they’ve gone.

block-time published-time 9.59am BST

Over on our Business Live blog [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/27/uk-gdp-growth-figures-brexit-impact-economy-business-live] we have full coverage of the news this morning that the economy grew by 0.5% in the three months after the Brexit vote – less than the 0.7% in the preceding quarter, but also more than the 0.3% predicted by many.

This is being seen as a sign the economy didn’t suffer much of an immediate “Brexit shock”, though of course it is still early days.

The chancellor, Philip Hammond , is sounding unsurprisingly bullish at the news, releasing this comment via a tweet.

enltrHere's my response to today's @ONS [https://twitter.com/ONS] GDP figures. pic.twitter.com/GGdt0UCFkr [https://t.co/GGdt0UCFkr] GDP figures.

— Philip Hammond (@PHammondMP) October 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PHammondMP/status/791561532144508928]Follow the full reaction with my colleague Graeme Wearden here.

Related: UK GDP: Economy grew by 0.5% after Brexit vote – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/27/uk-gdp-growth-figures-brexit-impact-economy-business-live]

block-time published-time 9.51am BST

Robert Buckland , the solicitor general Photograph: BBC Parliament Business in the Commons has begun with questions to the attorney general (as well as the solicitor general, Robert Buckland , who kicked things off).

Before this the Speaker, John Bercow , took a brief vote on the formality of appointing outgoing Richmond MP Zac Goldsmith – or Frank Zacharias Robin Goldsmith, to use his full name, as Bercow did – as Steward and Bailiff of the Chiltern Hundreds [https://www.parliament.uk/business/news/2016/october/zac-goldsmith-resigns-as-mp-for-richmond-park/], one of the interim courtesy titles handed to MPs who resign, and moving the writ for the by-election, expected to happen on 1 December.

Goldsmith, the Conservative MP who stepped down over the plans for a new runway at Heathrow airport, will re-fight the seat as an independent. Liberal Democrats in the west London seat hope to re-take the constituency, in part by seeking to make the by-election a plebiscite on Brexit.

My colleague Alexandra Topping has more on this.

Related: Anticipation abounds as the Lib Dems begin battle for Richmond Park [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/anticipation-abounds-as-the-lib-dems-begin-battle-for-richmond-park]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.23am BST

block-time published-time 9.29am BST

The Scottish secretary, David Mundell . Photograph: Dan Kitwood/Getty Images Among those speaking last night at the annual awards ceremony for the LGBT online newspaper PinkNews [http://www.pinknews.co.uk/home/] was David Mundell , the Scottish secretary, who publicly announced in January that he was gay. Here’s some of what he said, quotes courtesy of PA:

While coming out earlier this year was one of the most difficult things I have done in my life, it’s also proved to be among the best.

There is no template for it and everybody must do what is right for them and their personal circumstances, but I have no regrets.

I said at the time that I did it for myself and it really has made a difference to personal happiness by allowing me to be completely the person I am. However, I am acutely aware that many people don’t have the support I’ve had, particularly from their families.

That’s why it’s so important we continue to speak out to end prejudice and campaign until equality for everybody in the LGBT community is without question.

The awards saw David Cameron named LGBT Ally of the Year [http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2016/10/26/watch-david-cameron-wins-pinknews-award-in-recognition-of-equal-marriage/] for his work on gay marriage, with Theresa May sending a video message saying that there is still “too much” hatred and discrimination against LGBT people.

David Cameron ’s video message to the PinkNews awards. block-time published-time 9.01am BST

Good morning. It looks like the political pace might turn down a notch today following a frantic week of airports and Brexit news.

The main event of the morning will be John McDonnell , the shadow chancellor, making a speech to warn that the terms of departure from the EU should not be tilted in favour of financial institutions at the expense of manufacturers and small business – or in his catchy phrase, it shouldn’t be a “bankers’ Brexit”.

McDonnell will be speaking around 11am. My colleague, Jessica Elgot, will be there, and has written a preview.

Related: Tories want a Brexit deal for themselves, not the many - John McDonnell [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/27/tories-want-bankers-brexit-deal-john-mcdonnell-labour]

It’s Peter Walker at the controls here, I should mention, in place of Andrew, who returns next week.

Otherwise, the Commons is sitting, but the schedule [http://calendar.parliament.uk/calendar/Commons/All/2016/10/27/Daily] doesn’t immediately throw up any major set piece events. Meanwhile the home secretary, Amber Rudd , is at the Vatican for talks about modern slavery.

Meanwhile Theresa May still faces pressure, both here and overseas, about her private warnings to Goldman Sachs about the economic perils of Brexit, as revealed in the Guardian . This is our latest story.

Related: Theresa May under fire for secret talk of Brexit fears [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/theresa-may-under-fire-following-leaked-brexit-recording]

Do get in touch with your thoughts, either below the line or on Twitter – I’m at @peterwalker99 [https://twitter.com/peterwalker99]. I’ll try to read comments as I can, but if you’re addressing anything to me directly it can be easier to put my name in there somewhere.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.03am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The former justice secretary thought the world was ready for The Return of the Govester. Sky News’s Adam Boulton had other ideas

The last time many people would have caught a glimpse of Michael Gove was on the morning after the EU referendum when he appeared before the TV cameras looking like a bloke who had just come down from a bad acid trip to discover he had murdered several of his closest friends.

That, though, turned out to be just the start of his Charlie Manson political killing spree. Within a week, he had stabbed Boris Johnson repeatedly in the front before crashing and burning in his bid to become prime minister. His punishment was to be sent to the back benches to reflect on the foolishness of his actions.

As justice secretary, Gove was a firm believer in the saying: ‘If you can’t do the time, don’t do the crime,’ but he’s not finding it so easy to put into practice himself.

The normal sentence for a serial killer is life without parole, but Gove has come to the conclusion that, in his case, a couple of months is quite long enough. Mikey has had enough of being just another political hack, occasionally chipping in with backbench speeches that go unreported and unappreciated. Mikey believes he is worth more than this. Mikey believes the world is ready for The Return of the Govester. Mikey 2.0.

Sadly for Mikey, just about the only person to agree with him is the Brexit-supporting Labour peer Maurice Glasman[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/jul/19/lord-glasman-radical-traditionalist], and the pair have set up a two-man commission to “Do Something About **Immigration**”. Which is why Mikey finally got the attention he had been craving for so long and was invited to appear on Sky News.

Sometimes you have to be careful what you wish for. There are some humiliations even a politician shouldn’t be made to endure. “Let’s just remind ourselves of one of the most momentous occasions of this summer,” said Sky’s Adam Boulton, not even bothering to conceal a smirk. The screen switched to Boris Johnson announcing he wasn’t going to run for leadership of the Conservative party after all. “What did you think when you saw that?”

“I didn’t watch it,” Gove insisted.

Boulton arched an eyebrow. Was Mikey really trying to suggest he hadn’t bothered to watch Boris: My Part In His Downfall? No matter. Boulton pressed on.

“But you did effectively bring about Boris’s withdrawal from the leadership race?” he observed.

“That was a complete coincidence,” said Mikey.

“Treachery. Nicking his phone. Conspiracy...”

“That’s an unfair characterisation.”

“So there was no betrayal by you?”

“No. The mistake I made was that I should have paused before offering Boris support.”

Or, indeed, before withdrawing it. It’s fair to say Mikey has a bit of a way to go in his rehabilitation classes. Restorative justice must be on next year’s curriculum.

Boulton pressed on for an easy kill of his own. “So, what was your biggest mistake?” he enquired. “Supporting Boris, knifing Boris or thinking you were fit to be prime minister?”

“I did come third,” Mikey squeaked, defiantly.

“ But more MPs believed even Andrea Leadsom was a better bet than you[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/02/andrea-leadsom-v-theresa-may].” That was the lowest of low blows. Living with the knowledge your colleagues have more faith in the environment minister’s competency is enough to keep anyone in therapy for decades.

Boulton’s bloodlust was out of control. Gove had been a key man and was now excluded. Boris was foreign secretary and doing well and Gove wasn’t. “You’re left to going around bayoneting the wounded,” he said, oblivious to the irony he was guilty of doing just that himself.

By now, Mikey was a wreck, praying for the interview to end as quickly as possible. He’d only imagined doing a three-minute interview and it was already creeping up to 10. Mikey found himself babbling stuff he knew that even he didn’t believe. “It’s great news the pound has been devalued by 30%,” he insisted.

“So, what are the **immigration** targets of your new commission?” asked Boulton, finally getting round to the reason Mikey had volunteered himself for this debacle.

“Um... er... I don’t really know. That’s why I want to have a commission.”

As Mikey tiptoed out of the studios, his phone rang. Maybe it was Theresa asking him back into the cabinet, having been dazzled by his performance. It wasn’t. It was his probation officer. His licence had been revoked.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Wild Woods, Bradford The gloomy basement of an abandoned Marks & Spencer hosts a sci-fi piece that comments on the current **immigration** crisis

Star Rating: 3 stars

Freedom Studios is a Bradford theatre company with a habit of cropping up in the city’s most unexpected locations. The Mill: City of Dreams[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2011/mar/27/bradford-mill-city-of-dreams] was staged in an abandoned weaving shed, and focused on the city’s industrial past. Brief Encounters at Bradford Interchange[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/oct/06/now-arriving-at-bradford-bus-station-new-play-celebrating-immigration] was a theatrical intervention at the railway station, which brought the story of the city’s migrant communities into the present day. Now, Tajinder Singh Hayer’s North Country presents a post-apocalyptic vision of Bradford’s future.

Once again, it’s the interplay of theme and environment that makes Freedom Studio’s work distinctive. It’s hard to imagine a more authentically post-apocalyptic atmosphere than the Wild Woods[http://wildwoodsbradford.co.uk/], a pop-up arts venue located in the basement of an abandoned Marks & Spencer. This, you sense, is how communities will continue to live following the collapse of civilisation – hunkered down on a bare expanse where the socks and underpants used to be.

Hayer imagines a very near future in which a plague has wiped out most of the world’s population, leaving three Bradford teenagers to deal with the problem of survival. Alleyne has the resources of his father’s farm; Harvinder the dwindling medical supplies left by his doctor parents; and Nusrat the makings of a textile empire within the city’s old mill-working communities. What emerges is a form of feudalism based on dynastic marriages, the payment of tithes and a bartering system based on the scarcity of food.

The measure of good science fiction is what it has to tell us about the present, and Hayer’s scenario unfolds like a bleak inversion of the current **immigration**crisis. Nusrat’s journey ends with a hopeful walk through the Channel tunnel; and it is hard not to hear reference to “fires on the Leeds road” without considering images of the clearing of the Calais **refugee** camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/27/calais-refugee-children-sleeping-rough-demolition-charities-france].

The plot does perhaps overplay its hand with a coda projecting as far as 2058 (here’s a foretaste: Marks & Spencer won’t be back in business). And, whereas Freedom Studios have generally tended to keep audiences on their feet, Alex Chisholm’s static staging rather misses an opportunity to explore the further reaches of the retail void in Bradford’s city centre. Plunging the basement into darkness may be the inevitable consequence of the failure of the national grid, but the limited visibility in which the majority of the action occurs means that we may as well be listening to a radio drama.

There are solid performances from Philip Duguid-McQuillan, Kamal Kaan and Natalie Davies, who negotiate the tricky development from orphaned kids to tribal elders in a re-negotiated society. And though the Bradford branch of M&S may now be found in the shiny new Broadway shopping centre[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/nov/02/can-a-new-bradford-emerge-from-hole-in-the-ground-westfield], if you do go down to the Wild Woods you’re in for a big surprise.

•At Wild Woods, Bradford[http://wildwoodsbradford.co.uk], until 5 November. Box office: 01274 730 077.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Unicorn theatre, LondonHolger Schober’s clever two-hander presents Medea’s children as unwanted arrivals in a new school, in a timely riff on notions of them and us

Star Rating: 4 stars

Eriopis (Stephanie Levi-John) and Polyxenos (Lawrence Walker) are the new kids at school. They’ve been to seven schools in three years. They are hardened to being “**refugees** from a country that didn’t want us, living in a country who wants us even less”.

They know that the other kids aren’t really interested in them. “We’re us, and you are you,” shrugs Eriopis, hiding her real feelings behind spiky aggression. “Might as well give them a bit of a show,” she says, pointing to us.

In Justin Audibert’s zippy production, neatly designed by Natalie Pryce, we sit at tables, exercise books and pens in front of us, like bored teenagers about to take an exam. Eriopis and Polyxenos move from table to table, putting us on the spot in a set-up that cleverly plays on the idea of them and us.

Holger Schober’s two-hander busts a few myths[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/jan/16/greekmyths.greekmythsfeatures] as it offers two young people struggling both with **refugee** status and famous parents. Jason was a rubbish dad, preferring to watch the footie on the TV than play with his kids, and now that he’s got a new family, Medea has behaved less like a sorceress and more like any depressed abandoned woman and taken to the bottle.

In Euripides’s play[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/jun/16/medea-phaedra-tragedy-women-theater-bam-brooklyn], the children are barely heard; they are voiceless victims. Schober gives them centre stage and a voice, one that speaks for child **refugees** all over the world looking for a place called home. Eriopis and Polyxenos refuse to be silenced, speaking out even as the darkness claims them.

\* At the Unicorn, London[https://www.unicorntheatre.com/My%20Mother%20Medea], until 25 November. Box office: 020-7645 0560.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Charities say unaccompanied children are among hundreds who have been left without shelter in France

Images have emerged showing **refugees** and migrants sleeping rough following the clearing of the Calais camps, amid claims from charities that dozens of unaccompanied children are among those without shelter.

Save the Children said it was “extremely concerned” about the welfare of children[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/26/operation-to-clear-calais-refugee-camp-finishes-ahead-of-schedule] who had not yet been registered as fires broke out across the camp, with some residents torching their temporary homes.

Related: Calais: fears grow for dozens of children amid chaotic camp shutdown[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/26/operation-to-clear-calais-refugee-camp-finishes-ahead-of-schedule]

Hundreds of people, including lone children, have not been registered by the French authorities, the charities said. The government had aimed to completely clear the camps by the end of Wednesday, registering all residents and transporting them by bus to accommodation in other parts of France.

But shipping containers set up near the camp to house unaccompanied children were full to capacity on Wednesday night and organisations working with migrants and **refugees** reported that some children were forced to sleep outside.

The Guardian spoke to at least half a dozen 15, 16 and 17-year-olds who said they had slept rough on the verge near the processing centre on Wednesday night.

Unaccompanied children were among **refugees** and migrants queuing on Thursday morning outside the warehouses where authorities had carried out registrations earlier in the week, but they remained closed. There was no sign of any systematic support for the remaining migrants. Help **Refugees**estimated[https://www.facebook.com/HelpRefugeesUK/posts/327199217640758] that around 100 children were among those waiting.

Many #children[https://twitter.com/hashtag/children?src=hash] & #minors[https://twitter.com/hashtag/minors?src=hash] waiting outside the registration warehouse in #calais[https://twitter.com/hashtag/calais?src=hash] this morning. The warehouse is closed & no officials on site. pic.twitter.com/GCU4kiI8Y8[https://t.co/GCU4kiI8Y8] — HelpRefugeesUK (@HelpRefugeesUK) October 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/HelpRefugeesUK/status/791528325760032768]

People were being turned away by the French authorities and ordered to return to the camp on Thursday morning, according to **Refugee** Info Bus.

There was anger among volunteers who spent the night in the camp as authorities insisted the clearance operation had been completed and the migrants had been relocated.

“This is disgusting – they have nowhere to go,” said a British man who works for Care4Calais. “To be given shelter and to be processed and given a future – this is what the children have wanted all along, but they turned up to the processing centre and queued for hours and then were told to go back to the camp, which is not safe.”

The registration for unaccompanied children closed hours before it was scheduled to, with children sent back to the camps despite the fires, he said.

Video and photos published by **Refugee** Info Bus showed diggers and bulldozers moving into the camps on Thursday morning.

In total, the French authorities said they had relocated 4,404 migrants and registered 1,200 children, who were either transferred to the UK or sent to the container site. They added that 233 children had been received by the UK since 17 October.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Labour leader quotes Blackadder’s BaldrickPMQs -Verdict from the Twitter commentariatLunchtime summary

block-time published-time 3.49pm BST

Michael Russell, the Scottish government’s Brexit minister, has been updating Holyrood this afternoon on his work, including further detail from Monday’s meeting of the devolved leaders at Downing Street. It would be fair to say that the mood remains bullish, with Russell telling MSPs that the talks had “made it clearer than ever that there is at present no coherent UK plan”.

He went on:

But there has to be a Scottish plan, and ideally that should be one that is good for the UK too. Alongside our efforts to influence the United Kingdom to adopt a soft Brexit with continued membership of the single market the Scottish Government will bring forward our own detailed proposals to protect Scotland’s interests by the end of this year.

Russell said that a key part of these proposals would be setting out ways in which Scotland can remain in the single market, even if the rest of the UK leaves.

He also reported that, on a visit to Brussels last week, he had met Guy Verhofstadt , part of the European Parliament ’s Brexit negotiating team, who – much to the Scottish government’s delight - is previously on record saying: “If Scotland decides to leave the UK, to be an independent state, and they decide to be part of the EU , I think there is no big obstacle to do that.”

block-time published-time 3.46pm BST

The difficulties in concluding an EU-Canada trade deal show the importance of Britain reaching an agreement over its future relationship with the EU before it leaves the bloc, international trade secretary Liam Fox has said.

Reuters reports that Fox told the Commons European scrutiny committee that the seven years it has taken to reach the CETA deal and the delays in signing it after it was rejected by a Belgian regional authority showed the difficulty of doing a deal with such a large number of partners.

Article 50 of the EU ’s Lisbon Treaty allows for an initial two year period of divorce talks before Britain leaves the bloc. Any agreement reached in that time would not be subject to the same level of vetos as a free trade agreement (FTA), he said.

That sort of procedure would only be undertaken were we to leave the European Union after our Article 50 period without any agreement whatsoever and were looking to seek a new FTA from outside.

It’s in the interests quite clearly following this (CETA) experience for all concerned to minimise any sort of economic trade and political disruption to ensure that’s done with the minimum of fuss.

block-time published-time 3.18pm BST

Staying with the Richmond Park byelection, the Lib Dem leader, Tim Farron , has said it represents an an opportunity to “send a message” to Theresa May over her “hard Brexit” strategy and change the direction of the country, the Press Association reports.

Speaking on Richmond Green, directly below the Heathrow flight path, Farron pitched his party as the “only clear, electable alternative” to Goldsmith.

On the face of it the Lib Dems have a mountain to climb. Goldsmith held the south-west London constituency with an increased majority of more than 23,000 in last year’s general election and his stand on Heathrow is likely to be highly popular locally.

But, heartened by a strong performance in David Cameron’s former constituency of Witney last week [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/21/witney-byelection-lib-dems-tories-slashed-majority], Farron said his party were determined to take the fight to Goldsmith.

He said:

We start here as second favourites, there’s no two ways about it, there’s a big mountain to climb, but it’s one we’re determined to have a good crack at.

The ability for people of Richmond Park to really change the way our country heads is over Brexit - are we going to leave the EU or are we going to leave the single market, risking jobs and livelihoods in this part of London?

If you want to stop Theresa May taking us down this extreme path that no-one voted for, then a vote for the Liberal Democrats will send a powerful message and could literally change the direction of our country.”

Farro n suggested he would not be moving to parachute a big name in to contest the seat, saying it was a matter for the local party.

Liberal Democrats leader Tim Farron speaks to the media on Richmond Green, directly below the Heathrow flight path Photograph: Jack Hardy/PA He said:

The reason why the announcement was made this week is because we now have a Conservative Government without the Liberal Democrats stopping them, so the Liberal Democrats are the only people who have stopped the third runway so far.

It’s a confusing choice in some sense, because (Goldsmith), who says he’s opposed to Heathrow, is being supported by a party which is making the Heathrow expansion happen.

To vote for Zac Goldsmith is basically to give succour to a Tory government that is expanding Heathrow.

Activists are set to pour the Richmond Park constituency in a bid to capitalise on their success in last week’s by-election.

The Conservative majority in former prime minister Mr Cameron’s old seat was slashed from 25,000 to 5,700 with a 19% swing, while the Lib Dems came second despite having finished a distant fourth in 2015.

The Lib Dems held Richmond Park until 2010. It is one of their biggest local parties with 800 members, and it enjoys support in neighbouring seats as well.

The constituency voted 69% for Remain in the referendum while Goldsmith was among the leading Conservatives campaigning for Leave.

block-time published-time 3.04pm BST

Compass has joined Labour MPs Clive Lewis , Lisa Nandy and Jonathan Reynolds in calling for the party not to put forward a candidate to run against Zac Goldsmith in the forthcoming Richmond Park byelection.

The soft left pressure group said in a statement:

The Richmond Park by-election is a huge progressive opportunity. Zac Goldsmith ran a racially divisive campaign for the London mayoralty, and was staunchly in favour of the Leave side in this year’s referendum. Now, his decision to trigger this latest contest – in which he is the de facto Tory candidate – offers a chance to reject the politics of division, reduce the Tories’ already slender majority, oppose “hard” Brexit in a seat that was overwhelming remain – and show what can happen when progressive parties work together, not against each other.

This is why we are calling on the progressive parties to get round the table and agree which has the maximum chance of defeating the Tories. The Lib Dems held the seat until 2010 when they got 43% of the vote – and the result of the Witney by-election suggests they could win in Richmond Park if other progressive parties agree not to run competing candidates that simply wastes votes and let the Tories in.

It calls on the Lib Dems to select a pro-European anti-third runway candidate and says there should be reciprocal alliances in future to prevent Tory candidates getting in.

The statement concludes:

There is a precedent. Such an alliance worked in Tatton in 1997 when the progressive parties put the national interest before party interest and stood down to defeat the Tories. It is such a moment once more.

Zac Goldsmith triggered the Richmond Park byelection after resigning over Heathrow expansion. Photograph: Dan Kitwood/Getty Images block-time published-time 2.32pm BST

Much to the annoyance of many commentators watching PMQs, Jeremy Corbyn did not bring up Theresa’s secret speech to Goldman Sachs warning of the dangers of Brexit. Here, the Guardian’s home affairs editor, Alan Travis, explains why what she said is important: [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/why-theresa-mays-secret-speech-really-does-matter] warning of the dangers of Brexit.

It clearly shows that in private she was prepared to articulate a much stronger attachment to staying in the European Union [https://www.theguardian.com/world/eu] than the lukewarm public support she gave to the remain campaign in the one major public speech she made during the campaign.

There is also a reason to believe that the Goldman Sachs speech was much closer to her own personal views because they reflect the fact that May’s entire career before going into politics was at the Bank of England and as a European lobbyist for the financial service industry...

Carefully calculated shifts in language have led some to conclude she is now set on the path to hard Brexit. But her private Goldman Sachs speech just five months ago makes clear that she personally believes a future out of the single market means a business exodus from Britain.

Perhaps she should spell out her views about hard Brexit to the British people rather than giving American bankers the inside track.

block-time published-time 2.23pm BST

Amnesty International UK has backed Jeremy Corbyn ’s stance on Saudi Arabia. During PMQs the Labour leader urged Theresa May to stop selling arms to the kingdom because of its attacks in Yemen.

Amnesty International UK’s arms control director Oliver Sprague said:

Week in week out we’ve documented the Saudi Arabia-led coalition’s appalling attacks on homes, hospitals and funeral halls in Yemen, and week in week out the Government has ducked the need to stop selling weapons to Saudi Arabia.

It’s simply not good enough.

Instead of retreating into vague remarks about ‘issues being investigated’, Theresa May should order an immediate halt to all further arms sales to Saudi Arabia, as well as a full inquiry into what part British weaponry may have played in fuelling the terrible conflict in Yemen.

block-time published-time 1.38pm BST

Summary

\* Jeremy Corbyn has accused Theresa May of not having a Brexit plan. He raised laughs at PMQs as he quoted Baldrick from Blackadder saying: ‘Our cunning plan is to have no plan’. He continued:

Brexit was apparently about taking back control but the devolved governments don’t know the plan, businesses don’t know the plan, Parliament doesn’t know the plan.

He also poked fun at the prime minister for her frequent use of the phrase: “Brexit means Brexit”. In response the prime minister said:

Brexit means Brexit, that means we’re coming out of the European Union .

\* May has been criticised for refusing to prioritise membership of the single market when Britain leaves the EU after the emergence of a leaked tape from before the referendum in which she warned companies would leave if the UK pulls out [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/leaked-recording-shows-theresa-may-is-ignoring-her-own-warnings-on-brexit]. Opposition politicians said her comments to Goldman Sachs bankers showed May really believed the UK was better off in the single market, even though she has signalled controls on **immigration** are the most important thing to secure from a Brexit deal. Corbyn faced criticism from some commentators for not raising the recording at PMQs.

\* Labour frontbenchers Clive Lewis, Lisa Nandy and Jonathan Reynolds have urged the party not to stand a candidate against Zac Goldsmith [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/labour-frontbenchers-urge-party-not-to-contest-richmond-park-byelection] in the byelection in his Richmond seat, triggered by his resignation over Heathrow expansion. The three said such a move help the Lib Dems kick out Goldsmith, who they criticised for his pro-Brexit stance and the divisive campaign he ran against Sadiq Khan during the London mayoral election. It is understood Labour will stand but the Green party hinted they may not contest the seat.

\* The president of the European Parliament, Martin Schulz, has referred the altercation earlier this month between Ukip MEPs Steven Woolfe and Mike Hookem [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/06/ukip-leadership-favourite-steven-woolfe-collapses-in-european-parliament] to French police. The incident triggered by the revelation that Woolfe had considered defecting to the Conservatives [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/conservatives] left him in a serious condition in hospital and he subsequently quit the party. Hookem has strongly denied landing a blow.

\* The Conservative former minister, Nick Boles , has said that he is battling against cancer for a second time. He fought off the disease nine years ago. The former skills minister, who managed Michael Gove ’s failed Tory leadership bid, quit the government when Theresa May [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/theresamay] won the contest and took over as prime minister.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.43pm BST

block-time published-time 1.20pm BST

PMQs - Verdict from the Twitter commentariat Corbyn may have got laughs by quoting Baldrick but there was largely frustration among political journalists and commentators that he did not press her on the Guardian story about her pre-referendum comments at Goldman Sachs warning of the economic consequences of Brexit.

From ITV ’s Chris Ship:

enltrI have question: Leaked tapes to @guardian [https://twitter.com/guardian] show you said firms only in UK to access EU ? Do you think we should stay members of single market

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/791241828767043584]From the Mirror’s Kevin Maguire:

enltrCorbyn missed open goal to destroy May after she warned Goldman Sachs that Brexit would be disaster. She won #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] by default

— Kevin Maguire (@Kevin\_Maguire) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Kevin\_Maguire/status/791238556844957696]From the Sun’s Tom Newton Dunn

enltrNever has Corbyn had a more open goal after Theresa's Brexit tape. Yet 6 times he still slices the ball into Row Z. Outstanding. #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]

— Tom Newton Dunn (@tnewtondunn) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tnewtondunn/status/791236706397720579]From Matt Chorley, editor of the Times’s Red Box

enltrWhy didn't Corbyn use all six questions to read out what May told Goldman Sachs were the risks of Brexit? #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] were the risks of Brexit?

— Matt Chorley (@MattChorley) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MattChorley/status/791237412550799361]From the Spectator’s James Forsyth:

enltrOdd that Corbyn didn't ask May how many other private speeches she has given to banks in recent years? Would have been potent populism

— James Forsyth (@JGForsyth) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JGForsyth/status/791237638644703233]The Mirror thinks differently:

enltrSnap verdict on #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] : Jeremy Corbyn shows his cunning https://t.co/HRAArEdR8J [https://t.co/HRAArEdR8J] shows his cunning pic.twitter.com/uk5gX1w90b [https://t.co/uk5gX1w90b] shows his cunning

— Mirror Politics (@MirrorPolitics) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MirrorPolitics/status/791245953462304768]block-time published-time 1.00pm BST

Here is a fuller account of Corbyn’s attack on May during PMQs accusing her of lacking a Brexit plan:

On Monday, you told the House, ‘We have a plan which is not to set out at every stage of the negotiations the details’.

I’ve been thinking about this for a couple of days. I think when you’re searching for the real meaning and the importance behind the prime minister’s statement, you have to consult the great philosophers.

The only one I could come up with is Baldrick, who says, ‘Our cunning plan is to have no plan’.

Brexit was apparently about taking back control but the devolved governments don’t know the plan, businesses don’t know the plan, Parliament doesn’t know the plan. When will the prime minister abandon this shambolic Tory Brexit and develop a plan that delivers for the whole country?”

Labour party leader Jeremy Corbyn speaks during Prime Minister’s Questions in the House of Commons. Photograph: PA Earlier he joked that he feared May would say “Brexit means Brexit” again.

May replied:

You try to poke fun at the phrase ‘Brexit means Brexit’ but the whole point is this - it’s this government that’s listening to the voice of the British people.

Brexit means Brexit, that means we’re coming out of the European Union .

What you try to be doing is frustrating the will of the British people by saying that Brexit means something completely different.

block-time published-time 12.51pm BST

Tony Robinson has responded on Twitter to being mentioned in PMQ (which has now finished):

svltrBaldrick means Baldrick #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash]

— Tony Robinson (@Tony\_Robinson) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Tony\_Robinson/status/791239017245380608]And in response to May saying he used to be a Labour party member...

enltrHaven't left, active member for 40 yrs. But if David Davis needs any help with Brexit Baldrick stands ready to serve https://t.co/yMXkKyEJgT [https://t.co/yMXkKyEJgT] needs any help with Brexit Baldrick stands ready to serve

— Tony Robinson (@Tony\_Robinson) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Tony\_Robinson/status/791243383205466113]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.56pm BST

block-time published-time 12.48pm BST

There is another question about mental health from a Labour MP, this time Luciana Berger who wants to know when there will be “real equality” for mental health.

May says the government is spending record amounts on mental health while acknowledging there is more to do.

After Tory MP Helen Whately praises the PM for mentioning mental health on the steps of Number 10 when taking office, May points out the increasing number of people accessing mental health services and talking therapies since 2010.

block-time published-time 12.45pm BST

Plaid Cymru MP Hywel Williams asks whether Wales will get a good deal, soft Brexit, like the City of London, suggests the government is picking winners.

The PM says she is committed to ensuring all parts of the UK get a good deal.

block-time published-time 12.40pm BST

Twickenham Tory MP Tania Mathis criticises the decision to give the green light to a third runway at Heathrow and asks how pollution limits can be complied with.

May says the evidence shows standards can be met.

block-time published-time 12.39pm BST

Conservative MP Jack Lopresti asks if there are plans to provide specialist medical facilities for Kurdish forces, Peshmerga, in Iraq.

May says there are not.

block-time published-time 12.38pm BST

Labour MP for Bolton South East, Yasmin Qureshi , asks about human rights abuses in Kashmir.

May says it is for India and Pakistan to sort out but the Foreign Secretary has heard her representations.

block-time published-time 12.36pm BST

Alison McGovern , Labour MP for the Wirral, is angry because she believes Theresa May fobbed off her colleague Karl Turner on mental health referring to constituents waits for talking therapies.

Theresa May says she takes the issue vey seriously and looking into availability of and waiting times for talking therapies.

block-time published-time 12.34pm BST

Labour MP Jim Dowd asks whether the PM about putting mandatory health warnings on alcoholic products in light of this week’s concerning report about excessive consumption, which found women drinking as much as men. [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/24/women-drink-alcohol-men-global-study]

May says she helped develop the alcohol strategy with industry when Home Secretary.

block-time published-time 12.30pm BST

SDLP MP Alasdair McDonnell asks about the impact of Brexit on the Good Friday agreement.

The PM assures him it will have no impact.

block-time published-time 12.28pm BST

Sir David Amess , Tory, Southend West says now we know, via the Chilcot report, that parliament was misled, does the PM have a “cunning plan” to ensure action is taken.

May says the report found that there was no deliberate attempt to mislead but lessons should be learned.

block-time published-time 12.28pm BST

Labour MP Karl Turner says his nephew committed suicide last year and attacks waiting times for mental health problems in the NHS .

May says it is a priority and assures him the government is committed to parity of esteem for mental and physical health.

block-time published-time 12.23pm BST

Bizarrely there is a second question about West Midlands devolution before Helen Hayes , Labour MP for Dulwich and West Norwood, asks if the prime minister will meet with her and sexual abuse survivors to ensure that confidence in the independent inquiry into sex abuse can be restored.

May says it is an independent inquiry so it is up to the inquiry chair to listen to the concerns of victims and survivors but says she will take away the points Hayes has raised and consider them.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.36pm BST

block-time published-time 12.22pm BST

Christopher Chope , Tory, asks about Christchurch and East Dorset councils then the SNP’s Angus Robertson asks about the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo and asks if the prime minister if she will join him in urging Spain to reject the refuelling of Russian ships en route to Syria.

May doesn’t answer the question directly but says pressure should be brought to bear on Russia.

block-time published-time 12.16pm BST

Corbyn asks if May will stop arms sales to Saudi Arabia given the kingdom’s activities in Yemen.

The PM doesn’t respond directly to the question but highlights the importance of the UK’s relationship with the kingdom.

block-time published-time 12.12pm BST

Corbyn says with threats of businesses leaving the UK it is imperative that the prime minister “come up with a plan”.

May said she has been very clear that she wants the UK to trade within the single market and restrict free movement. Labour is opposed to free trade but wants unrestricted movement, says May.

In response to Corbyn’s question about the Ireland/Northern Ireland border, May says “no one wants to see a return to the borders of the past”.

Corbyn quotes Baldrick from Blackadder with respect to May’s plan for Brexit:

Our cunning plan is to have no plan.

May says in response that the actor playing Baldrick (Tony Robinson) was a member of the Labour party.

block-time published-time 12.08pm BST

To laughter, given today’s revelations, May says she has been “very clear” about the aims of Brexit. She also pays tribute to Boles.

To more laughter, Corbyn says he thought for a moment she was going to say “Brexit means Brexit.”

May then chides Corbyn for lampooning her, saying he is trying to make Brexit mean something else.

block-time published-time 12.06pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn welcomes the child **refugees** from Calais “we should welcome them, we should love them”. He also pays tribute to Nick Boles MP who announced this morning that he was battling cancer. He asks for clarity over Brexit.

block-time published-time 12.04pm BST

Conservative MP James Morris encourages the PM to devolve more powers to the West Midlands and praises Tory mayor candidate.

Unsurprisingly May concurs.

block-time published-time 12.01pm BST

What should we be looking out for in PMQs?

Will Jeremy Corbyn seek to grill Theresa May about her pre-Brexit speech at Goldman Sachs [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/leaked-recording-shows-theresa-may-is-ignoring-her-own-warnings-on-brexit] and contrast her comments then with her stance now and also those she made publicly during the referendum campaign?

Other subjects on the table could include Heathrow and Calais.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.04pm BST

block-time published-time 11.55am BST

PMQs PMQs is due to begin shortly.

Here is the list of people who will be asking the questions:

Q1 James Morris (Halesowen and Rowley Regis)

Q2 Mr Christopher Chope (Christchurch)

Q3 Helen Hayes (Dulwich and West Norwood)

Q4 Wendy Morton (Aldridge-Brownhills)

Q5 Karl Turner (Kingston upon Hull East)

Q6 Dr Alasdair McDonnell (Belfast South)

Q7 Jim Dowd (Lewisham West and Penge)

Q8 Alison McGovern (Wirral South)

Q9 Mrs Anne-Marie Trevelyan (Berwick-upon-Tweed)

Q10 Yasmin Qureshi (Bolton South East)

Q11 Owen Thompson (Midlothian)

Q12 Sir David Amess (Southend West)

Q13 Jeremy Lefroy (Stafford)

Q14 Maggie Throup (Erewash)

Q15 Stephen Hammond (Wimbledon)

block-time published-time 11.24am BST

Ukip has come out fighting after the president of the European Parliament, Martin Schulz, referred the altercation between two of its MEPs - former leadership favourite Steven Woolfe (who subsequently quit the party) and Mike Hookem - to the French police.

enltrPresident Schulz again repeats a prejudicial and unsubstantiated allegation on the Woolfe/Hookem spat, which is still under investigation.

— Roger Helmer (@RogerHelmerMEP) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RogerHelmerMEP/status/791222147897253888]enltr @johnestevens [https://twitter.com/johnestevens] and I wonder if @MartinSchulz [https://twitter.com/MartinSchulz] and @ManfredWeber [https://twitter.com/ManfredWeber] will repeat their defamatory claims where they don't have Parl immunity

— Mike Hookem MEP (@MikeHookemMEP) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MikeHookemMEP/status/791193492735332352]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.27am BST

block-time published-time 10.51am BST

The call by three Labour MPs for the party not to stand a candidate in Richmond to help the Lib Dems defeat Zac Goldmith (see previous post) has fallen on closed ears, according to Paul Waugh.

enltrNow here's something interesting. @labourlewis [https://twitter.com/labourlewis] @lisanandy [https://twitter.com/lisanandy] + @jreynoldsMP [https://twitter.com/jreynoldsMP] urge Corbyn not to contest Richmond Park. https://t.co/Uipzd7wHrv [https://t.co/Uipzd7wHrv] urge Corbyn not to contest Richmond Park.

— Paul Waugh (@paulwaugh) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh/status/791209800579375104]enltrBut Lewis-Nandy-Reynolds plan looks a "progressive alliance" too far. I'm told by senior source Lab will be standing candidate in Richmond

— Paul Waugh (@paulwaugh) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh/status/791214658082471936]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.34am BST

block-time published-time 10.23am BST

On Labour list, MPs Clive Lewis, Lisa Nandy and Jonathan Reynolds write [http://labourlist.org/2016/10/lewis-nandy-and-reynolds-lets-make-this-a-referendum-on-goldsmith-not-heathrow/] that Labour should consider - like the Tories, albeit for different reasons - not standing a candidate against Zac Goldsmith in the Richmond byelection triggered by his resignation over Heathrow expansion. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/25/zac-goldsmith-quits-as-mp-over-doomed-heathrow-expansion-decision] that Labour should consider - like the Tories, albeit for different reasons - not standing a candidate against Zac Goldsmith in the Richmond byelection

They say:

With the Tories not standing against him, the fight will come down to a two way contest between him and the Liberal Democrats, whose vote will be split with the greens and Labour.

If there is any chance of kicking Goldsmith out of parliament, the vote against him must not be split. That’s why we think Labour should consider not standing a candidate in this by-election.

Clearly such a decision must have the support of the local CLP. Such a decision must not be imposed from above. It will also mean the Liberal Democrats understanding this isn’t a free ride. With the upcoming local elections next May there may well be seats where Labour (or possibly the Greens) could be given a clear run against their Tory opponents, with local consent.

They describe the byelection as a “vanity project” on Goldsmith’s part, and criticise him for his pro-Brexit stance and the much-criticised campaign he ran against Sadiq Khan [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/07/top-conservatives-condemn-zac-goldsmiths-disgusting-mayoral-campaign] in an attempt to be elected mayor of London.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.45am BST

block-time published-time 9.54am BST

Ukip MEPs reported to French police There is more turmoil for Ukip this morning as the president of the European Parliament, Martin Schulz, has referred the altercation between its MEPs Steven Woolfe and Mike Hookem [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/06/ukip-leadership-favourite-steven-woolfe-collapses-in-european-parliament] to the French police.

enltrFollowing recommendation of EP Advisory Committee on Code of Conduct, I referred incident involving MEPs Hookem and Woolfe to FR authorities

— EP President (@EP\_President) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/EP\_President/status/791182401846317056]Woolfe, at the time the favourite to be the next Ukip leader, was taken to hospital in a serious condition after the fracas in Strasbourg, which was triggered by the revelation that he had considered defecting to the Conservatives.

He subsequently quit the party, saying that the party had become ungovernable and was in “a death spiral” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/ukip-mep-steven-woolfe-quits-party]. Woolfe said he had been treated after the incident for “two seizures, partial paralysis and loss of feeling in my face and body”.

Hookem has strongly denied landing a blow and is also threatening legal action against Woolfe for defamation, suggesting he staged a photograph that showed him passed out after having a seizure.

block-time published-time 9.42am BST

Some sad news to report: Conservative former minister Nick Boles has revealed that he is battling against cancer for a second time.

enltr1. Some news: doctors have found a cancerous tumour in my head. Some of you might think that explains a lot about my recent behaviour..

— Nick Boles (@NickBolesMP) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NickBolesMP/status/791180363934658560]enltr2. At @KingsCollegeNHS [https://twitter.com/KingsCollegeNHS] doing tests and expect to start treatment soon. I fought cancer off 9 years ago and I am sure I can do it again.

— Nick Boles (@NickBolesMP) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NickBolesMP/status/791180564430815232]Boles beat the disease nine years ago. Referencing a parody account popular with Westminster insiders, he added:

enltr5. Giving up Twitter until I have got this thing licked. But @GeneralBoles [https://twitter.com/GeneralBoles] will keep you entertained. Wish me luck!

— Nick Boles (@NickBolesMP) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NickBolesMP/status/791181332999184387]Boles managed Michael Gove ’s failed Tory leadership bid after the EU referendum and was forced to apologise after it emerged he had encouraged tactical voting [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/06/andrea-leadsom-resists-pressure-to-publish-tax-returns] because he was “seriously frightened” about Andrea Leadsom getting on to the ballot.

The former skills minister quit the government when Theresa May won the contest and took over as prime minister.

A close ally of David Cameron , he was part of the informal “Notting Hill set” of modernising Tories and his work with the Policy Exchange think-tank before becoming an MP in 2010 helped frame the former PM’s agenda as leader.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.34am BST

block-time published-time 9.30am BST

Here is what Paddy Ashdown makes about May’s comments:

enltrStrange times! Our Remain Foreign Sec campaigned for Brexit to further his career & our Brexit PM supported Remain for the same reason..

— Paddy Ashdown (@paddyashdown) October 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paddyashdown/status/791193679641837568]block-time published-time 9.24am BST

Here is a round-up of what the rest of the media is saying about the leaked Theresa May comments on Brexit.

The Telegraph’s political editor, Peter Dominiczak, writes [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/26/theresa-may-warned-companies-could-leave-the-uk-after-a-brexit-v/] that May “was seen as a ‘reluctant remainer’” during the run-up to the referendum and compares the comments at Goldman Sachs with those she made in a public speech. He says:

Ahead of the vote she made a speech which offered cautious backing to staying in the EU , but with the caveat that there are “problems” associated with membership and that the UK “could cope” outside the bloc.

She added at the time that the UK is “big enough and strong enough to be a success story in or out of the EU ”.

Michael Savage, chief political correspondent for the Times, writes [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/quitting-europe-will-be-bad-for-business-may-told-bankers-before-vote-z6lsqgplp] :

While it is public knowledge that Mrs May backed the Remain campaign, the recording will come as an embarrassment.

Her remarks appear to go further than the cautious backing she gave to the Remain camp, led by David Cameron . During the referendum campaign, her lukewarm support for Remain led Mr Cameron’s communications chief Craig Oliver to wonder if she was secretly an “enemy agent” for the Brexit camp.

Jon Craig, chief political correspondent for Sky News, writes: [http://news.sky.com/story/theresa-may-warned-against-brexit-a-month-before-referendum-10632602]

Although No 10 insists Mrs May’s Goldman Sachs remarks were entirely consistent with her public statements, they strike a different tone from her comments about Brexit since becoming Prime Minister.

At the Conservative party conference Mrs May said that she wanted to prioritise reducing **immigration** over being part of the single market.

Under the headline “What the PM really thinks of Brexit”, the Mail’s chief political correspondent, Daniel Martin, writes [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3872694/Companies-quit-Britain-vote-leave-EU-Leaked-tape-referendum-reveals-Theresa-really-thinks-Brexit.html#ixzz4OAzfLxLN] :

The comments, revealed in the Guardian [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/25/exclusive-leaked-recording-shows-what-theresa-may-really-thinks-about-brexit], are stronger than her more nuanced public position during the referendum campaign.

Although she was a Remain supporter, No 10 was worried about her lukewarm support for EU membership.

Last night Downing Street said that whatever Mrs May had said before June 23, the government was committed to honouring the result of the referendum.

The recording reveals Mrs May had numerous concerns about Britain leaving the EU . She appeared to go further than her public remarks to explain more clearly the economic benefits of staying in the EU when speaking at the bank in London on 26 May.

Beneath a similar headline the Express writes [http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/725187/Theresa-May-Brexit-EU-audio-recording-European-Union] :

The audio, leaked by The Guardian newspaper, will heap further pressure on Mrs May who was lacklustre in her support for the Remain campaign and has enthusiastically embraced Brexit since the June 23 vote.

She made almost no public pronouncements of note during the referendum campaign, reportedly drawing the ire of David Cameron and his Project Fear camp, who questioned his once-time close ally’s loyalty.

Politics Home notes: [https://www.politicshome.com/news/europe/eu-policy-agenda/brexit/news/80211/theresa-may-feared-businesses-could-leave-uk-post]

The recordings reveal more about the prime minister’s personal beliefs over Brexit than her public offerings about the benefits of staying in the bloc, where she was known as a reluctant Remainer.

enltrGuardian front page, Wednesday 26 October 2016 – Exclusive: leaked recording reveals what May really thinks about Brexit pic.twitter.com/S7cUFcPHPb [https://t.co/S7cUFcPHPb]

— The Guardian (@guardian) October 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/guardian/status/791045623889928192]block-time published-time 8.48am BST

Unsurprisingly, Theresa May is facing flak following the revelation that she warned about the economic consequences of a Brexit vote at a private meeting before the referendum.

My colleague Rowena Mason has written a story on the reaction to the leaked recording. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/leaked-recording-shows-theresa-may-is-ignoring-her-own-warnings-on-brexit] It includes the following comments:

enltrBefore referendum PM says access to 500m strong trading bloc essential; now won't make economy & jobs the priority! https://t.co/EaqRLxd59F [https://t.co/EaqRLxd59F]

— Keir Starmer (@Keir\_Starmer) October 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Keir\_Starmer/status/791051978545782784]My colleague Rowena Mason has written a story on the reaction to the leaked recording. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/leaked-recording-shows-theresa-may-is-ignoring-her-own-warnings-on-brexit]My colleague Rowena Mason has written

Among others who have commented are:

Andrew Gwynne , the shadow minister without portfolio:

As if we needed it, this recording is cast-iron evidence of how Theresa May [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/theresamay] and other senior Tories have been saying one thing in private about the economic impact of Brexit and another in the comfort of Tory conference halls.

It’s plain that she recognises what a disaster it would be for Britain to lose access to the single market, so why doesn’t she be honest with the British people and say how she plans to retain it

enltrPM's private Brexit views https://t.co/Qoi6lE6yzS [https://t.co/Qoi6lE6yzS]. She was right then -it underlines why Single Market membership should be her ambition now pic.twitter.com/HM55aMhBq3 [https://t.co/HM55aMhBq3]. She was right then -it underlines why Single Market membership should be her ambition now

— Chuka Umunna (@ChukaUmunna) October 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ChukaUmunna/status/791034898123517952] Andrew Gwynne , the shadow minister without portfolio, said:

As if we needed it, this recording is cast-iron evidence of how Theresa May [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/theresamay] and other senior Tories have been saying one thing in private about the economic impact of Brexit and another in the comfort of Tory conference halls.

It’s plain that she recognises what a disaster it would be for Britain to lose access to the single market, so why doesn’t she be honest with the British people and say how she plans to retain it.

Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, said it was “disappointing that Theresa May lacked the political courage to warn the public as she did a bunch of bankers in private about the devastating economic effects of Brexit”.

He added:

More disappointing is that now she is supposedly in charge, she is blithely ignoring her own warnings and is prepared to inflict an act of monumental self-harm on the UK economy by pulling Britain out of the single market.

block-time published-time 8.35am BST

Summary Good morning, it’s Haroon Siddique here, standing in again for Andrew Sparrow.

Yesterday was all about Heathrow and while the fallout to that decision is likely to continue [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/25/zac-goldsmith-quits-as-mp-over-doomed-heathrow-expansion-decision], the main story this morning is about a warning given by Theresa May at a private meeting prior to the EU referendum in which she warned that companies would leave the UK [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/25/exclusive-leaked-recording-shows-what-theresa-may-really-thinks-about-brexit] if the country voted for Brexit.

On 26 May, the prime minister (who was home secretary at the time) told an audience of bankers at Goldman Sachs in London:

I think the economic arguments are clear. I think being part of a 500-million trading bloc is significant for us. I think, as I was saying to you a little earlier, that one of the issues is that a lot of people will invest here in the UK because it is the UK in Europe.

If we were not in Europe, I think there would be firms and companies who would be looking to say, do they need to develop a mainland Europe presence rather than a UK presence? So I think there are definite benefits for us in economic terms.

The warning contrasted with her low profile during the referendum campaign, which has come in for criticism [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/25/brexit-books-david-cameron-theresa-may-party-split], with some believing she was hedging her bets in the event of a vote to leave.

Also in the political news today:

\* May’s predecessor David Cameron [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/davidcameron] has signed a deal to write his autobiography, saying he will give a “frank” account [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/25/david-cameron-signs-deal-autobiography-eu-referendum] of his time in Downing Street.

\* A think tank has warned [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/26/hammond-80bn-black-hole-economic-worsens-brexit-treasury] that the worsening economic outlook could leave Philip Hammond [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/philip-hammond] facing a black hole of more than £80bn when he lays out the government’s spending plans next month.

Coming up later today are:

12pm PMQs

2pm International trade secretary Liam Fox gives evidence to the Commons European scrutiny committee.

2.30pm Hilary Benn , Dominic Grieve and Douglas Carswell are among those at a Foreign Policy Centre conference on the EU .

3.15pm Marina Wheeler QC (Boris Johnson ’s wife) gives evidence on Brexit and human rights to the parliamentary human rights committee.

Additionally there will be coverage of breaking political news as it happens and reaction, comment and analysis.

You can get in touch with me on twitter , @Haroon\_Siddique [https://twitter.com/haroon\_siddique?lang=en],

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.41am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Khizr Khan: I would stand up to Donald Trump ‘again and again and again’Trump implies he would fight vice-president Joe Biden: ‘I’d love that’Trump has close financial ties to Dakota Access pipeline company

block-time published-time 2.26am BST

Utah congressman Jason Chaffetz, who un-endorsed Donald Trump after the release of video in which the Republican presidential nominee bragged about sexually assaulting women, has announced that he will vote for Trump anyway:

enltrI will not defend or endorse @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump], but I am voting for him. HRC is that bad. HRC is bad for the USA.

— Jason Chaffetz (@jasoninthehouse) October 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/jasoninthehouse/status/791445788656226304]block-time published-time 2.02am BST

A pair of fundraisers for the Clinton Foundation attempted to steer business opportunities toward former president Bill Clinton, according to hacked emails obtained by activist group Wikileaks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/clinton-foundations-fundraisers-pressed-donors-to-steer-business-to-former-president-1477527597] :

In the memo, Mr. Band explained how he helped the foundation and former president, and found donors among his own firm’s clients. Mr. Band responded to the review by writing: “We appreciate the unorthodox nature of our roles, and the goal of seeking ways to ensure we are implementing best practices to protect the 501(c)3 status of the Foundation”...

In 2009, according to the memo, Declan Kelly, an Irish-American businessman and ally of the Clintons, introduced a senior UBS Group AG executive[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/ubs-deal-shows-clintons-complicated-ties-1438223492], Bob McCann, to Mr. Clinton at a charitable event. “Mr. Kelly subsequently asked Mr. Mccann to support the foundation … [and] also encouraged Mr. Mccann to invite President Clinton to give several paid speeches, which he has done,” according to the 12-page memo. Mr. Clinton earned $1.5 million from those speeches.

The Clinton campaign has refused to confirm or deny the authenticity of this or any hacked emails obtained by Wikileaks.

block-time published-time 1.17am BST

Donald Trump: 'Had I been president, Captain Khan would be alive today' Speaking with ABC News’ George Stephanopoulos, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump declared that if he had been president in place of either George W. Bush or Barack Obama, Captain Humayun Khan would be alive.

“I have great respect for the Khan family, I have great respect for - I mean, the son is a great hero,” Trump said, when asked if he should apologize to the Khan family for insinuating that their grief was choreographed by the Clinton campaign. “But if I were president at that time, Captain Khan would be alive today, George, because I wouldn’t have been in Iraq.”

Stephanopoulos, an assiduous fact-checker, countered that Trump did, in fact, support the war in Iraq before it began[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/19/donald-trump-confronted-with-past-support-for-iraq-war].

“I never supp- look, look, let’s get it straight: I was opposed to the war in Iraq,” Trump said, falsely. “Right from the beginning - that was way before the war started, and that was the first time I was ever even asked about Iraq, and I gave a very, like, ‘I don’t know, who knows.’ That was way before. If you look at just before the war started, I said, ‘don’t do it, it’s a mistake, you’re gonna destabilize the Middle East.’ From the beginning, I was opposed to the war in Iraq.”

Trump’s record on the matter has been exhaustively fact-checked[https://www.buzzfeed.com/andrewkaczynski/in-2002-donald-trump-said-he-supported-invading-iraq-on-the]. In an interview in 2002, before the invasion of Iraq, radio host Howard Stern asked Trump: “Are you for invading Iraq?”

Trump answered, “Yeah, I guess so.”

“Had I been president, Captain Khan would be alive today,” Trump continued. “We wouldn’t have been in this horrible, horrible mistake, the war in Iraq.”

Khizr Khan, who is currently touring Virginia[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/26/khizr-khan-trump-virginia-campaign-hillary-clinton?CMP=twt\_gu] on Hillary Clinton’s behalf, called Trump’s comments “the most cruel thing you can say.”

“There’s no sincerity in those remarks,” Khan continued. “He utters these words totally oblivious to the understanding of where we are, where we stand, what our values are, and how to be empathetic. There is one character that a leader must have to be the leader of a great country, to be the leader of the armed forces of the United States: empathy.”

“And he totally lacks that.”

Related: Khizr Khan: I would stand up to Donald Trump 'again and again and again'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/26/khizr-khan-trump-virginia-campaign-hillary-clinton]

block-time published-time 12.55am BST

Donald Trump, about getting in a fistfight with Joe Biden: I dream about that kinda stuff. Mister Tough Guy. I would dream about that.

block-time published-time 12.42am BST

Speaking in Kinston, North Carolina, Donald Trump was swiftly interrupted by a protestor, who he accused of being a Clinton campaign plant.

“Were you paid $1,500 to be a thug?” Trump said. “Was he paid? Get him out - get him out. Out!”

Trump then marched around the platform while the protestor was escorted out.

“Folks, did you see where, through Wikileaks, we found out that Clinton was paying people $1,500 plus an iPhone to go out and be violent at our rallies?” Trump said, referring to a discredited conspiracy theory espoused by James O’Keefe, of Project Veritas.” Okay? It’s a disgrace - it’s a disgrace.”

“They found our people were very tough - they found that out.”

block-time published-time 12.33am BST

Donald Trump in 2013: I have 'sex' in common with Ivanka Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump has a long history of making suggestive - some might say “super creepy and gross” - comments about his eldest daughter, Ivanka Trump. But a newly unearthed interview from 2013 shows the tycoon making the connection much more explicit.

In the February 2013 interview on the Wendy Williams Show, obtained by Us Weekly[http://www.usmagazine.com/celebrity-news/news/donald-trump-joked-he-and-ivanka-had-sex-in-common-w446872], Williams asked Ivanka Trump, then 31, her favorite thing that she had in common with her father.

“Either real estate or golf,” Ivanka replied.

Williams then asked the elder Trump, then 67, the same question.

“Well, I was going to say sex, but I can’t relate that to her,” Trump said, pointing to Ivanka, who appeared embarrassed by the comment.

block-time published-time 12.30am BST

Nearly half an hour after he was scheduled to appear, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump has emerged from his private jet in Kinston, North Carolina, to speak to a smallish rally of supporters at an airfield.

“We are going to win North Carolina, and we are going to win back the White House - believe me!”

block-time published-time 12.26am BST

Donald Trump lends name to new hotel so near – and so far from – White House It was once a brand synonymous with gold and marble; a sign of guaranteed opulence if not necessarily good taste. Instead, the taint of sexual assault claims and alleged racism hung over the formal opening of the latest building to bear the Trump name: the Republican presidential candidate’s newest hotel in Washington DC[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/washington-dc].

Donald Trump opens his newest hotel with his family. Photograph: UPI / Barcroft Images Just 723 short steps along Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House, this may be the closest Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] comes to the heart of political power this year, but the glitzy launch was meant to be the highlight of his business calendar.

Rooms during inauguration week in January were marketed at up to $500,000 each. During a soft launch[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/13/trump-international-hotel-washington-opening-protests] in September, Trump ensured wall-to-wall media coverage by using the occasion to finally admit he had been wrong to doubt Barack Obama’s right to American citizenship.

But weeks of political scandal appear to have taken their toll on the brand. During the recent IMF meetings in Washington, usually the busiest week of the year for luxury hotels in the city, rooms could be found online at a significant discount[http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2016/10/trumps-d-c-hotel-shows-as-poll-sink-so-does-his-brand.html] compared to its sold-out rivals.

While Trump was boasting of the building’s 5ft-thick walls during Wednesday’s ribbon-cutting ceremony, the sound of political protest out on the street could be heard from inside the lobby. Overnight, Trump’s star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/26/donald-trump-hollywood-walk-of-fame-star-damaged] was destroyed by a vandal with a sledgehammer and pickaxe.

The candidate sounded wistful and unusually subdued as he took a break from the campaign trail to attend the launch. “With the notable exception of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, this is the most coveted location in DC. The best location,” said Trump.

Even the struggling campaign’s slogan, “Make America great again”, was watered down, perhaps succumbing to criticism that it implies the country is no longer at its best. ‘The United States is great. Its people are great,” said Trump, during brief political remarks that followed the launch.

Related: Donald Trump lends name to new hotel so near – and so far from – White House[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/26/donald-trump-opens-international-hotel-campaign-trail-brand]

block-time published-time 12.02am BST

Donald Trump campaigns in Kinston, North Carolina Watch it live here:

block-time published-time 11.35pm BST

For those outside of the United States - we’re so, so sorry.

enltrDaylight Saving Time switches on November 6. That's right, this presidential campaign is an hour longer than you thought.

— Tucker Doherty (@tucker\_doherty) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/tucker\_doherty/status/791366824051011585]block-time published-time 11.22pm BST

Donald Trump, on love:

Last night was something, wasn’t it? You know, they kept 15,000 outside. They actually did this - they said we couldn’t allowed, they allowed 15,000 in. They said, ‘We’re afraid of a stampede.’ Can you imagine? Because there were so many people, if there were a stampede we’d be in trouble. Even out of love! Love can kill too.

block-time published-time 10.49pm BST

Trump on military experts: 'I'll teach him a couple of things' Donald Trump dismissed the expertise of former Army War College dean Jeff McCausland, telling ABC’s George Stephanopoulos[http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/donald-trump-hell-teach-military-expert-couple-things/story?id=43083480] that “You can tell your military expert that I’ll sit down and I’ll teach him a couple of things.”

McCausland had said that Trump’s recent comments declaring that the current battle for control of Mosul is a “total disaster” betrays a lack of knowledge on military strategy.

enltrThe attack on Mosul is turning out to be a total disaster. We gave them months of notice. U.S. is looking so dumb. VOTE TRUMP and WIN AGAIN!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) October 23, 2016[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/790337063489040384]“I’ve been hearing about Mosul now for three months,” Trump said, reiterating his longstanding point that the essence of military strategy is surprise. “‘We’re going to attack. We’re going to attack.’ Meaning Iraq’s going to attack but with us. Okay? We’re going to attack. Why do they have to talk about it?”

“Element of surprise,” Trump said. “One of the reasons they wanted Mosul, they wanted to get Isis leaders who they thought were, you know, in Mosul. Those people have all left. As soon as they heard they’re gonna be attacked, they left. The resistance is much greater now because they knew about the attack. Why can’t they win first and talk later?”

block-time published-time 10.43pm BST

Throughout her presidential campaign, Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/hillary-clinton] has said that she supports the second amendment rights of law-abiding gun owners.

But many gun rights advocates say they fear she will reopen the door for cities and states to ban private ownership [https://www.donaldjtrump.com/policies/constitution-and-second-amendment/] of handguns, pointing to her repeated comments questioning a key US supreme court decision on gun ownership. Even liberal second amendment experts have called some of Clinton’s explanations of her position “odd”.

As one law professor who supports gun rights put it, Clinton on guns is like a Republican politician who claims she supports abortion rights, even as she opposes Roe v Wade.

At the final presidential debate last week, Clinton reiterated her position that the supreme court was wrong in its 2008 decision in District of Columbia v Heller, which overturned Washington DC’s ban on handgun ownership, as well as a law that required other guns in homes to be “kept nonfunctional”.

In a controversial 5-4 decision, the court ruled that Americans have a constitutional right to have and use firearms in their homes for self-defense.

Clinton had dodged giving a clear answer[http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/DemocraticDebate/story?id=4670271&page=1] about her opinion of the ongoing case during a presidential primary debate in early 2008, though she suggested that the supreme court would probably find a full ban on handguns unconstitutional. But in 2015, the Washington Free Beacon reported[http://freebeacon.com/politics/leaked-audio-clinton-says-supreme-court-is-wrong-on-second-amendment/], Clinton told an audience at a private event that “the supreme court is wrong on the second amendment. And I am going to make that case every chance I get.”

That’s an opinion that is shared by many people – including some of the liberal justices on the supreme court, who argued[https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/07pdf/07-290.pdf] in their dissent that the second amendment was intended to protect the right of people in each state to form militias, not to limit lawmakers’ ability to regulate civilian gun ownership.

But that particular view is not one that is popular with the general public. A Gallup poll from 2008 found that 73% of Americans[http://www.gallup.com/poll/105721/public-believes-americans-right-own-guns.aspx] believed the second amendment “guarantees the rights of Americans to own guns”.

Related: Why gun rights advocates don't trust Clinton on the second amendment[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/26/hillary-clinton-gun-rights-second-amendment]

block-time published-time 10.20pm BST

With less than two weeks before the general election, Hillary Clinton’s campaign deployed one of its most potent weapons in the fight against Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump: Khizr Khan, the father of a Muslim war hero killed in the line of duty.

Father of Muslim American soldier: ‘Donald Trump, you have sacrificed nothing’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/jul/28/khizr-humayun-khan-donald-trump-video-democrat-convention]Khan, a Gold Star father whose impassioned speech[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/29/khizr-khan-democratic-convention-constitution-trump] on the final night of the Democratic National Convention helped knock Trump down to his current position in the presidential race, spoke on Clinton’s behalf to congregants and guests of a mosque in Norfolk, Virginia, home to the world’s largest naval base and more than 60,000 active duty military personnel.

“The courage [to speak against Trump] wasn’t ours,” Khan said at Masjid William Salaam, the first of three stops in Norfolk Khan made on Wednesday. “The courage was given to us.”

“People ask would I do it again,” Khan continued. “A million times - again and again and again - up until hatred and political bigotry is wiped out of this United States, we will continue to speak.”

Khan’s son, Marine captain Humayun Khan, was killed in 2004 by a car bomb after instructing the soldiers under his command to fall back from the vehicle. Khan was posthumously awarded the Bronze Star and the Purple Heart, and is buried in nearby Arlington National Cemetery.

With his wife, Ghazala Khan, standing beside him, Khan excoriated Trump in a self-written speech at the DNC in June, describing his family as “patriotic American Muslims with undivided loyalty to our country” whose son would never have been able to serve his country had Trump’s proposed ban on Muslims entering the United States been in place.

“If it was up to Donald Trump, he never would have been in America,” Khan said at the time. “Donald Trump consistently smears the character of Muslims. He disrespects other minorities, women, judges, even his own party leadership. He vows to build walls and ban us from this country.”

block-time published-time 10.09pm BST

Poll: Clinton holds 9-point lead in New Hampshire, tied in Nevada Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton leads Republican rival Donald Trump by 9 points in battleground New Hampshire - but is dead-even with him in Nevada, according to two new NBC News/Wall Street Journal/Marist polls[http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/first-read/polls-clinton-holds-9-point-lead-new-hampshire-tied-nevada-n673361] out this afternoon.

In the Granite State, which gave Trump his first victory in the Republican primaries, Clinton leads with the support of 45% of likely voters, trailed by Trump with a mere 36%. Libertarian nominee Gary Johnson holds the support of 10% of likely voters, and Jill Stein of the Green Party has 4% support.

Clinton is up seven points from the most recent NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll of New Hampshire, which showed her lead at a mere two points.

Down-ballot, the race is much tighter: Incumbent Republican Kelly Ayotte leads the race for reelection to the US Senate with the support of 48% of likely voters, with Democratic challenger Maggie Hassan at 47%.

In battleground Nevada, Clinton and Trump are tied with 43% support from likely voters each. Johnson holds 10% support, and Stein is not on the ballot.

block-time published-time 9.56pm BST

Donald Trump has 'no doubts' about winning the White House In an exclusive interview with Bloomberg’s Mark Halperin[http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-10-26/trump-has-no-doubts-about-winning-white-house?utm\_content=politics&utm\_campaign=socialflow-organic&utm\_source=twitter&utm\_medium=social&cmpid%3D=socialflow-twitter-politics], Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump dismissed polls showing Democratic rival Hillary Clinton on the verge of an electoral landslide in the upcoming presidential election.

“We are gonna win,” Trump said. “I think we’re going to do fantastically in Pennsylvania... I think we’re winning North Carolina,” Trump continued, naming two states where he has led in a single poll stretching back months.

The proof, Trump said, is in the popularity of his campaign rallies.

“You know the reason why they couldn’t get in?” Trump said, of the lines outside his most recent rallies. “Stampede.”

block-time published-time 9.32pm BST

Former congressman and professional troll Joe Walsh seems keen on armed rebellion if Donald Trump loses on November 8:

enltrOn November 8th, I'm voting for Trump.

On November 9th, if Trump loses, I'm grabbing my musket.

You in?

— Joe Walsh (@WalshFreedom) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/WalshFreedom/status/791369493809201152]block-time published-time 9.29pm BST

Lennie and Pearl, a lesbian couple who have been together for five decades and helped fight for the right to same-sex marriage, have filmed a get-out-the-vote short for Hillary Clinton:

block-time published-time 9.05pm BST

Sad news on the campaign trail: Maverick, Republican vice presidential candidate Mike Pence’s beagle, has died.

enltrHeavy hearts today. Our beagle of 13 years passed away quietly last night. Rest In Peace, Maverick. We will miss you. pic.twitter.com/JPnFvsHB3Y[https://t.co/JPnFvsHB3Y]

— Mike Pence (@mike\_pence) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/mike\_pence/status/791367546242998272]block-time published-time 8.54pm BST

More video of the anonymous man who destroyed Donald Trump’s star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame:

enltrEarlier we reported that an unknown man dressed up as a construction worker vandalized #DonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/hashtag/DonaldTrump?src=hash] 's Hollywood Walk of Fame star this am pic.twitter.com/x00aBlpLOZ[https://t.co/x00aBlpLOZ]

— Tha Celebritea News (@thacelebritea) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/thacelebritea/status/791310348724731904]block-time published-time 8.50pm BST

Opinion: A short US election cycle sounds great, but it wouldn't be good for democracy I get it. Sheryl Crow’s call to shorten our presidential cycle will resonate with just about everyone this year. Who isn’t counting down the days until this is over? Even Hillary Clinton has been winding the months in balls.

As Crow points out in a petition[https://www.change.org/p/democratic-national-committee-shorten-the-us-presidential-election-cycle] on Change.org, which, as of Wednesday, had more than 40,000 signatures, this extended political circus is a singularly American phenomenon. “The 2016 election will have lasted nearly 600 days by the time polls close on Nov. 8. By comparison, Canada had its longest campaign season[https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/canadas-election-cycle-has-taken-less-than-three-months-and-canadians-are-tired-of-it/2015/10/18/b57ce852-7419-11e5-8d93-0af317ed58c9\_story.html] in recent history last year, and it lasted just 11 weeks,” she writes. “Countries across the globe have limited campaign seasons to as short as 6 weeks. With an organized system, a successful, informative, professional campaign could be run.”

The sentiment is relatable but perhaps the problem is less the length of the cycle than the fact our Republican nominee for president actively brags about “grabbing” women by the “pussy”; a fact which, it’s worth noting, didn’t come out until more than 500 days into the cycle.

What Crow deems the “start” of the election – Ted Cruz choosing to announce the beginning of his campaign – is not something the DNC or RNC can actually control. Nor is the fact that campaign reporters often start sourcing up to cover the next campaign the moment the current one ends. Party committees do set the timetable for primaries, but even there they are in a constant tug-of-war with state governments, which battle to move up in the primary calendar so their voters get more attention.

Related: A short US election cycle sounds great, but it wouldn't be good for democracy | Lucia Graves[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/26/sheryl-crow-short-presidential-election-cycle-bad-democracy]

block-time published-time 8.34pm BST

Hillary Clinton announces Election Night party location Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign has announced the location of her Election Night party - and it comes with a literal glass ceiling.

Clinton will deliver remarks to supporters and volunteers at the Jacob K. Javits Convention Center in Manhattan on November 8, according to a release from her campaign. ( You can RSVP here.[https://www.hillaryclinton.com/events/view/qzvp7kv43z2gc3b2/] ) The Javitz Center is a massive convention center on the west side of Manhattan - and, has been noted, is made entirely of glass:

enltrReminder: The Javits Center, where Hillary Clinton is holding her election night party, has a literal glass ceiling pic.twitter.com/RvGLDx9cAc[https://t.co/RvGLDx9cAc]

— Elliot Smilowitz (@SmiloTweets) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/SmiloTweets/status/791354961087037440]block-time published-time 8.18pm BST

Win or lose, works either way...

enltrReminder: The Javits Center, where Hillary Clinton is holding her election night party, has a literal glass ceiling pic.twitter.com/RvGLDx9cAc[https://t.co/RvGLDx9cAc]

— Elliot Smilowitz (@SmiloTweets) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/SmiloTweets/status/791354961087037440]block-time published-time 7.59pm BST

Trump exaggerates personal spending on campaign Donald Trump is insisting that he will spend $100 million or more of his own money on his presidential bid. Campaign finance documents show he’s not even close, the AP reports:

The Republican nominee said in a CNN interview Wednesday that his personal investment in his campaign will top $100 million. He said he’s “prepared to go much higher than that.”

Yet finance reports current through Sept. 30 show Trump, a billionaire New York businessman, has put about $56 million into his own campaign.

To hit $100 million, he would have to put another $44 million into his race - far more than he’s ever contributed in a single month.

When pressed by CNN’s Dana Bash, Trump declined to give specific plans about when he might be contributing additional money. The election is Nov. 8.

Separately, Trump told ABC News that he would put “a lot” of money into the campaign in the next 13 days.

“I’m going to be over $100m and it could be much more than that,” he said.

enltrDonald Trump tells @GStephanopoulos[https://twitter.com/GStephanopoulos] he's willing to pour millions more into his campaign before Election Day. https://t.co/3Yq8tGl7Bt[https://t.co/3Yq8tGl7Bt] pic.twitter.com/NpCjbawaPt[https://t.co/NpCjbawaPt]

— ABC News Politics (@ABCPolitics) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/ABCPolitics/status/791353046185967617]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.11pm BST

block-time published-time 7.56pm BST

Clinton to hold election-night party in Manhattan - report Her campaign headquarters is in Brooklyn, but for her election night party, Hillary Clinton and friends will occupy the cavernous Jacob K Javits center on Manhattan’s west side, Politico reports:

enltr. @HillaryClinton[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] to spend election night at Javits Center in Manhattan https://t.co/PWWL66Dqzg[https://t.co/PWWL66Dqzg] | AP Photo pic.twitter.com/flf6uJQKGW[https://t.co/flf6uJQKGW]

— POLITICO (@politico) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/politico/status/791351658089476096]block-time published-time 7.41pm BST

I get it. Sheryl Crow’s call to shorten our presidential cycle will resonate with just about everyone this year. Who isn’t counting down the days until this is over? Even Hillary Clinton has been winding the months in balls.

As Crow points out in a petition[https://www.change.org/p/democratic-national-committee-shorten-the-us-presidential-election-cycle] on Change.org, which, as of Wednesday, had more than 40,000 signatures, this extended political circus is a singularly American phenomenon. “The 2016 election will have lasted nearly 600 days by the time polls close on Nov. 8. By comparison, Canada had its longest campaign season[https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/canadas-election-cycle-has-taken-less-than-three-months-and-canadians-are-tired-of-it/2015/10/18/b57ce852-7419-11e5-8d93-0af317ed58c9\_story.html] in recent history last year, and it lasted just 11 weeks,” she writes. “Countries across the globe have limited campaign seasons to as short as 6 weeks. With an organized system, a successful, informative, professional campaign could be run.”

Her suggestion for how we reform our electoral process – that we ask the DNC and RNC to reform the process – is less compelling. In a segment on Morning Joe on Wednesday, she threw out 5 days as the optimal amount of time (was she joking?). And she’s previously floated the notion that all 50 states and the District of Columbia should hold their primaries on the same day, a move that would prove hugely advantageous to the richest candidates by short-circuiting grassroots campaigns. [...]

Again the sentiment is relatable but perhaps the problem is less the length of the cycle than the fact our Republican nominee for president actively brags about “grabbing” women by the “pussy”; a fact which, it’s worth noting, didn’t come out until more than 500 days into the cycle.

Read further:

Related: A short US election cycle sounds great, but it wouldn't be good for democracy | Lucia Graves[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/26/sheryl-crow-short-presidential-election-cycle-bad-democracy]

block-time published-time 7.24pm BST

Isn’t it kind of cold in Wisconsin right now to be running around at night in your undies?

This is in Platteville, a southwestern university town in Grant county, which Barack Obama won by 14 points in 2012.

enltrMan wearing only his underwear takes blowtorch to his neighbors' Trump sign — and they caught it all on camera https://t.co/XxdHdjAveM[https://t.co/XxdHdjAveM] pic.twitter.com/mwWFZAwlBI[https://t.co/mwWFZAwlBI]

— NBC News (@NBCNews) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/NBCNews/status/791341142277185537]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.28pm BST

block-time published-time 7.21pm BST

Does anyone have any appetite for individual national polls anymore?

enltrnew USA Today/Suffolk national poll: Clinton 47%, Trump 38%, Johnson 4%, Stein 2%

— John Harwood (@JohnJHarwood) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/JohnJHarwood/status/791342375692017664]The new Suffolk poll happens to mirror be 50% again as large as the margin in HuffPost Pollster’s average[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-general-election-trump-vs-clinton] [sorry, misread the #s at first]:

HuffPost Pollster’s average for a head-to-head race. Photograph: HuffPost Pollster block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.51pm BST

block-time published-time 6.50pm BST

In which conservative Wall Street Journal columnist Peggy Noonan praises a get-out-the-vote video targeting Hispanic voters, paid for by an outside group, that ends with a dicey election result and a young girl asking her papí, “can we stay?”

enltrPut your stands, your decision, aside for a moment. A brilliant spot -filmic, beautiful, moving. Verdict https://t.co/CMtDGNG61s[https://t.co/CMtDGNG61s] via YouTube

— Peggy Noonan (@Peggynoonannyc) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/Peggynoonannyc/status/791328053758656512]block-time published-time 6.34pm BST

Hillary Clinton kicked off her birthday celebrations with a rally in Lake Worth, Florida, on Wednesday as Donald Trump christened his new Washington DC hotel.

The crowd gathered at Palm Beach State college for the midday rally broke into a round of “Happy Birthday” as Clinton took the stage. She is 69 years old.

Clinton hit many of her usual themes, but tested a new impression[https://twitter.com/evanmcmurry/status/791312085468717056] of Trump following her onstage during the second presidential debate. Hunching her shoulders she shuffled away from the podium, miming the way she said Trump “stalked me and lurked over me”.

She later criticized Trump for his business practices, and drew ‘boos’ from the crowd when she mentioned his event in Washington.

“Today he’s in Washington DC to open a new luxury hotel, and while the hotel may be new, it’s the same old story,” she said.

She asked the crowd to inform their Trump supporting friends that Trump “relied on undocumented workers to make his project cheaper” despite his campaign promise close the border and deport **immigrants** living in the US illegal. She also said that the hotel is furnished with products made overseas, despite his promise to return jobs to American. And she said he sued[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/06/donald-trump-taxes-hotel-224956] to reduced the taxes on the luxury hotel.

“You can talk a good game, but lets look at the facts and the facts show he has stiffed American workers – he has stiffed American businesses,” Clinton said to cheers.

On Wednesday afternoon, Clinton will campaign in Tampa with celebrity chef José Andrés, who once had plans to open a restaurant inside Trump’s hotel.

enltrYou know it is going to be an amazing day when you are boarding a plane to #Tampa[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Tampa?src=hash] to join @HillaryClinton[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] early voting rally!! #ImWithHer[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ImWithHer?src=hash]

— José Andrés (@chefjoseandres) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/chefjoseandres/status/791253450239647744]Andrés, a naturalized US citizen originally from Spain, fell out with Trump over his vocal denunciation of **immigrants** and pulled out of the project. The businessman sued and the Spanish chef has launched a countersuit, in a legal battle that has yet to be resolved.

block-time published-time 6.32pm BST

Here’s Tim Kaine chatting about criminal justice reform, systemic racism, voting rights, early childhood education and more with Pusha T, the recording artist, who is helping the Clinton campaign get out the vote:

(h/t @fahima\_haque[https://twitter.com/fahima\_haque?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] )

block-time published-time 6.20pm BST

Last month, Clinton was ahead by nine points in this Monmouth poll of New Hampshire voters, so while her margin still looks healthy, the trend doesn’t, particularly:

filtrBREAKING: New Hampshire

HRC 46

DJT 42

GJ 7 #NHSen[https://twitter.com/hashtag/NHSen?src=hash]

Ayotte 46

Hassan 46 #NHGov[https://twitter.com/hashtag/NHGov?src=hash]

Van Ostern 48

Sununu 43 https://t.co/s16ZHICp8h[https://t.co/s16ZHICp8h]

— MonmouthPoll (@MonmouthPoll) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/MonmouthPoll/status/791324555281182723]Huffpost Pollster has Clinton up by six on average[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-new-hampshire-president-trump-vs-clinton] in the Granite state, which is a must-win for Trump in scenarios within reason.

Note how close the run for the senate is – all tied up at 46-46, in this poll. The Democrat leads in the gubernatorial race.

block-time published-time 6.13pm BST

Another day, another brilliant picture by Doug Mills of the New York Times. That baby is intrigued – but not committal:

enltr. @HillaryClinton[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] holds a baby during a campaign rally at Palm Beach State College in Lake Worth, Fl. pic.twitter.com/G4d1mnM37y[https://t.co/G4d1mnM37y]

— Doug Mills (@dougmillsnyt) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/dougmillsnyt/status/791325231776407552]block-time published-time 6.08pm BST

If she’s elected president, Hillary Clinton will be spending most of her time testifying before the House oversight committee, to hear chairman Jason Chaffetz tell it to Dave Weigel at the Washington Post:[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/house-republicans-are-already-preparing-for-years-of-investigations-of-clinton/2016/10/26/e153a714-9ac3-11e6-9980-50913d68eacb\_story.html]

“It’s a target-rich environment,” said Chaffetz in a interview in Salt Lake City’s suburbs. “Even before we get to Day One, we’ve got two years worth of material already lined up. She has four years of history at the State Department, and it ain’t good.”

If Republicans retain control of the House, something that GOP-friendly maps make possible even in the event of a Trump loss, Clinton will become the first president since George H.W. Bush to immediately face a House Oversight Committee controlled by the opposition party. (Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack Obama lost Congress later in their presidencies.)

Read further[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/house-republicans-are-already-preparing-for-years-of-investigations-of-clinton/2016/10/26/e153a714-9ac3-11e6-9980-50913d68eacb\_story.html].

block-time published-time 6.01pm BST

Is this one of those states that matters? Trump’s headed there now, after his ribbon-cutting.

enltrClinton leads 59-36 in the North Carolina early vote with more than 800k votes cast. We'll be tracking it daily https://t.co/YKXDPri6oq[https://t.co/YKXDPri6oq]

— Nate Cohn (@Nate\_Cohn) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/Nate\_Cohn/status/791322704079097856]Some fascinating detail if you click through:

Already, about 812,000 people have voted in North Carolina, out of about 4,425,000 we think will eventually vote. Based on the voting history and demographic characteristics of those people, we think Hillary Clinton leads in North Carolina by about 6 percentage points. We think she has an even larger lead – 22 percentage points – among people who have already voted.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.02pm BST

block-time published-time 5.52pm BST

There are less than two weeks to go before the election, and Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/hillary-clinton] is doubling down in Florida with Latino voters.

On Tuesday, the Democratic presidential candidate paid a visit to El Gordo y La Flaca, the popular variety chat show on Spanish-language channel Univisión – and it was one of the most unrestrained appearances of her campaign. Clinton was personable, relaxed and, thanks to the nature of the show, fully committed to having some fun. During the show, Clinton danced to Marc Anthony, practiced her Spanish[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NjIqMXW1wHg] and was even serenaded by Bronx-born singer Prince Royce and a Mariachi band for her 69th birthday, on Wednesday.

esltrY así bailó @hillaryclinton[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] con @rauldemolina[https://twitter.com/rauldemolina] #VivirMiVida[https://twitter.com/hashtag/VivirMiVida?src=hash] del flaco @marcanthony[https://twitter.com/MarcAnthony] ?? #LoMaximo[https://twitter.com/hashtag/LoMaximo?src=hash] #HillaryEnGyF[https://twitter.com/hashtag/HillaryEnGyF?src=hash] para el mundo ?? pic.twitter.com/aY7zH3VvqQ[https://t.co/aY7zH3VvqQ]

— El Gordo y La Flaca (@ElGordoyLaFlaca) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/ElGordoyLaFlaca/status/791028074653581312]“What gets better than this? I get Prince Royce to give me a hug, I get a mariachi band to play for me and I get to be here with you guys. It doesn’t get any better than this,” said the Democratic nominee.

Read further:

Related: Hillary Clinton makes push for Latino vote with Univision appearance[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/26/hillary-clinton-univision-el-gordo-y-la-flaca-latino-voters]

block-time published-time 5.49pm BST

??

enltrHappy Birthday Hillary! ?? In awe of you today and every day.

— Bill Clinton (@billclinton) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/billclinton/status/791319442919686144]block-time published-time 5.44pm BST

Clinton gets the James Franco nod: “After she opens a can of whoop ass, she always recycles the can.”

Where did he get that toaster?

block-time published-time 5.37pm BST

Clinton notes Trump hotel full of foreign goods Clinton swipes at Trump for the hotel opening:

Today he’s in Washington DC to open a new luxury hotel. While the hotel may be new, it’s the same old story... He relied on undocumented workers to make his project cheaper. And most of the products in the rooms were made overseas[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-new-hotel-offers-everything-he-claims-to-hate/2016/09/16/fe08a18a-7c04-11e6-bd86-b7bbd53d2b5d\_story.html?utm\_term=.3053135bf9ac]. And he even sued to get his taxes lowered.

We know he used undocumented workers... he’s made his products in foreign countries. He’s used Chinese steel instead of American steel. You can talk a good game, but let’s look at the facts.

Clinton notes that she will appear in Tampa later today with celebrity chef José Andrés, who “had the courage to stand up to Trump about his divisive anti-**immigrant** views by refusing to put his restaurant in this hotel.”

block-time published-time 5.26pm BST

The Democratic congressional campaign committee jumps on Ivanka Trump’s expression of gratitude at the hotel opening for the help of John Mica, the 12-term Republican congressman in a tough reelection fight in Florida:

“As Ivanka Trump highlighted today, John Mica pulled out all the stops to help Donald Trump with his luxury DC hotel project,” a DCCC statement reads:

Mica has not only helped Trump line his own pockets, he’s stood by Trump every step of the way, even after he was caught bragging about sexual assault.

When Donald Trump’s toxic candidacy brings down John Mica’s campaign, I’m glad that Mica will have a place to stay in DC, where he has spent the last three decades. Hopefully he gets the Trump family discount he clearly deserves.”

(h/t @bencjacobs[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] )

block-time published-time 5.22pm BST

Protestors demonstrate outside the new Trump International Hotel. Photograph: Gabriella Demczuk/Getty Images Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump speaks during the grand opening of the Trump International Hotel as his daughter Ivanka looks on. Photograph: Mandel Ngan/AFP/Getty Images Italian land artist Dario Gambarin’s work near the Italian city of Verona. Photograph: Dario Gambarin/AP block-time published-time 5.18pm BST

A star dedicated to Donald Trump on the Hollywood Walk Of Fame has been badly vandalised after it was reportedly attacked with a sledgehammer, according to a Press Association report:

According to Deadline, a man dressed as a city construction worker and wielding a sledgehammer and pick-axe targeted the star on Wednesday morning.

Potholed star. Photograph: Richard Vogel/AP The man told the Hollywood trade magazine he originally intended to remove Trump’s star to auction it off to raise funds for women who have accused the Republican candidate of sexually assaulting them.

Trump has vehemently denied the allegations.

The billionaire tycoon received the 2,327th star on the Hollywood Walk Of Fame in 2007 for his work on the American version of The Apprentice.

block-time published-time 5.12pm BST

Here’s Hillary Clinton speaking in Lake Worth, Florida – that’s Palm Beach county, north of Miami.

enltrThe crowd sings happy birthday to @HillaryClinton[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] as she takes the stage at Palm Beach State College in Lake Worth, Florida

— Lauren Gambino (@LGamGam) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/LGamGam/status/791310475564908546]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.14pm BST

block-time published-time 5.05pm BST

Most humiliating? More than just tweeting to their faces that they’re bought-and-sold losers who are going to lose? More than refusing to endorse Paul Ryan after calling the House speaker to heel? More than Scotland-Mexico-the convention-the debates-no ground game-no campaign –– well it’s a competitive prize:

enltrThis is probably the most humiliating thing the Trumps have done to the Republican Party. Down eight points and they do a hotel infomercial.

— Ryan Lizza (@RyanLizza) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/RyanLizza/status/791305785095708672]block-time published-time 4.58pm BST

Trump says “make America great again” and steps away. There’s applause.

block-time published-time 4.55pm BST

Trump: “Today is a metaphor for what we can accomplish for this country.”

Either that or it’s an opportunistic play by Trump to enrich himself personally. Which may be... a metaphor for what he hopes to accomplish for this country.

block-time published-time 4.54pm BST

Trump stops speech to praise Gingrich for fight with Kelly Trump was talking about crumbling infrastructure. “Right, Newt?” he says. Then:

By the way, congratulations Newt on last night. That was an amazing interview. We don’t play games, right? We don’t play games.

enltrThis is the interview in which Newt Gingrich told Megyn Kelly she is "fascinated with sex." https://t.co/KNyCeEFuGo[https://t.co/KNyCeEFuGo]

— Sabrina Siddiqui (@SabrinaSiddiqui) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/SabrinaSiddiqui/status/791306817980825600]enltrTrump is happy Newt was rude to a female journalist who wanted to talk about Trump’s alleged sexual assaults. https://t.co/MssubNMYx1[https://t.co/MssubNMYx1]

— Philip Bump (@pbump) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/pbump/status/791307502767988736] Eleven women who have accused Trump of sexual misconduct[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/18/donald-trump-sexual-allegations-nine-women-video]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.59pm BST

block-time published-time 4.52pm BST

Trump is riffing on “bad results” in the educational system, crumbling infrastructure and Obamacare “in freefall”. “The American people know what this election is about and they see it every time they get their health care bills... or arrive in an airport.”

enltrTrump opening new hotel: “Our military is so depleted”

— Zeke Miller (@ZekeJMiller) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/ZekeJMiller/status/791306105699917824]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.57pm BST

block-time published-time 4.50pm BST

Trump says – generously, is it supposed to be? – that the hotel project is insignificant compared to the year’s other project:

“As soon as we’re finished cutting the ribbon, I’m off to North Carolina and Florida, where I hear we’re doing very well.”

“My theme today is five words: under budget and ahead of schedule.”

That’s six words, everybody surely is now pointing out.

block-time published-time 4.48pm BST

Ivanka’s done. Trump to speak.

enltrAs he trucks the media along to another corporate event for his campaign— Trump has held 32 events @ his properties over campaign: pic.twitter.com/L44isDp5U8[https://t.co/L44isDp5U8]

— Alexandra Jaffe (@ajjaffe) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/ajjaffe/status/791303221117464578]enltrAt Trump hotel, Ivanka Trump shouts out Florida Rep. John Mica. Yesterday in Mica's Florida district, Donald Trump didn't mention Mica.

— Reid J. Epstein (@reidepstein) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/reidepstein/status/791304955512565760]block-time published-time 4.39pm BST

Nothing reportable out of the Trump event so far, except to say it’s a purely commercial event. Here’s that live stream if you like. Ivanka Trump about to talk:

block-time published-time 4.35pm BST

The Trump family has joined the event. They were applauded. The head of the Trump hotel group is now talking. He says the company mantra is “never, ever settle.”

“If you allow me a moment of commercial, I hope you will experience our other hotels as well.”

enltrjust looked and you can get a room at Trump International tonight for $404. lots of availability.

— Rosie Gray (@RosieGray) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/RosieGray/status/791300805932355584]We’ve got to stop using Trip Advisor. They’re only giving us $429!

Trip Advisor deals on Trump’s new DC hotel. Photograph: Trip Advisor block-time published-time 4.25pm BST

The Trump pool report advises that in addition to the Gingriches, senator Jeff Sessions and former Apprentice contestant Omarosa are in attendance.

Empty seats in the front next to the Gingriches are reserved for Trump family members. Campaign staff tell your pooler that Melania, Don Jr., Eric and Ivanka will all be here.

block-time published-time 4.22pm BST

No fun waiting for Trump to pop up to brag about his Washington DC hotel. Let’s tune into Bill Clinton speaking now in Wilmington, North Carolina:

block-time published-time 4.20pm BST

Hmmm... trying to think of a race Mitt Romney left off of this get-out-the-vote tweet...

enltrBe sure to head to the polls for GOP Senate, House and statehouses; they are essential to defend and advance constitutional conservatism.

— Mitt Romney (@MittRomney) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/MittRomney/status/791295689754079232]block-time published-time 4.18pm BST

Celebrity chef who pulled out of Trump hotel to campaign today for Clinton After Trump launched his presidential candidacy on a platform of Mexicans-are-rapists, two restaurateurs pulled out[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/digger/wp/2016/04/29/donald-trump-jose-andres-and-the-death-of-a-grand-washington-restaurant/] of contracts to establish restaurants in the very hotel Trump is about to open.

Lawsuits in both directions ensued. One of the chefs involved was celebrity chef José Andrés – who this morning announced he is hopping a plane today to campaign with Clinton in Florida:

enltrYou know it is going to be an amazing day when you are boarding a plane to #Tampa[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Tampa?src=hash] to join @HillaryClinton[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] early voting rally!! #ImWithHer[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ImWithHer?src=hash]

— José Andrés (@chefjoseandres) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/chefjoseandres/status/791253450239647744]block-time published-time 4.12pm BST

The only part of Trump’s hotel that’s solidly occupied:

enltrTrump aides says this event at Old Post Office hotel not a campaign event, not a press conference; it's just a hotel ribbon cutting. pic.twitter.com/7DRxGHxeVs[https://t.co/7DRxGHxeVs]

— Jennifer Jacobs (@JenniferJJacobs) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/JenniferJJacobs/status/791295122214359041]block-time published-time 4.10pm BST

More Gingrich on himself:

enltrHere's what Newt told reporters about that Megyn Kelly intv in a gaggle just before going into the event ballroom here: pic.twitter.com/Rrii5N6kfp[https://t.co/Rrii5N6kfp]

— Ali Vitali (@alivitali) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/alivitali/status/791295363315556352]block-time published-time 4.03pm BST

Yesterday Clinton told a Florida crowd not to get complacent and to ignore the polls showing her far ahead – people still have to get out and vote.

Cher amplifies that message in Cherspeak:

enltrDONT POP??CORKS,BECAUSE UR SURE HILLARY WILL WIN IN A LANDSLIDE??DONT TAKE HER WIN 4GRANTED??DEAD??'S KILL,&??IS A WOUNDED??,HE CAN STILL KILL??

— Cher (@cher) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/cher/status/791184673665716224](ty @ambiej[https://twitter.com/ambiej?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] )

block-time published-time 3.58pm BST

Gingrich says Trump hotel event is on-message Daily Mail politics editor David Martosko, who has Trump pool duty today, has cornered Newt Gingrich at Trump’s hotel to ask him about his tangle on TV last night with Megyn Kelly.

Martosko is a partisan of all caps which we’re letting stand for effect.

Gingrich explains Trump’s appearance at his hotel like this: “Right now he’s got to make the case that he brings things in under budget and ahead of schedule. And a Trump government would be under budget and ahead of schedule.”

Here’s Martosko’s report:

ASKED IF HIS INTERVIEW WITH MEGYN KELLY GOT “A LITTLE ROUGH” LAST NIGHT:

“That’s just the business.”

ASKED IF TRUMP CAN “TURN IT AROUND” BY NOV. 8:

“I think Trump will win. I don’t think he has to turn it around. I think he’ll win.”

ASKED WHAT TRUMP SHOULD BE DOING FOR THE NEXT 13 DAYS:

“What he’s doing. Right now he’s got to make the case that he brings thing in under budget and ahead of schedule. And a Trump government would be under budget and ahead of schedule.”

TOLD THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE SEE THIS HOTEL EVENT AS “A DISTRACTION FROM THE CAMPAIGN”:

“That’s because they don’t understand the message: It’s under budget and ahead of schedule. That’s a very important message because it means nothing in the current bureaucratic government tells you what a Trump administration would be like.”

ASKED IF TRUMP IS “WORRIED ABOUT UTAH” AND THE “THIRD-PARTY” THREAT:

“I’m sure he is.”

“REALLY?”

“Sure, he is! He should worry about all 50 states.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.59pm BST

block-time published-time 3.51pm BST

Longtime Republican strategist and communications hand Matt Mackowiak, who it should be noted doesn’t like Trump, questions what in Hades Trump is doing in DC today:

enltr1. Here's my electoral map as of today:

HC 324 (FL, PA, NC, NV, NH)

DT 207 (OH, IA, GA, AZ) https://t.co/kOnGkmeJQi[https://t.co/kOnGkmeJQi]

— Matt Mackowiak (@MattMackowiak) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/MattMackowiak/status/791285066466865154]2. Today, with 13 days left, here’s what the GOP nominee’s campaign is doing:

> Trump is opening a hotel in DC (3 EVs)

> Pence is in Utah

3. Trump has only 1 path to 270. Hold Romney states (incl GA, AZ, NC) & pick up FL, OH, IA & NV. But that’s only 265. He needs NH(4) & ME(1)

4. Any campaigning or resource deployment anywhere outside FL, OH, NC, NV, IA and NH is deliberately wasteful at this point. Time and money.

5. The single most valuable commodity in any campaign is the candidate’s time, because it is a constantly diminishing resource.

6. Trump in DC today, instead of NH (which he must have) or the 5 battleground states he needs is ridiculous. @ KellyannePolls[https://twitter.com/KellyannePolls] knows this.

7. As @ stuartpstevens[https://twitter.com/stuartpstevens] says, “Trump isn’t running a campaign, it’s a concert tour.” All he cares about is earned media and his brand.

8. There are no more big moments left in the campaign. Debates are past. Early voting is going on everywhere. Clinton is banking votes.

9. I’ll admit this is a volatile election and Trump’s base is more enthusiastic, but as of today I see no way for Trump to win. None.

10. Set the polls/punditry aside. Hillary is -700 to win. That means you’d have to bet $700 on Hillary to win $100. She’s a 7-1 favorite.

enltr12. At this point I expect Hillary to win more than 320 EVs w/ a national win of 5-7%. In that range, the GOP has a chance to hold Senate.

— Matt Mackowiak (@MattMackowiak) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/MattMackowiak/status/791288168590913537]block-time published-time 3.43pm BST

Hillary Clinton turns 69 years old today.

enltrSurprise! Happy Birthday HRC!! ?? pic.twitter.com/U2H7XUUltc[https://t.co/U2H7XUUltc]

— Nick Merrill (@NickMerrill) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/NickMerrill/status/791278005209460736]This looks more like an anniversary photo?

enltrHappy birthday, Hillary. I hope this year is one for the history books. pic.twitter.com/UndDdFb1xh[https://t.co/UndDdFb1xh]

— Senator Tim Kaine (@timkaine) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/timkaine/status/791288887155036160]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.46pm BST

block-time published-time 3.42pm BST

Khizr Khan to campaign against Trump in Virginia Democrats take their fight to the heart of the US military establishment on Wednesday by deploying the father of a Muslim war hero to campaign against Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump].

Khizr Khan, whose speech at the party’s convention in June came at the high-water mark in Trump’s poll ratings, will speak to veterans in Norfolk, Virginia, home of the world’s largest naval base and some 150,000 military workers.

Father of Muslim American soldier: ‘Donald Trump, you have sacrificed nothing’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/jul/28/khizr-humayun-khan-donald-trump-video-democrat-convention]Trump shocked many Republicans[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/republicans] earlier this year by initially attacking the sincerity of the parents of army captain Humayun Khan, who died saving his unit from an Iraqi suicide bomb, after they criticised his proposed ban on Muslims entering the US.

But Captain Khan’s father is returning to haunt the campaign, and launching a new television advert[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WCqFCCgU1xk&feature=youtu.be], in which he again challenges the celebrity property developer: “Would my son have a place in your America?” It could further drive a wedge into remaining Republican support among military families after a disastrous few weeks that has seen the party’s presidential campaign pull out of states like Virginia[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/13/trump-campaign-withdraws-from-virginia/].

block-time published-time 3.36pm BST

Guardian Washington bureau chief Dan Roberts catches a protest outside the hotel:

block-time published-time 3.32pm BST

Donald Trump is expected to appear any moment at the grand opening of his empty[http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/26/donald-trump-s-plan-b-sell-trump-branded-stuff-is-now-his-plan-a.html] hotel in Washington, DC. Here’s a live video stream:

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.32pm BST

block-time published-time 1.05pm BST

Hello and welcome to our live-wire coverage of the 2016 race for the White House. The Clinton campaign has the candidate and surrogates arrayed across Florida, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Ohio today while the Trump campaign is in... Washington DC and Utah ?

Donald Trump is attending a ribbon-cutting ceremony today at his eerily[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/24/opinion/donald-trumps-shiny-new-washington-hotel.html?\_r=0] empty[http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2016/10/trumps-d-c-hotel-shows-as-poll-sink-so-does-his-brand.html] new hotel in the nation’s capital. He has two later events in North Carolina.

enltrDC does have three electoral votes https://t.co/3DRKa6yJYM[https://t.co/3DRKa6yJYM]

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) October 24, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/790686778986422272]Trump running mate Mike Pence, meanwhile, will be covering serious ground, with events in three western states: Nevada, Utah and Colorado. Pence’s stop in Utah is sure to have people talking, as the state usually is at the top of the rankings of states voting Republican. Mormon aversion to Trump and the independent candidacy of Evan McMullin have changed the calculus this time around.

Hillary Clinton has two rallies in Florida today, one in Palm Beach County in the south-east and one in Hillsborough County on the Gulf coast. Tim Kaine has two events in Pennsylvania, while Bill Clinton is diligently trying to put his wife over the top in North Carolina, with three stops there today after three stops there yesterday. Chelsea Clinton has three stops in Ohio, while senator Elizabeth Warren has an event in Pittsburgh.

Trump with narrow Florida edge – Selzer poll A poll of likely voters[http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-10-26/florida-poll] in Florida by gold-star pollster J Ann Selzer for Bloomberg politics has Trump slightly ahead of Clinton in the state, 45-43, when third-party candidates are included. That’s within the margin of error of plus or minus 3.2 percentage points. Trump had 46% to Clinton’s 45% in a head-to-head matchup. Clinton has a three-point lead in polling averages of the state.

Trump wants Biden behind barn The campaign action overnight was typically nasty and nausea-inducing, with Trump saying that yes, he would like to go in back of the barn with Biden (Biden had said gym[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/oct/21/joe-biden-donald-trump-election-campaign-2016] ), and campaign surrogate Newt Gingrich accusing Fox News host Megyn Kelly of having a “fascination with sex” because she takes the women who say Donald Trump violated them[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/18/donald-trump-sexual-allegations-nine-women-video] seriously.

Trump says he would love to beat up ‘Mr Tough Guy’ Joe Biden[https://www.theguardian.com/global/video/2016/oct/26/trump-says-he-would-love-to-beat-up-mr-tough-guy-joe-biden-video]The row on Tuesday night between Kelly and one of Trump’s most stalwart supporters began when the host brought up the multiple sexual assault and misconduct allegations[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/list-of-donald-trump-sexual-misconduct-allegations] against the candidate.

During the ensuing debate, which bordered on personal attack, Gingrich said the host was “fascinated with sex” and Kelly urged him to “take your anger issues and spend some time working on them”.

Dan Scavino, Trump’s director of social media, later responded on Twitter, saying Kelly had “made a total fool out of herself” and warning: “Watch what happens to her after this election is over.”

enltr. @MegynKelly[https://twitter.com/megynkelly] made a total fool out of herself tonight- attacking @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump]. Watch what happens to her after this election is over.

— Dan Scavino Jr. (@DanScavino) October 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/DanScavino/status/791095922709200897] Revealed: Trump’s ties with pipeline company Donald Trump’s close financial ties to Energy[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/energy] Transfer Partners, operators of the controversial Dakota Access oil pipeline, have been laid bare, with the presidential candidate invested in the company and receiving more than $100,000 in campaign contributions from its chief executive.

Trump’s financial disclosure forms[https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/2838696-Trump-2016-Financial-Disclosure.html] show the Republican nominee has between $500,000 and $1m invested in Energy Transfer Partners[http://www.energytransfer.com/default.aspx], with a further $500,000 to $1m holding in Phillips 66, which will have a 25% stake in the Dakota Access project once completed.

Related: Donald Trump has close financial ties to Dakota Access pipeline company[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/26/donald-trump-dakota-access-pipeline-investment-energy-transfer-partners]

Thank you for reading and please join us in the comments.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Death toll for year to date is ‘highest ever recorded’, despite fewer people attempting crossing than in 2015, UNHCR confirms

A record number of people have died or gone missing while attempting to cross the Mediterranean sea, making 2016 the deadliest year for migrants trying to reach Europe, the UN **refugee** agency has said.

Updating figures on migrants and **refugees** reported dead or missing, UNHCR spokesman William Spindler said: “We can confirm that at least 3,800 people have been reported dead or missing in the Mediterranean sea so far this year, making the death toll in 2016 the highest ever recorded.”

Related: Matteo Renzi: Italy cannot take in 155,000 migrants again next year[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/25/italy-matteo-renzi-migrants-refugees-european-union]

News of the deadly toll emerged as Pope Francis called for greater tolerance towards people seeking **refuge** or a better life, rather than “closed and unwelcoming” attitudes.

Speaking in St Peter’s Square, Vatican City, he said: “In some parts of the world, walls and barricades are being erected. Closure [of borders] is not a solution, it ends up by encouraging trafficking. The only path towards a solution is that of solidarity.”

Fatalities in the Mediterranean have been rising, despite the falling numbers making the journey. According to the UNHCR, 327,800 people have attempted to cross the Mediterranean so far this year, compared to one million in 2015.

In 2016, people have had a one in 88 chance of dying, compared to one death for every 269 arrivals in 2015. Officials said the changing risks reflected different migration patterns and greater use of flimsy, overloaded boats.

While there has been a drastic reduction in people crossing the eastern Mediterranean to Greece, numbers taking the central route from north Africa to Italy are almost unchanged since last year.

Related: 'Libyan coastguard' speedboat attacked migrant dinghy, says NGO[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/21/men-on-libyan-coastguard-boat-reportedly-attack-dinghy-of-refugees-and-migrants]

The central Mediterranean route has always been a riskier option. UNHCR officials highlight the changing tactics of people smugglers, who are using “flimsy inflatable rafts that often do not last the journey”, as well as overloading boats, sometimes with thousands of people at a time.

“This may be to do with the shifting smuggler business model or geared towards lowering detection risks, but it also makes the work of rescuers harder,” the UNHCR said.

The terrible reality of the statistics was underscored when 25 people were found dead in a rubber boat 26 miles from the coast of Libya on Wednesday. The dead men and women appeared to have suffocated from fuel inhalation, according to Médecins Sans Frontières, which found the victims and rescued 107 people from the same boat. MSF said its staff also rescued 139 people from another nearby raft.

Michele Telaro, the field coordinator of MSF rescue ship the Bourbon Argos, said it had taken three hours to recover 11 bodies. “The mixture of petrol and water was so potent we just couldn’t risk being in the boat for long periods of time. It was horrific.” Among those rescued, 23 people needed medical treatment for chemical burns; 11 cases were classified as severe.

Related: Calais camp: fires sweep settlement as **refugees** leave – in pictures[https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2016/oct/26/calais-camp-fires-sweep-settlement-as-refugees-leave-in-pictures]

Describing the tragedy as an unexceptional day at sea, MSF called on the European Union to provide safe alternative routes rather than focusing on deterrence.

The EU has recently stepped up work [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/20/eu-seeks-swift-action-on-african-migration-deals-to-ease-pressure-on-italy] with governments in Ethiopia[https://www.theguardian.com/world/ethiopia], Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Mali, among the countries of origin for people attempting the dangerous journey. But experts think these agreements could take a long time to work, while aid agencies have accused the EU of subsuming all foreign policy objectives into the goal of reducing migration.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Germany, Denmark and Austria among countries criticised by Concord group for using money earmarked for poor countries to meet cost of hosting **refugees**

An aid watchdog has rounded on EU governments over the growing use of foreign aid budgets to meet **refugee** costs at home, claiming that the strategy artificially inflates official figures for development assistance despite money never reaching the poor countries for which it was intended.

Germany was among the states criticised by Concord, a confederation of European NGOs, for including **refugee** costs as part of official development assistance (ODA), a “trick” that the organisation’s Aidwatch report[https://concordeurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/CONCORD\_AidWatch\_Report\_2016\_web.pdf] said increased the country’s aid spending to 0.56% of gross national income.

The survey found that Denmark will be the biggest recipient of Danish aid in 2016, spending almost 30% of its ODA on receiving **refugees**, compared with 15% last year.

Related: Raped, imprisoned, beaten: migrants reveal their perilous journeys to Europe[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/19/raped-imprisoned-beaten-migrants-reveal-perilous-journeys-europe-united-nations-general-assembly]

Austria, Sweden and Italy have become the biggest beneficiaries of their own foreign aid budgets, according to the report. In 2015, Sweden spent 22% of ODA on “in-house” **refugee** costs – the highest percentage among the world’s richest states – and had planned to take as much as 50% in 2016, until domestic opposition forced a climbdown.

Concord said the EU is backsliding on its aid spending commitments, having again failed to meet its pledge to spend 0.7% of gross national income on development aid last year. Only five countries were found to have met their 2015 targets: Denmark, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Sweden and UK.

Seamus Jeffreson, Concord’s director, called on EU states to stopping inflating aid with spending that, he said, had dubious development impacts. “This is particularly true when it comes to **refugee** costs – an area where EU member states have a moral duty to do their part, but without diverting aid budgets,” he said.

The shape of EU aid last year was heavily influenced by the **refugee** crisis, said the report. More than a million **refugees** claimed asylum in Europe in 2015, prompting many EU states to apply an Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development rule allowing member countries to count certain **refugee**-related expenses as ODA for a year after their arrival.

The study anticipated that the looming EU departure of the UK, one of the union’s biggest and best-performing donors, would affect British and EU aid budgets, diminishing their effectiveness.

Concord added that the political shifts behind Brexit may also empower domestic anti-aid critics, putting greater pressure on the UK’s aid budget and the pledge to spend 0.7% of national income on aid.

The report welcomed political recommitments on the latter, but said the British government’s stance was challenged by “lacklustre aid effectiveness implementation and shrinking engagement with UK civil society”.

It added that the UK’s new ODA strategy, launched at the end of 2015 with a renewed emphasis on national interest, called into question how effectively UK aid could deliver on its core purpose of poverty reduction and sustainable development.

“Increasing amounts of UK aid will be spent by government departments and cross-government funds other than the development ministry, the Department for International Development (generally considered a good performer on aid effectiveness), and this may undermine the quality of UK aid,” said Concord.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hong Kong-born Anna Lo predicts anti-foreigner violence will increase in Northern Ireland as Brexit approaches

A Hong Kong-born former Northern Ireland assembly member has said the Brexit vote will deter other ethnic minority people from entering politics as racism and xenophobia intensifies.

Anna Lo, who retired from the assembly partly due to racial abuse she says she has received, also predicted that anti-foreigner violence and intimidation would increase in Northern Ireland as the UK’s withdrawal from the EU approached.

Speaking before the launch of her memoir The Place I Call Home, the president of the cross-community Alliance party said the EU referendum result had built up “dangerous expectations” among pro-Brexit voters that **immigrants** would leave Northern Ireland and other parts of the UK.

“Shortly after the referendum the Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities organised a conference about Brexit’s impact on this place. Even only a few weeks after the vote I heard dozens of **immigrants** stating that they were starting to hear their fellow workmates asking them: ‘Well then, when are you all going home?’ Brexit has raised dangerous expectations as well as putting out lies about **immigrants** taking up benefits, houses, jobs,” Lo said.

“I have been the victim of racist abuse and threats in the recent past but I fear more than ever for **immigrant** communities living in Northern Ireland following the Brexit vote. It has stirred up so much negativity towards people from ethnic minorities. I am worried like never before about racism and anti-**immigrant** feeling after Brexit.”

Lo said she doubted anyone from her ethnic background would be prepared to enter British or Northern Irish politics in the post-Brexit era. “It was hard enough being in the devolved assembly before the referendum, but given the atmosphere since the Brexit vote I would be very doubtful that anyone from a background like mine would stand up and enter politics now. It is going to get even harder to persuade people from ethnic minorities to come forward and stand for election, but especially in Northern Ireland.”

In her book, Lo says she was on the receiving end of racist abuse and intimidation because she was the public face of the **immigrant** community in Northern Ireland.

She writes: “One Thursday, on my way from Stormont to my constituency office after a committee meeting, I stopped in Connswater shopping centre to get a picture taken for a new passport. On my way out of the centre to the front car park, I heard people shouting my name. As they did not sound particularly friendly, I quickened my pace and got to where my car was parked.

“Then a car passed me. A young woman was practically hanging out of the back passenger window, screaming abuse at me. I was extremely glad that they did not catch up with me and that there was a barrier between the road where the vehicle was travelling and my car. I was quite sure that, if they had got closer to me, there would have been an ugly scene.”

Related: Tackling racism in Northern Ireland must start with the first minister | Anna Lo[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jun/03/racism-northern-ireland-muslims-peter-robinson-resign]

Lo says she was appalled by alleged anti-Islam remarks made by the former first minister Peter Robinson two years ago. She said Robinson’s comments in defence of a Christian preacher, James McConnell, who said Islam was “Satanic”, were themselves inflammatory.

“I was utterly incensed and disgusted when Peter Robinson, then first minister of Northern Ireland, made comments in defence of the pastor. He added fuel to the fire by stating that he would not trust Muslims involved in terrorism or devoted to sharia law, but would trust Muslims to go down to the shop for him and to give him the right change.”

Lo settled in Northern Ireland in 1974 after after marrying a Belfast-born journalist. She worked as a freelance contributor for the BBC Chinese Service and as a secretary for the World Service in Belfast before taking a break to raise her two sons.

In 1997 she was appointed director of the Chinese Welfare Association, and she has been at the forefront of the promotion of racial equality ever since. In 2000 she was awarded an MBE.

Lo joined the Alliance party in 2006 and was elected as an assembly member for Belfast South the following year, becoming the assembly’s first ethnic minority member. She served two terms at the regional parliament and retired in March this year. The Place I Call Home is published by Blackstaff Press Belfast this week.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Secret audio of Goldman Sachs talk in May shows she feared businesses would leave and wanted the UK to take a lead in Europe

Theresa May privately warned that companies would leave the UK if the country voted for Brexit during a secret audience with investment bankers a month before the EU referendum.

A recording of her remarks to Goldman Sachs , leaked to the Guardian , reveals she had numerous concerns about Britain leaving the EU . It contrasts with her nuanced public speeches, which dismayed remain campaigners before the vote in June.

Speaking at the bank in London on 26 May, the then home secretary appeared to go further than her public remarks to explain more clearly the economic benefits of staying in the EU . She told staff it was time the UK took a lead in Europe, and that she hoped voters would look to the future rather than the past.

In an hour-long session before the City bankers, she also worried about the effect of Brexit on the British economy.

“I think the economic arguments are clear,” she said. “I think being part of a 500-million trading bloc is significant for us. I think, as I was saying to you a little earlier, that one of the issues is that a lot of people will invest here in the UK because it is the UK in Europe.

“If we were not in Europe, I think there would be firms and companies who would be looking to say, do they need to develop a mainland Europe presence rather than a UK presence? So I think there are definite benefits for us in economic terms.”

Her warning about the importance of the UK’s membership of the EU comes in marked contrast to her positioning in recent weeks [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/20/theresa-may-to-tell-eus-other-leaders-there-will-be-no-second-referendum].

May said at the Conservative party conference that she wanted to prioritise reducing **immigration** [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/brexit-theresa-may-prioritises-immigration-curbs-over-free-movement] over being part of the single market. In her speech, she said British companies needed the “maximum freedom to trade and operate in the single market” but not at the expense of “giving up control of **immigration** again” or accepting the jurisdiction of judges in Luxembourg.

Related: Brexit: Theresa May prioritises **immigration** curbs over single market [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/brexit-theresa-may-prioritises-immigration-curbs-over-free-movement]

At Goldman Sachs , May also said she was convinced Britain’s security was best served by remaining in Europe because of tools such as the European arrest warrant and the information-sharing between the police and intelligence agencies.

“There are definitely things we can do as members of the European Union that I think keep us more safe,” she said.

The disclosures could prove embarrassing for the prime minister, who faced criticism for lying low during the referendum campaign [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/25/brexit-books-david-cameron-theresa-may-party-split] and offering only luke-warm support for the remain side.

In April, May gave a speech in which she set out some of the reasons for staying in the EU , warning that it could have an impact on the development of the single market for the rest of the EU [http://www.conservativehome.com/parliament/2016/04/theresa-mays-speech-on-brexit-full-text.html] if the UK left. But her comments at the Goldman Sachs event a month later go further in warning about the dangers to the British economy from businesses relocating to continental Europe.

During the referendum campaign, May infuriated senior Conservative colleagues on the remain side by largely staying out of the day-to-day arguments in favour of staying in the EU . One of her major pro-remain interventions was overshadowed by an announcement that she would like to take the UK out of the European convention on human rights [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/25/uk-must-leave-european-convention-on-human-rights-theresa-may-eu-referendum], which she quickly ditched when running for the party leadership.

Her refusal to participate much in the campaign led Craig Oliver, David Cameron ’s former chief of communications, to wonder if she was secretly an “enemy agent” for the other side. However, others have suggested she believed in the arguments for staying in but was keeping her powder dry in case of a pro-Brexit vote.

May went to Goldman Sachs as a guest speaker and answered questions from the floor. In relaxed exchanges, she praised Cameron, the then prime minister, and said he had returned with important concessions [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/02/theresa-may-announces-intention-to-back-eu-membership] from his EU summit earlier in the year.

She sidestepped a question about whether she wanted to be prime minister and focused on explaining why Britain should stay in the EU . May said: “That is one of my messages in terms of the issue of the referendum, actually we shouldn’t be voting to try to recreate the past, we should be voting for what is right for the future.”

Goldman Sachs confirmed May had spoken to staff but was not paid. She accepted an invitation as part of the bank’s Talks@GS programme, in which high achievers from all walks of like are given a chance to reflect on their experiences and answer questions.

Previous speakers in the series include double Olympic champion Dame Kelly Holmes, David Benioff, the co-creator of the Game of Thrones TV series, and Loyd Grossman, the man behind the eponymous sauces. Some of the speakers are listed online, although May is not.

In the US, the Democratic presidential candidate, Hillary Clinton , made three private speeches to Goldman Sachs staff in 2013, the contents of which she originally refused to divulge during a bitter primary contest with leftwing rival Bernie Sanders. She was paid $675,000 (£554,000), and transcripts eventually released by WikiLeaks [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/wikileaks-hillary-clinton-paid-wall-street-speeches] show her taking a much softer line on Wall Street than she had publicly claimed.

Introduced in her private session at the bank as the “longest-serving home secretary this century”, May spoke in much more explicit terms than ever before about the need for the UK to act from the front in Europe.

“What I do think is that the UK needs to lead in Europe,” she said. “I think over the years the UK has tended to take a view that Europe is something that is done to us, we have taken a rather backseat position to Europe, I think that when we go out there, when we can take the initiative and when we lead, we can achieve things. So I do think we need to make sure we are taking the lead.”

Related: Theresa May's awkward EU meeting sees little progress on Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/21/theresa-may-awkward-eu-meeting-sees-little-progress-on-brexit]

She dismissed concerns of senior figures in the military who had claimed that the EU “was making life more difficult for soldiers”.

“Actually very often when people talk about it I suspect, and I haven’t spoken to them, I suspect that they are not talking about the European Union , but the European convention on human rights and the European court of human rights, which is separate from the European Union .”

Tim Farron, the Lib Dem leader, said it was “disappointing that Theresa May lacked the political courage to warn the public as she did a bunch of bankers in private about the devastating economic effects of Brexit”.

He added: “More disappointing is that now she is supposedly in charge, she is blithely ignoring her own warnings and is prepared to inflict an act of monumental self-harm on the UK economy by pulling Britain out of the single market.”

Phil Wilson, a Labour MP speaking for the Open Britain group campaigning for the UK to stay in the single market, said: “It’s good to know that privately Theresa May thinks what many of us have been saying publicly for a long time – leaving the single market would be bad for businesses and for our economy.

“Now she is prime minister, Theresa May is in an unrivalled position to act on her previous concerns – starting by putting membership of the single market at the heart of her government’s negotiating position.”

Chuka Umunna, the Labour MP and former shadow business secretary, said May was “right then – and it underlines why single market membership should be her ambition now”.

A No 10 spokesman said: “Britain made a clear choice to vote to leave the EU and this government is determined to make a success of the fresh opportunities it presents.

“David Davis made very clear in the House of Commons last week the importance the government places on financial services across the UK in the negotiation to come, as has the chancellor in recent weeks.

“We want a smooth and orderly exit from the European Union , which would be in the interests of both Britain and the EU .”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The news that Ridley Scott’s **Alien**: Covenant will feature a terrifying new ‘neomorph’ recalls a history of nightmarish on-screen creatures

Not everyone finds the same things scary. As a small child I was terrified into a quivering wreck, forced to hide behind the family sofa in a state of dread at the merest glimpse of Sam the Blue Eagle from The Muppets. Something about that beaky, austere countenance just gave me the heebie jeebies.

Related: Is Ridley Scott making up **Alien**: Covenant as he goes along?[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/jun/22/ridley-scott-alien-covenant-reboot-script-filming-troubles]

Little was I to know that far worse things lay in wait in the darkest corners of the cinema. In celebration of Michael Fassbender’s revelation that the creature in Ridley Scott’s upcoming **Alien**: Covenant will be known as the “neomorph”[http://www.cinemablend.com/news/1576780/what-alien-covenants-new-creatures-are-called] – in tribute to its acid blood-spewing, slimy and phallic second cousin the xenomorph from Scott’s original 1979 **Alien** movie – here’s a Halloween-themed rundown of some of the nastiest beasties ever to hit the multiplexes.

The “crawlers” ( The Descent[http://www.rollingstone.com/movies/lists/20-scariest-movies-you-need-to-see-20141029/the-descent-2005-20141029], 2005) If Gollum from The Hobbit got his own R-rated movie, it might look a little like Neil Marshall’s cult 2005 horror about an all-female band of spelunkers who find themselves trapped in an uncharted cave system populated by flesh-eating subterranean abominations. The Descent works so well because it adds a creepy Darwinian overtone to the well-worn horror staple of the inbred, bestial backwoodsman. Monsters are often most terrifying when we can see our own DNA beneath the skin, and the thought that the crawlers may only be a few generations from Leatherface and his clan is what really makes the blood curdle.

The mutant baby from Eraserhead[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2008/sep/12/horror1] (1977) If David Lynch’s surrealist masterpiece is already a grim viewing experience for its bloodless vision of Spencer’s cold, **alienated** and dissonant existence, it is even harder to watch when our hero’s whimpering, snakelike “child” is introduced, shivering like a baby rat born before its time. As if testing the boundaries of his viewer’s endurance, Lynch then has his protagonist cut through the layers of bandages to reveal the hideous skinless organs beneath in a deeply ghoulish parody of everyday parental trepidation.

Nosferatu FW Murnau’s silent-era horror[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2013/oct/24/nosferatu-eview] is an expressionist masterpiece, Max Schreck’s operatic performance as the vampire Count Orlok simply unmatched for gothic intensity. But Klaus Kinski’s mad-eyed pantomime turn[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z-5PzpOj57g] as the undead creature in Werner Herzog’s 1979 remake Nosferatu the Vampyre comes a close second, if only for the excruciatingly glacial bite scene.

Pale Man ( Pan’s Labyrinth[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2006/nov/24/sciencefictionandfantasy.worldcinema], 2006) If Guillermo Del Toro’s bravura 2013 intro for The Simpsons’ annual Halloween episode[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CtgYY7dhTyE] wasn’t enough to convince you the Mexican film-maker has a taste for the works of Lewis Carroll, his dark, supernatural period fable is packed full of references to the Englishman. Like Alice, Ivana Baquero’s Ofelia also finds herself in a phantasmagorical underworld, and just as her literary forebear she finds herself in trouble after eating the local produce[http://illuminatimovies.net/wp-content/uploads/illuminati-movies-alice-in-wonderland-cartoon-eat-me.jpg]. But nothing in Wonderland ever came close to Doug Smith’s Pale Man for wormy, fetal repulsiveness as the giant humanoid grub plops its eyes into fleshy sockets and transforms into an all-seeing demon butterfly by fanning out its fingers like a monstrous crown.

Frankenstein’s monster (Frankenstein, 1931) Boris Karlof’s hulking, flat-headed, bolt-necked brute remains the classic screen incarnation of Mary Shelley’s creation more than 80 years on. Rarely has an actor risen to such notoriety on the back of a mute performance, but Karlof did at least get to speak in original director James Whale’s 1935 sequel Bride of Frankenstein[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o1Izq-E3o7Y], which is surprisingly now considered by many critics to be the superior picture.

Norris Spider-Head (The Thing, 1982) Nothing shot using CGI ever looked so grimly realistic as Rob Bottin’s stomach-churning organic special effects for John Carpenter’s 1982 sci-fi horror about a parasitic extraterrestrial life-form that turns up to cause chaos at an Antarctic research station. The scene in which a man’s head sprouts spider-legs and hideous antennae is the climax of an extended orgy of body horror the likes of which has never been seen before or since on the big screen. The most spine-chilling thought: what if poor Norris is still alive in there somewhere?

Brundlefly (The Fly, 1986) Jeff Goldblum’s transformation is such a shocker because it’s so sudden. One minute he’s still just about recognisable as the slightly manic guy who we saw earlier doing genetically assisted acrobatics around his apartment, the next the dread carapace that was once his face is falling off to reveal the repugnant giant insect beneath. The final moment, as the creature asks pitifully to be put out of its misery, is a nightmarish reminder of Brundlefly’s enduring humanity.

The xenomorph (**Alien**, 1979) Ridley Scott’s inspired decision to borrow his phallic, flesh-ripping extraterrestrial from the work of Swiss surrealist painter HR Giger’s turned out to be the foundation upon which a Hollywood legend built his entire career. Giger’s visions of hellish monstrosities gave the original slasher in space an enduring veneer of infernal threat, of unspeakable things from cursed netherworlds. Scott himself is due to give us an updated version, the neomorph[http://www.avclub.com/article/xenomorphs-predecessors-get-new-name-alien-covenan-244752], in **Alien**: Covenant, but it remains to be seen whether the new creature can compete with the original for slimy, feral barbarity.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UK-based Afghan tells of his race to find lone 14-year-old in the **refugee** camp when he appeared after six months of silence

An Afghan chef working in London made a dash for the Calais **refugee** camp on Tuesday when he heard his teenage cousin had turned up on the site after six months.

In an emotional reunion, Amruddin Jan, 20, who works in a restaurant in Piccadilly Circus, told how he drove over as soon as heard his 14-year-old cousin, Jamshid, was in the camp.

Jamshid had fled Kabul 18 months ago “but he disappeared and we didn’t know where he was”, said Jan, who granted permission to interview and photograph his teenage relative.

“I spent last night with him in the tent here in the Jungle to make him happy. It was good, me and him, because I can look after him now,” he said.

He said his young cousin had cried and cried and told him how he feared he would be raped by older men of “3o to 35” on the site.

“This is no place for a child. It was really hard for him. There are a lot of dangerous people here. He told me an older man asked him to come and stay in his tent and he told him, ‘How could I do that, I don’t know you.’ I was very worried for him,” said Jan.

It was really hard for him. There are a lot of dangerous people. An older man asked him to come and stay in his tent

“I am shocked that that can happen here. I told him I would take care of him and feed him and send him to school and that he should not worry,” he added.

Jan came to the UK two years ago and now has indefinite leave to remain in the country. “He is now my responsibility,” he said.

Hugging each other, the quietly spoken and withdrawn Jamshid said he was very happy to meet his cousin and end his ordeal.

“I can see a life. My life shouldn’t be like this. In this place there are always problems. Problems with toilets, with different kinds of people. Sometimes you can’t come out of your tent. I was scared,” said Jamshid. “It’s not safe here.”

Jan found out by chance that Jamshid had made it to the camp from another cousin who showed up there and was on Facebook on Sunday.

The other cousin has already been relocated, leaving Jamshid, an unaccompanied minor, to be looked after by another minor.

But the joy of meeting each other was tinged with sadness that Jan had to return to London.

“I came on Monday because it was my first day off. But I have to leave again this afternoon, because I have to work tomorrow. I would take him in the car if he had papers but he hasn’t and there is no one here to tell us how long we will have to wait. We have no information.”

Jamshid could not be reassured that he would ever get out of the camp, even though he has the colour-coded bracelet to show he has been accepted by the first Home Office filter that he is underage, and therefore eligible to go to the UK under the Dublin regulation.

“I feel really sad that [Jan] is going back to London,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**First came the spokespeople of Skittles, then Tic Tacs and the king of crisps Gary Lineker. Who next? Talking M&M’s on Brexit?

We have become used to 2016 lurching between the extremes of ridiculousness and despair, so it should come as no surprise that the conclusion to draw from the last two weeks is that snack foods are our saviours. Serious stories now go hand in hand with total nonsense: this year is an episode of The West Wing co-written by Adam Sandler – and far from being the endangering foodstuffs we have been conditioned to believe, it turns out snacks may be our only hope.

Last week saw Gary Lineker speak out passionately against the media coverage of **refugees**, which is perhaps surprising given that, outside of football, the most notable thing Gary Lineker has spoken out in favour of is crisps. He was roundly attacked; the Sun demanded that he be sacked for failing to be impartial, given that he is a BBC host. But this was on his Twitter feed[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/21/sack-gary-lineker-tweet-the-sun-culture]. He didn’t open Match of the Day coverage by saying “What a week in the Premier League! We’ve got all the goals coming up, but firstly, isn’t it time we started forcing all British people to house five **refugees**? Let’s start with the Royal Family. That’s right, I think we should open up the gates of Buckingham Palace and fill every room with a **refugee**. And now, Stoke v West Ham”.

But the silver-haired spud salesman has grasped something that his critics have not[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/gary-lineker-hits-back-at-online-abuse-over-hideously-racist-coverage-refugees]. The Daily Mail, Daily Telegraph, Daily Express and Sun joined MP David Davies in questioning the precise age of **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies] arriving in the UK. It is dehumanising. What’s worse is that How-Old.net, the age recognition software being used by the Mail to judge child migrants, was knocked out by Microsoft developers as a “fun app”. One that was, the company was forced to declare, “not intended to be used as a definitive assessment of age”. I hope these people don’t discover snapchat filters any time soon or they might lose their minds altogether. We’ll be treated to headlines like “SOME **REFUGEES** HAVE THE ABILITY TO SWAP FACES, BECOME DOGS AND VOMIT RAINBOWS”.

To illustrate the idiocy, Nick Clegg’s former press officer Ben Rathe put David Davies’s face into the app and calculated his age at 58. It must have been a blow, given Davies is 46. Based on the logic bouncing from parliament to the press, we should now be testing all MP’s ages by examining their dental records[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/21/david-davies-mp-have-a-look-at-my-teeth-whats-the-problem] and speculating about why they might be lying. No doubt there will be some on the “loony left” who will say that MPs have “had hard lives and we don’t know what they’ve been through”; honestly, it’s political correctness gone mad.

When **refugees** are at a distance it’s easy to be compassionate. Even Red Top Troll King himself, Kelvin MacKenzie[https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2034538/luvvies-always-have-a-voice-but-who-on-tv-dares-speak-up-for-the-rest-of-us/], admitted that the image from Aleppo of injured five-year-old Omran Daqneesh haunted him. To the extent that he commissioned a painting of Omran by the artist Jolyon Madden. We’ve all been there – you find something moving, you commission a painting. I know one wall of my living room is taken up by a mural of the end of Toy Story 3. Weird paintings aside, as soon as it comes to offering sanctuary for **refugees**, basic decency is lost. And that’s all Lineker was calling for: turning abstract compassion for war victims into a practical response. Sections of our press have been embarrassed by the spokesman for crisps.

This isn’t, however, the first instance of the public face of food making more sense than anyone else on a serious issue. Last month Donald Trump’s son – Donald Trump Jr – found himself at the centre of a snack-based storm. (The fact that he is called Donald Trump Jr is of no surprise given his father’s sense of self-worth. I think Jr should just count himself lucky that he’s not called “Mini-Me” or “My Balls Made This”.)

Trump Jr proved himself to be something of a chip off the old block when he claimed **refugees** might be potential Isis recruits, like “poisoned Skittles in a bowl”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/donald-trump-jnr-compares-refugees-poisoned-skittles-twitter-reacted]. Thus forcing a spokesperson for Skittles to issue the following statement: “Skittles are candy. **Refugees** are People. We don’t feel it’s an appropriate analogy”.

Then his father made the same sweet mistake. In his now notorious conversation with Billy Bush, Trump said, in reference to actress Arianne Zucker[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/08/donald-trump-tape-arianne-zucker-sexual-assault-groping], “I’ve got to use some Tic Tacs, just in case I start kissing her” suggesting the Don is more concerned about his breath than being thought of as a sex pest. The minty pervert was quickly denounced by the company, which made it clear: “Tic Tac respects all women. We find the recent statements and behaviour completely inappropriate and unacceptable”.

And so it seems that the only people you can trust with serious political issues are spokespeople for snacks. I don’t think we should stop here either. Based on recent events, I think representatives on snacks should be consulted on all major world news. What does the Milkybar Kid think we should do about Syria? Is the Fox’s Glacier Mints polar bear worried about climate change and its impact on his natural habitat? And will someone, for the love of Freddo the Cadbury frog, please find out if Yellow and Red, the talking M&M’s from the cinema, favour a hard Brexit?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Crews move in with diggers and electric saws as Unicef UK says it is ‘unacceptable’ for process to start while children remain

The demolition of the makeshift camp in Calais began on Tuesday, as charities said the measures were unacceptable while children remained and calls were made for all the children to be registered and taken to safety.

Crews wearing hard hats and orange jumpsuits began tearing down tents, sheds and other temporary buildings as **refugees** and migrants continued to be loaded on to buses and sent to relocation centres elsewhere in France on the second day of the massive operation to clear the area.

The workers, who were escorted by scores of French police, used electric saws to take down wooden shelters, and mechanical diggers to remove debris from the sprawling site where an estimated 6,000-8,000 people have been living.

The charity Unicef UK[http://www.unicef.org.uk/] said it was “unacceptable” for demolition to begin while children remained in the camp.

“The children waiting to go into converted shipping containers are still in danger and keeping them safe must be the No 1 priority,” said Lily Caprani, the charity’s deputy executive director.

“There is only one chance for the authorities to get this right and they need more time.

“The UK made a commitment to bring those children with a legal right to be here and agreed with the French authorities that the demolition must not begin until every child is safe. We’ve seen the home secretary achieve real progress by bringing some of the vulnerable children to the UK, but there are hundreds more in Calais still waiting to reach safety and we cannot lose them now.”

Calais camp volunteer Michael McHugh said there were now fewer protective adults at the camp. One boy, aged 13, from Darfur, who had made his journey to Calais after walking through the desert with other children, was typical of those left marooned on the site, McHugh said. “They were being looked after by the other men, maybe men from their village back home, who have now left the camp, and who is looking after them [now]?”

As the dismantling work began, a group of children, which included under-13-year-olds for the first time, arrived in Croydon from Calais after the Home Office lifted its 24-hour “temporary pause” on transfers from France, put in place to enable preparations for the camp’s demolition to get underway.

The group had been transferred under the terms of the Dubs amendment to the 2016 **Immigration** Act[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/16/uk-to-take-small-group-of-children-from-calais-refugee-camp] requiring to Britain to give a safe haven to some of the most vulnerable lone **refugee** children without direct links to the UK.

They will be dispersed to local authorities’ children’s services departments around Britain after being processed as unaccompanied child asylum seekers.

One in four councils in England have said they will not take part in the national transfer scheme under which the Dubs children will be dispersed. The home secretary, Amber Rudd, has insisted there is sufficient immediate capacity to support the children being transferred to Britain.

She has said, however, that as hundreds more children arrive in the coming weeks[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/uk-to-take-hundreds-of-children-from-calais-home-secretary-says] the Home Office will need to identify further places and will be working with local authorities to ensure that happens. Theresa May’s own Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead is among the 38 councils so far to have said they do not have the capacity to take any more **refugee** children or families.

The dispute over the delays in identifying and processing the 800 children under 18 in the Calais camp who claim to have family links with Britain continued on Tuesday.

The French ambassador, Sylvie Bermann, revealed that the French had asked the UK to take all the unaccompanied child **refugees** in the camp – thought to number nearly 1,000 – before the demolition preparations began, but this had been rejected by British ministers, who insisted that there should be case-by-case examinations by officials in the camp before anyone was brought to Britain.

Rudd told MPs that Home Office officials had interviewed 800 children in the camp claiming close family ties to Britain in the last week to verify their claims and their ages. The Home Office said that they expected the transfer of children from the camp to Britain to take place on a daily basis from now.

Around 3,500 people have so far been bussed to shelters around France, where most hope to apply for asylum.

On Tuesday, about 400 unaccompanied minors were taken to converted shipping containers in part of the camp where families had previously been living, with that number expected to rise to nearer 1,000.

Before the demolition work began, aid workers and government officials inspected tents to ensure the area had been emptied. Natacha Bouchart, the mayor of Calais who lobbied the government to demolish the camp, watched as the first few huts were pulled down on Tuesday.

Related: Calais camp scuffles break out as 2,000 **refugees** prepare to leave[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/25/calais-refugees-queue-to-leave-camp-demolition]

“For the last three years, life has been hell in Calais,” she said. She warned that the demolition of the camp was unlikely to mark the end of the issue for the town, which remains on the map as a perceived gateway to Britain for migrants and **refugees**.

“Our fear today is that about 3,000 migrants still in the camp are not agreeing to go, and they could cause clashes with the security forces,” said Bouchart, as riot police with tear gas and stun guns lined the makeshift streets in the camp and heavy goods vehicles with industrial-sized skips were driven through the sandy passages.

The UK has taken nearly 200 teenagers over the past week. On Tuesday, scores of minors were waiting to be interviewed by French and British officials.

The French interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, said all unaccompanied minors “with proven family links in Great Britain” would eventually be transferred to the UK.

Isolated scuffles, however, broke out on Tuesday morning[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/25/calais-refugees-queue-to-leave-camp-demolition] due to a chaotic and poorly managed registration process. Hundreds of minors and young adults were caught in a crush before dawn, as riot police kettled teenagers in an effort to manage queues. The children were forced to sit on a muddy roadside bank, and when the gates opened the police reacted forcibly to the inevitable surge.

Sudanese people in the camp have accused the authorities of prioritising children from other countries over children from Sudan. A Sudanese representative, Mussa Mahdy, removed 150 Sudanese minors from the kettle area and accused the authorities of discriminating against them. “Everywhere we go – Italy, Germany, France – they don’t want the Sudanese,” he said.

Women, a rare sight in the past 48 hours, arrived in a group of about 30 in the afternoon, demanding that England give them support whatever their age.

Cheering and holding up a banner that said “Please England, Help All Womens”, they chanted: “No more jungle, we need help, under age, over age, all the same, all humans, one right.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Governor of the Bank of England defends its quantitative easing programme, while being quizzed by the House of Lords economic affairs committee about Brexit Carney: Hasn’t decided how long to stay at the BankCarney defends QE after May’s criticismCarney testifies: coverage starts hereEarlier:Pound drops 1% in nervy selloffChancellor Hammond: City at heart of Brexit talksGerman business confidence rallies

block-time published-time 5.57pm BST

Carney has now finished so here are some of the key points.

In the wake of criticisms from various politicians, he said investors would want a “risk premium” to buy UK assets if the Bank’s independence was questioned[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f6ea4e4b08d944ba4a6b1#block-580f6ea4e4b08d944ba4a6b1] . But markets should not expect this to happen. It was up to the government to set a target for price stability which the Bank would then decide how to reach.

On his own future, he said it would be a personal decision as to when he would step down from the Bank [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f7237e4b01c528432c711#block-580f7237e4b01c528432c711] and not related to politics.

Sterling’s recent slump had less to do with monetary policy, he said, and more to do with the announcement of the timetable for Article 50 and the market’s perception of how discussions on Brexit would unfold.[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f738de4b08d944ba4a6d9#block-580f738de4b08d944ba4a6d9]

He said there were various contingency plans in place for banks to leave London if they saw fit.[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f7544e4b08d944ba4a6eb#block-580f7544e4b08d944ba4a6eb]

On QE he expressed sympathy for savers who have been hit by the programme, but said the Bank was not slavishly relying on QE.[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f7997e4b0219a00d3872e#block-580f7997e4b0219a00d3872e]

He defended the Bank’s purchase of corporate bonds, including McDonald’s[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f7bbbe4b01c528432c76c#block-580f7bbbe4b01c528432c76c] .

On negative rates, he said there was something unnatural and a confidence effect.[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f8876e4b0219a00d387b3#block-580f8876e4b0219a00d387b3]

Meanwhile the pound has recovered some ground after its earlier sudden slump, which was blamed variously on the strong dollar, comments from chancellor Philip Hammond suggesting more QE and nervousness ahead of Carney’s appearance at the House of Lords.

It is now down 0.3% at $1.2195 after falling as low as $1.2084 - its worst level since the flash crash earlier this month. Its recovery is partly due to Carney’s measured performance and his attempts to reassure on QE, his own future, and worries over the Bank’s independence.

With the slight recovery in the pound, the FTSE 100 has lost much of its earlier gains but still ended up 0.45% at 7017.64.

On that note, it’s time to close for the evening. Thanks for all your comments, and we’ll be back tomorrow.

block-time published-time 5.43pm BST

Over to Greece, and the White House has confirmed that president Barack Obama will be visiting the country in November in what officials hope will be the biggest push yet to secure debt relief for the country. Our correspondent Helena Smith reports.

Barely days after the race for the White House, the outgoing president will visit Athens on November 15 in what was described as a tour aimed at reaffirming support “for economic reforms that reduce inequality.”

The US president has voiced barely disguised frustration with austerity policies he has blamed for economic stagnation and slow growth in Europe. Greek officials in the leftist-led government are hoping Obama will push for debt forgiveness when he goes on to hold talks with the German chancellor Angela Merkel in Berlin so that the Greek economy, currently locked in its worst slump in modern times, can be put on the path to recovery.

The IMF, like Washington, both believe that with a debt load in excess of €300bn the Greek economy is unsustainable. Prime minister Alexis Tsipras has recently racheted up the rhetoric, saying a debt deal should be wrapped up by December when Athens completes a second review of the economy with international inspectors representing its bailout creditors at the EU and IMF. His appeals were rebuffed by both Merkel and her French counterpart when he met them on the sidelines of last week’s EU summit in Brussels. Berlin, the main provider of bailout funds to date, has argued that Greece’s problen is not one of debt but competitiveness.

block-time published-time 5.40pm BST

Still with Brexit, and Ireland is making a pitch to provide a home for a key regultor. Jill Treanor writes:

It is not so long ago that European Banking Authority moved to new offices in London’s Canary Wharf. But the vote for Brexit means the regulator which oversees banks in the remaining 27 countries of the EU is likely to need a new home. Ireland has now made a formal pitch to take on the regulator, best known for conducting its stress tests on banks. Michael Noonan, minister of finance said: “While the UK continues to be a full member of the EU until the negotiations for their exit have been completed, preparations must be made for eventualities such as the relocation of certain European agencies such as the European Banking Authority. Ireland has a significant financial services sector, efficient transport links to other European capitals and the capacity to absorb the European Banking Authority’s re-location to Ireland. Our interest in hosting the EBA demonstrates the continued importance Ireland places in well regulated financial services. As a country with experience in providing links to banks and companies in the UK market, Ireland provides an ideal new home for the staff of the EBA.”

Ireland has made no secret of its ambitions to take any exiles from London’s financial services sector.[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/dublin-exploits-brexit-uncertainty-to-lure-firms-from-london]

block-time published-time 5.38pm BST

Lord Hollick ends by saying a question has been sent in during the proceedings by a pensioner who wants to know what he should invest his savings in.

Carney replies that when he can have the answer sent in, he will give a reply.

And with that, it’s over.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.51pm BST

block-time published-time 5.33pm BST

Bank of England Governor Mark Carney gives evidence to the Economic Affairs Committee at the House of Lords. Photograph: PA block-time published-time 5.33pm BST

Question: Why are you opposed to negative interest rates? Do you feel comfortable with size of derivatives on bank bal sheets

Carney says on negative rates, uncomfortable with effect on bank balance sheets and lending possibly being tempered or reversed. In UK the building societies are an important part of system and they don’t have alternative supply of finance.

On top of that, there is something unnatural to negative rates to some people and there is a confidence effect.

In terms of derivatives, reforms put in place have substantially reduced risks.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.52pm BST

block-time published-time 5.29pm BST

Question: If the MPC had known about fall in sterling in August would they have done same stimulus measures ? When does depreciation start becoming serious?

Carney says committee always takes into account exchange rate movements and the reasons, and its effect on inflation.

Prior to referendum, the way we talked remained most appropriate - we have to balance supply, demand and exchange rate.

Since timing of Article 50 became clear, sterling has been influence by market perceptions of [future with EU].

If exchange rate has depreciated and UK supply capacity is weakened by Brexit, it will push up inflation.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.52pm BST

block-time published-time 5.26pm BST

Question: What is concerning central bankers at the moment other than Brexit?

Carney says the balance of monetary, fiscal and structural policy, and that monetary policy has been overburdened. Fair bit of time needs to be spent on that.

In terms of biggest risk, China. It is going through a series of transitions, manufacturing to services, from bank based lending to market based finance, flexibility of exchange rate. They are all happening simultaneously. Chinese authorities have done an exemplary job in managing this, but there are challenges.

In recent years the pace of growth has been faster than the speed limit, effectively a product of debt through shadow banking sector. Challenge is to sustainably and safely decelerate the rate of growth.

block-time published-time 5.19pm BST

Question: when will the recent fall in sterling affect inflation?

Carney says the recent uptick in inflation is the product of a few factors but not, net, sterling. Mainly energy prices and clothing prices.

Relatively quickly we will see the effects of the sterling depreciation. By the spring [inflation will be] 1.5% to 1.8% annualised with an important contribution [from currency].

We do not have a target for the exchange rate. But it is a factor which influences the stance of monetary policy, and will take into account over next week as we make our policy decision.

block-time published-time 4.52pm BST

Question: Given government can borrow at low rates and investing, shouldn’t they take advantage of that?

Carney says have to be careful in fiscal policy about what is temporary and what is baked in system. I agree, given interest rate, relative return on a project doesn’t have to be that high when there is tax revenues and an asset alongside it. But those decisions are decisions of the government.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.36pm BST

block-time published-time 4.50pm BST

Question: Is monetary policy now too loose and fiscal policy too tight?

Carney says adjusting fiscal policy is much slower than adjusting monetary policy, it needs budget, legislation.

So there is a need to understand the fiscal policy of the government and take it into account. Appropriate for chancellor and governor to discuss how the economy is and what should be done.

block-time published-time 4.45pm BST

Away from Carney and back to the pound’s slide. Neil Wilson, markets analyst at ETX Capital said:

There is no clear reason for the dip but once the run on the pound starts these days it’s hard to find buyers at any natural or obvious levels...It just goes to show how bearish the sentiment is around the pound at the moment. It doesn’t take a lot to send sterling south at the moment.

Of course it’s good news for all those dollar earners on the FTSE 100, which rallied strongly on the pound’s fall before a big bought of profit taking around 15:20-30 pared the day’s gains.

block-time published-time 4.45pm BST

Question: Is there too much uncertainty now for forward guidance to be useful?

Carney says it is useful in certain circumstances, in the exit from unconventional policy.

block-time published-time 4.38pm BST

Lamont: Why are you now buying corporate bonds?

Carney says this provides a different channel of stimulus. It is more powerful pound for pound than QE. We are buying neutrally, companies important to UK economy.

[Lamot: McDonald’s?] Yes, it is part of the UK economy, providing jobs.

It encourages issuance in that market, also frees up bank balance sheets to lend to smaller businesses and households.

block-time published-time 4.35pm BST

Carney - cannot conceive Chancellor would refuse Bank's QE moves Lamont: QE has been described as a mixture of fiscal and monetary policy. So independence of central banks has already gone. If Treasury has to approve each tranche of QE, then independence is surely compromised?

Carney says the decision is made by the MPC, the Treasury makes decision on Bank balance sheet independently. I have to explain to chancellor the rationale, and he or she will want to be satisfied on that before putting balance sheet forward. Can’t conceive of circumstance where chancellor would not provide that.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.41pm BST

block-time published-time 4.32pm BST

We would not slavishly rely on QE - Carney Question from Lord Lamont: Back to QE, how long will it go on. Is it still effective. The distortions are becoming larger, especially in bond market. Companies are cutting dividend to fund pension liabilities. My fear, this will only end in tears.

Carney says he does not share that view.

The package in August had four elements, part of the reason was to provided stimulus but also to show we would not slavishly rely on QE.

After the first QE programme, they tend to have less of an influence on asset prices. The August announcement has as large an impact as any, [because it was part of a package].

On side effects, we are mindful of side effects. We did look at impacts on pension funds, insurance companies, margins and profitablity of banks and building societies, to satisfy ourselves sum of side effects did not outweigh positives. Case was strong so we pursued it.

On pension funds, the challenge is as much due to a lag in equity performance compared to yields elsewhere. So its a broader problem.

{Lamont: QE helping that problem}

Carney says its whether you think QE is responsible for low rates. [ He clearly doesn’t ]

The concerns about risks in the global environment are quite elevated.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.40pm BST

block-time published-time 4.26pm BST

Question: is there anything to be done to make sure the City remains the pre-eminent financial centre post-Brexit?

We start from a position where it is Europe’s financial centre.

[On euro clearing moving from London] there is no need for currency clearing to take place in the currency’s jurisdiction. It is broader discussion in the political realm.

From our point of view, we need to retain world class supervision and regulation. We need to ensure - issue for government and private sector - that non-euro activity continues to grow in London.

We need to come to some sort of broader agreement on aspects of wholesale finance.

Yes some business would migrate, but City will grow other business from elsewhere.

block-time published-time 4.20pm BST

Carney says he expects the EU to give serious consideration to equivalence of UK financial regulation.

Carney says we do not want to have our hands tied to import ad infinitum financial rules made elsewhere.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.21pm BST

block-time published-time 4.14pm BST

The pound has recovered some ground during the course of Carney’s appearance so far. Having fallen as low as $1.2084 earlier, and recovering to $1.2121 as he began, it is now at $1.2135, still down 0.7% on the day.

block-time published-time 4.11pm BST

Question: is BBA irresponsible suggesting banks are ready to leave imminently?

There is much uncertainty, and in an environment where profitability is stretched. Some may take decisions earlier than others.

There are discussions [to be held with the EU], it would be precipitate to make decisions [before then].

block-time published-time 4.08pm BST

Question: any evidence banks are planning to relocate out of London?

Carney says as supervisor of banks, we are aware of contingency plans at various stages of readyness. Some would be in a position to adjust activities within the next year if they saw fit.

block-time published-time 4.07pm BST

Question: US rates are expected to rise, does that not depress the pound. The Bank has also failed to meet its inflation target.

Carney says there were four elements to August’s package, sterling barely moved, the market understood what we were doing.

When does sterling move, asks Carney. When it becomes clear on the timing of Article 50 and the market’s perception on the relationship between UK and EU. It’s a bit early to determine that. PM says she will get best deal, there have been no discussions.

But the market’s perception influences a perception of the supply situation of the econmy. That perception may well be mistaken.

We have to take account of where sterling is and how persistent it will be.

The 6.5% movement in currency since the Conservative party conference has largely been driven by a single factor, not monetary policy.

As for US, there has been an increased perception that Fed will raise rates by the end of the year. That has contributed to generalised dollar strength.

But with sterling it is more the perception of that fundamental factor.

[On the inflation target] in terms of the undershoot, the explanation was huge moves in oil and commodity prices.

The judgement the MPC has to make, we see inflation rising above target in year’s 2 and 3, due to depreciation of sterling in the first half of this year, so our judgement is how quickly we return inflation to target.

Should we raise rates in August and get it to 2%, at the cost of jobs and income in the economy. Or is it wiser to look through that exchange rate move and help economy adjust. In the view of every member, it was the right course of action to provide stimulus at that point.

block-time published-time 4.00pm BST

Why cut interest rates after Brexit when suggested not beforehand?

Carney says monetary policy would depend on supply, demand and the exchange rate. The balance of those forces which effect the path of policy.

The MPC decision is not automatic. There were scenarios when.. appropriate response would have been to tighten.

But in fact the balance was consistent with the Bank supplying more stimulus to support the economy during a period of adjustment.

That stimulus has its limits. The balance can shift. We don’t target exchange rate, we target inflation..but we are not indifferent.

block-time published-time 3.56pm BST

Decision whether to stay at Bank entirely personal - Carney Question. There has been talk about Carney leaving. What are the factors for Carney staying or going?

Carney says he needs time to reflect, it’s an entirely personal decision. No one should read into it anything about government policy, past, present, intentional.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.16pm BST

block-time published-time 3.54pm BST

Baroness Wheatcroft question: On the prime minister’s comments, she said monetary policy was an effective emergency measure and a change has to come. Does that mean monetary policy?

Carney says he does not think she meant a change in monetary policy.

Question: how long will it take to get there (normal interest rates etc)?

The framework is there, we fully understand if not welcome criticism of how we’re doing our job to get to inflation target. With time as the government prosecutes its discussions with EU, uncertainties will reduce.

There are broader forces in global economy which may take longer to dissipate.

block-time published-time 3.49pm BST

Carney says it is frustrating to have interest rates so low for so long.

He says he has sympathy with savers, but says the Bank’s focus is on its remit to get inflation where it needs to be.

block-time published-time 3.46pm BST

Change inflation target to help savers?

Carney says to target a specific group is not consistent with helping widest range of people and supporting whole economy.

block-time published-time 3.44pm BST

Lord Hollick, the chair, asks about the prime minister’s concerns about the effect of QE and those who have lost out, and what the Bank could do to help.

Carney says since QE, jobs have been created, GDP has grown. That is not due to QE, but the stance has helped the UK economy during a difficult period.

Different groups will benefit in different ways. Between 2009 and 2016, most have benefited, although some more than others.

We do recognise those who rely on savings have seen lower returns.

block-time published-time 3.41pm BST

Carney says the Bank’s independence has stood the test of time.

If it was called into question he would expect to see a risk premium on UK assets, particularly the currency, gilts and inflation expectations.

He said markets should have no reason to expect that [risk premium]. There is not a debate in parliament to change remit.

If the bank’s goal or remit was adjusted, the MPC would discharge that remit.

He said comments by individual politicians on policy would have no effect on how it discharges its responsibility.

Carney at the House of Lords Photograph: Parliament TV block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.48pm BST

block-time published-time 3.39pm BST

Mark Carney is now beginning his testimony and is talking about monetary policy.

He says monetary policy has been overburdened, it is the principal if not sole vehicle to provide stimulus to the UK. He welcomes the government is signalling a resetting of the balance between monetary, fiscal and structural policy.

block-time published-time 3.30pm BST

enltrSterling today pic.twitter.com/jxQHSrmnQk[https://t.co/jxQHSrmnQk]

— World First (@World\_First) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/World\_First/status/790922688957145088]block-time published-time 3.25pm BST

Sterling continues to fall ahead of Mark Carney’s testimony shortly.

It has fallen as low as $1.2082, its lowest since the flash crash earlier this month, and while the strength of the dollar and the uncertainty about what Carney will say are factors, comments from chancellor Philip Hammond earlier may also be helping to push sterling lower. Connor Campbell, financial analyst at Spreadex, said:

Sterling’s renewed slide seems to have stemmed from comments made by Philip Hammond, who not only warned that EU leaders may focus on political rather than economic issues when discussing the Brexit, but also that, when asked about the possibility of more QE, pointed out that no quantitative easing request has ever been rejected. This seems to have spooked the pound, which had actually been on a decent run of form in the past few trading sessions, and that is before Mark Carney gives his latest Brexit update in front of the House of Lords later today.

The return of the pound’s perilous trading was good news for the FTSE. The UK index had been lacking a certain spark in the last few days; now it finds itself 50 points higher, firmly above 7000 and not too far away from its all-time peak.

block-time published-time 3.17pm BST

The weak US consumer confidence figures could pose a problem for Federal Reserve chair Janet Yellen. Mike Read, co-founder of trading network Pelican, said:

Consumers in the US could be forgiven for harbouring slight trepidations about the future, amid a controversial presidential campaign and global economic uncertainty, but Fed Chair Janet Yellen will be concerned to see the first signs of this mounting pessimism taking effect.

Observers have long earmarked December as when the Fed will raise rates again, but 2016 has been a year of surprises and many traders may now be getting cold feet at the prospect of Yellen holding off until the new year.

Paul Sirani, Chief Market Analyst at Xtrade, still thinks a December rise is on the cards:

Consumer confidence rose in September to its highest level in nine years, but that positivity has proven short-lived for Fed Chair Janet Yellen following a worse than expected October reading.

Although the U.S. economy is performing well on the whole, Yellen has been singled out for criticism by presidential candidate Donald Trump, who claims she is keeping interest rates low for political reasons.

And it seems highly unlikely that she will pull the trigger before the Presidential race in November, with a December rise more likely.

block-time published-time 3.12pm BST

US consumer confidence declines The US presidential election has dented consumer confidence, according to a new survey.

The University of Michigan index of consumer sentiment fell by 3.6% month on month to 87.9. Year on year the fall was 2.3%. This was the lowest level since last September and the second lowest in the past two years. The survey’s chief economist Richard Curtin said:

It is likely that the uncertainty surrounding the presidential election had a negative impact, especially among lower income consumers, and without that added uncertainty, the confidence measures may not have weakened. Prospects for renewed gains, other than a relief rally following the election results, would require somewhat larger wage increases and continued job growth as well as the maintenance of low inflation.

US consumer sentiment Photograph: University of Michigan block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.14pm BST

block-time published-time 2.53pm BST

The fall in sterling has given a boost to the FTSE 100, which is now up around 70 points or 1%.

Full as it is of exporters and dollar earners, the leading index has tended to move higher as the pound weakens.

In contrast, the more domestic focused FTSE 250 is up just 0.07%.

Meanwhile the Dow Jones Industrial Average has opened slightly lower, down around 13 points.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.54pm BST

block-time published-time 2.48pm BST

Mark Carney’s testimony could see further pressure on the pound, says Caxton FX analyst Alexandra Russell-Oliver:

Sterling has dropped, partially as a result of pressure on the pound ahead of Carney’s testimony this afternoon (3:35pm) and partially due to dollar strength following above-forecast housing data. There is the risk of further sterling weakness/volatility during Carney’s testimony, which will focus on the economic consequences of the Brexit vote.

Cable is trading around 1.2125, near its October 11 lows, which marked its lowest levels since 1985 (excluding the flash crash drop). Sterling’s down over 0.7% against the dollar and over 0.6% against the euro since 1:30pm.

block-time published-time 2.39pm BST

enltrPound tumbles as traders await Carney’s testimony on Brexit impact https://t.co/5sbVAJYJr0[https://t.co/5sbVAJYJr0] via @worrachate[https://twitter.com/worrachate] @\_DavidGoodman[https://twitter.com/\_DavidGoodman] pic.twitter.com/FopLKUriqG[https://t.co/FopLKUriqG]

— Bloomberg Markets (@markets) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/markets/status/790909318086397952]block-time published-time 2.37pm BST

BoE governor Mark Carney set to appear at Lords Committee This afternoon’s sudden drop in the pound comes ahead of an appearance by Bank of England governor Mark Carney before the House of Lords Economic Affairs Committee (there is a live TV link here.[http://parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/aee168f2-616e-429b-85ef-27e164c399c2] )

A week before the Bank of England unveils its latest monetary policy decision - following the hint last time that a rate cut was possible - Carney is likely to be quizzed on the state of the economy and whether another cut is necessary.

With prime minister Theresa May criticising quantitative easing and various politicians making negative comments about the Bank, Carney may also repeat his insistence that the Bank is independent in its decisions. (He must have been pleased to hear Chancellor Philip Hammond defend this very thing last week[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/19/markets-uk-unemployment-wage-growth-brexit-report-business-live?page=with:block-58077617e4b0cd26ff71eb8a#block-58077617e4b0cd26ff71eb8a] .).

He is also likely to be asked about his future, given that he said he would decide by the end of the year whether to leave in 2018 or stay on longer.

Kathleen Brooks, research director at City Index, said:

The markets will primarily be looking for any hints that Carney and co. at the BOE have plans to cut interest rates further. The market has pretty much priced out the prospect of a near-term rate cut from the BOE, but a dovish tone from Carney could see the market start to re-price the prospect of a cut, and the pound could take a hit.

Mark Carney’s testimony comes at an interesting time, as relations between the BOE and the government remain tense after the PM appeared to criticize QE, and threaten the Bank’s independence. It also comes as Carney has two months to decide whether or not to leave the BOE in 2018, or stay on until 2021, he will make a formal announcement by the end of the year.

If Carney voices concerns about the deteriorating relationship with the government then this would be the worst outcome for the pound in our view, as the last thing an already Brexit-frazzled foreign exchange market needs now is discord between the UK authorities. It could also make it more likely that Carney will quit his post in 2018, right in the middle of the UK’s Brexit negotiations.

As a reminder, the House of Lords committee has said it expects to ask the following questions:

\* Are ultra-low interest rates fuelling inequality and threatening the independence of central banks?

\* Did the Bank misjudge the short-term impact of Brexit prior to the referendum?

\* What impact will the fall in the value of the pound have on the UK’s economy and the inflation target?

\* Will a ‘hard’ Brexit lead to job losses in the City of London?

\* How and when will quantitative easing be unwound?

block-time published-time 2.29pm BST

The sudden fall in the pound may be due to other factors, some believe:

enltrSo Sterling drops because Hammond says weakness of pound will impact on inflation - surely that's a statement of the bleeding obvious. #gbp[https://twitter.com/hashtag/gbp?src=hash]

— Michael Hewson (@mhewson\_CMC) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/mhewson\_CMC/status/790906768524210176]enltrA flash crash when we're all awake. Far more civlised! Technically breaking 1.2180-90 wasn't good. 1.2090 next support of note... #GBPUSD[https://twitter.com/hashtag/GBPUSD?src=hash] #FX[https://twitter.com/hashtag/FX?src=hash]

— Clive Lambert (@FuturesTechs) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/FuturesTechs/status/790906767559561221]And it is not just the dollar: sterling is down 0.7% against the euro at €1.116.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.33pm BST

block-time published-time 2.25pm BST

Dollar strengthens, pound drops as US house prices jump The US currency has moved higher after a rise in house prices.

The Federal Housing Finance Agency home price index climbed 0.7% in August compared to the previous month.

And it has jumped 6.4% from August last year. The strength of these latest figures will add to the idea that the US Federal Reserve could hike interest rates again before the end of the year, probably in December.

The news has seen the pound drop around 1% to a weekly low of $1.2116 against the dollar before recovering a little to $1.2128. The euro has hit a seven and a half month low against the dollar.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.41pm BST

block-time published-time 1.38pm BST

Caterpillar warns of economic weakness after slashing sales forecast. Bad news from Wall Street. Caterpillar, the construction equipment and machinery maker, has cut its sales forecast.

The firm, famous for its bright yellow cranes, diggers and trucks, warned that business is tough as potential customers delay purchases, amid mediocre global growth prospects.

Chief executive Doug Oberhelman says:

“Economic weakness throughout much of the world persists and, as a result, most of our end markets remain challenged.”

Caterpillar cut its projected revenues in 2016 to $39bn, down from $40.1bn. It also fears that next year will be hard to, saying:

“While we are seeing early signals of improvement in some areas, we continue to face a number of challenges....

We remain cautious as we look ahead to 2017, but are hopeful as the year unfolds we will begin to see more positive momentum.”

This isn’t the first time this year that Caterpillar has sounded gloomy. It cut its earnings forecast in July, citing Brexit as a threat to global growth[http://uk.businessinsider.com/caterpillar-cuts-earnings-forecast-and-warns-about-global-economy-2016-7?r=US&IR=T].

enltrCaterpillar issues earnings warnings every quarter. New normal. $CAT[https://twitter.com/search?q=%24CAT&src=ctag] pic.twitter.com/97IDS18l6S[https://t.co/97IDS18l6S]

— Brian Sozzi (@BrianSozzi) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/BrianSozzi/status/790889288644820992]block-time published-time 1.06pm BST

John Lewis names new MD Twenty two years after joining John Lewis as a graduate trainee, Paula Nickolds has just made it to the top of the high street firm, as its first ever female chief.

John Lewis has announced that Nickolds, currently their commercial director, has been promoted to one of the biggest jobs in UK retail.

She will replace Andy Street, the outgoing MD who is bidding to become mayor of the West Midlands[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/01/john-lewis-boss-andy-street-abrupt-departure-challenging-times].

enltrJohn Lewis appoints first ever woman as managing director - Paula Nickolds to replace Andy Street in January..

— Sarah Butler (@whatbutlersaw) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/whatbutlersaw/status/790880667106217984]enltrBreaking news: Paula Nickolds appointed managing director of @johnlewisretail[https://twitter.com/johnlewisretail], replacing Andy Street from January pic.twitter.com/C7nVGpV7C9[https://t.co/C7nVGpV7C9]

— Kirsty McGregor (@KirstyMcGregor) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/KirstyMcGregor/status/790881505329438720]Chairman Sir Charlie Mayfield says:

“At a time of transformation in the retail sector, Paula’s progressive and dynamic leadership is just what’s needed for the next phase of modern retailing.

As a partner with 22 years’ service, I know just how special the John Lewis Partnership is. Driven by our unique business model, and with innovation in our DNA, I am immensely excited to lead John Lewis on the next stage of our journey.”

Nickolds says she got hooked on retail as child[https://www.retail-week.com/topics/people/profile-new-john-lewis-buying-and-brand-director-paula-nickolds/5050814.article], visiting Marks & Spencer stores with her father (who worked for M&S).

Nickolds joined John Lewis in 1994, and made it to the board in 2013 as buying and brand director. That would have included overseeing the retailers’ Christmas adverts, including this classic:

block-time published-time 12.34pm BST

Hammond is asked whether he would approve another bout of quantitative easing, if the Bank of England wanted to stimulate the economy again.

The chancellor says that the BoE’s bond-buying scheme has been highly effective so far, and hints that he would not obstruct another dose if needed.

No request for quantitative easing has ever been refused, and I can’t see why it would be different in future.

Worth remembering that Theresa May, the PM, criticised QE earlier this month for making the rich richer.....

enltrHammond: No Request For QE Has Ever Been Refused, See No Reason Why Circumstances Would Be Different In Future

— Anthony Barton (@AntBarton89) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/AntBarton89/status/790879265155850240]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.36pm BST

block-time published-time 12.30pm BST

Philip Hammond has also been asked about the possibility that Brexit will cost London the ability to handle ‘euro clearing’ (the settling of derivative contracts priced in euros).

The chancellor says that the European Central Bank has already tried, and failed, once to move euro clearing into the eurozone.

He says that euro clearing is “not easily separated from other activities in London”, but it also only makes up a relatively small part of total jobs and business in the City.

block-time published-time 12.22pm BST

Philip Hammond has also warned MPs that European leaders could prioritise political issues over economic ones, in the upcoming Brexit negotiations.

enltrHammond warns that whatever economic merits of a good exit deal for Europe, EU leaders worried about damaging their EU "political project".

— Michael Savage (@michaelsavage) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/michaelsavage/status/790875293858791424]enltrHAmmond message - don't necessarily expect the economically rational outcome from Brexit negotiation. https://t.co/ASTUTVZSZ0[https://t.co/ASTUTVZSZ0]

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/790875897381478400]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.23pm BST

block-time published-time 12.21pm BST

Hammond: We'll put the City's needs at heart of Brexit talks Over in parliament, chancellor Philip Hammond has pledged to prioritise the needs of Britain’s financial sector, during EU exit talks.

Hammond told MPs that:

“I certainly have been seeking to reassure financial services businesses that we will put their needs at the heart of the negotiation with the European Union.

We understand their needs for market access. We also understand their needs to be able to engage the right skilled people.”

Last week, the head of the British Bankers’ Association warned that banks could start shifting jobs out of London early next year, because they fear losing their rights to ‘passport’ services across the EU.

Some experts have suggested Britain could secure access to the customs union, in return for continuing to pay into the EU budget. That might address the passporting issue, but might alarm Brexit supporters who hoped to make a clean break with Europe....

block-time published-time 11.52am BST

Greece finally gets €2.8bn bailout payment Eurozone officials have finally given the green light to unlock Greece’s next aid tranche, worth €2.8bn.

This comes two weeks after finance ministers agreed that Athens had hit the milestones laid out in its 3rd bailout.

Klaus Regling, the head of Europe’s bailout fund, says:

“Today’s decision to disburse 2.8 billion euros ($3.0 billion) to Greece is a sign that the Greek people are steadily making progress in reforming their country.”

Greece’s prime minister, Alexis Tsipras, has been hosting a meeting about the **refugee** crisis - which is putting extra strain on the country’s finances. He’s calling for a better system to help migrants, and a new pro-growth economic strategy for Europe.

enltrMeeting with journalists from across the EU today hosted by @EEAthina[https://twitter.com/EEAthina] regarding #**refugeecrisis**[https://twitter.com/hashtag/refugeecrisis?src=hash] and European affairs. 1/4 pic.twitter.com/0MKXTXax4G[https://t.co/0MKXTXax4G]

— Alexis Tsipras (@tsipras\_eu) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/tsipras\_eu/status/790851297360617472]enltrIn the framework of globalisation and the EU, a left strategy is to change the balance of power internationally, not only domestically 2/4 pic.twitter.com/HEf5PAFA64[https://t.co/HEf5PAFA64]

— Alexis Tsipras (@tsipras\_eu) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/tsipras\_eu/status/790852293755228161]enltrIt is important to replace austerity with a growth-oriented agenda to the benefit of society and economy. 3/4

— Alexis Tsipras (@tsipras\_eu) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/tsipras\_eu/status/790852590137380864]enltrIt is necessary to replace irregular and dangerous migration routes with safe and regular ones. 4/4

— Alexis Tsipras (@tsipras\_eu) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/tsipras\_eu/status/790852891833663488]block-time published-time 11.30am BST

If German business chiefs are really feeling more confident[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f150ce4b01c528432c418#block-580f150ce4b01c528432c418], they could consider spending some of their huge cash piles.

According to the Wall Street Journal, German companies are sitting on around €450bn of cash - but are proving reluctant to invest it.

And there are fears that this could hamper growth, just when Europe desperately needs to boost activity and create jobs.

The WSJ says:

The problem isn’t unique to Germany. Companies in other developed countries have also been investing less since the financial crisis. But Germany’s low investment is striking given the country’s relatively robust economic performance—especially compared with other European countries—and its record-low unemployment[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eurozone-jobless-rate-falls-to-near-five-year-low-1467363709].

Advocates of higher corporate investment say German parsimony is troubling, because the economy depends to such a large degree on research- and capital-intensive industries. It risks weakening the ability of Europe’s largest industrial power to grow and create jobs in future, with negative consequences for all of Europe.

“We need to be careful that Germany doesn’t fall behind technologically because of persistently low investment,” said Reinhold Festge, head of the German engineering-sector association VDMA, which represents over 3,100 midsize companies.

Here’s the full piece:

enltrGerman firms are sitting on $500 billion but are reluctant to invest, threatening the country’s competitive edge https://t.co/9U6IRVRuZk[https://t.co/9U6IRVRuZk]

— Wall Street Journal (@WSJ) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/WSJ/status/790856492413059073]block-time published-time 11.10am BST

After its recent wild turbulence, sterling seems to have calmed down a little.

The pound is stubbornly stuck around the $1.22 mark this morning, as currency traders await Mark Carney’s testimony at the House of Lords.

Pound vs US dollar in the last quarter Photograph: Thomson Reuters Arnaud Masset, market analyst at Swissquote Bank[http://en.swissquote.com/fx/news], says:

Sterling remains under substantial pressure as investors continued to expect harsh consequences amid the UK decision to leave the European Union.

block-time published-time 10.50am BST

Eek. Shares in troubled Italian bank Monte dei Paschi have just been temporarily suspended after plunging by 23%.

They had jumped in early trading, after it announced plans to sell €28bn of bad debts and shrink its operations ( see earlier post[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f0db3e4b01c528432c3f7#block-580f0db3e4b01c528432c3f7] ).

enltrLimit up...limit down...Monte dei Paschi all over the place after outlines restructuring plan. Share proice just -0.27 - gonna be volatile

— Caroline Hyde (@CarolineHydeTV) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/CarolineHydeTV/status/790852713970077696]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.50am BST

block-time published-time 10.39am BST

The jump in German business confidence has driven Frankfurt’s main share index, the DAX, up to a new 2016 high.

The DAX over the last 12 months Photograph: Thomson Reuters Chris Beauchamp of IG says:

A healthy reading from the German IFO report has buoyed risk appetite.

block-time published-time 10.14am BST

This jump in German business confidence comes a day after Markit reported that German companies are growing at their fastest rate since July.

Pernille Bomholdt, senior analyst at Danske Bank, reckons Germany’s economy is growing fast -- at a quarterly rate of 0.8%

enltrGerman #ifo[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ifo?src=hash] expectations confirm yesterday's signal from strong #PMI[https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMI?src=hash] - both signal German #GDP[https://twitter.com/hashtag/GDP?src=hash] growth above 0.8% q/q in the beginning of Q4 pic.twitter.com/tnyOYauzfA[https://t.co/tnyOYauzfA]

— Pernille Bomholdt H. (@pernibomholdt) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/pernibomholdt/status/790836285837631488]block-time published-time 9.47am BST

German business confidence jumps: What the experts say City analysts are welcoming the surge in German business confidence this month[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f150ce4b01c528432c418#block-580f150ce4b01c528432c418].

Naeem Aslam of Think Markets believes it will have a positive impact on the whole eurozone:

The German IFO data has provided further evidence that the economic engine of the eurozone is picking up steam. There is no doubt that there will be spill over effects of this in other eurozone countries and the economic picture will look a lot more better there.

The German economic data has helped the sentiment and traders are falling more in love with equities. The news has also provided a support for the Euro.

Anthony Cheung of Amplify Trading[https://twitter.com/amplifytrading] points out that it follows a strong reading in September:

enltrForecasting beating German IFO number but limited reaction as last month saw such an impressive increase it comes as less of a surprise pic.twitter.com/XWHYD0Tbbt[https://t.co/XWHYD0Tbbt]

— Anthony Cheung (@AWMCheung) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/AWMCheung/status/790826340635279360]And data firm Markit also believes the German economy is improving.

enltrFurther signs of improving economic conditions in #Germany[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Germany?src=hash] : #Ifo[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Ifo?src=hash] Business Climate at 2½-year high. Charted against #PMI[https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMI?src=hash] here pic.twitter.com/TBC2E6Ov44[https://t.co/TBC2E6Ov44]

— Markit Economics (@MarkitEconomics) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/MarkitEconomics/status/790836570542800896]block-time published-time 9.46am BST

German bosses are more upbeat about current trading, and their future prospects, according to today’s report from IFO[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f150ce4b01c528432c418#block-580f150ce4b01c528432c418].

\* The current economic conditions index rose to 115 from 114.7.

\* And the future expectations index jumped to 106.1 from 104.5.

enltrMore good news: German Ifo Business Confidence Increases to Highest Since 2014, outpacing expectations. (Chart via FT) pic.twitter.com/XfPoUkXYcm[https://t.co/XfPoUkXYcm]

— Holger Zschaepitz (@Schuldensuehner) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/Schuldensuehner/status/790831465542127616]block-time published-time 9.34am BST

IFO: Brexit shock is over The jump in German business confidence this month[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580f150ce4b01c528432c418#block-580f150ce4b01c528432c418] shows that the shock of Britain’s EU referendum has dissipated, according to Ifo economist Klaus Wohlrabe.

Wohlrabe told Reuters that:

“The Brexit vote has been digested.”

Wohlrabe added that Wallonia’s decision to throw a large spanner into the EU’s trade deal with Canada[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/24/belgium-eu-ultimatum-canada-trade-deal-ceta-wallonia] has not dampened Germany’s economy either.

block-time published-time 9.28am BST

German business confidence hits two-year high Europe’s largest economy is bouncing back from the shock of Britain’s EU referendum vote, according to the latest healthcheck from the IFO thinktank.

IFO’s business climate index, which surveys 7,000 German business leaders, has hit its highest level since April 2014. That shows executives are increasingly confident about their prospects, despite the uncertainty over Brexit, and the looming US election.

Ifo head Clemens Fuest says:

“The upturn in the German economy is gathering impetus.”

IFO’s business climate index hit 110.5 in October, up from 109.5 in September, beating expectations of an unchanged reading. Construction firms and manufacturers are particularly upbeat.

enltrGermany's #Ifo[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Ifo?src=hash] business climate index at highest level since April 2014 - defying expectations.

— Tom Barfield (@tombarfield) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/tombarfield/status/790829407950766080]enltrGerman Ifo business confidence increases to highest since 2014 https://t.co/qKlo6baDEt[https://t.co/qKlo6baDEt] via @Skolimowski[https://twitter.com/Skolimowski] pic.twitter.com/pYycO7SXyH[https://t.co/pYycO7SXyH]

— Zoe Schneeweiss (@ZSchneeweiss) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/ZSchneeweiss/status/790832167970607104]block-time published-time 8.55am BST

Monte dei Paschi to slash 2,600 jobs in turnaround plan After many months of anguish, Italy’s oldest bank may finally be turning the corner – but at the cost of thousands of jobs.

Monte dei Paschi has agreed a turnaround plan, that will see it sell off €28bn of bad debts and raise €5bn in fresh capital. It is also planning to cut 2,600 jobs – one in 10 workers - and close 500 branches.

New CEO Marco Morelli hopes to complete the capital raising by the end of this year – although it could be disrupted if the Italian government loses a crunch referendum on constitutional reforms.

The bank also posted a €1.15bn loss for the last quarter, as bad debts continue to drag it down.

But investors may have faith – shares are up 2.6% this morning, and have gained almost 60% in recent weeks:

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.04am BST

block-time published-time 8.40am BST

The euro is hovering close to last week’s seven-month low, as investors digest the breakdown of talks with Canada over a new trade deal.

enltrEuro a tad lower as Wallonia shakes world (or Canada, at least). EU's Schulz pessimistic on Ceta solution this week https://t.co/WjK9JxnhWY[https://t.co/WjK9JxnhWY] pic.twitter.com/CZ8El66l7z[https://t.co/CZ8El66l7z]

— Holger Zschaepitz (@Schuldensuehner) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/Schuldensuehner/status/790819142664413185]block-time published-time 8.35am BST

Mark Ostwald of ADM Investor Services agrees that Mark Carney will be quizzed about his future this afternoon:

Mr Carney testifies to the House of Lords Economic Affairs Committee[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/25/mark-carney-brexit-bank-of-england-japanese-stock-market-dollar-business-live?page=with:block-580ef1fde4b0219a00d38379#block-580ef1fde4b0219a00d38379], where he will doubtless resolutely defend the BoE’s independence, though he may face some awkward questions about whether he will extend his term to the full eight years, and indeed whether he will complete his initial five year term.

block-time published-time 8.34am BST

Europe’s main stock markets are following Japan’s lead, and are all up in early trading.

European stock markets today Photograph: Thomson Reuters block-time published-time 8.21am BST

FTSE 100 creeps back over 7,000 points Britain’s blue-chip FTSE 100 index has inched higher in early trading, gaining 25 points to 7011.

Mining companies are rallying, after Chinese iron ore futures prices hit a six-year high overnight.

Anglo American is leading the way, up 3%. It told shareholders this morning that its on track to hit its production targets this year (apart from coking coal, which it trimmed slightly).

Whitbread are the biggest faller, though, dropping by 3%, despite posting a 5.4% rise in profits so far this year.

It told the City that demand at its Premier Inn hotels and Costa Coffee shops was solid.

It’s aiming to open another 3,700 new Premier Inn rooms in the UK by the end of the financial year, and 250 new Costa Coffee shops worldwide.

Conner Campbell of SpreadEx says:

It seems that Britain’s appetite for average coffee and cheapish hotel rooms hasn’t diminished since the referendum result, though of course it goes without saying that on the Brexit front it is still early doors. Yet investors weren’t ready to send the stock any higher, however.

Top risers and fallers on the FTSE 100 in early trading Photograph: Thomson Reuters block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.26am BST

block-time published-time 8.09am BST

US dollar strengthens There are two reasons why the US dollar is strengthening, according to Bloomberg.

1) America’s manufacturing sector strengthened this month, according to yesterday’s Markit PMI.

2) A top US central bank official has predicted that interest rates will be hiked several times in the next year.

Bloomberg says

The gauge of the greenback’s strength remains near to its highest level since March after a preliminary U.S. purchasing managers’ index rose and Fed Bank of Chicago President Charles Evans said it’s likely that interest rates will be hiked three times by the end of 2017. The yen fell 0.2 percent.

“Evans probably had a stronger impact than the PMI on the strength of the dollar,” said Kyosuke Suzuki, head of currency and money-market sales at Societe Generale SA in Tokyo. “There aren’t many senior Fed officials who have come out with specific numbers of expected rate increases. That’s providing a tailwind for the dollar.”

block-time published-time 7.57am BST

Japan's Nikkei hits highest level since April An electric quotation board flashing the Nikkei key index of the Tokyo Stock Exchange today. Photograph: Kazuhiro Nogi/AFP/Getty Images Japan’s stock market has hit a new six-month high today, as investors drive down the yen against the US dollar.

The Nikkei jumped by 0.75% today, extending recent gains, to close 130 points higher at 17,365 points. That means it has gained 16% since the slump after the Brexit referendum.

The Nikkei over the last six months Photograph: Thomson Reuters It was pushed upwards by a surge of money into the US dollar, which is close to a seven month high against a basket of currencies.

The dollar is benefitting from growing confidence that the US Federal Reserve will raise interest rates in December.

That weakened the yen, which is a big boost for Japanese exporters -- and should also help fight deflation.

enltrFed Rate-Rise Probability Jumps to Almost 71 Percent for December Meeting #Fed[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Fed?src=hash] #markets[https://twitter.com/hashtag/markets?src=hash] #EmergingMarkets[https://twitter.com/hashtag/EmergingMarkets?src=hash] #Yellen[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Yellen?src=hash] #USEconomy[https://twitter.com/hashtag/USEconomy?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/UwGzOFybMr[https://t.co/UwGzOFybMr]

— justin carrigan (@justincarri) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/justincarri/status/790787684197335040]There was also optimism, after yesterday’s data showed Eurozone companies growing at their fastest pace this year. That could bode well for global growth, and mean more demand for Japanese exports.

Commodity prices are rallying too, as Reuters explains:

There were also tentative hopes rising prices for steel and some industrial commodities - zinc surged to a five-year peak and iron ore reached its highest since mid-2014 - could pick up the pulse of inflation globally.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.38am BST

block-time published-time 7.42am BST

The agenda: Mark Carney faces House of Lords grilling Bank of England Governor Mark Carney. Photograph: POOL/Reuters Good morning, and welcome to our rolling coverage of the world economy, the financial markets, the eurozone and business.

Brexit supporters have been gunning for Mark Carney ever since the Bank of England governor warned that voting to leave the EU would cause ‘material’ damage to the UK economy.

Four months after the referendum, Carney faces a grilling from the House of Lords Economic Affairs Committee about the historic vote to leave the EU, starting at 3.35pm today.

He’ll be facing (among others) two former chancellors, Alastair Darling and Norman Lamont.

Rather sportingly, the Committee have already published their key questions[https://www.parliament.uk/business/lords/media-centre/house-of-lords-media-notices/2016/october-2016/brexit-and-the-bank-of-england-governor-to-answer-lords-committee-questions-/] :

\* Are ultra-low interest rates fuelling inequality and threatening the independence of central banks?

\* Did the Bank misjudge the short-term impact of Brexit prior to the referendum?

\* What impact will the fall in the value of the pound have on the UK’s economy and the inflation target?

\* Will a ‘hard’ Brexit lead to job losses in the City of London?

\* How and when will quantitative easing be unwound?

Carney should feel free to cite the Guardian’s Brexit dashboard, which shows how rising inflation is hitting the economy:

Related: How has the Brexit vote affected the UK economy? October verdict[https://www.theguardian.com/global/ng-interactive/2016/oct/24/how-has-the-brexit-vote-affected-the-uk-economy-october-verdict]

Of course, there’s another question that needs addressing....how long will Carney stay at the Bank of England? His contract runs out in summer 2018, but there’s been talk of extending it until 2021.

But the recent criticism from politicians, from Theresa May downwards, may have stung Carney and made him consider seeking new pastures....

Also coming up today... The latest IFO survey, due at 9am BST, will show how Germany’s economy is faring this month.

And we’re getting financial results from transport firm National Express, hotels-to-coffee shops group Whitbread, car showrooms firm Pendragon and flooring firm Carpetright, plus a production report from mining giant Anglo American,

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.12am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Chancellor goes further than Theresa May in seeking to reassure financial services industry over consequences of Brexit

There is “no likelihood” that post-Brexit **immigration** controls would apply to EU workers who were highly skilled and highly paid, Philip Hammond, the chancellor, has said.

The senior cabinet minister said that voters were concerned about foreign workers “taking entry-level jobs” but not about those with “high skills and high pay” coming into the UK.

His comments go further than previous statements he has made in seeking to reassure financial services firms that they would still be able to employ staff from abroad.

It is also more specific than statements by Theresa May, the prime minister, who has only given assurances that she was not seeking to exclude “the brightest and the best” from coming to work in the UK.

The government has not yet set out how it will devise a new **immigration** system for the UK after leaving the EU, as May sticks to her target of reducing new migration to the tens rather than hundreds of thousands.

Hammond made the comments in the House of Commons during Treasury questions as he was pressed on the consequences of Brexit for the financial services industry.

“I certainly have been seeking to reassure financial services businesses that we will put their needs at the heart of our negotiation with the European Union,” he said.

“We understand their needs for market access. We also understand their needs to be able to engage the right skilled people. I have said on the record, and I’m happy to say again today, that I do not believe the concerns the British people have expressed about migration from the European Union relate to people with high skills and high pay.

“The problem that people are concerned about is people taking entry-level jobs. I see no likelihood that we will use powers to control migration into the UK to prevent companies bringing highly skilled, highly paid workers here.”

During the debate, Hammond also confirmed he was prepared to authorise more quantitative easing despite May saying in her party conference speech it was the rich who benefited from the Bank of England’s actions since the 2008 financial crash.

Asked by a Tory MP whether he would authorise another round of quantitative easing if requested by the governor of the Bank of England, he replied: “You know that the operation of monetary policy in the UK is independent of government.

“Monetary policy, including measures such as quantitative easing, have been highly effective in supporting the economy.

“Because of the fiscal implications of an indemnity to the Bank, packages have to be formally agreed by the chancellor.

“And although I cannot prejudge any hypothetical request, no request for quantitative easing has ever been refused and I see no reason why circumstances would be different in future.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Nearly 1 million Polish people have made the UK their home. Helen Pidd visits Wakefield, where 10,000 live, and hears how the EU vote has changed things

It was the morning after the EU referendum and Aneta Duchniak wondered if she would have many British customers. Two years ago, she opened Duchniak[http://www.yorkshireeveningpost.co.uk/lifestyle/eating-out/restaurant-review-duchniak-s-wakefield-1-7186140] ’s, the first Polish restaurant in Wakefield. The West Yorkshire town voted by a margin of 66.3% to leave the EU. Many of her regulars are Yorkshire folk who have taken a shine to her delicate pierogi dumplings and hearty borscht soups. Many of them wanted Britain to leave Europe, she says, and yet they made a special effort to come in afterwards to tell her it wasn’t personal.

“They said, ‘We want to support you, it’s nothing against you, it’s against Brussels controlling us,’” she recalls. “Lots of my regulars voted to leave. One of them even told me she has a Polish cleaner. Roger, who comes in all the time for a cup of tea, voted out and he says he worked with lots of Polish people when he was a miner.”

The government estimates[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/work/britain-is-failing-to-meet-un-goals-on-gender-equality---dont-ca/] there are 984,000 Polish nationals living in Britain – an increase of 141,000 on 2014’s figures. Unlike other **immigrant** communities, the Poles are well spread out across the country, with Polish food shops popping up everywhere from Inverness to the Isle of Wight. By local council estimates, as many as 10,000 are now settled in Wakefield, which is home to various Polish beauty parlours and hairdressers, estate agents, off-licences, dentists and doctors and a string of Polish delis set up by enterprising Kurds. One night last month, the Tequila club on Westgate was advertising “ Disco Polo[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disco\_polo] Night Sexy Friday”. It appeared to be some sort of dubious hookup night[https://www.facebook.com/events/1072646579471896/permalink/1122512007818686/] where revellers were given coloured wristbands to indicate if they were “ szukam ” (looking), “skok w bok ” (up for a fling) or “ zajeta ” (taken).

In the 12 years since Poland joined the EU, the earliest arrivals to Wakefield now speak with broad Yorkshire accents, such as Agnieszka Piekarz, who moved to the UK in January 2006, aged 19. She has spent the last decade working her way up the career ladder, starting in a freezing-cold meatpacking factory, taking in stints as a picker and packer and in office admin, and ending with her dream job as a head chef in a hotel.

Piekarz – whose sister Anna Warecka recently moved from Germany to Wakefield to work at Duchniak’s – delights in British life, particularly what she calls “your shortcut words”. She likes how “thank you” becomes “ta” – “and Darren becomes Daz and Gavin becomes Gaz”. But what she loves most is British food. “I love making pies and I love eating pies,” she says, “and I love Sunday dinners and English breakfasts.”

She is now better at cooking British food than her native Polish cuisine, and has no intention of returning home. After a decade in Britain , he is firmly woven into British life, with her son enrolled at a local primary school and many British friends.

It was the year Piekarz arrived in Britain that many first noticed that people like her were suddenly serving our coffee and renting houses on our streets. Had anyone else’s corner shop turned into a Polski sklep, a colleague wondered, 10 years ago. Who else had employed a Polish plumber? And who had tried Zubrówka[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052748704515904576075521026203578], that deliciously lethal vodka with the bison grass in it, which could now be bought at every off-licence?

When Poland joined the EU in May 2004 – along with Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Slovakia and Slovenia – there was little fear or fanfare about what their membership could mean for Britain. The government certainly wasn’t worried. Tony Blair’s administration estimated that no more than 13,000 of these new Europeans would seek a new life in Britain each year from 2004. They were using a prediction[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-21682810] made by Christian Dustmann, an academic at University College London, which worked on the (incorrect) assumption that other large countries in the EU, in particular Germany, would also open up their labour markets.

It soon became clear that Dustmann’s estimate was hilariously – or catastrophically, depending on your view – wrong. Between May 2004 and June 2007, 430,000 Poles applied to the Home Office worker registration scheme, joining the 69,000 Poles already in Britain, pre-EU enlargement. As the scheme was voluntary, the true figure was thought to be much higher. In July 2006, the respected Polish newspaper Polityka? estimated that 1 million Poles had moved to the UK.

It was this last figure that prompted the Guardian to produce a special edition welcoming what we called a “benign invasion” of eager and biddable Poles to our rainy island. That and a desire to counteract stories in the rightwing press about Poles eating swans and koi carp from Britain’s ponds, and Polish labourers bedding down in portable toilets to save on rent. So, for one day only, the Guardian’s newspaper masthead was in Polish and we published a whole spread in G2 po polsku, which aimed to answer all the questions Poles might have about British life but were too afraid to ask, such as: why do your sinks have two taps? Why do you wear so little on a night out? And where are your plumbers?

But for how much longer will the UK be a favoured destination for Poles seeking adventure or a new life? Germany is now officially the No 1 spot for Polish expats, since Angela Merkel lifted restrictions on access to the labour market in 2011, according to Poland’s ambassador to Britain, Arkady Rzegocki. “The United Kingdom was, with Ireland, the first place to allow Poles to work but for the last four years Germany has been the top destination, because Poles can now work there,” he says.

Poland’s conservative government is also on a drive to encourage its expats to return home and have babies, says Rzegocki. He cited a new child benefit programme called 500+[http://neweasterneurope.eu/articles-and-commentary/1909-the-family-500-poland-s-new-child-benefit-programme] which gives Polish families a monthly allowance of 500 zloty (about £100) for all second and subsequent children up to the age of 18, including those already born.

Kamil Moczynski, a dentist in Wakefield since 2010, said the benefits for Britain of Polish **immigration** had been clear, particularly the “very high number of university-educated migrants like doctors, nurses, IT specialists, architects and others”.

Poland has benefited, too, he says, noting that even on the minimum wage in Britain, Polish workers can save money to send home to poorer relatives; but Polish society has suffered greatly, and not just from the extreme shortage[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/09/grajewo-poland-brave-ones-leave-others-feel-inferior] of qualified workers in some areas.

“Can you imagine the situation that at least one person from almost every Polish family lives and works in the UK? Men left their wives and children, speak with them on Skype and visit them once, sometimes twice, a year. It’s also quite common that both parents move and leave their young children with grandparents for a few months, sometimes even years. If they had another choice they would never move. For many Polish families, **immigration** is the biggest tragedy in their lives and they have no choice.”

Moczynski never intended to stay long but seven years on, he has bought a house, started a family and applied for British citizenship. He has not suffered any abuse post-referendum, but thinks it is “just a matter of time. Unfortunately, incidents of xenophobic abuse directed against Poles are common and rarely reported. After Brexit, many **immigrants** feel unwelcome and unsafe.”

It was big news in Poland last month when two Polish officers were deployed[https://www-google-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/url?hl=en-GB&q=http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-essex-37374579&source=gmail&ust=1477474006161000&usg=AFQjCNFB8EbnZEtwMneZtfihJdqef859MA] on the streets of Harlow following the murder of Arkadiusz Jozwik, 39, who was beaten to death in the Essex town in a suspected racially motivated killing. At a vigil for Jozwik, two Polish men were assaulted. Such xenophobic brutality is hardly the best advert for moving to Britain – especially when combined with the racist graffiti[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jun/27/brexit-polish-centre-london-reeling-after-graffiti-attack] sprayed on Posk, the long-standing Polish Cultural Centre in west London, and the laminated cards reading “Leave the EU – no more Polish vermin” reportedly delivered to Polish people in Huntingdon, north-west of Cambridge. For many Poles, the Brexit[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum] vote was a horrible wakeup call. Julita Festejo, who wrote a piece in the original Polish edition, says: “ I felt like I was a part of a David Lynch[https://www.theguardian.com/film/davidlynch] movie; the perfect version of my life, which is finally seen for what it is really was – a lie, a nightmare. It felt personal. Brexit was an anti-**immigration** vote – a vote against me.”

In July, one of the few Poles to be elected to public office in the UK quit. In an open letter[http://www.newsandstar.co.uk/news/latest/Councillor-quits-over-comments-against-foreigners-e19032f6-19c3-4a65-9c9b-54dc2b1bfabd-ds] given to the local paper, Mariusz Waluk, who had served on Penrith council over the past year and employs 15 people in his elderly care company locally, cited animosity towards Europeans post-Brexit as one reason for his departure from local politics.

He wrote: “My decision was finalised after the Brexit vote, when comments arose from various leave supporters who expressed disappointment that all foreigners were not being made to leave the very next day, and similar sentiments.

“I have lived in the UK for more than 10 years now and currently work with English, Scottish, Irish and French nationalities and, as such, hope other people can grow to understand that race, religion or creed pale into insignificance against strength of character and a genuine, honest and hard-working personality.”

It was a dismaying signoff. Yet many academics believe that, in another 10 years, the Polish community will be totally assimilated. Dustmann, who has spent the past 13 years explaining his dodgy prediction, says: “Overall migrants from Poland are very well educated, young, and have a high labour-force attachment. They easily assimilate and will be indistinguishable in the next generation.”

Although hundreds of thousands of Poles will never go home, others are taking their British experiences elsewhere. Festejo watched Brexit unfold from her new home in Canada, where she moved earlier this year with her British husband and son, after 13 years in London. She is determined to look on the bright side. “I’ll be forever grateful for the opportunities that Britain gave me, for those who treated me like I was one of them, for the truly amazing 13 years that I felt British in my heart. And that’s the Britain I want to remember and tell my British son about, not the post-Brexit Britain, the Britain of today.

“I now live in a country that is defying the anti-**immigration** sentiments, the nation that welcomes not only economic **immigrants**, but also **refugees** – Canada. And here, I’m going to give my newly adopted country everything I have, just like I once did for the UK.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Gloria MacLeod had her passport confiscated and was threatened with deportation within days

The Indian-born wife of a Scottish former lance corporal who was facing deportation from the Highlands has been granted leave to remain in the UK.

Gloria Macleod, whose husband Robert grew up in Dingwall and now works in Dubai, was refused entry to the UK at Inverness airport at the end of September, despite holding a valid visa. The couple have two daughters, who are both British citizens.

Her passport was confiscated and she was threatened with deportation within days, facing the prospect of leaving Siobhan, 11, and 10-year-old Meaghan in the care of their elderly grandparents.

Macleod’s local MP, Ian Blackford, described the visa dispute as “madness”[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/29/scottish-visa-dispute-threatens-separate-mother-children]. Only a month ago, Blackford had celebrated with another family of constituents, the Brains, who were granted leave to remain after fighting since April against deportation to Australia.

Gloria’s husband, Robert, whom she married in 2003, is a former Royal Regiment of Scotland[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/scotland] lance corporal. The family, who had been living in Dubai[https://www.theguardian.com/world/dubai], where Robert works as a security manager, returned to Dingwall in July, where Siobhan and Meaghan enrolled in the same primary school attended by seven-year-old Lachlan Brain.

Although Gloria, an Indian passport holder, was already in possession of a UK C-Visit passport, which is valid for 10 years, the couple decided that she should apply for permanent residence to allow her to remain in Scotland while the girls attended school and Robert continued working in Dubai.

Following advice from the visa office in Dubai, acting on behalf of the UK **immigration** service, that her application had to be made in person, Gloria briefly left the UK to complete her application process. But when she returned she was refused entry.

After Blackford’s intervention, Macleod was given a stay of removal until UK **immigration** minister Robert Goodwill formally responded to the SNP MP’s inquiry about the case, and the Home Office have now granted her a 30-month visa.

Macleod described herself as “delighted”, adding: “We couldn’t be more pleased with the quick turnaround from the Home Office in issuing my visa and appreciate the help from everyone involved.”

Blackford said: “This has been a huge trauma for the family. Gloria already had a visa that gave her the right to be in Dingwall when **immigration** officials sought to remove her right to reenter the country.The good news is that the Home Office has now given longer leave to remain and the family can get back to normal life. I am so pleased for all of them.”

A Home Office spokesperson said: “All applications for leave to remain are considered on their individual merits in line with the **immigration** rules.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Riot police kettle hundreds of migrants and **refugees** queuing for buses to take them to accommodation centres across France

Up to 2,000 people were expected to leave the Calais **refugee** camp on Tuesday, as isolated scuffles broke out on the second day of an attempt by the French government to clear the site.

On Monday night the UK Home Office and French officials held talks to resolve the occasionally chaotic scenes at the hangar where people queue for registration and onward transport to centres throughout France.

The French government expects to start dismantling structures in the camp at about noon.

A Home Office official in Calais said on Monday hundreds of adults had squeezed to the front of the hangar. “So we asked them to change it to this,” he said, pointing to an orderly single-file queue.

On Tuesday morning police initially appeared to struggle as hundreds of children penned into a small area outside a processing centre became impatient and anxious to get to the front of the queue. Volunteers arrived speaking Pashto to the mainly Afghan boys and young men at the front.

Dawn with the CRS and Calais kids pic.twitter.com/8wbTL9RJiq[https://t.co/8wbTL9RJiq] — lisa o'carroll (@lisaocarroll) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/lisaocarroll/status/790815386568654848]

Police formed a line and pushed the press back, before moving the children back. Calm was restored after the small area allocated to children was widened.

A Home Office official in Calais conceded that the processing of children to decide who should come to Britain was chaotic on Monday. “We had a meeting last night and the system has changed this morning. The children are being prioritised,” he said.

Related: 'I will close my eyes and put my finger on the map': Calais **refugees** move on[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/calais-camp-is-dismantled-along-with-dreams-of-getting-to-the-uk]

Asked if the demolition should be delayed until the last child had been documented and put in safe accommodation he said, “I don’t know. You will have to ask the politicians.”

Sudanese people in the camp have accused the authorities of prioritising children from other countries over children from Sudan. A man acting as a representative of Sudanese children pulled them from the kettle area and asked them to form orderly queue.

As the queue of about 150 formed, Mussa Mahdy explained: “The Sudanese form 45% of the camp. We are the majority and we are not being processed. Yesterday we had a meeting with the prefecture and he said maybe 2pm. That is four hours’ time,” he said.

The Sudan minors rep says they are being discriminated against in Calais, that the processors are doing Afghani and Eritreans first. pic.twitter.com/ERgYmI6vlB[https://t.co/ERgYmI6vlB] — lisa o'carroll (@lisaocarroll) October 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/lisaocarroll/status/790834788705984512]

Most of the underage Sudanese want to go to Britain under the Dublin regulation or the Dubs amendment.

One of the boys in the queue has a brother in the UK. Mohamed Ahmed told the Guardian: “I have done everything from this side with the Home Office and I have spoken to the Red Cross and still I have not heard.”

Mahdy said in the past two weeks only one Sudanese child had “got a bracelet” for travel.

Mahdy was assured by a man from Caritas that the Sudanese children would be seen at 2pm, while a French official arrived on the scene to reiterate this. “You will be registered,” said local official Vincent Berton, before requesting the press to stop filming.

By 11am there was slow a trickle of adult migrants, but hundreds of under-18s still sat in the sun waiting their turn.

Almost 2,000 **refugees** and migrants from the camp passed through official registration[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/france-begins-operation-clear-calais-refugee-camp] on Monday. An estimated 8,000 remain to be processed, the French interior ministry said.

Nearly 200 under 18s have arrived in the UK in recent days and hundreds more are expected[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/uk-to-take-hundreds-of-children-from-calais-home-secretary-says], the home secretary, Amber Rudd, told parliament on Monday. However, one-quarter of English councils have refused to take part in resettling **refugees**.

The French government is “determined to stop people coming back to Calais,” the French ambassador to London, Sylvie Bermann, told Radio 4’s Today programme.

“We won’t let them come,” she said. “It has to be clear that Calais is a blind alley and you can’t come to this country.”

**Refugees** who turn up at the former site in the hope of reaching Britain will be transported to other parts of France and “convinced to claim asylum”, she said.

Authorities hope that demolition crews can move in later on Tuesday to start tearing down the camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2016/oct/24/clearing-calais-refugee-camp-france-in-pictures], one of the biggest in Europe, where thousands of people have been living in dire conditions[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/02/calais-refugee-camp-conditions-diabolical-report-jungle-bacteria-hygiene]. The operation is set to continue until Wednesday.

Christian Salome, the head of charity Auberge des Migrants, told Agence France-Presse that the process was “working well because these are people who were waiting impatiently to leave”.

“I’m much more concerned about later in the week, when the only ones remaining are those who do not want to leave, who still want to reach England,” he said, estimating their number at about 2,000.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Bieber left the stage in Manchester because he was fed up of fans’ screaming. But how can a teen idol reinvent himself as a respected musical figure?

Justin Bieber is in a pickle. He’s been a teen idol for fully a third of his 22 years. For half that time, he has openly chafed at being loved for his labradoodle cuteness rather than for his music.

The frustration frequently makes him act out: on the UK leg of his Purpose[https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/nov/12/justin-bieber-purpose-review-fourth-album] world tour, he has castigated fans for screaming; and on Sunday night, when a crowd in Manchester responded to that by booing, he walked off stage. (As he should have learned by now: don’t ever tell an arenaful of Beliebers not to scream – it’s more than your life’s worth.) He later returned, and talked of his desire to be respected[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xmjLp7ujm-8], but by then the story could only ever be about the walk-off.

Related: Manchester lord mayor 'subjected to homophobic abuse at Justin Bieber gig'[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/24/manchester-lord-mayor-carl-austin-behan-homophobic-abuse-justin-bieber-concert]

It marks yet another skirmish in his campaign to disengage from the teenybopper aspect of his fame. The screams, the meet-and-greets, the absolute fealty of millions of Beliebers – he wants rid of it. It was obvious which way the wind was blowing as long ago as 2011, when he spoke proudly of having worked with Kanye West, Ludacris and Usher[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2011/feb/26/one-last-thing-justin-bieber]. Being treated as an unlikely peer by top MCs[http://www.teenvogue.com/story/justin-bieber-ludacris-baby-purpose-tour] turned his head, and most of his subsequent actions seem to have been spurred by the thought “What would Kanye do?” But would Kanye mime gigs, as Bieber has apparently been doing[https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/oct/12/justin-bieber-review-o2-arena-london-purpose-tour], almost shoving it in the Beliebers’ faces by not even putting the microphone near his mouth during some songs? And surely even West would wag a disapproving finger at Bieber for making a crowd of small children cry by arriving two hours late for a London show in 2013[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-21665179] ; many fans had to leave before he came on stage.

Yet he feels he has more to give, and, in fairness, it’s not without reason. Bieber has played passable guitar and drums from the time he could toddle, and his singing voice is more than decent. The Purpose album, which effectively yoked those breathy vocals to trap, tropical house and EDM beats, won some of the best reviews of his career[https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/nov/12/justin-bieber-purpose-review-fourth-album]. Moreover, the newish direction has been validated by colossal sales and streams, with the album’s first three singles – Sorry[https://youtu.be/fRh\_vgS2dFE], Love Yourself and What Do You Mean? – being streamed almost 3bn times collectively.

So, as he contemplates 2017, Bieber is undoubtedly wondering what to do. Despite his efforts, his churlishness hasn’t deterred the fans. He still has 89m Twitterfollowers, and had 78m on Instagram until he deleted his account in response to fans making jealous comments about his girlfriend. Trying to appeal to older followers by filling his timeline with praise for hip DJ[https://twitter.com/justinbieber/status/789162496745549824] s hasn’t worked.

Will nothing make the screaming stop?

Every teen idol reaches this point. Assuming that they’ve managed to sustain their fame for more than a couple of years – which is rare; most stars are lucky to have two years of huge success, followed by dismal diminishing returns and reality TV gigs – they all wake up one day to the realisation that they’re sick of it all. With the exception of a few – Olly Murs comes to mind – whose lifeblood is performing in front of any audience whatsoever, screaming very much encouraged, there’s invariably that heart-sink moment when an idol acknowledges that being an object of worship is worth less than having the respect of their peers.

A new book, The Dark History of the Bay City Rollers[http://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/when-the-screaming-stops-review-tarnished-tartan-1.2764516] by Simon Spence, reveals that the most musicianly member of the 70s pop group, guitarist Eric Faulkner, was so demoralised by the intense pressure that he attempted suicide. Fellow 70s face David Cassidy[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2012/aug/18/david-cassidy-my-family-values], who saw himself as a “proper” musician/actor who’d somehow stumbled into pop stardom, took **refuge** in cannabis and booze. Robbie Williams simply went off the rails for a year. Ex-One Directioner Zayn Malik is trying to reshape himself by hanging out with the cool kids ( he featured on a Snakehips track[https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/aug/11/snakehips-interview-zayn-cruel-remixes] and his tattoo count has gone through the roof ).

But the options open to most people in Bieber’s position are few. Apart from the path he has taken, which seems to be predicated on **alienating** the people who buy his music and merchandise, there are three choices:

\* He can follow George Michael, who ditched the boy duo Wham! at their peak and became a staple of the easy listening scene.

\* He can adopt the Craig Logan[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-37642088] manoeuvre: the Bros star got what might be described as the ultimate revenge on former bandmates Matt and Luke Goss by becoming an artist manager, and eventually the managing director of RCA Records.

\* And then there’s the Geri Halliwell[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/may/16/former-spice-girl-geri-i-like-myself-a-bit-better-now] approach: she departed the Spice Girls in the middle of their white-hot run and reinvented herself as a shortlived UN goodwill ambassador[http://news.bbc.co.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/1/hi/entertainment/366561.stm], paving the way for an initially very successful solo career.

But Bieber is only 22 – too young to become a crooner, too hooked on the attention to retire to a backroom job, and temperamentally disinclined to follow Halliwell as a beacon of selflessness. Any other ideas would probably be gratefully received.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The battle over Florida ripped a veil off a dysfunctional system and offered an opportunity for meaningful electoral reform and new forms of political warfare

Donald Trump may have shocked the American political establishment with his refusal to say whether he will accept the results of next month’s presidential election, but he is far from the only candidate for high office in the United States who has cast serious doubt on the integrity of the system and the campaign tactics of his opponents.

Over the past 16 years – ever since the epic, 36-day presidential showdown in Florida in 2000 that was resolved not by a full recount of the votes, but by a supreme court split along partisan lines – accusations of vote-rigging and out-and-out theft have become increasingly common among partisans on both sides, and the electoral process has become ever more politicized, rancorous and fraught with mistrust.

“I will tell you at the time,” Trump said at last Wednesday’s debate when asked if he would accept the election result on 8 November. “I’ll keep you in suspense.” The Republican candidate has repeatedly claimed, without evidence, that the election is “rigged” against him[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/17/man-who-cried-rigged-problem-with-trump-election-claims]. “Of course there is large-scale voter fraud happening on and before election day,” he tweeted last week. All available evidence shows[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/21/donald-trump-fact-check-rigged-election-voter] that in-person voter fraud is exceedingly rare.

Related: What would happen if Donald Trump refused to concede this election?[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/20/donald-trump-refuse-concede-election-electoral-college]

Opinion polls suggest that Trump’s charges of a “rigged election” have struck a nerve[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/21/republicans-reject-us-election-result-hillary-clinton-win] : 41% of voters believe him when he says the election could be stolen[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/10/poll-41-percent-of-voters-say-the-election-could-be-stolen-from-trump-229871#ixzz4NyQ6BbyQ], according to one survey. More than two-thirds of all Republicans believe that if Hillary Clinton is declared the winner, it will be because of illegal voting or vote-rigging[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-poll-rigging-idUSKCN12L2O2], according to another.

Those attitudes are almost certainly the result of Republicans beating the drum for more than a decade about elections being skewed by the illegal participation of dead people, illegal **immigrants** and even the occasional household pet. To this day, many in the GOP are convinced Barack Obama was elected only because community organizing groups such as Acorn[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/sep/21/acorn-prostitution-videos] – now defunct – registered extraordinary numbers of ineligible or nonexistent voters in the inner cities, and because busloads of Mexicans came over the border to vote using someone else’s name.

Eight years before Trump ever publicly uttered the words “rigged election”, Obama’s first Republican opponent, John McCain, said in a presidential debate that Acorn was “on the verge of perpetrating one of the greatest frauds[http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2008/oct/17/sorting-truth-obama-acorn/] in voter history in this country, maybe destroying the fabric of democracy”. No credible evidence ever emerged of a single fraudulently cast ballot arising from Acorn’s activities.

While Democratic candidates have rarely resorted to such inflammatory language, their rank-and-file supporters certainly have, suggesting the problem crosses party lines. The 2004 election, which saw George W Bush re-elected despite the mounting unpopularity of the Iraq war, saw an explosion of unfounded conspiracy theories that Republicans were in cahoots with the manufacturers of electronic voting machines and would never lose an election again. (The theory fell apart as soon as Democrats retook control of the House of Representatives two years later.)

This year, a hard core of Bernie Sanders supporters remains convinced that the senator from Vermont was cheated out of the Democratic presidential nomination by the underhanded maneuvering of the Clinton campaign and the Democratic National Committee – despite the fact that Clinton won over 3m more primary votes[http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-system-isnt-rigged-against-sanders/].

American history is hardly lacking in examples of real voter manipulation and electoral skullduggery, especially in the segregation-era deep south. To this day, the US electoral system is widely viewed as an anomaly[http://kimalex.blogspot.com/2004/12/jimmy-carter-on-npr-air.html] in the western world because of persistent problems with the reliability of its voting machinery, frequent bureaucratic incompetence, the lack of uniform standards from state to state or even county to county, the systematic exclusion of more than 6 million felons[http://www.sentencingproject.org/issues/felony-disenfranchisement/] and ex-prisoners, and the tendency of election officials to adopt rules that benefit their party over democracy itself.

Until 2000, though, these issues were not widely aired in public. Then the battle over Florida ripped a veil off a dysfunctional system and offered an opportunity not just for meaningful electoral reform – a slow and frustrating process – but also for new forms of political warfare unseen since the darkest days of the segregation era in which the electoral process itself became fair game, particularly for the Republicans.

It began, perhaps, when the hand recount of punch card ballots requested by Al Gore and the Democrats – something both parties had routinely pressed for in previous contested elections – was recast by many leading Republicans in their talking points as a form of “ slow-motion grand larceny[http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0011/22/ip.00.html] ”.

Then, in Missouri, Republican Senator Kit Bond took one look at African American voters in overcrowded precincts in St Louis casting ballots beyond the official poll closing time – something that has since become standard practice in many states – and denounced what he called a “ major criminal enterprise[http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=122543] ”.

Soon, a narrative took hold that Democrats were habitual vote-stealers – something that was indubitably true in the days of Boss Tweed in 1860s New York but now took the form of a racist dog-whistle because the voters under most suspicion were black or Latino. Within a few years, politicians such as Sarah Palin were openly distinguishing “ real Americans[http://www.politico.com/story/2008/10/rep-says-liberals-hate-real-americans-014797] ” – meaning white Republicans – from the rest, and states under Republican control were passing voter ID laws to crack down on a problem – voter impersonation fraud – that experts have repeatedly found to be rare to non-existent[http://www.pressherald.com/2016/10/18/analysis-heres-why-vote-fraud-is-less-likely-than-being-struck-by-lightning/].

As the federal courts have now begun to find[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/31/north-carolina-voting-rights-law-republicans-november-elections], the effect of these laws has in fact been to discriminate against groups of voters – the transient, the elderly, students and the poor – who are much more likely to support Democrats.

Given the level of mistrust, rank-and-file members of both parties have increasingly come to define democracy by the elections their side wins, and any other outcome as prima facie evidence of theft and corruption.

Royal Masset, a former political director of the Texas Republican party, once described how he would receive dozens of calls[http://blog.chron.com/texaspolitics/2007/04/a-republican-his-mother-and-voter-id/] from disappointed candidates after election day complaining about some unsubstantiated outrage, usually involving illegal **immigrants** or lightning-rod political figures such as Jesse Jackson. “Human beings do not accept defeat easily,” he observed in 2007.

If Trump is different, it is only because he began complaining about vote-rigging months before election day and because he threatens to depart from the tradition that says you fight as hard and as dirty as you want, but only until the final results come in.

The sheer volume of his complaints, however, may be doing his prospects little good: a fascinating[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/10/21/trumps-election-rigging-claim-will-backfire-heres-the-evidence/?tid=pm\_politics\_pop\_b] American National Election Study survey conducted in 2012 shows that people are less likely to vote when their faith in the integrity of the system has been shaken, and much more likely to vote if they think the ballots are counted fairly. In other words, Trump’s rhetoric may just be depressing his own turnout and making defeat all the more likely.

\* Andrew Gumbel is author of Down for the Count: Dirty Elections and the Rotten History of Democracy in America

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Amber Rudd tells MPs 800 claim links in Britain, but doubts are raised over councils’ capacity to take unaccompanied minors

Hundreds more **refugee** children are to be brought from Calais to Britain in the next three weeks but one in four local authorities in England, including Theresa May’s own council, say they cannot take responsibility for them.

As the French clearance operation got under way at the Calais **refugee** camp, the home secretary told MPs that 800 children claiming family links with Britain have been interviewed by Home Office officials in the camp in the past week.

Amber Rudd said that almost 200 children have been brought to Britain in recent days, including 60 girls under the Dubs amendment[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp], which is designed to protect vulnerable child **refugees** across Europe. But 38 councils out of 156 in England have so far refused to take part in resettling those who have arrived.

A total of 1,918 Calais camp residents, including 300 children, packed their bags and passed through the official registration centre on Monday, the French interior ministry said. A fleet of 46 buses started to take them to regions all over France, except Paris and Corsica, leaving an estimated 8,000 remaining in the camp waiting to be processed.

Rudd told the Commons that Britain will not accept applications from anybody who has arrived in the Calais camp after today and that those to be brought to Britain will go through proper “age assessment and security checks” before they come.

“We will only consider those present in the camps before the start of clearances of the operation today. We will continue to do this quickly, but it is essential that we carry out the proper safeguarding, age assessment and security checks, working closely with local authorities and social workers here in the UK, to ensure that the children are eligible, and that it is in their best interests to come,” the home secretary added.

Many of those queuing to leave the camp were Sudanese and Eritrean in a largely orderly operation. As officers opened the gates, people were guided into four queues – adult, family, child, and vulnerable or disabled – and given a coloured wristband. Among them, Mohamed, 23, from Eritrea, said he was happy to leave, adding: “The camp is dirty and dangerous.” He had been there for three months, he told the Guardian, and had tried to get asylum in France before.

“My fingerprints were taken in Italy and wherever you go in Europe[https://www.theguardian.com/world/europe-news] after that they say you have to go back to Italy under the Dublin regulation. Now they say for the first time the fingerprints don’t matter and we can start applying for asylum again. I am happy.”

Unaccompanied minors are believed to be the only group staying in Calais, including 49 lone children under the age of 13. They will be taken to containers within a secure area of the camp previously used to house adults. But conflicting advice over where children should go was “extremely distressing and confusing” to those who were struggling to understand where they should go and how they were supposed to get there, according to the charity Help **Refugees**.

“Up to a thousand children are expected to be housed in the shipping containers and at present it appears there is nothing in the way of youth workers to be responsible for, and help calm, these young people and children,” Help **Refugees** said.

However, the Home Office said it had temporarily suspended the transfer of children from Calais to the UK on Monday at the request of the French authorities as they started preparations to clear the camp.

Britain is to spend £36m to help the French authorities ensure that the closure of the Calais camp – which has been a focus of charitable and humanitarian efforts – is “full and lasting” and that it does not simply reappear in a few months time. This money includes £14m on security at the port.

Rudd appealed to local authorities to come forward and volunteer to take more children under the Dubs amendment, saying there were not yet enough places. One of the councils that has refused to take any lone children from Calais is Windsor and Maidenhead council, which covers Theresa May’s constituency. “The Royal Borough is currently taking in four children under the Syrian resettlement programme and has committed to house another eight Syrian **refugee** families. We are not able to take further people at this point,” said a spokesperson.

According to the magazine Children and Young People Now, three of the nine regional local authority areas have not signed up to the national transfer scheme under which the Dubs amendment children will be housed in Britain. The Home Office has refused to reveal which regions have not signed up but Leicestershire county council became the latest to refuse to take part.

The last minute nature of the Home Office’s response, coming as the camp was in the process of being cleared by the French authorities, was underlined by the disclosure by the Local Government Association that the home secretary and the children’s minister only wrote to council leaders on 14 October asking them if they were willing to accept the Dubs children on a voluntary basis.

Citizens UK spokesman George Gabriel said the suspension of further transfers to Britain was disappointing: “We hope that the progress made in the last week will resume tomorrow. The Home Office must not allow vulnerable children to fall back into the hands of people smugglers because of avoidable delays.”

In the Commons the shadow home secretary, Diane Abbott, accused the home secretary of treating the Calais **refugees** as pawns and hiding behind the French authorities for her failure to identify those eligible to come to Britain far sooner. She said the demolition of the camp should have been postponed until the position of the child **refugees** had been properly safeguarded.

Yusef, 35, a pharmacist from Sudan who spent three months living rough in Calais, and said that he hoped to claim asylum in France, said he had no idea where he would end up: “I will close my eyes and put my finger on the map.”

But he was optimistic. “I want to integrate to start a new life, contribute. I trust France to keep me safe.” Once he had hopes of making it to the UK. “But that dream died here,” he said. “That bridge is closed.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Steady stream of buses leaves French port town as authorities aim to clear 3,000 adults and children from camp

Hundreds of migrants and **refugees** have left Calais on buses for accommodation centres elsewhere in France on the first day of an operation to clear and then demolish the **refugee** camp in the northern port town.

Queues of people carrying their few possessions, some in donated holdalls, had begun forming before dawn outside a warehouse where processing took place.

Related: Calais **refugee** camp: first bus leaves as police prepare for demolition – live[https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2016/oct/24/calais-camp-riot-police-prepare-demolish-refugees-migrant]

As the gates opened people surged towards the warehouse, with no idea where they were to be taken but having been warned they must leave or risk arrest and deportation.

Four hours after the operation began, about 900 people had departed Calais on 23 buses. The process appeared orderly, though riot police did move in for a short time to control the queue as people started to push and shove at the front just before midday. A further 85 buses were expected to arrive on Tuesday and Wednesday.

In the UK, another 20 children, all male, arrived in Devon from the makeshift camp on Monday. They had left before a temporary halt was put on the transfer of vulnerable **refugee** children to Britain on Monday at the request of the French authorities while the clearance of the camp was under way. The UK home secretary, Amber Rudd, will update MPs later on Monday.

The scenes in Calais on Monday contrasted with violent clashes that took place over the weekend, as camp residents threw stones at French riot police who retaliated with teargas.

Police vans and fire engines were positioned on the perimeter while those choosing to leave were herded into the warehouse. They were then put on one of the white buses taking them to centres across France.

The first coachload, carrying 50 Sudanese, left at 8.45am, and headed for the Burgundy region, French news agency AFP reported.

The French aim is to clear 3,000 adults and children from the centre on Monday as part of a major three-day operation to close the sprawling camp. The aim is to relocate up to 10,000 people in total to specialist accommodation centres for formal registration and processing.

The chief executive of the port of Calais, Jean-Marc Puissesseau, described Monday’s operation as “the D-day” and himself as a “very, very happy man”. However, there were concerns[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/23/france-uk-process-children-unaccompanied-minors-calais-refugee-camp-demolition] about demolition starting with thousands of children and vulnerable adults still living there.

Youth charities voiced concerns over the support being given to children in the “rush” to clear the camp. “The question should be ‘when can we demolish the site’ and the answer should be ‘once we have the children cleared’ – not the other way round,” said Michael McHugh, a volunteer who has worked in the camp with **Refugee** Youth Service.

The charity Help **Refugees** said the fact the UK Home Office had not been allowed to register children on Monday, so pausing the transfer of vulnerable children to the UK, had added to the chaos. It said there were 49 unaccompanied children aged 13 and under at the camp eligible to come to the UK.

Unaccompanied minors are believed to be the only group staying in Calais, where they will be taken to containers within a secure area of the camp previously used to house adults. But conflicting advice over where children should go was “extremely distressing and confusing” to children who were struggling to understand where they should go and how they were supposed to get there, the charity said.

“Up to a thousand children are expected to be housed in the shipping containers and at present it appears there is nothing in the way of youth workers to be responsible for, and help calm, these young people and children,” it said.

Many of those queuing to leave were Sudanese and Eritrean. As officers opened the gates, people were guided into four queues – adult, family, child, and vulnerable or disabled – and given a coloured wristband.

Many said they were happy to leave. Among them, Mohamed, 23, from Eritrea, who said: “The camp is dirty and dangerous.” He had been there for three months, he told the Guardian, and had tried to get asylum in France before.

Related: Are you affected by the events at the Calais camp?[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/are-you-affected-by-the-events-at-the-calais-camp]

“My fingerprints were taken in Italy and wherever you go in Europe after that they say you have to go back to Italy under the Dublin regulation. Now they say for the first time the fingerprints don’t matter and we can start applying for asylum again. I am happy.”

Yusef, 35, a pharmacist from Sudan, who spent three months living rough in Calais, and hopes to claim asylum in France, said he had no idea where he would end up: “I will close my eyes and put my finger on the map.”

But he was optimistic. “I want to integrate to start a new life, contribute. I trust France to keep me safe.” Once he had hopes of making it to the UK. “But that dream died here,” he said. “That bridge is closed.”

Hours before the evacuation, some people were still clinging to the hope of reaching the UK. “We have yet to convince some people to accept accommodation and give up their dream of Britain. That’s the hardest part,” Didier Leschi, head of the French **immigration** office OFII, told French news agency Agence France-Presse.

Some were concerned that if they joined the queue to be processed, they would not be able to join family in the UK. Tafsu, 48, a carpenter from Eritrea, has a wife and two children in London, including a nine-year-old daughter he has never met. “I don’t know what the future holds. I want to explain my case but I can’t get heard,” he said.

According to the British founder of the charity Care4Calais, the camp would probably re-emerge despite its demolition. Clare Moseley said: “I think people will still come. With **refugees**, deterrents don’t matter because a **refugee** by definition is fleeing something. In February, they demolished over half the camp and yet here we are, seven months later, with a camp bigger than it’s ever been.”

Related: Q&A: what happens now to the Calais **refugees**?[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/24/q-and-a-what-happens-to-calais-refugees-now]

Concerns about the fate of about 1,300 children in the camp remained. Yvette Cooper, who chairs the Commons home affairs committee, said children in the camp were at risk from people traffickers. “That’s what’s really worrying, because once the clearances start we know there is a significant risk that many of those children and young people just disappear,” she told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme.

In the past week, about 200 children have been brought to the UK from Calais, approximately 15% of the total, according to a Citizens UK estimate. There has been scepticism in some parts of the media about the ages[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies] of some of the arrivals.

Another 24 **refugee** children from Calais reached the UK on Sunday afternoon. They follow the 54 unaccompanied minors – mostly girls from Eritrea – who were the first to be brought to Britain under the Dubs amendment, the government’s pledge to help unaccompanied minors.

The **immigration** minister, Robert Goodwill, said the government remained committed to safeguarding and protecting children in Calais and transferring “all eligible minors” to the UK as soon as possible.

An extra 3,000 police are expected in and around Calais this week. Migrants and **refugees** who do not want to claim asylum in France are expected to set up small camps in the region.

Almost two-thirds of people surveyed in the camp have said they do not want to be taken to French accommodation, while a third said they would continue to try to get into the UK, according to the **Refugee** Rights Data Project.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Home Office says it ‘reluctantly agreed’ to French request to temporarily pause moving vulnerable children to Britain

The transfer of **refugee** children from Calais to Britain has been paused while the clearance of the camp is under way, the Home Office has announced.

Officials declined to say when the transfers might resume, but the charity Citizens UK said there were up to 1,000 unaccompanied children, many with the right to sanctuary in Britain, before the clearance operation began on Monday[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/france-begins-operation-clear-calais-refugee-camp].

Citizens UK also said 235 children had been brought to Britain, including those who have family links to the UK as well as the first of the vulnerable children to be brought to Britain under the Dubs amendment[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/22/call-for-calais-child-refugees-to-be-given-uk-safeguarding-protection].

“Due to planned operational activity in Calais, and at the request of the French authorities, we have reluctantly agreed that the transfer process will be temporarily paused,” a Home Office spokesperson said on Monday.

The home secretary, Amber Rudd, is expected to give some indication of how the situation in Calais is expected to unfold when she updates MPs in the House of Commons later on Monday afternoon.

Rabbi Janet Darley, a leader with Citizens UK, said Monday was a critical day for the children of Calais. “We will be doing everything we can to support the French to wind up the camp in a safe way,” she said, “but this means every single child must be accounted for and transferred to safe accommodation before the end of the day. We cannot have a situation where children are stuck in limbo as night falls.

“As many as 1,000 children, including many with a right to seek sanctuary in Britain, are still in the Calais camp. The disappearance of any of those children in the coming days would be a moral failure for us all.”

The chair of the Commons home affairs select committee, Yvette Cooper, said she was worried that Britain had left it far too late to bring vulnerable lone children to the UK and that there was still no proper plan.

“There are still hundreds of children and teenagers stuck in the camp and the French authorities have not put in place proper alternatives of places for the children to go that are safe. That’s why it’s right Britain should be doing its bit as well,” she said.

“There has to be a plan between both France and Britain to help the children and teenagers right now. I really worry that Britain left this far, far too late to do its bit in terms of helping the children and teenagers. But the French authorities have also continually failed to provide that support.”

She underlined the concern of charities that children in the camp would go missing. “That’s what’s really worrying. Once the clearances start, we know that there is a significant risk that many of those children and young people disappear. That is what happened last time when part of the camp was closed without a plan for the children and teenagers,” she added.

“And the consequence is they slip into the arms of the smuggler gangs, the traffickers. Just at the point at which they might have been able to be reunited with their family, then they are lost.”

Cooper called for a safe, legal route to be opened for those with family links in Britain.

Related: Q&A: what happens now to the Calais **refugees**?[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/24/q-and-a-what-happens-to-calais-refugees-now]

The Conservatie MP for Dover, Charlie Elphicke, approved of the dismantling of the Calais camp, telling LBC radio: “I welcome the fact that action’s been taken. It should never have got to this stage.

“The camp’s worse than a shanty town in Rio or Africa – it’s an affront to humanity. You’ve got 10,000 people living in the most appalling squalor, there’s no running water or sanitation, people traffickers roam free, feasting on the dreams people have of a better life when all they sell is broken promises and a life of modern slavery.

“The only reason they’re there is because this is the first border in the whole of Europe. This is a terrible situation for Calais, and a dangerous situation for the whole of Europe.

“We’re leaving the European Union, but not Europe physically or culturally. That’s why it’s so important we continue to work with the French positively in order to ensure border security for both Dover and Calais.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Trump doubles down on swing states while Clinton pushes to retake Congress; AT&T-Time Warner deal raises concerns; Shakespeare gets a new co-author

Final days of 2016 campaign defined As early voting continues, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump have adopted different tactics. While Trump has doubled down with raucous swing state rallies, Clinton is spending heavily on advertising, local organising and looking to help congressional candidates. Running mate Tim Kaine said data from early voting states suggested Clinton, 12 points up in one ABC poll[http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/23/politics/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-presidential-polls/], was headed toward a “very big and historic win” on 8 November, though campaign aides warned against complacency, especially in swing states such as Ohio. Trump advisers said the country’s anti-establishment mood will work to their advantage, though as campaign manager Kellyanne Conway acknowledged to NBC: “We are behind.” In Florida, Trump continued his tirade against a “rigged system” and vowed to sue the women who have accused him of sexual assault.

Trump camp admits ‘we’re behind’ as Clinton team warns on complacency[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/23/trump-news-clinton-poll-election-ads]

Clinton’s record as diplomat hints at presidency The Democratic candidate visited 122 countries and faced crises in Afghanistan, Libya and Syria, but her years as secretary of state do not provide a transparent guide to how a President Clinton would act. Interviews with former aides, senior officials and foreign counterparts paint a complex picture of Clinton as a diplomat defying easy categorisation as “hawk” or “dove”. Clinton’s distinctive way of mixing soft and hard US power, her awareness of her nation’s exceptional might and her instincts for how and when to use it are likely to follow her to the Oval Office.

Hillary Clinton’s record as secretary of state hints at possible presidential role[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/23/hillary-clinton-record-secretary-of-state-foreign-policy]

UVA rape story: should Rolling Stone have known? Last week, the first of two defamation trials against Rolling Stone for its story about an alleged gang rape at the University of Virginia got under way in Charlottesville. Officially, the $7.8m lawsuit asks only if the magazine knew or should have known that its portrayal of Nicole Eramo, a former UVA dean who complains she was unfairly painted as the story’s “chief villain”, was false. But in practice, this trial is about the failures of reporter Sabrina Erdely and magazine editors to spot multiple discrepancies in the story they sought to tell.

UVA rape story trial highlights struggle to report on sexual assault in Trump era[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/24/trump-sexual-misconduct-accusers-uva-rape-story-rolling-stone]

The US soldier who wanted to live under Islam Craig Baxam, a black American raised Catholic, left the US military to practice Islam. He planned to live under al-Shabaab – a group designated by Washington as a terrorist organisation which practices a strict form of Islam under the religious law of sharia. He ended up arrested in Kenya and imprisoned on terrorism-related charges. Ed Pilkington looks into a case that exposes the conflict between religious fundamentalism and the US national security apparatus.

From the US army to al-Shabaab: the man who wanted to live under sharia law [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/craig-baxam-al-shabaab-sharia-law-fbi-army]

Murder of Brazilian environmentalist marks new low Just after sunset on 13 October in Altamira, a small town nestled on a curve of the Xingu river in the heart of the Amazon rainforest, Luiz Alberto Araújo, secretary for the environment on the city council, arrived home with his family. Two men on a motorcycle pulled up and shot the 54-year-old seven times. More than 150 environmental activists have been killed in Brazil since 2012. Billy Kyte, campaign leader at Global Witness, says the Araújo murder “sends a message that no one is untouchable”.

Murder of Brazil official marks new low in war on Amazon environmentalists [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/brazil-amazon-environmentalist-murder-luiz-alberto-araujo]

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AT&T-Time Warner deal faces scrutiny Telecoms giant AT&T has agreed to buy Time Warner, the owner of the Harry Potter and Batman film franchises, HBO, CNN and the Cartoon Network, for $85.4bn. But the deal is likely to face tough scrutiny in Washington. On Saturday, Donald Trump said the deal would create “too much concentration of power” and promised to block it. On Sunday, Clinton running mate Tim Kaine said he was “pro-competition”.

Trump and Clinton camps raise concerns over AT&T-Time Warner deal[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/23/trump-att-time-warner-deal-clinton-kaine]

Brexit looms over closure of Calais **refugee** camp The closure of the Calais **refugee** camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/france-begins-operation-clear-calais-refugee-camp], which began on Monday, is largely being driven by French domestic politics and any long-term solution is likely to be dependent on the outcome of next year’s presidential election. But the closure is also being monitored closely in Britain: although the French have made strenuous efforts to provide **refugees** with alternative accommodation in France[https://www.theguardian.com/world/france], such is the pull factor of the English language and the prospect of work that there is no guarantee another camp will not form near another ferry terminal.

French election and Brexit loom over closure of Calais **refugee** camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/french-presidential-election-brexit-closure-calais-refugee-camp]

‘Radicalized climate’ takes shape The impact of climate change on weather and society are becoming increasingly clear. While we are making progress in solving the problem, one of the two political parties governing the world’s strongest superpower continues to deny the science. This led astrophysicist Katie Mack to make the following suggestion: maybe governments will actually listen if we stop saying “extreme weather” or “climate change” and just say the atmosphere is being radicalized.

‘The atmosphere is being radicalized’ by climate change[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/climate-consensus-97-per-cent/2016/oct/24/the-atmosphere-is-being-radicalized-by-climate-change]

Where are the NFL Goliaths? “As much as we love the idea of every team having an equal chance, the NFL is more entertaining when there are a few Goliaths out there,” writes Hunter Felt. At this time last year there were five undefeated teams. This year, with the Philadelphia Eagles’ defeat of the Minnesota Vikings on Sunday, there are none.

There are no undefeated teams left in the NFL and that’s a problem[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/oct/24/there-are-no-undefeated-teams-left-in-the-nfl-and-thats-a-problem]

Christopher Marlowe, Shakespeare’s co-writer The long-held suggestion that Christopher Marlowe was William Shakespeare is now widely dismissed, along with other authorship theories. But Marlowe is enjoying the next best thing: a credit as co-writer of the three Henry VI plays. The two dramatists will appear jointly on the three title pages of the plays within the New Oxford Shakespeare, a landmark project to be published this month.

Christopher Marlowe credited as one of Shakespeare’s co-writers[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2016/oct/23/christopher-marlowe-credited-as-one-of-shakespeares-co-writers]

In case you missed it… Justin Crowe of Chronicle Cremation Designs, based in Santa Fe, New Mexico, mixes cremated human ashes into a glaze which he uses to coat bowls, vases, candle holders, coffee cups, urns and other ceramic items. The idea developed out of an art project in which Crowe used the ashes of more than 200 people to create a dinnerware collection called Nourish, and then used it to serve food at a party. “I wanted to create a dinnerware set that infuses a sense of mortality,” he says.

Ashes to pottery: how a designer makes dinnerware from the dead[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/oct/24/pottery-cremation-dinnerware-ceremic-glaze-art-justin-crowe]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**For many, the demolition of the camp is only the latest chapter in an ongoing tale of displacement, violence and peril

Before dawn on Monday, Yusef, 35, a pharmacist who had fled violence in Sudan, stuffed some blankets into a donated backpack and bid farewell to the muddy puddles surrounding his leaking tent. Once, he had hoped to stow away on a lorry to England. “But that dream died here,” he said. “That bridge is closed.”

He didn’t want to stay to see the first demolition teams arrive on Tuesday morning to begin gradually, over the course of the week, taking down shacks by hand in the Calais shantytown where between 6,000 and 8,000 **refugees** and migrants had been living, many hoping to stow away on lorries to the Kent coast.

Life in the Calais camp was “tough and miserable” and it was a relief to be now claiming asylum in France, he said. “All I know about France is that they make good perfume and that Paris is called the city of love. Now I’m beginning a journey of love.”

Like many, he had no idea where he would end up as he waited outside a hangar where the French state was organising people into pens in four queues – adults, families, the sick and a vast crowd of unaccompanied minors. **Refugees** and migrants, who mostly knew nothing at all of France, were shown a French map, given a choice of two regions, fitted with a wristband and put on a bus to reception centres across the country. They were told only what broad region they were going to, not the name of the town or the type of place.

“I will close my eyes and put my finger on the map,” Yusef said. “I want to integrate, start a new life, contribute. I trust France to keep me safe. People misunderstand us – we don’t have economic problems, we’re fleeing violence and dictatorship.”

Awad, 31, from Sudan, had also given up on England. “I love the UK but the UK doesn’t want **refugees**,” he shrugged.

“I like the sound of Normandy, is it a nice city?” asked one Afghan in the bus queue, puzzled about geography but keen to go somewhere in France away from any border – he was so disillusioned with the **refugee** struggle, he wanted to start a new life far from any frontier.

If some were optimistic about claiming asylum in France, others were still fearful for their future.

Two Afghan men who had spent several months in the Calais camp, had hesitantly decided to take the French assistance on offer to go home to Jalalabad, though they still feared for their safety. Muhammad, 26, said: “I’ve tried. I’ve taken so many risks trying to get on the back of lorries. Better to die in my own country than here under a truck.”

The first day of transfers from the camp saw hundreds depart – by midday over 700 people had been bussed away. “It’s not as if I have a choice,” said a 23-year-old Eritrean boarding a state coach to central France. Most people carried the minimum of a jumper and coat given by charities, the lucky few had a cricket bat or a football.

But the large numbers of young teenagers waiting to be processed, crammed into the “unaccompanied minors” pen of the hangar, showed that the issue of the some 1,300 children who had been counted in the camp in recent weeks was far from completely resolved, despite some leaving for the UK in recent days. A 15-year-old Ethiopian boy sat looking down at his feet among a dozen other teenagers as French government staff and aid workers documented them. He had been sleeping rough in the Calais camp for four months. “I haven’t seen my parents for more than a year, they were caught up in violence. I don’t know where my mother and father are but they wanted me to get to England,” he said.

“The UK knows very well that it has to take its responsibility for the children – we have expressed this to the UK several times and discussions are ongoing,” said Pierre-Henry Brandet of the French interior ministry.

Inside the fetid Calais camp, many people were planning to stay in their makeshift tents and shacks for at least another night, particularly those who would still rather try to get to the UK than stay in France.

Adults with family in the UK were concerned that they would now never be reunited. Tasfu, 48, a carpenter who had fled violence in Eritrea, had a wife and two children in London. He said he hadn’t seen his 16 year-old son for nine years. He had never met his nine-year-old daughter. When he last saw his wife, in Sudan, she was pregnant. “I don’t know what the future holds. I want to explain my case but I can’t get heard. The children here are beginning to be heard. What about us, people with children, separated from our sons and daughters?”

He was weighing up what to do. Trying to stow away to England had proved impossible, he said. After jail and violence in Eritrea, he couldn’t face the perilous attempts to jump on to trucks bound for Channel crossings. “I don’t want jail or danger,” he said. He was considering whether to be processed in France and hope to join his family at a later point. “My wife just prays we can be together one day,” he said.

Deep in the camp, a makeshift plywood door led into into a series of shacks graffitied with the words: “We are Syrian, we wish to live”. Mahmoud, 22, from Manbij near Aleppo, was sitting drinking a cup of sweet tea. He had been in the camp for several months and had tried five times to stow away on lorries, but people smugglers asked for £3,000-£4,000 to open the doors of trucks and he found it impossible. His family back home in Syria was surrounded by four fronts: Kurdish fighters, Syrian rebel fighters, Islamic State and soldiers of the Syrian regime. “It has been difficult and I want to get to England,” he said. He had several cousins in London, some worked in hairdressing, one worked in a supermarket, another in tiling.

In the dead of night, a group of Syrians he knew in the camp had left with their few possessions, intending to sleep rough in the Calais area and continue trying to get across to the UK. “I don’t know what I’ll do,” he said, keen to keep trying for Britain but exasperated at how hard it was. “Sometimes I feel that either I’ll get to Britain someday or I’ll end up having to go back to Syria.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Protestant church representatives condemn rightwing Norbert Hofer’s posters featuring words ‘so help me God’

Austrian church officials have criticised the rightwing populist candidate in the country’s upcoming presidential election for using God “for political ends”, after he unveiled a new poster with a religious slogan.

Representatives of Austria’s Protestant church released a statement in which they criticised Norbert Hofer’s posters – featuring the words “so help me God” alongside slogans such as “for Austria with heart and soul” – as “an abuse of his name and religion in general”.

The anti-**immigration** Freedom party’s general secretary, Herbert Kickl, said the slogan was meant to underline how deeply the party was “anchored in the value system of a western Christian culture”.

Related: Austrian presidential election result overturned and must be held again[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/01/austrian-presidential-election-result-overturned-and-must-be-held-again-hofer-van-der-bellen]

But the church statement argued that the god of the Bible was not a “western Christian” deity but a universal god who protected the weak and the poor, “which these days especially includes **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/24/france-begins-operation-clear-calais-refugee-camp] and foreigners”.

Austria’s Catholic church did not release a statement. In 2006, after Catholic officials advised against voting for the rightwing populists, Hofer switched to the Protestant church, citing a “leftwing Catholic witch-hunt” and misgivings about his former church’s stance on female priests. He said that his wife and children were still Catholics.

Hofer[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/19/norbert-hofer-austria-presidential-hopeful-rightwing], 45, is hoping to become the EU’s first rightwing populist head of state in the rerun presidential elections on 4 December. The vote falls on the second Sunday of the advent season.

In May, Hofer lost by the tightest of margins to Alexander Van der Bellen[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/23/who-are-men-competing-austrias-next-president-norbert-hofer-alexander-van-der-bellen], a retired economics professor and former head of the Austrian Green party. However, the result was annulled by the country’s constitutional court two months later after an investigation revealed irregularities in the count of the vote in several constituencies.

Originally scheduled for 2 October, the rerun had to be postponed by two months after the adhesive seals on postal votes were found to have come unstuck.

Van der Bellen presented his own poster campaign last week, showing the 72-year-old in an Alpine setting next to the slogan “serving Austria – and not a party”. Some of Van der Bellen’s posters also contain the slogan: “No to Auxit – stronger together.”

Having previously argued for Austria to have a referendum on EU membership if the bloc took further steps towards integration or allowed Turkey to join, Hofer made a U-turn after Britain’s vote to leave [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/britain-votes-for-brexit-eu-referendum-david-cameron] in June, saying it would be “a mistake” for Austria to follow suit.

Latest polls have the two candidates neck and neck on 50% of the vote.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**During the 1956 revolution my grandmother became one of 200,000 Hungarian **refugees**. Today, Viktor Orbán has an obligation to offer help, not hatred

The footprints of the displaced and dispossessed have long disturbed the land that connects Hungary to Austria. This border is, after all, the site of many a desperate traveller. Last year, with palpable echoes of the past, thousands of Syrians and other **refugees** were forced to take this route[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/04/hundreds-refugees-march-austria-budapest-hungary-syrians] when rail travel was denied to them by the Hungarian authorities. Resourceless and armed only with the belief that the fate that propelled them to this precise point in their history would also deliver them from it, they trudged to the border where the thought of new land promised new hope.

Sixty years ago, almost to this day[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian\_Revolution\_of\_1956], my grandmother, Maria Szalay, made the same journey. The Hungarian revolution, a violent uprising against Soviet rule, had produced a **refugee** crisis of its own. Budapest was awash with riots, molotov cocktails, toppled statues and confrontations between students and Russian soldiers in scenes my grandmother can recall all these years later. “Tanks started coming in over Freedom Bridge,” she remembers. “The revolutionaries stared and shouted as they approached. I saw a soldier come out and start shooting at the crowd indiscriminately.” Someone shoved her to the ground, where she felt a pile of bodies falling on her. “I was covered in blood.”

This was 1956, when the word “**refugee**” did not inspire the feelings of caution, hostility and fear that it does in some people today. Today, the country whose own sense of identity owes much to the experience of its **refugees** has overwhelmingly voted in a referendum[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-vote-on-refugees-will-not-take-place-suggest-first-poll-results] against taking its quota of just 1,294 people. Barely a week passes in which the rightwing government of Viktor Orbán does not wage its ugly counterrevolution against liberal Europe. Migrants are denounced as “poison”[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/26/hungarian-prime-minister-viktor-orban-praises-donald-trump] who must be kept out by “massive” fences, prompting calls from Luxembourg that Hungary should be expelled from the EU[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/expel-hungary-from-eu-for-hostility-to-refugees-says-luxembourg]. Out of the country’s 20,000 advertising boards, nearly 6,000 of them were used to tell people to vote against taking people in.

Europe is in crisis. The terrorism threat may cause some to bypass their instinctive compassion for hard-headed practicality. But the world of 1956 was not short of threats; the cold war was ongoing and a nuclear war was beckoning. The Suez crisis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/oct/22/egypt.featuresreview], largely regarded as Britain’s worst foreign policy disaster, was unravelling at a vicious speed. But the revolution nevertheless spawned a massive relief operation, one which, in being only a temporary organisation, the UNHCR[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/uk/news/latest/2006/10/453c7adb2/fiftieth-anniversary-hungarian-uprising-refugee-crisis.html] was not all that well-equipped to deal with.

After bribing someone at the Austrian border with my grandfather’s motorbike, my grandmother was able to reach Britain where she settled in Gorebridge, a tiny village in Scotland. She was placed in a former children’s summer camp. Newspaper reports tell of the staff, who had disbanded for the winter months, returning to work so that they could accommodate her and her peers. She was soon given a job in textiles. After spending Christmas with a local family, she moved to London to begin making her life in Britain.

Hungary’s discourse against **refugees** and its fellow European states dishonours this significant and poignant part of its history. As George Szirtes[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/01/hungary-freedom-viktor-orban-rabble-rousers-migrants-refugees-racism], the poet and 1956 **refugee** remarks, Hungary seems to have indulged its isolation in Europe and forgotten the ties that saw it through one its most painful and bloody moments: one where, in the space of two weeks, its people became **refugees**.

No time would be more pertinent than now for Hungary to remember Europe’s compassion while so many – with stories not dissimilar to those that characterised my grandmother and her contemporaries as heroes – are waiting at its border. Like today’s **refugees**, she came to Britain with no knowledge of the language or of how her life would progress. The recent referendum in Hungary, while outwardly disappointing, offers a glimmer of hope: a 40% turnout suggests a boycott of the government’s hate-filled dialogue[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/03/hungarian-jews-concerned-about-toxic-referendum-discourse], and means that the result has been ruled invalid. There remains the chance to uphold the memory of those who in 1956 sought the same freedom that so many are still seeking today.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rupert Jones’ grandparents were babysitting Enoch Powell’s children on the day of his infamous speech. The doorstep showdown as he arrived to collect them ended 20 years of friendship between the two families

Late in the afternoon of 20 April 1968, Enoch Powell called at my grandparents’ house in Westland Avenue, Wolverhampton.

A couple of hours earlier, at a hotel in Birmingham, he had delivered one of the most controversial speeches in British history[https://www.theguardian.com/news/1968/apr/22/mainsection.ianaitken], in which he issued an apocalyptic warning about what he saw as the dangers of mass **immigration**. The “rivers of blood” speech caused an immediate furore and destroyed Powell’s political ambitions. However, it also came at a personal cost – as Powell was about to find out.

Earlier that afternoon, while the Wolverhampton Tory MP (with wife Pam in the audience) was famously declaring that he was “filled with foreboding; like the Roman, I seem to see ‘the river Tiber foaming with much blood,’” my grandparents, Clement and Marjorie Jones, were at home 20 miles away, looking after the Powells’ two daughters, then aged 14 and 11.

This wasn’t just neighbours or acquaintances babysitting someone else’s kids for a few hours as a favour. The Powells and the Joneses had by this point been close friends for almost 20 years and did everything together: country walks, meals out and so on.

However, like many people that day, my grandparents were shocked and upset by the racist and inflammatory nature of the speech, which was filmed by a television crew and was immediately all over the TV and on radio bulletins. In fact, that very afternoon my grandmother told my grandfather that she never wanted to see Powell again.

My grandmother said to Enoch, ‘I don’t think we shall be seeing each other again for a very long time.’

So the stage was set for a showdown, because here at the front door were the Powells, who had come to collect their daughters and, presumably, discuss the dramatic events of that day.

My grandfather – who at that time was editor of the Wolverhampton Express & Star newspaper – could not bring himself to face Powell and tell him exactly what he thought of his speech. So it was my grandmother who answered the door.

Years later, my grandfather (who died in 2002) revealed exactly what happened on the doorstep that afternoon: “She was strong-willed and she said to Enoch, ‘I don’t think we shall be seeing each other again for a very long time.’ Powell said to her, ‘Well, I suppose it’s the end of a good friendship now, isn’t it?’ And she said, ‘Yes it is.’ She handed over the two girls and that was it.”

Unfortunately for my grandparents, while it was indeed the end of a near two-decade friendship, it was not the end of the drama. Over the coming months and years, the fallout from the speech continued to reverberate through their lives and, arguably, led to my grandfather taking early retirement from his job as editor of one of the country’s biggest regional newspapers.

Now, almost 50 years later, the story is going to be played out on the public stage. A new play called What Shadows, set against the backdrop of the rivers of blood speech, is about to receive its world premiere at Birmingham repertory theatre. Ian McDiarmid is playing Enoch Powell, and I’m still trying to get my head around the fact that I’ll soon be watching George Costigan playing my grandfather, with Paula Wilcox taking the role of my grandmother, who died in 1991.

Bizarrely, this won’t be the first time I’ve watched actors playing my grandma and grandpa. In September last year, I attended a script reading for another play about the speech, which again features Enoch, Pam, Clem and Marjorie. This play, by Tom Cottle and Tom Miller, will be staged in London next year.

I have an extremely small bit part role in this saga: I was born seven days before Powell’s speech, and my mother Pat – who had met Enoch and Pam at numerous family get-togethers – was in hospital recovering from a caesarean and listening to the speech and its aftermath on a bedside radio.

I remember my grandparents as gentle, intellectual, a little eccentric. But say “Enoch Powell” and what does that name conjure up nowadays? A dyed-in-the-wool Tory somewhere to the right of Attila the Hun, a mad-eyed, racist prophet of doom. So it does, on the face of it, seem like a very unlikely friendship.

They certainly didn’t appear to share the same political views. Grandpa played his cards close to his chest, but my father, Nicholas, reckons he was very much left-leaning, while Grandma was “lifelong Labour”. And while Powell enjoyed a glittering military career during the second world war – it is said that for a few weeks he was the youngest brigadier in the British army – my grandfather had a very different war experience: he was a conscientious objector, having lost his own father during the first world war, and with a wife and three wartime babies to support, it was a challenging few years for the family, during which they faced a lot of hostility.

Yet, as my father explains, the two families had a lot in common. Powell had become a close friend of my grandfather following his election as Conservative MP for Wolverhampton South West in 1950. Both men were on the fast track in their respective careers. My grandfather, then a reporter on the Express & Star, would in just a few years’ time take the top job on the paper, while Powell quickly moved up the political ladder, eventually securing a place in the cabinet. By the start of the 1960s these two men were pillars of the Wolverhampton establishment who would have been frequently thrown together at various events.

The two couples lived just a few streets away from each other in Wolverhampton, and were both raising young families during the 1950s and 60s. My dad acknowledges that there was “something in it” for both men: my grandfather would have been getting access to top-level political news and gossip, while Powell was picking up valuable insider tips on how to secure the most positive press coverage.

The two families also bonded over their shared passions: local history, classical literature and the poetry of writers such as AE Housman, whose A Shropshire Lad [http://www.housman-society.co.uk/shropshire-lad.htm] collection was a favourite of my grandfather’s.

My grandparents and the Powells were real intellectuals – as my father puts it, my grandmother was a very well-read woman, and “the one person who could outquote her was Powell”.

Presumably they also talked about politics, though it’s worth remembering that the anti-**immigration** rants didn’t come until a lot later – in fact, as health minister during the early 1960s, Powell was encouraging **immigrants** from the Commonwealth to work in the understaffed NHS.

The two couples used to enjoy meals out at local Indian restaurants – Enoch Powell tucking into chicken tikka masala is certainly an image to conjure with – and picnics in the Shropshire countryside, which typically involved fairly frugal fare and revolved around an interesting building, castle or site of local interest.

My mum, who had started going out with my dad in 1964, remembers that the Powells “would often come to tea if we were visiting Wolverhampton”. And after my parents were married in 1966 and had moved to Oxford, my grandparents and Enoch, Pam and their two daughters would come down to visit them.

My mother still clearly remembers the time, on one of those Jones-Powell picnics, when Enoch rather put her in her place. They were talking about an apple tart recipe, and my mum, then in her early 20s, asked my grandmother: “Do you have to butter the plate a lot?” Like a schoolmaster correcting an errant pupil, Powell pompously said this was grammatically incorrect and that it should be “… butter the plate profusely”.

During the late 1960s the first cracks were starting to appear in the friendship. My father says he began to detect signs of a slight uneasiness in the relationship between my grandfather and Powell.

They had a disagreement following a March 1968 speech in which Powell talked about a local girl who was allegedly the only white child in her class at primary school. My grandfather questioned the veracity of this claim after reporters from his paper failed to track down either the girl or the class.

A few weeks later, Powell told my grandparents he was planning another speech, to be delivered on 20 April. He would not disclose what he was going to say, but said mysteriously: “You know how a rocket goes up into the air, explodes into lots of stars and then falls down to the ground? Well, this speech is going to go up like a rocket, and when it gets up to the top, the stars are going to stay up.”

Of course, his firework analogy was spot-on: this was one hell of an explosive speech. And while the friendship shattered on the doorstep that afternoon, my grandfather, as editor of the local newspaper, still had to cover the speech and its consequences.

Edward Heath immediately sacked Powell from his shadow cabinet, but it seemed that in the eyes of many Express & Star readers, the MP was a hero. My grandfather reckoned that 90% to 95% of the readers’ letters they received were pro-Enoch, but he was determined to also publish any that did arrive that attacked the speech. That stand led to him receiving some abusive letters, some “containing excrement and that sort of thing … I had people ringing me at home, all sorts of hours, saying, ‘Oh, is that the bloody nigger lover?’… I had a couple of windows broken at home.”

Related: Hanif Kureishi: Knock, knock, it’s Enoch[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/dec/12/enoch-powell-hanif-kureishi]

Powell later started libel proceedings against the Express & Star for an article that mentioned a protester at a demonstration who was carrying a placard accusing the MP of Nazi-style tactics. The case was eventually settled, but three months later my grandfather accepted early retirement.

So did they ever speak to each other again? My dad says that my grandmother was very principled and never wavered in her conviction that a line had been unforgivably crossed. However, he thinks that my grandfather was more pragmatic and softened as the years went on, to the point that he felt able to attend Powell’s 80th birthday party in 1992.

• What Shadows is at Birmingham repertory theatre [https://www.birmingham-rep.co.uk/whats-on/what-shadows.html] from 27 October to 12 November

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MSF survey finds that nine of 10 Central Americans showed symptoms of anxiety or depression caused by rape, assault or kidnapping during perilous trek

Central American migrants are suffering from record levels of mental health problems, amid a rise in violent attacks after a US-sponsored **immigration** crackdown forced them to use more perilous routes through Mexico.

Two-thirds of migrants interviewed at shelters across the country reported suffering at least one violent attack – such as assault, rape or kidnapping – during their journey, according to a survey conducted by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and shared exclusively with the Guardian.

MSF runs three clinics in Mexico, providing care to injured and traumatized migrants with a team of doctors, psychologists and social workers.

Nine out of 10 migrants seen by MSF psychologists this year showed symptoms of anxiety or depression caused by violence and threats suffered during the journey – a three-fold increase since 2014.

Related: Central American migrants desperate to reach US risk new dangers at sea[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/15/migrants-mexico-human-trafficking-us-immigration-crackdown]

The increase in violence against Central American migrants in Mexico is largely down to the Southern Border Plan, an **immigration** clampdown launched in July 2014 after a surge of unaccompanied minors and families at the US border.

American aid supported the deployment of thousands of Mexican troops to patrol alongside **immigration**agents[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/04/mexico-deports-record-numbers-women-children-central-america]. Checkpoints were set up along established migrant routes, forcing people to take even greater risks on their journey north.

Instead of traveling through southern Mexico by catching a ride on top of a freight train known as “La Bestia”[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/23/migrants-mexico-train-the-beast-fleeing-poverty], most now journey by bus, on foot or by sea along isolated routes where armed bandits, kidnappers and human traffickers operate with almost total impunity.

“Since the Southern Border Plan, it’s much harder for us to reach people, but the level of violence is even higher than before,” Bertrand Rossier, MSF’s head of mission in Mexico, told the Guardian. “We’re concerned about the humanitarian impact of the plan.”

Mariano Martínez, 39, from El Salvador, is receiving medical and psychological treatment in MSF’s Mexico City clinic.

Martínez was stripped and robbed at gunpoint in August on the outskirts of Chahuites, Oaxaca, where rising numbers of migrants have been violently attacked in the past two years. Most arrive here on foot from Arriaga, a 12-hour walk through isolated orchards and forests; before the Southern Border Plan they sped past the dusty town on top of the train.

Martínez, a truck driver who was trying to get back to New Jersey where he lived undocumented since the age of 17 before being deported, dislocated a shoulder and elbow when he was thrown to the ground by one of the assailants. He has been left with permanent nerve damage and restricted movement in his fingers.

“I feel sad, I can’t sleep, I’ve worked hard all my life, but now I can’t work, what’s going to happen to me?” Martínez said.

According to the MSF study, 54% of those who suffered serious physical violence did not seek medical help because they feared arrest or deportation. The survey is based on interviews with 467 Honduran and Salvadoran migrants conducted in September.

Just over 198,000 migrants were detained by Mexican **immigration** agents last year, a rise of 130% from 2013. Nine out of 10 of those detained were from the violent northern triangle of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala where record numbers are fleeing a relentless war between gangs, organized criminal groups and security forces.

Of those questioned by MSF, 57% said they were fleeing direct threats and violence targeting themselves or their families; half had lost a relative through violence in the past two years. Yet only a tiny proportion of migrants seek **refuge** in Mexico.

Related: Central America's rampant violence fuels an invisible **refugee** crisis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/13/central-america-violence-refugee-crisis-gangs-murder]

The vast majority of migrants treated by MSF psychologists suffer symptoms such as poor sleep and concentration, low morale, anxiety and difficulties making decisions.

According to MSF psychologist Dora Morales, constant exposure to violence and persecution – both before and after migrants are forced to leave their homes – can lead to serious long-term mental health problems.

Morales said: “The normalization of violence is a symptom in itself, which diminishes a person’s capacity to accurately interpret danger. This can be very dangerous if left untreated as the symptoms can convert into pathologies like PTSD, paranoia and profound depression.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hillary Clinton failed to take account of the populist anger and lost ground to the rightwing demagoguery of Donald Trump. But in belatedly recognising widespread frustration with elites, she deserves to win

The final presidential debate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/19/donald-trump-presidential-debate-election-result], thankfully the last set piece in a wretched campaign, revealed what is admirable and loathsome in American politics. Hillary Clinton displayed a razor-sharp intelligence and a quick wit. Her facility with facts trumped Donald Trump’s lack of them. Americans finally saw on Wednesday why Secretary Clinton had got rich from giving lectures after leaving office. Her fluency with words, which has earned her $22m in speaking fees, appeared to silence her opponent. Mr Trump, a boastful, thin-skinned billionaire who trades in racism[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jun/16/donald-trump-mexico-presidential-speech-latino-hispanic] and misogyny, was left squawking on the sidelines of the debate. His jibes revealed a man out of his depth. His answer was to plunge down deeper. By disgracefully refusing to rule out calling this a rigged election he gave up a fight he had by then lost.

Americans should vote for Secretary Clinton as an able and proven politician. A Trump presidency would be bad for America and dangerous for the world, so a vote for Secretary Clinton is the most effective way of preventing it. Mr Trump has been exposed for questionable tax arrangements[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/02/us/politics/donald-trump-taxes.html?\_r=0], outrageous business practices and irregularities at his charity. The billionaire is a grabber and kisser[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-leaked-recording-women] of women who he presumed gave consent because he was famous. There are numerous allegations[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/20/donald-trump-sexual-misconduct-tenth-woman-accuser] of sexual assault by Mr Trump. He has demonstrated that he has neither the conscience, training nor sense of history – and the desire to be judged well by it – to occupy the White House. Secretary Clinton possesses such attributes. She has a serious and sustained commitment on issues like education, healthcare and equality, and she has stood consistently for the rights of women, ethnic minorities, children and the disabled through her long career.

However, there are fewer reasons to vote for Secretary Clinton than one would have hoped. For more than two decades she has been part of a political establishment that shaped a dysfunctional country. She has been unable to escape being tarnished by the most damaging policies – notably around criminal justice[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-36020717] – of her husband’s administration. There are well-founded concerns, highlighted by transcripts of her speeches[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/16/wikileaks-hillary-clinton-wall-street-goldman-sachs-speeches], that she is too close to Wall Street to be an effective check on its excesses if elected.

The mood for change Even so, as the first female president she would represent a symbolic transformative change in American politics. In some ways what Secretary Clinton has had to deal with are ingrained cultural attitudes about what success and leadership look like. These were exposed by the finding that Mr Trump would win if only men voted[http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/election-update-women-are-defeating-donald-trump/] and Secretary Clinton would win if only women voted. That most men favor Mr Trump over Secretary Clinton demonstrates at some level a more insidious sexism than the one Mr Trump peddles: that centred on the mind, not the body. It is a hostility – deeply embedded but rarely conceded – against seeing women as genuinely equal.

There is little doubt that the 2016 presidential campaign has been one of the most confrontational contests of the modern era. The mood for change has been more pervasive and volatile, and has been supercharged by Mr Trump, a braggart with tyrannical instincts. The backdrop to this election has been genuine and understandable public anger about economic insecurity, growing inequality and frustration with elites. Mr Trump on the right and Bernie Sanders on the left have reflected that mood in their very different ways. That is not going to disappear after 8 November. The election has also raised real questions about the crisis of American democracy. Mr Trump encouraged violence against opponents and threatened to jail Secretary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/10/debate-donald-trump-threatens-to-jail-hillary-clinton] if he took office.

The civility that has marked out US democracy as ordered and restrained appears dead. The next president will have to resurrect it. The political topography of a polarized and resentful nation has been obscured by the preternatural equanimity of Barack Obama. Mr Trump has in some ways skilfully exploited these divisions. On social security he has moved to the left on the campaign trail, telling jobless Americans that he would not touch their benefits[http://www.forbes.com/sites/nextavenue/2016/08/08/social-security-where-clinton-and-trump-stand/#6dbc02aa4f40]. Mr Trump also wants to repeal the Affordable Care Act, the landmark measure that increases health coverage for low-wage workers and benefits large numbers of **immigrants** and minorities[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/18/health/immigrants-the-poor-and-minorities-gain-sharply-under-health-act.html?\_r=0]. This contrasts with the real estate magnate’s offer to expand the US health programme for the elderly – Medicare[http://www.webmd.com/health-insurance/20161020/clinton-trump-tangle-on-preserving-medicare] – which benefits overwhelmingly older, whiter voters.

These dog whistles have been part of American politics for decades. But they come at a time when there is a sense that there are too many losers from economic growth in the country. Driving discontent in the US is a system that no longer defuses high levels of inequality with opportunities for all. The middle classes are poorer today than in 2000[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-09-13/u-s-poverty-rate-falls-to-post-recession-low-as-incomes-gain]. Since the Great Recession the top 1% of families in the US have captured 52% of the income growth[http://equitablegrowth.org/research-analysis/u-s-top-one-percent-of-income-earners-hit-new-high-in-2015-amid-strong-economic-growth/]. There’s understandable anger that the wealthy were bailed out while ordinary Americans were hollowed out. Voters rage that, in the current incarnation of globalization, jobs that disappeared when the US decided to import rather than manufacture did not come back – they simply popped up elsewhere, usually in China.

The Sanders effect Nowhere has this fury been more keenly felt than in the country’s former manufacturing heartlands, tapping into America’s long history of resistance to free trade and making protectionism a potent political force once again. The politician who has shaped the politics of the country and accounted for populist anger is Senator Sanders. The man from Vermont understood, earlier than most, that voters see the economy as rigged against them by a political system that has been corrupted by big money. His campaign was backed three to one by millennials in the Democratic primaries[https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2016/06/03/the-democrats-generation-gap/]. This month his favorability ratings in opinion polls are only bettered by Michelle Obama[https://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus\_uploads/document/cx4orjzwhb/econTabReport.pdf].

Senator Sanders’ insurgent campaign has transformed Democratic politics – forcing Secretary Clinton to adopt, albeit sotto voce, key planks of his program[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-election-democrats-sanders-commentary-idUSKCN0Y90C9] such as a federal minimum wage of $15 an hour, tuition-free public college and opposition to the Trans-Pacific Partnership – President Obama’s big trade deal. Until this week, Secretary Clinton failed to outline enough of a bold reform program. Tellingly, she offered signs of one in the final televised debate, making unprompted promises to push **immigration** reforms, a key Sanders point, within the first 100 days of her presidency.

Although domestic politics has framed the campaign, Secretary Clinton’s election would be greeted with relief and optimism in most world capitals other than Moscow and Damascus. Despite her hawkish outlook[http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/27/hillary-the-hawk-a-history-clinton-2016-military-intervention-libya-iraq-syria/], she will have no alternative but to recognize that the 21st century no longer always looks to the United States as an indispensable hegemon, whether benign or threatening. Secretary Clinton should focus on US soft, not hard, power – dealing with climate change and working out fairer global trade arrangements.

If Secretary Clinton is elected she must recognize the mood without pandering to its demons. She needs to bring the bold ambition about the role of government to this era that Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt each did in earlier times. She has the intelligence, the seriousness and the experience to do this. The US presidency is hugely powerful: 10% of all posts in federal government are allocated on the basis of political patronage. Secretary Clinton offers the best chance of ensuring those jobs go to competent people. Her choice of Treasury secretary in the aftermath of the banking crisis will be watched with special care, as will an olive branch appointment to Senator Sanders of the kind that president Obama made to her in 2008. She offers the greatest hope that the supreme court defends abortion rights and looks again at issues like campaign finance as well as background checks on gun owners. Yet America will soon find itself weakened at home and abroad if the new president is as badly served by congress as Mr Obama has been for most of his tenure.

There is a danger, if Mrs Clinton wins, that the Republicans will relapse into the Hillary-hatred that has marked them for a quarter century. The tragedy of this election is that, to become president, Secretary Clinton has had to talk more radically than she actually felt; to be an effective president she may be compelled to act more conservatively than she now says she wants to do.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**We broker deals for an obscene number of weapons, and we frequently run roughshod over the rights of indigenous people. And don’t even get us started on your favorite wonderboy Justin Trudeau

Quick – picture Canada.

What comes to mind? A progressive wonderland of polite manners and majestic moose? What America might be if it evolved a little? That place you’ll move to if Trump wins[https://www.theguardian.com/money/us-money-blog/2016/may/12/donald-trump-president-move-to-canada] ?

If that’s what you think, that’s fine by us. In fact, it’s our brand: Not-America. The nice guys. Dull, kind and harmless. That’s how we like to be thought of.

But it’s mooseshit.

We are not the country you think we are. We never have been.

The first prime minister and founding father of Canada, John A Macdonald, was a raging alcoholic. He spent entire campaigns fabulously drunk and once vomited on stage during a stump speech. When his rival pointed it out, Macdonald shot back that he hadn’t puked because of booze, but because he had been “forced to listen to the ranting of my honourable opponent”. It was a deflection worthy of Trump. Macdonald handily won the election.

Related: Canada is Justin Trudeau, but it is also Rob Ford[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/23/canada-justin-trudeau-rob-ford-donald-trump]

The reason the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (our iconic “Mounties”) ride horses is because during the labour movement of the 30s, horseback was the best way to trample protesting **immigrants** and miners. By the 60s, the horses were mostly just for show and the Mounties’ regular activities included subjecting suspected homosexuals to the “Fruit Machine”, a device designed to measure erotic responses to gay porn.

These days, Canada is the third-largest arms dealer in the world. Our Alberta oil sands produce more carbon emissions each year than the entire state of California. Our intelligence agency is allowed to act on information obtained through torture. And a lot of French Canadians are into blackface comedy[http://www.vice.com/en\_ca/read/blackface-is-still-a-thing-in-quebec-729].

It’s nice to be thought of as the world’s nice guys. And it’s useful – it obscures a lot of dirt

Little of this is widely known, because we happen to share a border with America. When your next-door neighbour is a billionaire celebrity genius with automatic weapons and an undying need for attention, you can get away with all sorts of stuff. It’s nice to be thought of as the world’s nice guys. And it’s useful – it obscures a lot of dirt.

Last year, Canadians almost came to terms with the lie in our branding. After a decade of the rightwing Harper government, with its pro-oil, anti-science and anti-Muslim ideas, it had become difficult to maintain our sense of smug superiority. Add to that the global coverage of crack-smoking Toronto mayor Rob Ford (since deceased), and the maple leaf flag patch sewn to our metaphorical backpack was coming loose at the seams.

In this disillusionment, there was opportunity. If we wanted to reclaim our reputation as a just and caring and helpful society, perhaps we could try behaving like one. During our 2015 election, everything from electoral and environmental reform to international peacekeeping was put back on the table, and we dared to open our eyes (just a peek) to the neglected, remote indigenous communities where suicide rates[http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/sudbury/attawapiskat-suicide-emergency-help-1.3529750] are shockingly high and access to untainted drinking water[http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/bad-water-third-world-conditions-on-first-nations-in-canada-1.3269500] is shamefully low. There was a sense that Canada was ready to grow up and forge a national identity based on what we do, not on who we aren’t.

There was a sense that Canada was ready to grow up. Instead, we elected Justin Trudeau

Instead, we elected Justin Trudeau, a social media savant who has positioned himself, and by extension Canada, as a sunny chaser to the world’s bitter news. Trudeau is the political equivalent of a YouTube puppy video. After your daily barrage of Trump and terror, you can settle your jangled nerves with his comforting memes.

Each week, Trudeau feeds the news cycle a new sharable moment, and our Facebook feeds are overwhelmed with shots of the adorable young statesman cuddling pandas and hugging **refugees** and getting accidentally photographed in the wild with his top off, twice.

Related: Environmentalists 'expected better' of Trudeau as Canada backs gas project[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/28/canada-pacific-northwest-lng-natural-gas-pipeline-british-columbia]

For international audiences, the Justin moment has been a harmless diversion. For Canadians, it’s a dangerous distraction. Canadians care far more about what Americans think of us than we do about Canadian politics. Little wonder that things remain so grim.

Despite Trudeau’s progressive branding, Canada is right where Stephen Harper left us. It’s been a year since the election, and we’re still selling arms to Saudi Arabia, still cutting $36bn from healthcare and still basing our economy on fossil fuel extraction, and running roughshod over indigenous rights[https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/09/27/liberals-to-decide-on-lng-plant-in-bc-seen-as-a-litmus-test-for-trudeau.html] to do so.

Too much maple syrup will make anyone sick, and I thought Trudeau’s honeymoon was finally over when, sensing a hot meme, he knelt down to offer a three-year old Prince George a high-five. But the royal toddler left our common prime minister hanging – and to me it seemed the spell was broken. But it wasn’t. A few weeks later, right as he was backtracking on a campaign promise for electoral reform, Trudeau’s approval rating hit 64%.

Canada’s moment would likely have lapsed by now if not for the American election. The comparison of Trump v Trudeau is just too rich for the press to resist. Canada has a dashing Disney prince for a ruler, and the US is considering this guy ? The Washington Post dubbed Trudeau “the anti-Trump”. Every idle threat to move to Canada if Trump wins has been treated as a major news event by the Canadian press.

Related: The world adores Justin Trudeau. In Canada, we're still reserving judgment | Rebecca Shapiro[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/29/justin-trudeau-popular-world-canada-reserving-judgment-prime-minister-political-resume]

(A note to my fellow Canadians on that: when an American says that they’ll move to Canada if Trump wins, it’s like when the head cheerleader tells the arrogant quarterback that he’s so conceited, she’d sooner date Urkel. Urkel may swoon to hear his name coming from a pretty girl’s lips. But it’s not really a compliment, and she’s never really going to date him.)

Last week an opportunistic Canadian ad firm sent America a shit-eating YouTube sympathy card[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/19/canada-response-to-us-election-tell-america-its-great], in which a handful of pasty Canadians assured their beleaguered neighbors that despite you-know-who, we still think America’s great! The passive-aggressive subtext is of course that we also think we’re a little bit better.

But we’re not. And for that, I’m sorry.

Jesse Brown is the co-author of the upcoming CANADALAND Guide to Canada[https://www.amazon.com/Canadaland-Guide-Canada-Jesse-Brown/dp/1501150634/ref=sr\_1\_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1477005797&sr=8-1&keywords=canadaland+guide+to+canada] (published in America). Available in May from Touchstone Books.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**While it might not be the box office mainstay it once was, the genre is experiencing a renaissance, something that’s telling of the state of America in 2016

Ominous music, reminiscent of a horror movie, plays while a stranded priest waits alone in a dusty landscape. A lone horseman rides up, a scene out of a classic western. But the priest is a drunk and a thief who tries robbing his savior; the hero is actually a killer, though not, he insists while taking the priest’s bullets and water, a thief. Cue the credit sequence, a full-blown homage to the spaghetti western, A Fistful of Dollars.

Related: In a Valley of Violence review: Hawke underplays in tongue-in-cheek western[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2016/mar/13/in-a-valley-of-violence-review-ethan-hawke-tongue-in-cheek-western]

In the Valley of Violence, directed by Ti West, packs a lot into its opening moments. It also speaks to the state of westerns today. Despite occasional rumors of its demise – and two decades where memorable entries were the exception – the western is now surprisingly vibrant, thanks to a flexibility that allows movies and TV series to celebrate the genre’s traditions, deconstruct its conventions or do both.

“The western has always been the American epic,” says Robert Thompson, director of Syracuse University’s Bleier Center for Television & Popular Culture. “It’s exciting and violent and huge. We don’t have a single text like The Iliad or The Odyssey but the western is our story.”

Westerns never died off but few were made from 1980 to 2003. They returned with a vengeance after 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq. “It was a time that sent people into shock and America was longing for a way to figure out what went wrong, who we are, what are values are and where we go in future,” says Richard Aquila, author of Wanted Dead or Alive: The American West in Popular Culture.

“The story and the archetypes in westerns may be simple, but that allows you to use subtext to tie things in to what is happening now,” says West, whose previous credits were mainly within the horror genre. The townsfolk in his movie have become violent and desperate since the mine closed and jobs vanished, which he compares to modern Detroit.

Related: Hell or High Water’s David Mackenzie: ‘I look forward to the day people get sick of superheroes’[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/sep/01/hell-or-high-waters-david-mackenzie-i-look-forward-to-the-day-people-get-sick-of-superheroes]

Taylor Sheridan, who wrote the screenplay for this year’s revelatory modern western, Hell or High Water[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/sep/11/hell-or-high-water-review], wanted to meld the heist, buddy and road movies into the western “and then turn all the genres on their ear”.

His film, the year’s highest-grossing indie, stars Chris Pine and Ben Foster as brothers robbing the banks that seduced their late mother into a predatory loan, and Jeff Bridges as the aging Texas Ranger who hunts them. Bridges was drawn to it by “the moral ambiguities” of all the characters and the story.

“The movie has us re-examining the self-evident truths of America,” Thompson says, tackling subjects like poverty’s multi-stranglehold, the lingering impact of domestic violence; casual racism and even the pros and cons of a state loaded with guns. But it does so amidst a landscape of bank robberies and getaway cars, stakeouts and shootouts.

“The holy grail is putting ideas into a movie that also entertains,” Sheridan says, who loathes movies that preach. “The western allows you to put sugar on the capsule to make the ideas go down easy.”

The western has been a movie staple since the pioneering 1903 film, The Great Train Robbery. It became the dominant genre, especially after the second world war, creating an image – John Wayne – of rugged American self-reliance and manliness. From 1910 through 1960, approximately a quarter of all films featured hats and horses and the television landscape was similarly populated with cowboys.

Related: Lonely rangers: the dark side of westerns[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/may/06/dark-side-westerns-film-bfi-season-ride-lonesome]

The western will never return to those days but The Magnificent Seven remake reached number one at the box office last month and the past two years have also pushed the boundaries of the western with The Revenant and The Hateful Eight as well as smaller films like Bone Tomahawk and Slow West, HBO’s lavish and twisted Westworld[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/tvandradioblog/2016/oct/11/westworld-robots-on-film-robocop-blade-runner] blends genres while David Milch says he’s three months from shooting his long-awaited conclusion to Deadwood (“though I may be kidding myself,” he adds), and the network is reportedly developing another western with Deepwater Horison director Peter Berg; meanwhile, AMC has a sprawling saga, The Son, coming in 2017.

“We’re reaching some fever pitch right now, looking at the idea of autonomous individualism and the chaos out there,” says James Ransone, the Valley of Violence villain, pointing out that new technology like railroads and improved weaponry were essential to our manifest destiny. Today’s new technological frontiers have filmmakers and audiences yearning for simpler times. “So we’re telling stories that make sense of that environment as tumbleweeds of tweets roll past,” he adds.

The classic westerns “celebrated American exceptionalism”, Aquila says.

While most were “white hats and black hats, good versus evil”, Keach recalls, the best were more nuanced. Sure, the good guys always won but in John Ford’s The Searchers, Wayne’s virulent racism makes him more an anti-hero and Jeff Bridges says, “there were dilemmas and moral complexities in movies like High Noon”, a parable about McCarthyism.

Radical change arrived in the 1960s with a young generation opposing the Vietnam war and supporting the civil rights and women’s movements. “Old westerns were like a checklist of what their revolution was against,” Thompson says – macho heroes, “might makes right” and manifest destiny against “savages”.

Related: Jane Got a Gun – but most women in westerns still don't[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/apr/21/jane-got-a-gun-most-women-in-westerns-dont]

In a nation divided, John Wayne westerns remained popular but anti-heroes such as Clint Eastwood in Sergio Leone’s legendary spaghetti western trilogy and Paul Newman and Robert Redford as doomed robbers in Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid became the cultural touchstones, alongside Sam Peckinpah’s bloody The Wild Bunch, which he said was an allegory for Vietnam, Butch Cassidy was the most successful western ever... until Blazing Saddles, which completely subverted the entire genre. Revisionist westerns took over, led by movies like McCabe & Mrs Miller and Little Big Man.

“The western is flexible, that’s why its alive still,” says Aquila. “It’s like an inkblot test and every generation uses it for its own purposes.”

Doc, a revisionist retelling of the Doc Holliday and Wyatt Earp saga, “tried desperately to avoid any parallel to Gunfight at OK Corral”, the 1957 western that mythologized those historical events, says Keach.

By the late 1970s, productions of any westerns were in steep decline. Thompson and Keach say the dusty towns seemed **alien** to younger viewers, who preferred space, the final frontier, which allowed for western stories and characters – Captain Kirk as the sheriff – in a new setting. “Star Wars is a western in space,” Keach says.

After Heaven’s Gate misfired badly in 1980, the western seemed doomed. America found its rugged heroes in action-adventure films like Raiders of the Lost Ark, Rambo and Die Hard. John McClane’s “Yippee Ki Yay, motherfucker” is that generation’s most memorable cowboy quote. For two decades, westerns were slick Hollywood confections like Young Guns, Tombstone, Maverick and Wyatt Earp or comedies like Three Amigos and City Slickers that satirized overly familiar tropes. There was one glorious span from 1989 to 1992 with four stirring exceptions: the Lonesome Dove miniseries in 1989, followed by the smash hit Dances With Wolves, Thunderheart and Clint Eastwood’s final word on the topic in his classic Unforgiven.

Deadwood paved the way for the new westerns, Thompson says. Milch didn’t set out to create one. “I wanted to tell the story about the moral chaos of a community trying to discover the rules by which to live,” he says. Networks viewed it more as “a cop show relocated to the west with Bullock as the central character, which is not what it was,” he says, in part because of his track record (Hill Street Blues, NYPD Blue) and in part “because the western was in eclipse as a genre so that was a more comfortable way to think about it.”

Aquila says the split in the nation’s mood then allowed for films that harkened back to the days when justice – alongside vengeance – was served (Open Range, Appaloosa) but that the tenor during the Bush years was generally darker. The ending of the scintillating remake of 3:10 to Yuma was deadlier than the original, The Assassination of Jesse James By the Coward Robert Ford was a mournful study of a society obsessed with myth and celebrity, and There Will Be Blood was about greed, oil and violence (or the Republican party under Dick Cheney).

Related: Best western: why Bone Tomahawk became a gunslinging cult hit[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/feb/15/craig-zahler-on-bone-tomahawk]

The Coen brothers’ riveting No Country for Old Men was “a morality play with an ending that shows good doesn’t necessarily triumph over evil,” Aquila says, a good fit for a country frightened of terrorists and bogged down in a misguided war. The Coens returned to the western under a new president three years later with a more hopeful film, their True Grit remake. “That shows how we use the western myths,” he says, adding that the next great western of the Obama era was Django Unchained, which showed a black man as the gunslinger hero. (This year’s box office success of The Revenant and The Magnificent Seven reveals a desire “for a more traditional American spirit” and a tough-guy hero, he says, although our presidential candidates confound every reasonable archetype).

Meanwhile, television produced Justified, Longmire and Hell on Wheels. But the western’s new life derives not just from quintessential American visionaries like Quentin Tarantino and Tommy Lee Jones (2014’s The Homesman) but from foreign-born film-makers from Alejandro González Iñárritu to Kristian Levring (2014’s The Salvation), John Maclean (Slow West) and David Mackenzie (Hell or High Water).

“We don’t get bogged down in what small-town America was like and we can have a slight cynicism and criticism about America and the genre,” says Maclean, whose timely tale is about the rude awakening awaiting a naive **immigrant** on his journey into the new world. Maclean’s film is lit with a glow, like a fable “to comment on storytelling and the myths of the west”, which he directly punctures with sly humor.

The freshest takes these days find new ways to subvert, escape or toy with the familiar cliches. Westworld is so aware that it is about an artificial landscape its customers know so well that guests choose between white or black hats before venturing into the playground of the wild west. “They are picking up on our traditional notions of the western but then playing with them,” Aquila says, while remaining timely by exploring our anxiety about topics like artificial intelligence.

“This is still our historical epic,” Thompson adds. “The western is going to be around for a long time.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Gulwali Passarlay had to persuade officials that he was only a child when he arrived in the UK; now he sees children younger than he was facing the same treatment. He explains why it leaves him angry

I arrived in the UK when I was just 13 years old and was completely alone.

I spent a year travelling through 10 countries. I have been in jail, had my face burned with chemicals and almost died in the Mediterranean[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/18/70-of-migrants-to-europe-from-north-africa-trafficked-or-exploited-un-united-nations-survey]. Three weeks after all this was finally over, I found myself in front of five strangers who were tasked with assessing my age. They were so careless they didn’t bother to spell my name right or get the month and day of my birth correct on their form. They were in charge of my future.

I grew up in eastern Afghanistan along with four brothers and two sisters. My father was a doctor and my mother was a housewife and midwife. We had a good life. But when the US invaded Afghanistan[http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/the\_war\_in\_afghanistan], our province became a war zone. We often had to run for our lives to escape the bombs and rocket attacks.

Related: Child **refugees** will have ages verified if necessary, minister says[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/21/child-refugees-will-have-ages-verified-if-necessary-minister-says]

When the war officially ended, we were still caught between the Taliban and the government[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/18/taliban-afghanistan-secret-talks-qatar]. My father had been killed by US forces, so the Taliban tried to recruit me and my older brother to fight in their “holy war”. I was only about 10 or 11, but the option they gave us was fight or die. The government, meanwhile, wanted us to be informants.

Instead, my mother took the decision to send us away. She saved me but she also lost me, because 10 years later I am not the same Gulwali she knew. We said goodbye in Peshawar, Pakistan, and she handed my brother and I over to traffickers, telling us to stay together and keep hold of each other’s hands.

Almost immediately the agents separated us. I did not see my brother again for 14 months. We travelled in every form of transport; walking through the night, often hungry and thirsty, sometimes sleeping in bunkers or chicken coops. The traffickers didn’t treat us like humans; we were just commodities. The worst point was crossing the Mediterranean from Turkey to Greece. I had never seen the sea before, but I was on a boat built for 20 people loaded with 120 people. We were on it for 50 hours with no food and water, and by the time we were rescued it was sinking.

The journey was like snakes and ladders. I was arrested and sent to jail in Bulgaria, before being sent back to Turkey. In Iran I had to run away from a police prison. What kept me going was faith and the hope of finding my brother. I came to England because I heard that was where he was heading. It took me more than 100 attempts to get onto a lorry in Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/05/travel-chaos-warning-as-french-farmers-and-truckers-plan-calais-camp-protest]. The police would try to arrest you and I felt humiliated and worthless. That’s how I burnt my face – I tried to jump on a lorry loaded with chemicals.

Eventually I made it onto a lorry carrying bananas. We survived because the refrigerator wasn’t turned on. I finally got to the UK. Then after being arrested and sent to an **immigration** centre I had my age assessment. They asked me questions about my family background, my journey – even silly questions about the province I came from in Afghanistan. After three or four hours they announced I was not 13 but 16 and a half.

They said I couldn’t have travelled so far when I was still so young, and that I was too smart to be 13. I know I looked older than I was – I still do, but I grew up in a harsh, mountain environment and I had been through a long, hard journey. They tried to give me a new date of birth. I was so angry. I felt they were worse than the smugglers – they had been heartless, but they hadn’t tried to change my identity. I was so angry I ripped up the paper the assessors gave me, in front of them.

In fact they refused to believe I was even from Afghanistan, although they never told me where else they thought my home was. It was stressful and distressing: I didn’t know why they were saying all this. Now I know it is because the Home Office have to put you in school and in foster care and give you the legal rights of a child[http://www.unicef.org/violencestudy/pdf/refugee\_children\_guidelines\_on\_protection\_and\_care.pdf] if you are under 16.

Related: As a nation would we ever sink so low as to check **refugees**’ teeth? | Hugh Muir[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/19/refugees-teeth-britain-children-calais-europe]

Instead they put me in a independent living centre with adult asylum seekers and told me when I was in 18 (which, according to them, was in a year and a half) I would be deported back to Afghanistan. After that, I felt broken inside. I felt hopeless that I had come all this way, through so much hardship and now people were saying I was a liar; it was so bad that I tried to commit suicide twice in the months that followed. Last year they sent 4,000 former unaccompanied minors back, even though there is fighting in 30 out of 34 provinces in Afghanistan.

Finally, by chance, I found my brother. He was visiting London and met some people from my centre, who told him they knew someone who looked just like him. I moved up to Bolton to be with him as soon as I could. There I found an education centre for migrant children called Starting Point[http://www.bolton.gov.uk/website/pages/SupportforfamiliesnewtotheUK.aspx]. The head teacher there said a few small words that changed my life. She said she believed me. It meant everything.

The teachers at the school fought on my behalf, and I also took matters into my own hands. I went to the Afghan embassy and got a birth certificate and a passport; I went to a specialist doctor to confirm my age. Eventually because I also had my Home Office card with my real name on it, the Home Office had to accept I was telling the truth.

From then on I was put into foster care and allowed to go to school. I got 10 GCSEs and five A levels, and I have just graduated with a degree from Manchester University. Along the way I have written a book, spoken at the UN and carried the Olympic torch. All of those things happened because I was able to get the support and help I needed.

But it is also why it hurts so much when I read the news reports claiming the young people being brought over from Calais under the Dubs agreement[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/14/child-refugees-in-limbo-in-calais-because-of-home-office-delays] are lying. Why do we have this attitude of suspicion towards **refugees**? These young people have been through trauma and hardship. They are humans. They don’t deserve to be treated like this. Media reports like this just create hatred against **refugees** and politicians should be ashamed for jumping on the bandwagon.

When I go into schools now I often see 16 year olds who, to me, look 14, because people from different parts of the world look different. People in the UK are brought up in peace and security, with no responsibility, but these young people may have seen their homes burned and their families killed.

Related: **Refugee** children arriving in the UK need support – not bureaucracy[https://www.theguardian.com/social-care-network/2016/oct/21/refugee-children-uk-bureaucracy-social-work]

If these young people are older than they say, even then they should not be shamed like this, with their pictures splashed across newspapers[http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/child-refugee-front-pages-see-british-media-taken-to-task-by-twitter-users\_uk\_5805f0cce4b0dcd0298fb183]. Could you blame them for being scared the Home Office will deport them back to a war zone if they are over 18? I just wish the authorities could be left to deal with them honestly and respectfully. There is no need for media reports to imply everyone in Calais is lying. We should be proud that we are reuniting young people with their families.

Since I got travel documents I have been to Calais six or seven times to take food and aid and to show some solidarity with the **refugees** there. After 10 years I think the world has not got better; things are worse. It’s so hard to see the lack of compassion, the lack of action. I was hoping no other children would ever go through what I did, but in Calais I met children even younger than I was when I arrived there. All they want is safety and to be treated like humans.

As a **refugee** you lose so much. Because I left Afghanistan I was not there when my sister died or when my beloved grandmother passed away. I was not there when my brother got married, and I am not there now, while another brother is planning his wedding. It hurts that despite all this you still have to explain yourself.

Gulwali Passarlay[https://gulwalipassarlay.wordpress.com/] is author of The Lightless Sky: An Afghan **Refugee** Boy’s Journey of Escape to A New Life in Britain

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Robert Goodwill tells MPs 28-day age verification process may be used, but intrusive dental and x-ray checks have been ruled out

Assessments to determine the age of child **refugees** are being carried out where necessary, but the use of dental checks is not possible or right, the **immigration**minister has said.

Robert Goodwill clarified that dental checks and x-rays would not be used after Tory MPs questioned the age of some child **refugees** pictured arriving in the UK from the camp at Calais.

Related: ‘It is a disgrace to Europe’: former child **refugee** Lord Dubs on the Calais camp[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp]

The Home Office minister appeared in the House of Commons to rule out medical or dental evidence as a way of determining age, after Philip Davies, a backbench Tory, requested an urgent question.

Goodwill said there was a process used by social services when an accurate assessment of a **refugee**’s age was needed, and that it took 28 days.

The issue of the age of **refugees** has blown up into a huge controversy, with a number of rightwing newspapers supporting the position of the Tory MPs. However, opposition MPs have questioned the ethics of intrusive age verification, and the Match of the Day presenter Gary Lineker[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/gary-lineker-hits-back-at-online-abuse-over-hideously-racist-coverage-refugees] has accused those calling for checks “hideously racist and heartless”.

Children under the age of 13, and the most vulnerable, are being prioritised as they come to the UK to be with their families, Goodwill said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Despite suffering sometimes unimaginable trauma, **refugees** are picking their way into the future. We need to learn from them

For three years during the Syrian civil war, Nisreen gave her children a tranquilizer every night so they might sleep through the airstrikes. Secretly, she preferred for them to die in their sleep than live every day in such incapacitating fear.

When Islamic State took over his school, Ahmad pretended to be dead while his classmates were first raped and subsequently burned alive. He was in third grade.

Nisreen and Ahmad are two of the 2.7 million **refugees** now living in Jordan – a small country with a population of slightly less than 10 million. Accepting such a great number of people, now comprising a substantial proportion of our population, has taught us a few lessons. We’ve learned of humans’ gut-wrenching ability to go to extreme lengths to hurt, destroy and deny others their humanity. We’ve seen **refugees**’ indelible marks of torture and heard their stories of adversity.

On the other hand, we’ve also learned of **refugees**’ incredible resilience and sense of hope against all odds – their ability to acclimate to a new environment and still feel committed to do what they can to be of service to others. Today Nisreen resides in a **refugee** camp in Jordan and leads group therapy for women with persistent trauma symptoms. By speaking about her own experience every day, she’s encouraging others to do the same.

We’ve learned of **refugees**’ incredible resilience and sense of hope against all odds

Ahmad, meanwhile, is now obtaining straight As in school – excelling particularly in maths – and helping a local NGO recruit other Syrian child **refugees** to enroll in school. Despite our differences in religion and culture, we now understand that **refugees** ultimately want precisely what we Jordanians want: safety and an opportunity to give back to society.

After extreme testing, we now understand the true depth of Jordanian hospitality. At a time when our nation could have turned its back on more **refugees**, we took more, understanding that the responsibility to accept **refugees** is not a Middle Eastern one but a global, human one. We learned that this hospitality is also grounded in the reality that it could have been us – we could have been **refugees** seeking a haven elsewhere. No nation or group is immune from this reality. Years prior to the Syrian civil war, no mother there expected to drug her children in a war zone, and no child there expected to witness mass murder and rape at school.

Related: The returnees: what happens when **refugees** decide to go back home?[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/jul/20/the-returnees-what-happens-when-refugees-decide-to-go-back-home]

Perhaps most importantly, a lesson we continue to learn pertains to shifting our understanding about our responsibility. Accepting **refugees** does not and cannot end with merely protecting **refugees** from war. Instead, taking **refugees** in means we must ensure they have access to services afforded to Jordanians themselves; namely, access to education, health services, and jobs. This has proven difficult with already strained resources in our country, but we understand that truly helping **refugees** must involve empowering them by giving them jobs. With a history of remarkable individual contributions in their country as doctors, lawyers, business leaders, we must play our part now and adopt these skills in our workforce.

Laila Soudi is a mental health researcher with Stanford university who works with **refugees** in Jordan. Hana Abu-Hassan is assistant professor of family medicine at the University of Jordan.

Join our community[https://register.theguardian.com/global-development] of development professionals and humanitarians. Follow @GuardianGDP[https://twitter.com/GuardianGDP] on Twitter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As a handful of unaccompanied **refugee** children enter the UK, good social work practice – not rushed decisions about where to place them – will help

Finally, after years and months of waiting, the UK government has conceded it has an obligation to meet the needs of a small number of the rootless, homeless and stateless children as the Calais Jungle camp closes.

We have a week to make arrangements for the care of children where there is no family reunion. How are we going to ensure each decision is in the child’s best interest and meets our obligations under the international treaties and conventions our government has signed?

Related: Children in the Calais **refugee** camp are at risk. Social workers must act[https://www.theguardian.com/social-care-network/social-life-blog/2016/jun/22/calais-refugee-camp-abuse-social-work-silent]

We know, from what happens to children in public care in the UK, that decision-making is often compromised by the bureaucratic needs of the organisation. Social workers are well aware that decision-making is often done out of expediency rather than a careful matching of need and resource.

Unaccompanied children rarely arrive in the UK with identity papers. This statelessness exacerbates their vulnerability. They are vulnerable to trafficking, child labour and sexual exploitation. Their statelessless also makes the process of accessing social protection systems almost impossible at times, and they become invisible in the shadows of our society.

Simply placing two children in each local authority throughout England and Wales is a bureaucratic decision that fails the test of meeting needs, managing risk, and balancing competing human rights. In this sense, it fails to assess children’s need for relationships or take into account the relationships they may have already built.

There is a significant amount of research from around the world, and solutions from other countries, which demonstrate what works and what adds to the harm they’ve already experienced.

The children do not come from one homogeneous group but from different cultures and traditions and speak different languages. They are without their families, and isolation is a huge emotional and psychological part of their recent experience.

They may, or may not have, made peer relationships that have substituted for family relationships. They have been living in unhealthy, dangerous, unhygienic camps and have survived. They will have encountered some trustworthy adults but may have been abused or harmed by others.

Many countries have been significantly more active in meeting the needs of these children than has the UK. For example, Germany, Greece and Thailand have set up reception centres for six to eight young people at a time to provide safety, security and stability for a period to help with their adjustment to a different culture, climate and language. This provides them some space for recovery.

Other counties have also done research into what works, much of which points to combating isolation and the importance of peer relationships. Peer relationships are formed more often before relationships with adults – mixed messages from adults seen as “in control” perpetuate confusion and mistrust.

Related: EU states are denying child migrants essential services[https://www.theguardian.com/social-care-network/2016/aug/23/child-migrants-denied-essential-services]

We know that relationships are key to recovery and achieving positive change. So why are we not focusing on providing a solution based on the continuity of some of the positive relationships these children may have developed on their journey?

We need complete focus on providing an environment that allows young people to feel safe and secure before any other recovery can be started. Instead we, too, get caught up in the nightmare faced by every displaced person – bureaucracy.

At a seminar last week at the University of Eastern Finland, 10 research papers were presented on “**refugee** resettlement and integration” from countries including China, Morocco, Australia, US, India, Ghana and some European countries. They all shared two broad conclusions: social and cultural relationships are key to positive change, and bureaucracy is a hurdle to change, if not a barrier.

As social work practitioners and researchers we have a duty to each of the young people arriving into the UK to get it right – not only in the next few weeks, but in our response to a continuing humanitarian crisis.

Engaging with and accepting each person is key to any social work process. Are we as a profession making our skills, knowledge and expertise available to managers and politicians faced with this task? We can help in planning and in providing services that will work for these very vulnerable, traumatised young people coming into our country.

We now need to join others to find positive journeys through change, so that we can provide for the best interest of each and every child.

\* Ruth Stark is president of the International Federation of Social Workers[http://ifsw.org/]

Join the Social Care Network[https://register.theguardian.com/social-care/] to read more pieces like this. Follow us on Twitter ( @GdnSocialCare[https://twitter.com/GdnSocialCare] ) and like us on Facebook[https://www.facebook.com/guardiansocialcarenetwork] to keep up with the latest social care news and views.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNHCR and NGOs say millions needed to help those fleeing Isis stronghold in Iraq, amid fears that failure to support **refugees** could fuel conflict

Humanitarian workers in Iraq are warning that the response to the battle of Mosul[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/20/mosul-attack-kurdish-forces-launch-large-scale-operation-against-isis-in-iraq] is being hampered by lack of funding and the pressure of supporting the millions already displaced by conflict across the country.

As Iraqi, US and Kurdish coalition troops approach Mosul for military action that could take place any time in the next couple of weeks, the UN **Refugee** Agency’s Iraq country director Bruno Geddo told the Guardian that there is not enough money to prepare adequately for the huge numbers that could flee the city, with the Mosul budget only 48 per cent funded.[https://fts.unocha.org/pageloader.aspx?page=emerg-emergencyDetails&appealID=2880]

“We are preparing for a million people, we have to prepare for the worst,” said Geddo. “We have shelter for 130,000 people but in terms of camp space we only have space for 60,000 people. The timeline to set up additional camps is extremely tight, finding suitable land is fraught with problems, and the funding is still insufficient.

“We need a big chunk more funding to complete winter packages. We are short of $60m (£49m) for heaters and kerosene alone. If people cannot keep warm they will get sick when temperatures fall.”

He warns that the consequences of failing to support a sufficient humanitarian response could be very serious. “The worry is that if the protection of civilians and the humanitarian response fall short, this may rekindle the grievances and suspicions that contributed to the takeover of Mosul by Islamic State in the first place. A successful military campaign to retake Mosul is necessary but not sufficient. The stakes are high, as much for the military as for the humanitarian workers.”

The UN is up to version 23 of its planning map of the camps

Alun Mcdonald, Save the Children in Iraq

Preparations for the potential exodus of hundreds of thousands of civilians from Mosul have been underway since the summer as military plans to take the city back from Isis have progressed, with the UN working closely with other NGOs to coordinate the building of camps.

“It has been a bit of a challenge because the locations and the directions that people are expected to flee to have kept changing,” said Alun McDonald, spokesman for Save the Children in Iraq, referring to the difficulty of planning for such large-scale movement. “The UN is up to version 23 of its planning map of the camps.”

The preparations for people expected to flee Mosul come as Save the Children carries out emergency work to help Iraqis escaping other Isis-controlled areas. According to McDonald: “Even though the Mosul offensive is just starting we have seen more than 100,000 people displaced in the past few months from several Isis-held areas in central Iraq. Iraq is an incredibly difficult country for us.

“When people are displaced they go through screening centres run by the Iraqi army so we deploy there immediately with food, water, blankets. They have been arriving in a pretty desperate state due to lack of water and some were walking barefoot for 36 hours on their journey.”

McDonald is concerned that the even larger numbers that could leave Mosul will potentially pose more complex challenges, such as families being split up.

“At security screening centres men and boys are detained for long times, separated from mothers and sisters. We are particularly worried about this because of the large numbers that might move from Mosul. We are trying to work with the authorities to ensure families are reunited.”

The UN is working to support more than 3 million Iraqis [http://www.unocha.org/iraq] who have been displaced by fighting across the country since 2014. Geddo warns that the multiple crises that NGOs are facing in Iraq are making it a very difficult environment to work in. “Iraq is very complicated,” he says. “We have 3.3 million displaced as well as large numbers returning to their home cities after leaving during conflict. We are dealing with large-scale outflow from Mosul [and other cities] on top of that number. It makes it even more difficult.”

McDonald says that while people will want to go back, as with the millions living in camps and temporary homes across Iraq, there may be many obstacles to returning. “People will want to go back but it just depends on how the offensive goes. If there is heavy fighting and lots of the town gets destroyed, the hospitals and schools are bombed, will there be anything for people to go back to?”

If you are a humanitarian worker based in Iraq and want to tell us your experiences of working with IDPs please email us at globaldevpros@guardian.co.uk[mailto:globaldevpros@guardian.co.uk] with Mosul or Iraq in the subject line.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**They welcome government’s changes to Border Force Act but say these do not go far enough and should extend beyond health professionals

Teachers and other past and present employees of Australia’s offshore detention system have called on the federal government to expand its amendment of the Border Force Act and allow them to to speak publicly about their experiences.

The demands follow a recent government backdown on its strict legislation that outlawed people from revealing some details about Australia’s **immigration**centres on Nauru and Manus Island.

Under the amendment, revealed on Thursday[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/20/doctors-freed-to-speak-about-australias-detention-regime-after-u-turn], doctors and other “health professionals” are no longer bound by the secrecy and disclosure provisions, which carry penalties of up to two years in jail.

The head of the **immigration** department, Michael Pezzullo, signed the amendment[https://uploads.guim.co.uk/2016/10/19/Determination\_Amendment\_(1).PDF] at the end of last month, before a high court challenge by the advocacy group Doctors 4 **Refugees** contesting that specific provision.

Guardian Australia understands amending the challenge for teachers and other professionals has not been ruled out.

Related: Doctors freed to speak about Australia's detention regime after U-turn[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/20/doctors-freed-to-speak-about-australias-detention-regime-after-u-turn]

Judith Reen, a former teacher on Nauru who has previously spoken out about the conditions there, said the backdown was welcome but did not go far enough.

The department of **immigration** says the act is not an instrument to “gag lawful disclosures in the public interest”, and does not prevent people from reporting through appropriate channels.

“In fact, all staff contracted or employed by the department are expected to comply with their legal and professional obligations to report issues or concerns as appropriate,” a spokeswoman said.

Reen said she and her colleagues followed official procedures “strictly” while on Nauru.

“Myself and my colleagues lodged literally hundreds of information reports and we had an issues register, which was forwarded to Canberra, and there were issues like family separation, severe health risks, mental health,” she said.

“Beyond that I have written to senators, helped to file official complaints to UN special rapporteur, I have tried everything before this very public avenue. It’s not something I take lightly but it has fallen on deaf ears.”

Related: Australia's **refugee** policy is one of deliberate harm. And there's no claiming 'we didn’t know' | Ben Doherty[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/18/australias-refugee-policy-is-one-of-deliberate-harm-and-theres-no-claiming-we-didnt-know]

She said teachers in particular spent six to seven hours a day with the children, as virtual guardians, and saw the impact family separations were having on the mental health of the children and their families “whose resilience had already been reduced so much”.

“Yes we have used the formal procedures, but has anything changed for them? No it hasn’t.”

Despite no prosecutions having yet occurred under the act’s provision, it still “hangs over your head”, Reen said.

An increasing number of professionals, including high-ranking employees such as Dr Peter Young, the former head of mental health for IHMS[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/05/-sp-australias-detention-regime-sets-out-to-make-asylum-seekers-suffer-says-chief-immigration-psychiatrist], have spoken publicly criticising the conditions inside the centres and the impact indefinite and prolonged detention was having on the health and wellbeing of people[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jun/20/the-worst-ive-seen-trauma-expert-lifts-lid-on-atrocity-of-australias-detention-regime].

In August, several former teachers, including Reen, spoke to the Guardian[https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/11/nauru-teachers-speak-out-for-children-we-dont-have-to-torture-them] as part of the reporting of the Nauru files.

Mark Goudkamp from Teachers for **Refugees** lauded the health and other professionals who had spoken out so far for “defying the Border Force Act”, and welcomed the amendment, which he put down to “intense pressure” on the government. However, he said teachers, social workers and lawyers had to be included.

Related: Malcolm Turnbull says Amnesty criticism of Nauru detention 'absolutely false'[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/18/malcolm-turnbull-says-amnesty-criticism-of-nauru-detention-absolutely-false]

“It’s an emergency, it’s incredibly urgent that the situation on Nauru and Manus Island is brought to light,” he told Guardian Australia.

“The teachers have spent a lot of time closely with the children and know what they’ve been going through, and it’s very important they have that right to publicly disclose what they’ve witnessed.

“If the government had nothing to hide, it would not need the Border Force Act, and it would allow journalists to freely report about Nauru.”

Mat Tinkler from Save the Children told Guardian Australia on Thursday that the backdown was welcomed but left others with “an invidious choice” to risk prosecution if they chose to speak out.

The department spokeswoman declined to say if they were considering expanding the amendment. She said it was clear health professionals were not subject to the act’s disclosure and secrecy provisions, but said they were still expected to maintain “their strict ethical, professional and contractual obligations of confidentiality and privacy”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of the day’s political developments as they happen, including the Commons debate on Sir Philip GreenDavid Davis’s Brexit questions in Commons - SummaryIain Wright’s speech in the Philip Green debate - ExtractsAfternoon summary

block-time published-time 4.05pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* François Hollande , the French president, has said that the Brexit talks will be “hard” if Britain insists on a hard Brexit. Speaking as he arrived at the EU summit in Brussels, he said:

I have said it very clearly; Madame Theresa May wants a hard Brexit, then talks will be hard too.

\* Downing Street has left the door open to removing foreign students from net migration figures, after the chancellor hinted he thought they should not be counted. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/20/students-could-be-left-out-of-immigration-figures-ministers-hint]

\* It is “not in the national interest” for the government to reveal its Brexit plans before negotiations with the European Union, David Davis has told the Commons during his first interrogation by MPs as the minister in charge of the process. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/20/hilary-benn-brexit-wont-obstruct-britain-exit-eu]

\* Theresa May has called on EU leaders to put pressure on Russia to stop its “appalling, sickening” atrocities in Syria. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/20/may-european-leaders-stop-russian-atrocities-syria-brexi]

\* MPs have backed a call for Sir Philip Green to be stripped of his knighthood in the wake of the BHS scandal. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/20/philip-green-labelled-billionaire-spiv-in-commons-debate-on-knighthood]

\* A draft bill on a second independence referendum has been published by the Scottish government after the first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, pledged to hold a new poll in the event of a hard Brexit in a direct challenge to Theresa May. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/20/second-scottish-independence-referendum-bill-published]

\* Ideas for a regional visa system have been set out by the local authority for London’s financial district in an attempt to avoid staff shortages after the vote to leave the EU. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/20/city-of-london-weighs-up-regional-visa-system-to-avoid-post-brexit-staff-gaps]

\* Sir Michael Fallon , the defence secretary, has said Britain is using cyber warfare in the bid to retake Mosul from Islamic State. Speaking at an international conference on waging war through advanced technology, Fallon made it clear Britain was unleashing its cyber capability on IS, also known as Daesh. Asked if the UK was launching cyber attacks in the bid to take the northern Iraqi city from IS, he replied:

I’m not going into operational specifics, but yes, you know we are conducting military operations against Daesh as part of the international coalition, and I can confirm that we are using offensive cyber for the first time in this campaign.

That’s all from me for today, and for another 10 days. I’ll put up a readers’ edition blog next week, and next week I’ll be off for the half-term break. My colleagues Jessica Elgot, Haroon Siddique and Peter Walker will be driving the blog in my place.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.19pm BST

block-time published-time 3.57pm BST

Martin Schulz, president of the European parliament, has reaffirmed his opposition to the EU starting Brexit negotiations with the UK until article 50 is invoked. He posted these messages on Twitter .

enltrOn #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash], kick-off date for withdrawal process now indicated. However, such indication is not the same as actually invoking Art50 #EUCO [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EUCO?src=hash], kick-off date for withdrawal process now indicated. However, such indication is not the same as actually invoking Art50

— EP President (@EP\_President) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/EP\_President/status/789115604418629632]enltrThere will be no pre-negotiations before Art50 is invoked. Once #UK [https://twitter.com/hashtag/UK?src=hash] gov decides what relationship it seeks, EU will be ready to act #EUCO [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EUCO?src=hash] will be ready to act

— EP President (@EP\_President) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/EP\_President/status/789115727777243136]He also restated his opposition to the UK retaining full access to the single market if it refuses to accept freedom of movement.

enltr4 freedoms go together. What **alienates** so many people from EU is feeling that capital, goods & services have more value than people #EUCO [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EUCO?src=hash] is feeling that capital, goods & services have more value than people

— EP President (@EP\_President) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/EP\_President/status/789116098968977408]block-time published-time 3.48pm BST

More people want Brexit talks to prioritise single market access than curbing **immigration**, poll suggests Ipsos MORI has published some polling today suggesting that more people think the UK should prioritise access to the single market in the Brexit negotiations (45%) than think it should prioritise controlling **immigration** (39%). [https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/3795/Public-divided-on-prioritising-access-to-the-Single-Market-or-controlling-immigration.aspx] This is significant because the Theresa May has made it clear that she sees controlling **immigration** as more important, although May and other ministers insist both objectives are achievable.

enltrNew - The public now clearly puts access to the single market (45%) over controlling **immigration** (39%) in #brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/brexit?src=hash] - but remains split. pic.twitter.com/5Sb4fqLmTi [https://t.co/5Sb4fqLmTi] - but remains split.

— Ben Page, Ipsos MORI (@benatipsosmori) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/benatipsosmori/status/789076214296215552]As Ipsos MORI says, opinion is split largely in line with how people voted in the referendum.

Public opinion is largely split along the lines of how specific groups tended to vote in the referendum on EU membership. The single market is the priority for professionals and skilled workers with more than half (54%) of ABC1s and two in three (67%) graduates preferring Britain to put this option first. This compares with those in social classes C2DE preferring to prioritise **immigration** control (51%), as do those without a qualification (53%).

There is also a clear age difference. Fifty-seven percent of 18-34 year olds favour access to the single market (24% favour **immigration** control) compared with 32% of those aged 55+ (50% of whom favour **immigration** control).

enltrPublic still divided on single market access vs **immigration** control post-Brexit (on EU ref voting lines) @IpsosMORI [https://twitter.com/IpsosMORI] ref voting lines) https://t.co/JnoU4gX6Wv [https://t.co/JnoU4gX6Wv] ref voting lines) pic.twitter.com/c9LdP1biVv [https://t.co/c9LdP1biVv] ref voting lines)

— Gideon Skinner (@GideonSkinner) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GideonSkinner/status/789073673709846528]block-time published-time 3.40pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn has accused the prime minister of delaying the government’s commitment to bringing lone child **refugees** to the UK, including those who do not have family in the UK.

The Labour leader said it was “worryingly unclear what system the Government has in place to continue to identify and register children to see who might be eligible.”

Child **refugees** have two legal routes to enter the UK, the first under the EU ’s Dublin Regulation to reunite children with families already in the UK, and the second is the government’s commitment in the so-called Dubs amendment to the **Immigration** Act.

Under this amendment, introduced by Alf Dubs, the Labour peer who arrived in the UK as a Kindertransport child **refugee**, the government pledged to take an unspecified number of unaccompanied **refugee** children, without them having family ties.

At the time of the amendment in May, Home Office sources briefed around 3,000 would be allowed into the UK, though since the act was passed it appears that no children have arrived in the UK under its provisions.

In a letter to Theresa May , Corbyn said there was an “obvious delay in implementing the Alf Dubs amendment and commitments to help child **refugees**.”

Today Corbyn has been meeting Labour MEPs and others in Brussels.

enltrMeeting with Labour MEPs in Brussels today - Labour will work to protect jobs and workers' rights from a chaotic Tory Brexit pic.twitter.com/Wlg66QS7vV [https://t.co/Wlg66QS7vV]

— Jeremy Corbyn MP (@jeremycorbyn) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/789047427961618432]enltrWhile Tory Brexit team is in chaos, I've had a great discussion with @pes\_pse [https://twitter.com/PES\_PSE] president @SergeiStanishev [https://twitter.com/SergeiStanishev] on European sister party engagement pic.twitter.com/QvK69TBGIU [https://t.co/QvK69TBGIU] on European sister party engagement

— Jeremy Corbyn MP (@jeremycorbyn) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/789071474036449280]enltrI had an excellent and timely conversation on cooperation on the **refugee** crisis and Brexit with social democratic Czech PM @SlavekSobotka [https://twitter.com/SlavekSobotka]enltrI had an excellent and timely conversation on cooperation on the **refugee** crisis and Brexit with social democratic Czech PM pic.twitter.com/Ed5HJHbhTC [https://t.co/Ed5HJHbhTC]enltrI had an excellent and timely conversation on cooperation on the **refugee** crisis and Brexit with social democratic Czech PM

— Jeremy Corbyn MP (@jeremycorbyn) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/789110102385045505]block-time published-time 3.27pm BST

Some EU leaders think UK might not leave EU , Maltese PM tells BBC And these are from the BBC’s Europe editor Katya Adler.

enltr #Malta [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Malta?src=hash] PM just told me some #EU [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EU?src=hash] leaders still think #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] might not happen #EUsummit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EUsummit?src=hash] might not happen

— katya adler (@BBCkatyaadler) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCkatyaadler/status/789102925314424832]enltr #Malta [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Malta?src=hash] PM tells me #UK [https://twitter.com/hashtag/UK?src=hash] talk of leaving #EU [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EU?src=hash] single market but paying to have good access to some parts of it -simply won't happen #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] single market but paying to have good access to some parts of it -simply won't happen

— katya adler (@BBCkatyaadler) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCkatyaadler/status/789108393801900032]enltr #Malta [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Malta?src=hash] PM tells me #EU [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EU?src=hash] leaders following PM May's #UK [https://twitter.com/hashtag/UK?src=hash] speeches closely and believe #**immigration** [https://twitter.com/hashtag/immigration?src=hash] is her top #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] priority

— katya adler (@BBCkatyaadler) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCkatyaadler/status/789108930337275904]block-time published-time 3.15pm BST

Here are some more tweets from Laura Kuenssberg from the EU summit.

enltrMay hardly mentioned Brexit on way in - chose to focus on Russia instead, one of main items on agenda

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/789071022297317376]enltrMay-'the UK is leaving EU , but will continue to play full role until we leave and will be a strong and dependable partner after we've left'

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/789072717043621888]enltrTusk says Summit isn't a 'lion's den' but a 'nest of doves' for UK But warns May again not to try even for informal talks

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/789083329979092992]Tusk is Donald Tusk, the president of the European council.

enltrNot exactly a warm welcome, from Tusk this is 'a request to Theresa May , only a short information, not discussions'

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/789096986133823489]enltrEvery leader who's talked about Brexit so far on arrival has said UK has to decide what it wants first before any proper conversations

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/789097153801093120]enltrAlso doesn't bode well for potentail free trade deal btw EU and UK - Tusk warns CETA 'could be our last free trade deal'

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/789097313218232320]block-time published-time 3.09pm BST

French president says Brexit talks will be 'hard' if UK wants hard Brexit This is from the BBC ’s Laura Kuenssberg , who is at the EU summit in Brussels.

enltrTranslation typo - Hollande, 'I say to May firmly, if she wants a hard Brexit, negotiations will be hard'

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/789104266535325697]block-time published-time 3.06pm BST

Back to Brexit for a moment. This morning David Davis , the Brexit secretary, told MPs that Norway trades perfectly well with Sweden even though it is outside the customs union. (See 10.13am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/20/philip-green-knighthood-commons-set-to-debate-stripping-philip-green-of-his-knighthood-politics-live?page=with:block-58088a42e4b005f21833b606#block-58088a42e4b005f21833b606] But in the comments BTL acme and maxfisher have both flagged up this blog by L Alan Winters, an economics professor and head of the UK Trade Policy Observatory (UKTPO), about Sweden and Brexit. He says:

Swedish exporters find exporting to Norway far more troublesome than exporting within the EU . This chimes with the UKTPO’s argument that the EEA is not a simple alternative to belonging to the EU customs union and Single Market (see: Roos And Rules: Why The EEA Is Not The Same As Membership Of The Single Market Briefing Paper [https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=briefing-paper-3.pdf&site=18] ).

block-time published-time 2.56pm BST

Here is my colleague David Conn on the Commons vote.

enltrMPs vote to strip Sir Philip Green of knighthood - but his business practices were all known when he got it, and he was made a govt advisor.

— David Conn (@david\_conn) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/david\_conn/status/789101260205064192]block-time published-time 2.53pm BST

Here is my colleague Zoe Wood’s story on the Green vote.

Related: MPs vote to strip Sir Philip Green of his knighthood [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/20/philip-green-labelled-billionaire-spiv-in-commons-debate-on-knighthood]

block-time published-time 2.50pm BST

Green's knighthood - What happens next? Here is the amendment MPs have passed.

[This House] noting that Philip Green received his knighthood for his services for the retail industry, believes his actions raise the question of whether he should be allowed to continue to be a holder of the honour and calls on the honours forfeiture committee to recommend his knighthood be cancelled and annulled.

MPs voted in favour by acclamation. (Voting always starts with the speaker, or deputy speaker, asking if MPs are in favour of a motion. If they all shout “aye”, and no one shouts “no”, as happened on this occasion, the motion gets passed without a formal division. That is not quite the same as the Commons voting unanimously in favour of something, because many MPs were not in the chamber. But no MPs spoke out against Green losing his knighthood.)

It is now up to the honours forfeiture committee, a group of civil servants chaired by Sir Sir Jonathan Stephens , permanent secretary at the Northern Ireland Office, to decide what to do. It does not have to obey the House of Commons in this matter but, given the importance the government places on parliamentary sovereignty in the context of Brexit, it would be odd for Heywood and his committee to snub the Commons on this.

Of course, if Green were to act speedily and generously to make up the shortfall in the BHS pension fund, as MPs demanded, the committee could decide that that somehow superseded the Commons vote.

UPDATE: The original post wrongly said the forfeiture committee is chaired by Sir Jeremy Heywood , the cabinet secretary. But it is chaired by Sir Jonathan Stephens .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.06pm BST

block-time published-time 2.38pm BST

MPs vote in favour of Philip Green losing his knighthood MPs vote for the amendment, and the main motion, by acclamation. No one objects.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.52pm BST

block-time published-time 2.36pm BST

Frank Field , the chair of the work and pensions committee, is winding up the debate now. He says the debate has shown the commons select committee system working.

block-time published-time 2.35pm BST

Lewis says the key thing is to legislate to ensure this happens never again.

For example, what is to stop auditors signing off accounts when a firm like BHS will later go bust.

Lewis says the system is “bent”.

In the near future the shape of the modern economy will be transformed. Let’s make sure it works for everyone, he says.

The rules of the game need changing.

He says he is delighted, and a little surprised, to hear Theresa May say she rejects laissez-faire thinking.

Will the party of billionaires and tax avoiders really transform the economy in the interests of workers?

He says Labour welcomes May’s plan to put workers on company boards.

But would an individual worker or two on a board have been able to stand up to Green. A voice is pointless without teeth, he says.

block-time published-time 2.30pm BST

Clive Lewis , the shadow business secretary, is speaking now.

He says this issue cuts across party lines. There is a great deal of anger about BHS in the Commons. In effect, Green used the company to line his own pockets, and then he jumped ship like a rate from a sinking ship.

He says stripping Green of his honour will not create jobs, or restore the deficit in the pension fund. He says as far as he is concerned, he would be happy for Green to keep his knighthood if he restores the shortfall in the BHS pension fund.

He says the real problem is with the system that allows this, and that fact that Green was not breaking the law.

enltrClive Lewis: "The most extra ordinary thing about the whole BHS affair is that legally Sir Philip Green had done nothing wrong."

— steve hawkes (@steve\_hawkes) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/steve\_hawkes/status/789096549649358849] Clive Lewis . Photograph: BBC block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.31pm BST

block-time published-time 2.23pm BST

For an alternative view of Green, here is Ed Staite, a former Conservative party aide who is now a PR executive, with a column for PR Moment nominating Green for communicator of the week. [http://www.prmoment.com/3588/communicator-of-the-week-sir-philip-green.aspx]

block-time published-time 2.18pm BST

Clive Lewis , the new shadow business secretary, has told the BBC that what happened at BHS is “symptomatic of a wider malaise within our economy”. Labour wanted a new approach, he said.

There’s a lot of anger about this individual – that’s fine, we’ll debate that – but there does need to be a change in emphasis. Theresa May has said she wants to see an economy that works for all. Well we’ll hold her feet to the fire on that.

block-time published-time 1.52pm BST

Iain Wright 's speech - Extracts The best speech of the debate so far has probably been the one from Iain Wright , the Labour MP who chairs the Commons business committee. (See 12.40pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/20/philip-green-knighthood-commons-set-to-debate-stripping-philip-green-of-his-knighthood-politics-live?page=with:block-5808ac7fe4b005f21833b6ca#block-5808ac7fe4b005f21833b6ca] Here are key extracts.

\* Wright described the BHS saga as “one of the biggest corporate scandals of modern time”.

BHS is one of the biggest corporate scandals of modern times. I’m sure the whole House has sympathy for the thousands of workers and pensioners who have lost their jobs and seen their pension benefits reduced as a result of greed, incompetence and hubris. The reputation of business has been tarnished as a result of this greed. The vast majority of businesses are not run and managed like this. It would be wrong to tar all of business with the same brush. However, it is vital that this mess is sorted. Even at this late stage, Sir Philip should make amends for this whole story, and put right the wrongs that he himself engineered.

\* Wright accused Green of raiding BHS for his own benefit.

[Green] can’t be described as a short-term corporate raider. But he did raid the company, and his ability to do so meant that he was then in a financial position to be able to obtain the debt to acquire Arcadia and, through the same modus operandi, pay his family the biggest dividend in corporate history. He took the rings from BHS’s fingers, beat it black and blue, starved it of food and water, put it on life support, and then wanted credit for keeping it alive.

BHS’s balance sheet was made considerably weaker during Sir Philip’s tenure of the company. His extraction of value early on in his ownership made the company less able to innovate, to retain a market share or competitive place in the retail market which would allow the firm to generate the profits and be in more of a position to survive and to address the growing pension scheme deficit.

\* Wright said the BHS Group’s dividend policy “set the scene for the eventual demise of the company”.

BHS folded in 2016, a year after Sir Philip Green sold it to Dominic Chappell , but its demise was on the cards a lot earlier than that. In the three year period between 2002 and 2004, BHS Group paid dividends of £423 million, even though operating profit for the period was less than that amount, at £325 million. In 2004, BHS Group had dividends of £199,500,000. This dividend exceeded the Group’s operating profit for that year of £137 million...

Sir Philip could say, quite reasonably, that he received dividends for only a short period of time early on in his period of ownership. It was a long time ago. That is true. But I do think the dividend policy is crucial to understanding the whole story of BHS and wider lessons for business.

Green was to enrich himself, his family and his friends at the expense of long-term and sustainable growth for the company. Certainly, profits were made, but they were more akin to a short-term sugar boost rather than a nutritious diet that aided the long term health and strength of the busines s.

\* Wright said Green was not even very good at retail.

Sir Philip received his knighthood for services to retail. However, throughout the course of our inquiry, it became increasingly evident that he wasn’t particularly good at retail at all. True, he was able, in the early days, of sniffing out a corporate bargain and cutting costs to boost profit. There is nothing wrong with that, but he did not boost BHS’s turnover during his period of ownership, he lost market share to more nimble, or even not-so-nimble competitors, and he failed to anticipate the on-line retail revolution. By failing to innovate and invest in the brand, BHS looked like a remnant of the 1970s and 1980s, in a cut throat competitive sector where grabbing the customer’s attention and retaining their loyalty are paramount.

block-time published-time 1.32pm BST

James says it is important that the investigating bodies are given time to complete their inquiries.

If the evidence supports it, enforcement will be taken, she says.

block-time published-time 1.31pm BST

James says Green says he is in a dialogue with the pensions regulator.

She says she would urge him to sort it out quickly.

The pensions regulator continues to investigate the handling of BHS pensions. A conclusion will be announced soon.

Asked if she is aware of any specific proposals put to the regulator by Green, James says she is not aware of any.

If the government needs to bring forward further legislation in the light of the investigation, it will do so, she says.

She says BHS directors are being investigated. If it is found that their conduct fell below what was expected, action will be taken.

block-time published-time 1.27pm BST

Margot James , the business minister, is speaking now.

She says the committee report into BHS highlights the gap between the amount paid to senior executives and advisers, and what happened to workers.

She says the prime minister is committed to reviewing the rules governing corporate governance, including executive pay. There will be a consultation later this autumn.

She says Iain Wright made strong points in his speech about the difference between public companies and private companies.

Margot James . Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament block-time published-time 1.22pm BST

Ian Blackford , the SNP pensions spokesman, criticises Green in his speech, but says the government is at fault too for not tightening up company pension law.

enltrFigures show that there are 1000 more BHS pension dissters still to come with £45 bn shortfall. The SNP want a Pensions Commission set up.

— Ian Blackford (@IBlackfordSNPMP) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/IBlackfordSNPMP/status/789079068092358660]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.30pm BST

block-time published-time 1.11pm BST

Richard Graham, a Conservative, says the BHS pension scheme went from surplus to large deficit in about 10 years. The way it was run could not by any stretch of the imagination be called best practice, he says.

He says in the four months since Green gave evidence to the Commons inquiry into BHS relatively little has happened. So today provides a chance to put pressure on Green, he says.

This debate is not about grandstanding, he says. But it is about parliament telling Green he must honour the commitment he made. If he waits too long, that will be damaging to those affected.

block-time published-time 1.04pm BST

Winnick says Green is 'a billionaire spiv who has shamed British capitalism' In the Commons debate David Winnick, the Labour MP, says the Philip Green only pays a minimal amount of tax because his business is registered in his wife’s name in Monaco. He says, given this, he does not know why Green got a knighthood in the first place.

He says hardly a go days without the papers covering details of Green’s lifestyle. That is a provocation, he says. He goes on:

[Green is a] billionaire spiv who should never have received a knighthood, a billionaire spiv who has shamed British capitalism.

block-time published-time 1.00pm BST

Other public figures who have had honour removed The Press Association has compiled a useful list of other public figures who have been stripped of honours. Here it is.

\* Rolf Harris, March 2015. The former children’s entertainer was stripped of his CBE after being jailed for almost six years for a string of sex attacks on girls as young as seven.

\* Stuart Hall, October 2013. The former It’s A Knockout presenter was made an OBE in 2012 for services to broadcasting and charity. But the Queen directed it be cancelled after Hall, then 83, was handed a 30-month jail term for sexually abusing 13 victims, one as young as nine, over a period of nearly 20 years.

\* Vicky Pryce, July 2013. The economist was made a Companion of the Order of the Bath in 2009 in recognition of her contribution as head of the Government economic service. But in March 2013 she and ex-husband Chris Huhne were both jailed for eight months for swapping speeding penalty points a decade earlier so he could avoid a driving ban, which only emerged when Pryce approached newspapers after Huhne left her for another woman. She was released from prison after two months but, following her conviction, her name was removed from the Order of the Bath register.

\* James Crosby, June 2013. The former HBOS chief executive, who was knighted in 2006 after leaving the bank, was stripped of the title at his own request following a scathing parliamentary report into its collapse.

\* Jimmy Savile, January 2013. The television star was knighted for his services to charity in 1990 but the honours forfeiture committee considered stripping him of the title posthumously when the scale of the paedophile’s crimes emerged. The Cabinet Office later said that he had ceased to be a member of the order upon his death in 2011.

\* Fred Goodwin , January 2012. Goodwin received his knighthood for services to banking under the Labour government before guiding the Royal Bank of Scotlandto the brink of collapse in 2008. While honours are usually only removed from those convicted or jailed, the Cabinet Office said the scale of the RBS disaster - necessitating a £45bn bailout from the taxpayer - made the case “exceptional”.

\* Jean Else, February 2011. “Superhead” Jean Else was made a Dame in 2001 in recognition of her transforming performance at Whalley Range High School in Manchester. But in January 2009 she was banned from running a school after the General Teaching Council found her guilty of failing to observe minimum standards in recruiting and promoting staff. Her honour was revoked in 2011 after she was found guilty of misconduct.

\* Robert Mugabe , 2008. Zimbabwean dictator Robert Mugabe was stripped of his honorary knighthood in 2008 over his “abuse of human rights” and “abject disregard” for democracy.

\* “Prince” Naseem Hamed, 2007. The former WBA world featherweight champion was jailed in 2006 for 15 months and disqualified from driving for four years after a crash in May 2005 that left another man with fractures to “every major bone in his body”. The boxer was stripped of his MBE in January 2007.

\* Lester Piggott, 1988.The former champion jockey was stripped of his OBE after he was given a three-year jail term for evading tax in 1987.

\* Anthony Blunt, 1979. Art historian Anthony Blunt was a Professor of the History of Art at the University of London and Surveyor of the Queen’s Pictures. What was not known was that in 1964 he had confessed to having been a member of the infamous Cambridge Five Soviet spy ring, passing information to Moscow while they worked for MI5 during the Second World War. His secret was closely guarded for many years, but Margaret Thatcher publicly revealed his status in November 1979 and he was immediately stripped of his knighthood.

block-time published-time 12.47pm BST

Eleanor Laing , the deputy speaker, says she expects the debate to end around 2.30pm. She appeals to MPs to restrict their speeches to seven minutes.

block-time published-time 12.47pm BST

Wright says Lord Grabiner, the Arcadia chairman, has been “truly hopeless” in this affair.

He says BHS is “one of the biggest corporate scandals of modern times”.

The reputation of all business has been tarnished, he says.

Labour’s George Howarth intervenes. He says in in principle he agrees with the amendment saying Green should lose his knighthood. But is this the right time to proceed?

Wright says Green said he would sort out the BHS pension scheme. He told the committee he would do that four months ago. But he has not acted yet, Wright says.

block-time published-time 12.40pm BST

Wright says Green 'took rings from BHS's fingers' Wright is still speaking.

enltrIain Wright MP really puts the boot in to Sir Philip #Green [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Green?src=hash] : "He wasn't a short term corporate raider, but raid the company he did." #BHS [https://twitter.com/hashtag/BHS?src=hash] : "He wasn't a short term corporate raider, but raid the company he did."

— Joanna Partridge (@JoannaPartridge) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JoannaPartridge/status/789067919917539328]enltrIain Wright, chair of biz cttee, says Philip Green only gave BHS "short-term sugar boosts rather than long-term diet for good of its health"

— Patrick Kidd (@patrick\_kidd) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrick\_kidd/status/789067978599956480]enltrWright: "Green took rings from BHS fingers, starved it of food and water, beat it black and blue and then wants credit for keeping it alive"

— Patrick Kidd (@patrick\_kidd) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrick\_kidd/status/789068323803766784] Iain Wright . Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament block-time published-time 12.37pm BST

Iain Wright , the Labour MP who chairs the Commons business committee, says the report into BHS, jointly written by his committee and Frank Field’s work and pensions committee, [http://www.publications.parliament.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmworpen/54/5402.htm] was agreed unanimously.

Here are some of the conclusions from that report.

The evidence we have received over the course of this inquiry has at times resembled a circular firing squad. Witnesses appeared to harbour the misconception that they could be absolved from responsibility by blaming others. The worst example was Sir Philip Green , despite his protestations to the contrary. Sir Philip adopted a scattergun approach, liberally firing blame to all angles except his own, though he began his evidence by saying he would do the opposite. The truth is that a large proportion of those who have got rich or richer off the back of BHS are to blame. Sir Philip Green , Dominic Chappell and their respective directors, advisers and hangers-on are all culpable. The tragedy is that those who have lost out are the ordinary employees and pensioners. This is the unacceptable face of capitalism.

The sale of BHS did not have to proceed as it did. The potential checks, however, proved to be inadequate. Regulatory concerns were circumvented. Advisers were heavily incentivised to progress the deal...

Sir Philip Green drove the deal forward. He sought to sell a chain that had become a financial millstone and threatened his reputation. He knew that Dominic Chappell was a wholly unsuitable purchaser but overlooked or made good each of Chappell’s shortcomings and proceeded with a rushed sale regardless.

Dominic Chappell was out of his depth. He was over-optimistic to the point of arrogance. He failed to recruit a retail expertdespite his own lack of experience; failed to secure funding on commercial terms; failed to address BHS’s property leases in a timely way; and failed to address the company’s long-term underperformance...

The Green family benefited significantly from BHS. In his early years of ownership, Sir Philip cut costs, sold assets and paid substantial dividends offshore to the ultimate benefit of his wife. He failed, however, to invest sufficiently in stores or reinvent the business to beat the prevailing high street competition. We found little evidence to support the reputation for retail business acumen for which he received his knighthood.

It is true these are private companies holding Green family money. BHS, however, was a major employer and the sponsor of a large and ailing pension fund. Arcadia, another Green company, is in a similar position. Sir Philip gave insufficient priority to the BHS pension scheme over an extended period. His failure to resolve its problems by now has contributed substantially to the demise of BHS. Sir Philip owes it to the BHS pensioners to find a resolution urgently. This will undoubtedly require him to make a large financial contribution. He has a moral duty to act, a duty which he acknowledges.

block-time published-time 12.32pm BST

Fuller says Green was running a business with 11,000 employees. He criticised the decision to sell BHS to Dominic Chappell .

What goes through the mind of a knight of the realm to say that those livelihoods should be consigned to a three-time bankrupt?

What goes through the mind of the owner of such a substantial business that this, the problems that he has faced and been to him quite challenging, can more easily be solved by someone with zero experience of the industry that they are about to take on?

We are debating today those tangible issues. We are talking about what happened to the pensions, we are talking about what happened to the fact that many people lost their jobs, that there is a symbolic but still quite tangible step that we can take in this House, which is to say that those behaviours do not merit the continuations of an honour.

He says MPs can take the step of saying these behaviours do not merit an honour.

He says some MPs have said they agree Green might not deserve an honour, but they are not sure this is a matter for the Commons. But Fuller says he disagrees. The Commons should intervene, he says.

Richard Fuller. Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.26pm BST

block-time published-time 12.26pm BST

Richard Fuller's speech on stripping Philip Green of his knighthood Richard Fuller, the Conservative MP, is speaking now. He is moving the amendment saying Philip Green should lose his knighthood. (See 9.07am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/20/philip-green-knighthood-commons-set-to-debate-stripping-philip-green-of-his-knighthood-politics-live?page=with:block-5808746ce4b005f21833b5aa#block-5808746ce4b005f21833b5aa] Another 113 MPs have signed it, he says.

He says he believes passionately in the good that business can do.

He says he is on the business committee that inquired into BHS. And he says it is assumed that, when things get tough, people will do the right thing.

In business honour is ultimately all you have.

And he says that is why he has tabled this amendment.

block-time published-time 12.18pm BST

MPs debate stripping Philip Green of his knighthood MPs have just started the debate on BHS. And the Speaker will call the amendment on stripping Sir Philip Green on his knighthood and so we will got a vote - although it is possible that it may get passed without opposition.

Frank Field , the Labour chair of the Commons work and pensions committee, is opening the debate. He is speaking to the motion on the order paper.

That this House notes the recent joint Report by the Business, Innovation and Skills and the Work and Pensions Committees on BHS; endorses that Report’s criticisms of the governance of the company and of the holding company, Taveta Investments Limited ; believes that the sale of the company to Retail Acquisitions Limited for £1 was clearly not in the interests of British Home Stores’ employees and pensioners; notes the failure of Sir Philip Green over many years to resolve the deficit in the BHS pension fund; and calls on him to fulfil his promise to do so forthwith.

enltrFrank Field, opening the BHS debate, calls it a "sad, slowly unfolding Greek tragedy" and compares Philip Green to Napoleon

— Patrick Kidd (@patrick\_kidd) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrick\_kidd/status/789059964895715328]enltrFrank Field: "Sir Philip has threatened to sue me for my comments, I long to be in court and have a trial by jury."

— steve hawkes (@steve\_hawkes) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/steve\_hawkes/status/789060733954826240]enltrMP Frank Field calls Sir Philip Green an "asset stripper" as he opens Commons debate on Green's knighthood

— Chris Choi (@Chrisitv) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Chrisitv/status/789061977838608384]block-time published-time 11.52am BST

A draft bill on a second independence referendum has been published by the Scottish government this morning, after first minister Nicola Sturgeon pledged to hold a new poll in the event of a hard Brexit in a direct challenge to UK prime minister Theresa May [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/nicola-sturgeon-challenges-may-with-second-referendum-bill-scottish-independence-snp-conference].

The draft legislation, which was formally unveiled by constitution secretary Derek Mackay , despite the Scottish parliament being in recess until next week, sets out proposals for the rules governing the campaign, the conduct of the poll and how votes are counted.

The proposed franchise would be the same as for the Scottish parliament , ie including 16 and 17-year-olds and citizens of EU countries now living in Scotland.

The eight page document proposes that any referendum would be run in a way similar to 2014, using the same yes/no question “Should Scotland be an independent country?” It also suggests that the vote would similarly not be subject to any minimum turnout requirement or an approval threshold.

Any decision on holding a referendum, including the timing of it, will be for the Scottish parliament - where a pro-independence majority exists between the SNP and the Scottish Greens - to take. Despite Theresa May ’s stated intention to oppose another independence poll, Holyrood would then ask the UK government to grant a Section 30 order to allow the vote to take place.

block-time published-time 11.31am BST

Davis claims Labour harming national interest by demanding detailed Brexit information Here are the key points from David Davis ’s Brexit questions in the Commons.

\* Davis signalled that the government is drawing up plans for a transitional deal that would protect the interests of the City between the UK leaving the EU and a final trade settlement being finalised. Theresa Villiers , the Conservative former Northern Ireland secretary (and leave supporter) told him this should be an “urgent priority” for the government so that City firms do not start planning on the basis of a worst case scenario (ie, losing access to the single market). Davis implied the government was looking at such an option. He told her:

We are seeking to ensure a smooth and orderly exit from the European Union and it would not be in the interests of either side, either Britain or the EU , to see disruption. And to that end we are examining all possible options, as you would expect.

We are approaching these negotiations in good faith and with goodwill towards our negotiating partners, and we hope the same in reverse, focused on a mutual interest to the UK and the EU including financial stability. I would say that having London as a number one financial centre sitting at the heart of the global capital markets is not just in the UK’s interests, it’s also in the EU ’s interests, and I’m confident that everyone will see the value in not undermining it.

Hilary Benn , the Labour MP and new chair of the shadow Brexit secretary, said that businesses needed to know now that transitional arrangements would be put in place if there was no deal within two year. Davis told him:

We have to treat as absolutely central to what we do maintaining the stability of both the City but also the European financial markets, and the European financial markets are a little fragile over the last few years. Now we will therefore do anything necessary.

\* Davis said that the government would publish “much information” about its Brexit plans between now and the triggering of article 50, starting the two-year EUwithdrawal process. He told MPs:

Over the course of the coming - whether it is six months or less - period before the triggering of article 50, much information will be put out about this and the House will be in no doubt what our aims and strategic objectives are.

\* But he also claimed that Labour was undermining the national interest by demanding detailed information about the government’s Brexit negotiating position. He told MPs:

I’m afraid what [Labour] do is rather seriously not to the country’s interests from time to time...

What the opposition are trying to do is to put us in a disadvantaged position against the European Union . That is not in the national interest.

David Davis in the Commons. Photograph: BBC block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.35am BST

block-time published-time 11.03am BST

Sir Kevin Barron , chairman of the Commons Standards Committee breached the MPs’ code of conduct by accepting payment for hosting events for a drug company in Parliament , the Press Association reports.

But the committee recommended in a report [http://www.publications.parliament.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmstandards/676/67602.htm] that no further action was required against Barron following the “minor” and “inadvertent” breach.

The fees received by Barron after sponsoring three events in parliament were donated to charity, and parliamentary standards commissioner Kathryn Hudson concluded the breach of the rules was “at the least serious end of the spectrum” because the MP did not personally benefit.

The report recommended that no further action was required against the Labour MP, who stood aside while the committee examined his case, and the inquiry had raised “no doubts over Kevin Barron’s integrity and honesty”.

block-time published-time 10.57am BST

Open Britain, the campaign to keep the UK in the single market, says 27,000 people have already backed its campaign calling on Theresa May to guarantee the right of EU nationals to stay in the UK after Brexit. It is calling the campaign #WriteToRemain and it has set up a website [http://writetoremain.uk/] to enable people to submit letters to the prime minister about this.

I will post a summary of the key points from Brexit questions in the Commons shortly.

block-time published-time 10.36am BST

The SNP’s Kirsty Blackman says people in Scotland are worried about being stuck on a small island with perpetual Tory governments. Will Davis commit to fully devolving employment law to Scotland?

Davis says he is the one who has guaranteed that employment rights will not be watered down. He says he is due to meet Mike Russell , the Scottish Brexit minister, to discuss this tomorrow.

block-time published-time 10.34am BST

Labour’s Nick Thomas-Symonds says the Welsh first minister should have a seat on the UK government ’s negotiating team to protect Wales’s interests.

Davis says he met the first minister recently. That is how they will do this, he says.

block-time published-time 10.28am BST

Labour’s Jenny Chapman , a shadow Brexit minister, asks if the government will continue to make payments to the EU after it has left.

Davis says he will not answer that.

Chapman asks how much the government will have to spend on legacy commitments. She says the Financial Times says these could cost Britain £20bn.

Davis says the European Commission , talking about how it negotiates, says it does not publish its negotiating position. Confidentiality is necessary to achieve a successful outcome, it says. He says Labour is trying to put the government at a disadvantage.

\* Davis accuses Labour of undermining the national interest by demanding details of the government’s negotiating position.

block-time published-time 10.23am BST

Anna Soubry , a Conservative, asks if he government has prepared draft emergency legislation in case it loses the court case challenging its right to invoke article 50 without a vote.

Davis says ministers do not comment on ongoing court cases.

block-time published-time 10.22am BST

Sir Bill Cash, a Conservative, says a Lords committee has published a report saying parliament should be consulted before article 50 is invoked. Does Davis think the referendum result should take precedence?

Davis says he has not read the report.

block-time published-time 10.19am BST

Mark Durkan, the SDLP MP, says employment law is a devolved matter for Northern Ireland. So will it get control of employment law when powers are taken back from the EU .

Davis says there will be discussions with the devolved administrations to make sure powers go to the right place.

block-time published-time 10.18am BST

Davis says the government has been clear it will “do nothing to undermine workers’ rights” as part of Brexit.

block-time published-time 10.17am BST

Alistair Burt , a Conservative, says there is significant concern in the agriculture community about leaving the EU .

Walker says there is close cooperation between his department and Defra.

block-time published-time 10.16am BST

Neil Parish , the Conservative chair of the environment committee, asks for an assurance that the UK will not row back on EU environment standards. Not all EUlaws are bad, he says.

Walker says the government wants to maintain environment standards.

block-time published-time 10.15am BST

Davis says he thinks the EU will want a deal that is good for the UK and good for the EU . That would mean a free trade area, he says.

block-time published-time 10.13am BST

Labour’s Helen Goodman says leaving the customs union could lead to exporters having to comply with rules or origin rules, increasing costs by 25%. So isn’t the customs union even more important than the single market.

Davis says Norway, which is outside the customs union, trades perfectly well with Sweden. He says these issues are being considered.

block-time published-time 10.11am BST

Margaret Ritchie, the SDLP MP, asks if the government will explore ways of ensuring Northern Ireland can stay in the single market if the rest of the UK leaves.

Davis says the government is committed to keeping an open border between Ireland and Northern Ireland, and to getting the best access to the single market. He will not go beyond that now, he says.

block-time published-time 10.07am BST

Labour’s Wes Streeting asks if the government will consider a plan to give London the ability to issue its own work visas to EU citizens.

Walker says the government will do what is best for the UK as a whole.

block-time published-time 10.06am BST

Alex Salmond , the SNP international affairs spokesman, asks why Philip Hammond yesterday was able to guarantee that foreign bankers will be able to stay in the UK, while not being able to give that guarantee to other hard-working EU nationals.

Walker says Salmond is misrepresenting what Salmond said.

(Actually, Salmond’s summary of what Hammond said [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/19/pmqs-may-corbyn-hammond-angela-eagle-was-subect-to-homophobic-abuse-after-challenging-corbyn-labour-inquiry-finds-politics-live?page=with:block-58079ac1e4b0cd26ff71ec99#block-58079ac1e4b0cd26ff71ec99] is perfectly fair.)

block-time published-time 10.02am BST

Stephen Metcalfe , the Conservative MP who has just been elected chair of the Commons science committee, asks if the government accepts that an element of free movement must remain. This is important for science, he says.

Robin Walker , a Brexit minister, agrees. He says David Davis in his Conservative party conference said Brexit would not mean pulling up the drawbridge.

block-time published-time 9.59am BST

David Jones , the Brexit minister, is now answering a question. Davis has been answering them all until now.

He says the government will ensure that EU regional funding sums are guaranteed until 2020.

block-time published-time 9.57am BST

Stephen Gethins , the SNP’s Europe spokesman, asks when the government will publish its assessment of the impact of Brexit.

Davis says the government is conducting a central assessment. It is looking at the impact of Brexit on 51 different sectors of the economy. And it will take into account regional factors.

block-time published-time 9.56am BST

Lucy Frazer , a Conservative, asks what the government will do to ensure the UK can still recruit talent from abroad.

Davis says his job is to bring back the power to control **immigration**. The government will then decide how to use that power. But MPs can be “very confident” that the government will not be limiting the ability of talent to come to the UK.

enltrThere will be "Free Movement of brain power" after Brexit promiss David Davis

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/789027471366782976]enltrThere will be no Brexit migration curbs on "highly intelligent, highly capable" migrants says David Davis enltrThere will be no Brexit migration curbs on "highly intelligent, highly capable" migrants says

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/789027735372959744]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.58am BST

block-time published-time 9.54am BST

Labour’s Ben Bradshaw asks if Davis agrees with Liam Fox , the international trade secretary, that we should leave the customs union, or with Philip Hammond , the chancellor, that we should not.

Davis says he has answered that. (See 9.46am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/20/philip-green-knighthood-commons-set-to-debate-stripping-philip-green-of-his-knighthood-politics-live?page=with:block-58088304e4b005f21833b5e4#block-58088304e4b005f21833b5e4]

block-time published-time 9.53am BST

Nigel Mills , a Conservative, says businesses in his constituency want some clarity about what the trading relationship with the UK will be. When will they get that?

Davis says the government’s aims are already clear. On the market front, it wants the best possible access to the EU .

block-time published-time 9.51am BST

In his question to David Davis , Labour’s Sir Keir Starmer mentioned a letter he had sent to Davis asking for the timetable for the publication of Brexit plans. Here is Starmer’s news release about this. [http://press.labour.org.uk/post/152060227774/labour-push-for-government-timetable-and-vote-on] mentioned a letter he had sent to Davis asking for the timetable for the publication of Brexit plans.

block-time published-time 9.46am BST

Sir Keir Starmer , the shadow Brexit secretary, says the government has agreed to give MPs a debate on its Brexit plans. When will those plans be availabe?

Davis says the Commons also agreed that any disclosures should not undermine the government’s negotiating position.

He says between now and the triggering of article 50 “much information” will be put out by the government.

\* Davis says the government will publish “much information” about its Brexit plans.

Starmer asks for an assurance that the government does not want to leave the customs union.

Davis says these matters are serious. The government is taking its time. Being inside the customs union has advantages, but cuts off trade deals with other countries. Being outside has some disadvantages, but allows those trade deals to be struck.

block-time published-time 9.40am BST

Labour’s Pat McFadden asks if the government is ruling out paying for market access to the EU .

Davis says he will not comment on leaks. He says Labour has accepted the ministers should not undermine the government’s negotiating position.

block-time published-time 9.39am BST

David Davis takes questions on Brexit in the Commons David Davis , the Brexit secretary, is taking questions in the Commons.

He says financial services will be of great importance in the Brexit talks.

Q: Will he make getting a transitional deal a priority?

Davis says he is seeking an orderly exit from the EU . It will not be in the interests of either side to have disruption. And he says it is in the EU ’s interests for the City not to be disrupted.

\* Davis suggests government is open to having transitional arrangements in place when the UK leaves the EU .

Hilary Benn , the Labour MP and new chair of the Brexit select committee goes next. He says uncertainty is a major concern for business. Can Davis guarantee business that the government will seek a transitional arrangement if a free trade deal with the EU cannot be negotiated within two years.

Davis says Benn is right; maintaining stability of the City and the European financial markets is essential. So the government will do “anything necessary”.

But he says at the point of exit all the rules will be the same.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.09am BST

block-time published-time 9.07am BST

Backbench debates in the House of Commons often attract very little attention, but today’s may turn out to be remarkable. It seems highly likely that the Commons will vote for Sir Philip Green to be stripped of his knighthood.

MPs are due to debate a motion on the joint report from the Commons business committee and the Commons work and pensions committee into the collapse of BHS. [http://www.publications.parliament.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmworpen/54/5402.htm] It says Green should fulfil his promise to make good the deficit in the BHS pension fund. But more than 100 MPs have signed an amendment tabled by the Conservative MP Richard Fuller saying Green should lose his knighthood. It says:

[This House] noting that Philip Green received his knighthood for his services for the retail industry, believes his actions raise the question of whether he should be allowed to continue to be a holder of the honour and calls on the honours forfeiture committee to recommend his knighthood be cancelled and annulled.

It would be surprising if John Bercow , the Speaker, does not call the amendment and, assuming it does get called, it is hard to imagine it not being passed. It is not binding, because the final decision on Green’s knighthood would be taken by the honours forfeiture committee, but the committee may find it hard to ignore parliament.

I will be covering the debate in detail.

Otherwise it is a relatively quiet day. Here is the agenda.

9.30am: David Davis , the Brexit secretary, takes questions in the Commons.

9.30am: Quarterly crime figures for England and Wales are published.

9.30am: HM Revenue and Customs publishes its latest tax gap figures.

Around 11.30am: MPs begin debating the backbench motion on Sir Philip Green . The vote will take place mid-afternoon.

Afternoon: Theresa May arrives in Brussels for an EU summit.

There are also byelections taking place in Batley and Spen [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/20/polls-open-batley-and-spen-byelection-jo-cox-labour-mp-eu-referendum], and in Witney. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/20/witney-byelection-labour-and-lib-dems-hope-for-a-brexit-bounce], and

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary after the BHS debate.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.09am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Alan Yuhas checks the statements made by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the third and final presidential debate in Las Vegas

Donald Trump’s claims “We will have a second amendment that is a very small replica of what it is now” in a Clinton administration

Trump is being reductive: Clinton has never called for abolishing the second amendment, the right to bear arms, though she does support gun control measures such as an assault weapons ban, increased background checks and greater liability for manufacturers.

Related: Donald Trump refuses to say if he will accept election result in final debate [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/19/donald-trump-presidential-debate-election-result]

As moderator Chris Wallace noted, Clinton has said she disagrees with the supreme court’s 5-4 decision [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/27/washington/27scotus.html] in 2008 to broadly affirm the personal right to gun ownership. Her campaign has said Clinton would prefer states have the right to enact as strict gun control laws as they see fit.

“Chicago has the toughest gun laws and the most gun deaths”

Chicago police have pushed back on the notion that the city’s gun laws have proven ineffective, noting that a huge number of gun seizures were of firearms purchased outside the city or outside Illinois [https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20140528/chicago/majority-of-illegally-owned-guns-first-bought-out-of-state-cops-mayor], where laws are more lax. Trump is largely correct about Chicago’s homicide problem: the city is on pace [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/09/01/chicago-has-seen-more-homicides-this-year-than-new-york-and-los-angeles-combined/] to have more than 600 gun deaths in 2016.

“If you go with what Hillary is saying in the ninth month you can rip the baby out of the womb of the mother … up to the last day.”

Clinton does not support such an extreme view on abortion, nor have courts ever ruled such a late term operation legal, or suggested that they would. States vary on how late they allow abortions [http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/06/18/us/politics/abortion-restrictions.html?\_r=0], ranging from a ban six weeks after a woman’s last menstrual period (North Dakota) to three states with third-trimester abortion bans [http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/politics/archive/2015/01/a-look-at-late-term-abortion-restrictions-state-by-state/448098/]. There are nine states without specific term prohibitions, but clinics do not abort at such late terms: only 1.2% of abortions occur after 21 weeks, according to the nonprofit [http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/fb\_induced\_abortion.html] Guttmacher Institute.

“Clinton wants open borders”

Clinton does not want “open borders”: she supports reform to let people pass background checks and pay back taxes in order to stay in the US, and she supports Obama’s executive actions to shield some migrants, such as people who were brought to the US as children. Like Obama, she supports deportation for people with criminal records.

“Obama has moved millions of people out”

Trump is correct: Barack Obama has deported more than 2.5 million people, more than any other recent president, but he has prioritized migrants with criminal records. “Millions and millions”, however, is an exaggeration, and Obama also supports shielding millions of undocumented **immigrants** without criminal records, and reform for citizenship.

Obama “has thousands and thousands of people, they have no idea where they come from”

Ten thousand Syrian **refugees** have come to the United States in 2016, but Trump makes it sound misleadingly large.

He is patently wrong about the screening process. The US has among the most intensive screening process in the world for **refugees**: it requires they register and interview with the United Nations, which then must refer them to the US, **refugees** who pass this test then interview with state department contractors and have at least two background checks, then they have three fingerprint and photo screenings, then US **immigration** reviews the case, then Homeland Security interviews the **refugee**, then a doctor examines the **refugee**, and finally several security agencies perform one last check after the **refugee** has been matched with a resettlement agency.

The process takes 18 months [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/donald-trump-syria-refugees-us-immigration-security-terrorism] to two years. The US has a very clear idea about which **refugees** it allows into the country.

“I don’t know Putin. He said nice things about me … He has no respect for our president.”

It’s not clear whether Trump has ever spoken with the Russian president. Putin was invited to but did not attend a 2013 beauty pageant in Moscow, according to one of the oligarchs [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-trumps-financial-ties-to-russia-and-his-unusual-flattery-of-vladimir-putin/2016/06/17/dbdcaac8-31a6-11e6-8ff7-7b6c1998b7a0\_story.html] who helped organize the event. “Will he become my new best friend?” Trump wondered [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/347191326112112640] beforehand.

The pair may have communicated through intermediaries. In 2014, Trump told a National Press Club luncheon [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dKkKQmbyECw] : “I was in Moscow recently and I spoke, indirectly and directly, with President Putin, who could not have been nicer, and we had a tremendous success.” A year earlier, Trump told MSNBC [http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/trump-putin-tried-arrange-meeting-moscow-source-n619006] : “I do have a relationship and I can tell you that he’s very interested in what we’re doing here today.”

Last November, Trump claimed in a debate [http://time.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/4107636/transcript-read-the-full-text-of-the-fourth-republican-debate-in-milwaukee/] that he “got to know him very well because we were both on 60 Minutes”. They appeared in separate, pre-taped segments and were not on set together.

Trump has repeatedly tried to do business in Russia, and his refusal to release tax returns prevents him proving that he has no assets there.

Related: Entire US political system ‘under attack’ by Russian hacking, experts warn [https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/oct/14/hillary-clinton-email-hack-russia-cybersecurity]

Putin has never called Trump “a genius”; he used the Russian word ?????, which means “colorful” or “flamboyant”. Trump likely heard the word translated as “bright” or “brilliant”, though its connotations are often more pejorative than not: bright in the sense of glaring and gaudy, brilliant in the sense of dazzling light. Putin also called him “talented, undoubtedly”.

“It’s not our business to decide his merits; that’s for US voters,” Putin said earlier this year. He did say, however, that he would welcome the rapprochement in Russian-American relations that Trump has suggested. You can read more about Putin’s remarks here [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/18/vladimir-putin-donald-trump-striking-america-superpower].

“She has no idea whether it’s Russia, China or somebody else … Our country has no idea”

US intelligence officials have formally accused Russia of hacking Democratic organizations, saying they have “high confidence” [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/08/us/politics/us-formally-accuses-russia-of-stealing-dnc-emails.html] that the Kremlin is behind cyberattacks on the US government, Democratic organizations and polling centers. Trump has repeatedly cast doubt on this claim, despite personal briefings with US intelligence officials.

Even his running mate, Mike Pence, has accepted the briefings, and told NBC on Sunday: “I think there’s more and more evidence that implicates Russia.” Earlier Wednesday a Russian man suspected of involvement in the hacks was arrested in Prague [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/20/world/europe/prague-russian-hacker.html?smid=tw-nytimesworld&smtyp=cur].

“The border patrol agents, 16,500 plus, ICE, endorsed me. First time they’ve ever endorsed a candidate”

**Immigration** and Customs Enforcement is a government agency. It does not endorse political candidates. A union representing about 7,600 ICE officials endorsed Trump [http://iceunion.org/about] in September. A group representing 16,500 of 21,000 [http://www.bpunion.org/index.php/newsroom/press-releases/1824-national-border-patrol-council-endorses-donald-trump-for-president] border patrol agents similarly endorsed Trump; this does not represent all the agents.

Clinton called for “open borders”

Clinton is correct that Trump took the quote out of context: she was talking primarily about trade to Banco Itau, a Brazilian bank that eventually became Unibanco. Here’s what she said, according to a hacked email released by Wikileaks:

My dream is a hemispheric common market, with open trade and open borders, some time in the future with energy that is as green and sustainable as we can get it, powering growth and opportunity for every person in the hemisphere.

Clinton has flip-flopped on free trade since 2013, most notably supporting and then rejecting the Trans-Pacific Partnership.

“I’m a big fan of Nato but they have to pay up”

Trump is not necessarily a big fan of Nato, which he has called “obsolete”, and he’s wrong that allies do not pay for US military bases, though they do not pay perhaps as much as some Nato commanders want.

The US has urged its Nato allies to pay more for years [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/11/world/europe/11gates.html], especially as eastern and central European allies have loudly warned about aggressive Russian action. The US currently pays [http://www.act.nato.int/nsip] about 22% of overall Nato spending, compared to Germany’s 15%, France’s 11%, the UK’s 10%, etc, and most Nato members fail to pay the 2% of GDP [http://www.nato.int/nato\_static\_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf\_2016\_01/20160129\_160128-pr-2016-11-eng.pdf] into defense as the alliance’s guidelines dictate. But the US does receive payments for military bases abroad from countries like Japan and South Korea [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/q-a-how-much-do-u-s-military-bases-in-japan-and-korea-cost-1461822624], and takes profits from arms deals (sometimes to controversial clients, such as Saudi Arabia [http://www.factcheck.org/2016/04/u-s-foreign-military-support/] ).

The US also benefits strategically through foreign military bases, which have acted as foundations for American influence abroad.

“I never said Japan should have nuclear weapons”

Trump has suggested Japan and South Korea should develop their own nuclear weapons. He told the New York Times in March [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/27/us/politics/donald-trump-transcript.html?\_r=0] : “Well I think maybe it’s not so bad to have Japan – if Japan had that nuclear threat, I’m not sure that would be a bad thing for us.”

Trump says you won't find a quote from me suggesting Japan gets nuclear weapons..... err.... #debate [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debate?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/TMtvOeJiwq [https://t.co/TMtvOeJiwq] — david munk (@davidmunk) October 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/davidmunk/status/788917375814873090] — david munk (@davidmunk)

“Obama has doubled the debt”

Trump has the raw numbers just about right. When Obama took office on 20 January 2009, the federal debt was $10.63tn [http://www.treasurydirect.gov/NP/debt/search?startMonth=01&startDay=20&startYear=2009&endMonth=&endDay=&endYear=]. As of 28 September 2016, it was $19.5tn [http://www.treasurydirect.gov/NP/debt/current]. Trump omits, however, two key points: Congress controls the government’s wallet (ie Obama cannot spend or tax without approval from lawmakers), and Obama took office during the financial crisis, when Republicans, Democrats and most economists agreed that the US needed to spend in order to counteract the collapsing economy. Pence has the right numbers but imputes too much responsibility on the president.

“When you ran the state department, $6bn was missing! Maybe it was stolen … nobody knows”

This is not correct. Trump is alluding to a March 2014 alert, about contractor spending in the Middle East and Africa, by the state department’s inspector general, who was so perturbed by careless language around the $6bn figure that he wrote the Washington Post a letter [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/about-the-state-depts-missing-6-billion/2014/04/13/a6130790-c194-11e3-9ee7-02c1e10a03f0\_story.html?utm\_term=.452a9d665b36] that April. His alert did not conclude that the money was “missing” he told the Post, but rather that officials had failed “to adequately maintain contract files” that created “significant financial risk”. Files were missing or incomplete regarding several dozen contracts, not the money itself, and the state department agreed to his recommendations.

“Clinton flip-flopped on the Trans-Pacific Partnership”

Trump is right: Clinton has not been consistent on the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and her language from 2010 through 2014 suggests she was broadly in support of Barack Obama’s trade deal, before eventually opposing it as a presidential candidate. As secretary of state in 2012, she said [http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-trade-tpp-20160926-snap-story.html] : “This TPP sets the gold standard in trade agreements to open free, transparent, fair trade, the kind of environment that has the rule of law and a level playing field. And when negotiated, this agreement will cover 40 percent of the world’s total trade and build in strong protections for workers and the environment.”

She continued to praise it [http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2012/11/200664.htm] while she worked for the Obama administration, variously calling it “high quality”, “cutting edge”, “groundbreaking” and “high standard”.

“She gave us Isis … she created a vacuum”

The claim that Hillary Clinton “gave” the world Isis condenses and distorts a conservative view that, closer to its original form, says that that by withdrawing American forces from Iraq, Barack Obama created a power vacuum in which Isis could rise.

This argument ignores that Isis’s first segments [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/19/world/middleeast/in-rise-of-isis-no-single-missed-key-but-many-strands-of-blame.html] formed [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/11/world/middleeast/us-actions-in-iraq-fueled-rise-of-a-rebel.html] out of Iraq’s civil war [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/11/-sp-isis-the-inside-story], while George W Bush was president, that the group gained strength in Syria’s civil war, where the US did not intervene until 2014, that Obama withdrew American forces in 2011 under the timeline [http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/12/20081214-2.html] agreed on by Bush and Baghdad [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/22/world/middleeast/united-states-and-iraq-had-not-expected-troops-would-have-to-leave.html], and that both Bush and Obama failed to come to an agreement with Baghdad over troops – in large part over a disagreement about whether American troops could be prosecuted by Iraq.

Trump supported the invasion of Iraq [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/24/donald-trump-fact-check-foreign-policy-taxes-business] in 2003 and “surgical” intervention [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/24/donald-trump-fact-check-foreign-policy-taxes-business] to remove Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, though he now claims otherwise. He also supported withdrawal from Iraq in 2007 and 2008 [https://www.buzzfeed.com/andrewkaczynski/trump-cites-iraq-withdrawal-he-passionately-supported-to-say?utm\_term=.xhMYJNVWN#.qpgXZWm3W].

“Those stories have been largely debunked”

The sexual allegations against Trump have not been “debunked”, though they have not been proven, either. For context, Jill Harth sued Trump in 1997 for “attempted rape” and earlier this year told the Guardian [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/20/donald-trump-sexual-assault-allegations-jill-harth-interview] he “me up against the wall” of a child’s bedroom “and had his hands all over me and tried to get up my dress”. Jessica Leeds and Rachel Cooks recounted to the New York Times [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/13/us/politics/donald-trump-women.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news] that Trump had groped the former “like an octopus” and kissed the latter without consent.

Related: Jill Harth speaks out about alleged groping by Donald Trump [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/20/donald-trump-sexual-assault-allegations-jill-harth-interview]

Reporter Natasha Stoynoff [http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-attacked-people-writer/?xid=socialflow\_twitter\_peoplemag] has said Trump cornered her in a room in 2005 and “within seconds, he was pushing me against the wall, and forcing his tongue down my throat”. Mindy McGillivray told the Palm Beach Post [http://www.palmbeachpost.com/news/palm-beach-post-exclusive-local-woman-says-trump-groped-her/w5ii48gwdJY9htsLl88GcP/?ecmp=pbp\_social\_twitter\_2015\_sfp] a similar story, saying that Trump groped her 13 years ago, also at his Mar-a-Lago property in Florida. Summer Zervos, a former Apprentice contestant, has alleged that he groped and kissed her [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/14/donald-trump-summer-zervos-apprentice-sexual-assault] without consent in 2007. Temple Taggart accused Trump of advances [http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/14/politics/trump-women-accusers/] at rehearsal for the 1997 Miss USA pageant, photographer Kirsten Anderson said Trump groped her at a nightclub in the 1990s, and Cathy Heller said he grabbed and kissed her [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/15/donald-trump-sexual-misconduct-allegations-cathy-heller] at a Mar-A-Lago brunch in 1997.

The Trump campaign has denied the allegations. It has produced a self-professed witness, who has a history of making unproven claims, from the flight with Leeds, and a letter from the cousin of Zervos expressing doubt about her claim but not calling her a liar. “I can only imagine that Summer’s actions today are nothing more than an attempt to regain the spotlight at Mr Trump’s expense,” his letter said.

“I did not say that [women were not unattractive enough for him to advance on]”

Trump clearly suggested that he did not find at least one of his accusers attractive, saying “ She would not be my first choice, believe me [http://www.cbsnews.com/news/donald-trump-on-accuser-she-would-not-be-my-first-choice/].”

Related: A timeline of Donald Trump's alleged sexual misconduct: who, when and what [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/list-of-donald-trump-sexual-misconduct-allegations]

“They hired people [to incite violence at rallies], they gave them $1,500 … she caused the violence, it’s on tape!”

Trump appears to be alluding to an edited video [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5IuJGHuIkzY] that suggests a few Democratic staffers had hired people to incite violence. One of those staffers has resigned, and said that “none of the schemes described in the conversations ever took place”. So far there is no proof that anyone was actually hired to cause violence.

“Criminally, after getting a subpoena by the United States Congress, [Clinton deleted emails]. One lie.”

Trump has the timeline correct, but not the criminality. He omits the FBI’s conclusion that there was no evidence of an intentional effort to conceal anything, and the FBI learned that a Clinton aide had asked for the emails unrelated to government work to be deleted in December 2014, months before the 4 March 2015 subpoena.

The emails were deleted at the end of March, according to the FBI, when an employee had what he called an “oh shit” moment about his previous order from Mills. The state department first agreed to produce records in July 2014.

“General David Petraeus faces a worse deal than Clinton”

The justice department’s lenience toward Petraeus actually made it more difficult, in part, for prosecutors to recommend charges against Clinton.

In 2015 Petraeus, a former CIA director and a four-star general, pled guilty to giving a large amount of classified information [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/mar/03/david-petraeus-pleads-guilty-classified-information-paula-broadwell] – including the identities of covert officers and war strategy – to his biographer, with whom he was having an affair. During the FBI investigation, Petraeus lied to agents, according to the plea deal. But the justice department only sentenced Petraeus to two years’ probation and a $100,000 fine [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/apr/23/david-petraeus-sentenced-sharing-classified-information], provoking accusations that this relatively lenient sentence was evidence of a double standard [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jan/12/petraeus-case-politicians-stand-by-general-despite-leaks-inquiry] for the powerful.

“The Clinton Foundation is a ‘criminal enterprise’

There is no evidence that the Clinton Foundation is a “criminal enterprise”, or that its donors or the Clintons profit from the charity.

Trump appears to be alluding a garment factory built after Haiti’s 2010 earthquake in the town of Caracol , while Bill Clinton was the UN’s special envoy to Haiti and co-chairman of the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission (IHRC), an organization that approved US government funded projects that added up to hundreds of millions of dollars. The IHRC approved a project between the US, Haiti’s government and Sae-A Trading, a South Korean clothing company, and it now provides 8,900 jobs to Haitians.

An eventual review [http://www.gao.gov/assets/660/655278.pdf] by the nonpartisan Government Accountability Office found “mixed results” with the project, including “unrealistic initial timeframes”, delays, incomplete information in the feasibility study, and funding problems. Earlier in October, labor organizers alleged that factory managers were mistreating workers there [http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/haiti-factory-big-money-state-department-clintons-meet/story?id=42729714], but an ABC News investigation found no evidence that Clinton Foundation donors profited from the project, though some were involved in the project. The US committed funding but did not participate in building the industrial park; a labor group that reviewed the factory found it had adequate oversight and had dealt [https://drive-google-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/file/d/0BwiJbAWhwPe\_U3pDTkpMVmhNdFQ4NWZPR3VsSTNnVEtmVGJF/view] with concerns, though the factory remains within the range of the often grueling garment industry.

He was correct, at least, that the Clinton Foundation has accepted millions from Middle East countries with records of repression of women and gay people.

“I don’t buy boats, I don’t buy planes [with money the Trump Foundation], we put up the American flag, and that’s it … We fought for the right in Palm Beach to put up the American flag”

Trump is not being wholly honest about his charitable foundation, at least according to the Trump Foundation own documents, which show that he used its money to pay for legal settlements [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-used-258000-from-his-charity-to-settle-legal-problems/2016/09/20/adc88f9c-7d11-11e6-ac8e-cf8e0dd91dc7\_story.html] and even self-portraits, as Clinton said and the Washington Post [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/a-clue-to-the-whereabouts-of-the-6-foot-tall-portrait-of-donald-trump/2016/09/14/ae65db82-7a8f-11e6-ac8e-cf8e0dd91dc7\_story.html] has reported at length.

“I started with a small $1m loan”

Trump does not come from modest beginnings. In 1978 his father gave him a loan totaling almost $1m – about $3.7m today – and acted as guarantor for the young Trump’s early projects. A 1981 report by a New Jersey regulator [https://www.scribd.com/doc/301761265/Report-on-Donald-Trump-to-Casino-Control-Commission] also shows a $7.5m loan from the patriarch, and years later he bought $3.5m in gambling chips [http://articles.philly.com/1991-04-09/news/25780577\_1\_casino-control-act-donald-trump-casino-owners] to help his son pay off the debts of a failing casino, a transaction found later found illegal [http://articles.philly.com/1991-04-09/news/25780577\_1\_casino-control-act-donald-trump-casino-owners]. Trump also borrowed millions against his inheritance [https://www.buzzfeed.com/christophermassie/donald-trump-in-deposition-96-million-i-borrowed-from-dads-e?utm\_term=.eboXJGMWG#.qbNV4Jl1J] before his father’s death, a 2007 deposition shows.

Trump has not proven that he is worth $10bn, though his tax returns, which he has refused to release, could provide a clearer picture of his worth. His financial filings suggest he has less than $250m in liquid assets [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/self-financing-campaign-all-the-way-would-have-been-a-stretch-for-trump-1463341722], according to a Wall Street Journal analysis. Trump has a history of overstating his properties: he has, for instance, told the Federal Election Commission (FEC) that a New York golf club is worth $50m but also argued in court that it is worth only $1.4m [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/12/donald-trump-briarcliff-manor-golf-course-tax].

“These people have all left. The element of surprise … all she had to do was stay there”

Isis has not left Mosul: several thousand fighters remain there and are fighting the coalition of Iraqi and Kurdish troops, backed by US airstrikes and special forces. Isis leaders have known for years that Baghdad would try to retake the city, if they have not known since they took the city.

Related: Battle for Mosul: Iraqi forces converge in decisive battle against Isis [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/kurds-lead-advance-on-mosul-in-decisive-battle-for-iraqs-second-city]

Trump did not support leaving a residual American force in Iraq [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/09/donald-trump-fact-check-lies-military-tax-returns], but actually called for a complete withdrawal from Iraq, despite the likelihood of civil war or an authoritarian coup. “You know how they get out? They get out. That’s how they get out. Declare victory and leave,” he told CNN [http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0703/18/le.01.html] in 2007. “This is a total catastrophe, and you might as well get out now because you’re just wasting time, and lives.”

The argument that Isis rose out of the vacuum of post-withdrawal Iraq also ignores that its origins were in the country’s civil war, while George W Bush was in office, and that the terror group concentrated strength in Syria’s civil war before Barack Obama began a bombing and special forces campaign there.

Trump, told he was for the invasion of Iraq: “Wrong”

This is a lie [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/19/trump-fact-check-iraq-war-san-bernardino-nato]. In the months before the Iraq war began, Trump mildly endorsed invasion to radio host Howard Stern [https://soundcloud.com/buzzfeedandrew/trump-on-the-howard-stern-show-on-sept-11-2002?utm\_source=soundcloud&utm\_campaign=share&utm\_medium=twitter], who asked him whether US forces should attack. “Yeah, I guess so,” Trump answered. A few weeks later he told Fox News that George W Bush was “doing a very good job”. Several weeks after the invasion, Trump told the Washington Post: “ The war’s a mess [https://www.washingtonpost.com/pb/archive/lifestyle/2003/03/25/hollywood-partyers-soldiering-on/06327347-83d3-44c4-ab7b-dcd6fbda5437/?resType=accessibility].” In August 2004 he told Esquire [http://www.esquire.com/news-politics/interviews/a37230/donald-trump-esquire-cover-story-august-2004/] : “Two minutes after we leave, there’s going to be a revolution, and the meanest, toughest, smartest, most vicious guy will take over.”

Even in an interview [https://www.buzzfeed.com/christophermassie/a-guide-to-donald-trump-early-flip-flops-on-the-iraq-war?utm\_term=.vq5VjeKwe#.uy2eDvV5v] cited by the Trump campaign, Trump expressed impatience with Bush for not invading sooner. “Whatever happened to the days of the Douglas MacArthur? He would go and attack. He wouldn’t talk.”

“Our country is stagnant. We’ve lost our jobs”

About 10.7 million people have gained jobs since Barack Obama took office in 2009 (not 15 million as the Clinton campaign sometimes claims). Growth is not stagnant, though it is not significant, and it requires context: the 2008 financial crisis that nearly collapsed the economy. According to a 2015 nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, the stimulus may have increased GDP buy up to 0.2 percentage points. US growth in the second quarter of 2016 was 1.4% [http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-states/gdp-growth].

“Their [the people of New Hampshire’s] single biggest problem is heroin that pours across our southern borders, just pouring and destroying their youth”

Related: How cracking down on America's painkiller capital led to a heroin crisis [https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/may/25/opioid-epidemic-prescription-painkillers-heroin-addiction]

Trump is correct that heroin deaths have increased dramatically since 2007, in part because of the abuse of painkillers [https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/may/25/opioid-epidemic-prescription-painkillers-heroin-addiction] and the growth of a number of powerful heroin-related drugs, such as fentanyl. According to the DEA, 10,574 Americans died from heroin-related overdoses [https://www.dea.gov/divisions/hq/2016/hq062716\_attach.pdf] in 2014, more than three times the number in 2010.

“Next week [the healthcare premiums] are going to go up 100%”

Trump and Clinton both accept the reality that healthcare premiums have increased since the Affordable Care Act was enacted, but Trump appears to be exaggerating wildly. On average, premiums have risen [http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2013/sep/04/republican-national-committee-republican/republican-national-committee-says-health-insuranc/] by about 5.8% a year since Barack Obama took office, compared with 13.2% in the nine years before Obama, Politifact found [http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2013/sep/04/republican-national-committee-republican/republican-national-committee-says-health-insuranc/] earlier this year. Trump, however, is cherry-picking data from various states [http://acasignups.net/] and providers [https://ratereview.healthcare.gov/#urrresults?U2FsdGVkX19n4kcCdR5qUI27%2BwHheoDO2VGbcEEfi84Zrt9YzdawzO8%2BdPHtCLfThVI4mtetRmr28iQ8w29yvQ%3D%3D] where rates have had higher [https://ratereview.healthcare.gov/#urrresults?U2FsdGVkX186EmjG4AR6ruydOJE2fGfzzCgpYCDVKZngFNf0hgLfrIhE%2BJuoUQjwImgHKotCy9LrONfdtvsk4im1VSMZcQCpaU3VHLZUiPU%3D] jumps. The most common healthcare plans will increase 9% on average, according to an analysis [http://kff.org/health-reform/issue-brief/analysis-of-2017-premium-changes-and-insurer-participation-in-the-affordable-care-acts-health-insurance-marketplaces/] by the Kaiser Family Foundation.

“We take care of illegal **immigrants** … better than we take care of our vets”

This claim flies in the face of evidence and logic. Like all US citizens, veterans enjoy the basic rights and benefits granted by US law (voting rights, social security, Medicaid, etc), while undocumented migrants (non-citizens) do not. Trump has in the past tried to justify this claim by saying the US spends more on undocumented people than on veterans, but has drawn a $113bn price tag from an explicitly anti-**immigration** foundation [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/lyin-trump-fact-check-mexico-wall-immigration]. He also inflated that number.

The campaign has said the US spends $2.8bn on housing migrants in prisons, combining an estimate on prison costs [http://www.nationalreview.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/421673/report-us-spent-187-billion-incarcerate-illegal-immigrant-criminals-2014-joel-gehrke] and the 2016 budget for the care and processing of children who came to the US without adults. The Veterans Affairs administration has a 2016 budget of $69.7bn. Veterans and undocumented migrants alike have access to K-12 education, though few veterans would likely seek it, and veterans have access to the Affordable Care Act, military benefits and health benefits, while migrants do not.

“Our inner cities are a disaster. You get shot walking to the store, you have no education, no jobs”

Trump’s repeated claim that “ African Americans, Hispanics, are living in hell [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-lies-this-week-taxes-bankruptcy] ” defies most of American history, from antebellum slavery through the Jim Crow decades, great depression and segregation. Even if Trump is only referring the past half century, he is still wrong by most metrics.

Data on employment, education and health show empirical evidence for the persistent reality [http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/18/sharp-differences-over-who-is-hurt-helped-by-their-race/] of discrimination [http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/27/blacks-with-college-experience-more-likely-to-say-they-faced-discrimination/] against black Americans, but also show major gains in the last few decades. In 2015, black people earned just 75% as much as whites in median hourly earnings, whether full- or part-time, according to a Pew Research [http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/01/racial-gender-wage-gaps-persist-in-u-s-despite-some-progress/] analysis. The black unemployment rate in August 2016 was 8.1% [http://www.bls.gov.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news.release/empsit.t02.htm], compared with 4.4% for white people, but still lower than for most of the last 40 years. [http://www.macrotrends.net/2524/black-unemployment-rate-history-chart] Black life expectancy has increased from the mid-30s around 1900 to the mid-70s in 2016, according to the CDC [http://www.cdc.gov.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/nchs/products/databriefs/db244.htm]. Education rates have similarly increased in the last 40 years, according to the census [http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/education/data/cps/historical/fig8.jpg].

Hillary Clinton’s claims “We have 33,000 people a year who die from guns”

Clinton is broadly correct. The Centers for Disease Control reported 33,636 firearm deaths in 2013, and similar figures in the years preceding it.

“Trump exploited undocumented workers”

Clinton is not quite right. A Trump contractor hired undocumented Polish workers in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and in 1983 union members sued one of their organizers. Trump appeared in court in 1990 and blamed the contractor overseeing the project, which was for Trump Tower.

“I will not add a penny to the debt”

Estimates suggest Clinton is not wholly correct. Her proposed tax plan would add $191bn to the debt over the long term, according to the [http://taxfoundation.org/sites/default/files/docs/TaxFoundation-FF496.pdf] Committee for a Responsible Budget [http://crfb.org/papers/promises-and-price-tags-preliminary-update], a conservative thinktank. The Tax Policy Center, however, estimates that she would add $1.1tn in revenue [http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/publications/analysis-hillary-clintons-tax-proposals] in a decade, though much of that would be offset by increased spending. The Tax Foundation estimated that Trump’s plan would add $5.3tn to the debt [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/economics/2016/09/26/donald-trump-would-boost-debt-more-than-hillary-clinton-report-says/].

“We at the Clinton Foundation spend 90% [of what’s given] and have the highest rating from watchdogs”

The Clinton Foundation does have high marks from charity watchdogs, which also show that the group does spend the vast majority of its donations on its own charitable programs.

Clinton says Trump has called the election ‘rigged’, while Trump says he won’t necessarily accept the election results [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/19/donald-trump-accept-election-result-debate-video]

All available evidence shows that in-person voter fraud is exceedingly rare: you are more likely to be struck by lightning in the next year ( a one in 1,042,000 chance [http://www.lightningsafety.noaa.gov/odds.shtml], according to Noaa) than to find a case of voter fraud by impersonation ( 31 possible cases in more than a billion ballots cast [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2014/08/06/a-comprehensive-investigation-of-voter-impersonation-finds-31-credible-incidents-out-of-one-billion-ballots-cast/] from 2000 to 2014, according to a study by Loyola Law School).

Related: The man who cried rigged: the problem with Trump’s election claims [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/17/man-who-cried-rigged-problem-with-trump-election-claims]

Voter fraud would have to happen on an enormous scale to sway elections, because the electoral college system decentralizes authority: each of the 50 states has its own rules and local officials, not federal ones, run the polls and count the ballots. This complexity makes the notion of a “rigged” national election, at least in the US, logistically daunting to the point of practical impossibility. Thirty-one states have Republican governors, including the swing states of Florida, North Carolina, Iowa, Nevada and Ohio; Pennsylvania only elected a Democratic governor in 2015. Polls show Trump losing even in some states where governors have strongly supported him. In Maine, for instance, the Real Clear Politics average [http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/me/maine\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5896.html] shows him down five points.

About 75% of the ballots cast [http://money.cnn.com/2016/08/09/technology/voting-machine-hack-election/] in federal elections have paper backups, and most electronic voting machines are not connected to the internet – though they have other flaws and may be vulnerable [http://www.cbsnews.com/news/rigged-presidential-elections-hackers-demonstrate-voting-threat-old-machines/] to tampering. But voter fraud to swing a major election, whether by tampering, buying votes or official wrongdoing, would quickly attract attention by its necessarily large scale [https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/08/05/donald-trump-is-wrong-rigging-an-election-is-almost-impossible/?utm\_term=.e3b72d4ba7ff].

If Trump loses the presidential election, it will be because American voters do not want him in the White House, not because of a conspiracy involving Republicans and Democrats alike at state and city levels around the nation – a conspiracy for which Trump has provided no evidence.

“Trump’s plan largely helps the wealthy and add $20tn in debt”

Clinton is correct that although Trump’s tax plan would cut taxes for everyone, it would disproportionately help the wealthiest Americans [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/08/donald-trump-tax-plan-business-income-middle-class], saving them millions of dollars and adding $5.3tn to the national debt, according to an analysis by the Tax Foundation [http://taxfoundation.org/article/details-and-analysis-donald-trump-tax-reform-plan-september-2016], a conservative thinktank. She seems to be citing another analysis, by the nonpartisan Tax Policy Center [http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/publications/analysis-donald-trumps-tax-plan], about the debt, and possibly overstates its estimated consequences.

That center warned that without severe spending cuts, the plan would balloon national debt “by nearly 80% of gross domestic product by 2036, offsetting some or all of the incentive effects of the tax cuts”. According to that group, half of Trump’s tax cuts would go to the top 1% of earners, and most families below the top 20% of earners would have income gains of less than 1%.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**French president and EU parliament chief warn that British PM’s insistence on ending free movement would mean an economic cost for the UK

Theresa May has been given a stark warning from both Angela Merkel and Francois Hollande that Britain faces a “rough” and “hard” negotiation as she pursues a tough approach to Brexit negotiations including a clampdown on **immigration**.

The prime minister updated her fellow leaders with a short speech on Britain’s plans for leaving the EU after a dinner of scallops, lamb and iced vanilla parfait in Brussels that had been dominated by a tense debate on Russia.

No EU leader responded to May, following the lead of the European council president, Donald Tusk, who had wanted to avoid discussion of Brexit.

Speaking after the summit, Merkel said the speech repeated what EU leaders already knew but was nevertheless important.

“As long as Great Britain hadn’t concluded the negotiations it will continue to be a member with all the rights and duties that entails and that was a very good piece of news for us,” she said.

But she added a warning on negotiations: “It is going to be rough going I think. It will not be that easy. But what she said today is OK.”

Earlier in the day the French president said the EU was prepared to make things difficult for the UK if May pursued a tough approach to Brexit negotiations.

“I said very firmly: Theresa May wants a hard Brexit? The negotiation will be hard,” said Hollande.

Tusk repeated the EU’s well-worn line that no negotiations would start until May triggered article 50, the EU exit process. He made clear he would prefer the UK to remain in the union, while stressing he respected the decision of British voters.

The question of whether Brexit was reversible or not was in British hands, he said. “I’d be the happiest one if it is reversible but now we have to start our formal works and negotiations.”

But the British prime minister and Conservative leader, who angered some EU leaders with her uncompromising party conference speech, received a frostier reception from Martin Schulz.

The president of the European parliament used a speech to all 28 European leaders, including May, to warn that any restrictions on **immigration** would mean an economic cost for the UK.

“I refuse to imagine a Europe where lorries and hedge funds are free to cross borders but citizens are not,” he said.

Schulz argued it would be a “serious mistake” for the European parliament to be treated as an obstacle rather than a partner in the Brexit process and said the “principle of no negotiation” until article 50 was triggered remained firm.

“I would like to underline to you a few points on which an overwhelming majority in the European parliament expects you to stand firm when designing the EU’s future relationship with the UK,” he told the leaders.

“Firstly, a very simple principle which must be the basis for all our subsequent work: the best possible deal with the EU is membership of the EU. Any other arrangement necessarily entails trade-offs.

Related: Freedom of movement: the wedge that will split Britain from Europe[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/06/freedom-of-movement-eu-uk-brexit-negotiations-theresa-may]

“Secondly, the fundamental freedoms are inseparable, ie no freedom of movement for goods, capital and services, without free movement of persons[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/06/freedom-of-movement-eu-uk-brexit-negotiations-theresa-may].”

European leaders are determined that Brexit will not feature as a major part of talks at this council meeting, which will be largely focused on the **refugee** crisis and tackling Russian aggression.

May was given just 15 minutes to discuss the issue with all her European partners on Thursday evening during their dinner. The prime minister had been expected to strike a firm but also conciliatory tone, insisting there would be no rerun of Britain’s EU referendum[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/20/theresa-may-to-tell-eus-other-leaders-there-will-be-no-second-referendum] while also making clear she did not want Brexit to weaken the bloc.

She was expected to also tell partners they stood to benefit from an end to British demands for special deals. “That game is over, we are not going in for a new version of an even more special deal, we are out. We will have a different relationship and you can get on with your lives without us,” May was slated to say. “We’ve always been probably the most difficult partner inside the EU. We are not a brake on you.”

Meanwhile the leader of the Conservative group in the European parliament warned against over-interpreting the interventions of Hollande and Schulz. “This is posturing,” said Syed Kamall MEP.

In an interview with the Guardian’s Politics Weekly podcast, Kamall admitted European colleagues had asked about the tough tone of the Conservative conference but insisted many understood May had been addressing her own political party.

“There are always politicians like Hollande playing to a domestic audience and then they come here, sit in a room and get on with negotiations in an amicable way,” he said.

Kamall said there had been a mix of views from colleagues across Europe on how best to respond to Britain’s decision to withdraw from the bloc. Some had told him they felt the UK was not likely to actually leave the EU. “And that is why Theresa May keeps saying Brexit means Brexit,” he said.

There were others who reacted bullishly, arguing they did not want to enter constructive talks, Kamall said. But he added that most politicians were prepared to have sensible discussions about reaching an outcome that would benefit both the EU and UK.

In comments that placed the MEP at odds with the chancellor, Philip Hammond, he also said it was inevitable that Britain would withdraw from the customs union, suggesting it was necessary for Liam Fox’s cabinet role to be worthwhile.

“Because there would be no point in a department for international trade if we were to remain part of the customs union … If you are going to trade with the rest of the world, by definition you will not be part of the customs union,” he said.

He also said he was one of a number of figures in his party outraged by the suggestion at the Tory conference that companies should be made to list foreign workers.

Kamall said his response to the policy put forward by the home secretary, Amber Rudd, was to ask: “Where does this ridiculous idea come from? Was that her trying to prove how tough she was? Was that misreading the mood music of the referendum?”

He claimed that many Tories had expressed their anger directly to Rudd about the controversial policy, which has since been watered down. An initial suggestion that there would be “naming and shaming” of companies has been withdrawn and figures will only be held privately by the government.

“What was really heartening was how many fellow Conservatives were outraged by that speech, and actually I know she has had a lot of representations from Conservatives – either associations or MPs or even other cabinet ministers – asking her what her intention was behind that speech. It is interesting that has not been repeated,” Kamall added.

Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn was also in Brussels meeting his party’s MEPs, the Swedish prime minister and socialist counterparts from other countries. He said he was inviting leftwing leaders from across Europe to an alternative meeting on Brexit in London, arguing that he was disappointed by the lack of clarity from the government over Britain’s plans.

“I’ve been trying to reach out to European leaders to say we want the closest possible relationship with Europe in the future while respecting the result of referendum,” he told Sky News. “We particularly want trade access, we particularly want to protect jobs in Britain.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**This affecting documentary follows the fortunes of an Afghan teenager living in exile whose family want to sell her into marriage

Star Rating: 4 stars

Like many other 18-year-old girls, spirited Sonita Alizadeh wants to be a star and rap about her life. In her dreams, Michael Jackson and Rihanna are her parents and she’s free to pursue her recording career. In reality, as revealed in this wrenching, delicately told documentary, she’s a **refugee** from Afghanistan living in exile in Tehran, whose while her family back home are arranging to sell her off in matrimony for $9,000. If she won’t go along with the plan, they will beat her until she does, like the families of so many of her friends at the Tehran centre for **refugee** girls.

Her mother is willing to give her a six-month stay of execution if someone like the centre or even the film-makers themselves – like so many Iranian films, this one also operates on a meta level – agree to pay $2,000. Despite the fact it’s illegal for women to sing in public in Iran, eventually Sonita makes a video of one of her songs with help from director Rokhsareh Ghaemmaghami, and that changes the whole story.

What’s especially laudable is that the film never oversells her talent: there are scenes of recording industry professionals coolly assessing her work, and telling her she has a lot to learn. But the kid is a force of nature, and it’s impossible not to be swept along by the powerful tide of her story.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Gary Lineker | Yolk/yoke homophone

• We got some of the chronology wrong in a story about Gary Lineker’s criticism on Twitter of “hideously racist” comments about young **refugees** being resettled in Britain from the camp in Calais ( Lineker strikes back[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/gary-lineker-hits-back-at-online-abuse-over-hideously-racist-coverage-refugees], 20 October, page 8). Our article said Lineker responded with a tweet after the Sun claimed that one **refugee** who had been accepted was “35 if he’s a day” and that it was a “fiasco” for the British authorities to take ages on trust. In fact the paper published those quoted words on Wednesday, a day after Lineker’s tweet. The Sun was one of several publications that ran articles on Tuesday in which the age of the **refugees** was questioned.

• Homophone corner: “He was just an ordinary kid for whom the concepts of self-determination or shrugging off the Yankee yolk were as **alien** as nuclear physics” ( ‘I’m no threat’[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/16/obama-pardon-mandela-puerto-rico-oscar-lopez-rivera-], 17 October, page 4, G2).

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Counter-terrorism expert says law could flout UN convention and argues **refugee** crisis being used to stoke public fears

UK **immigration** laws permitting **refugees** to be deported if they exhibit “extremist behaviour” may breach a United Nations convention, the organisation’s general assembly is to be told.

In a speech condemning states for exploiting security fears to frustrate their international legal obligation to provide safe havens, the UN official responsible for reporting on counter-terrorism, Ben Emmerson QC, will criticise the UK’s record.

Emmerson, who recently left his post as counsel to the independent inquiry into child sexual abuse, has been the UN’s special rapporteur on “protecting human rights while countering terrorism[http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Terrorism/Pages/SRTerrorismIndex.aspx)] ” since 2011.

“The link between displacement of people from their homes and risks to national security in the countries in which they seek **refuge** has been irresponsibly and misleadingly overblown in many states, with the **refugee** crisis being used to stoke public fears of terrorism,” he is due to tell the UN session on Friday.

“There is almost no evidence that terrorist groups take advantage of **refugee** flows to carry out acts of terrorism, or that **refugees** are somehow more prone to radicalisation than others. These claims are analytically and statistically unfounded.”

Following the Islamic State-inspired attacks on Paris last autumn there were widespread reports that some of the gunmen had infiltrated **refugee** groups travelling through Greek islands. Those reports have since been thrown into doubt amid uncertainty over the black market trade in fake passports.

Referring to legislative measures designed to single out suspected radicals from the **refugee** population, Emmerson says: “The United Kingdom, as just one example here, has enacted legislation allowing for the review and revocation of **refugee** status if a person is thought to have exhibited extremist behaviour, or if their dependents have acted in a manner inconsistent with British values.

“Legislation of this kind, with the vagaries that are necessarily entailed in such generalised definitions, runs a risk of falling short of the requirements of the 1951 **refugee** convention.”

His reference is to a Home Office report, Asylum Policy Instruction: Revocation of **Refugee** Status[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/493918/revocation\_of\_refugee\_status\_v4\_0\_EXT.pdf], published earlier this year. It states: “Extremist behaviour: where there is any evidence that a **refugee** or their dependents have engaged in unacceptable behaviours (whether in the UK or abroad) considered not conducive to the public good or has acted in a way which undermines British values, their status must be reviewed [and referred to the special cases unit ].”

It also notes that: “Although there is no requirement to formally respond to representations from [the UN high commissioner for **refugees**] caseworkers must take their comments into account as part of the decision on whether to proceed with revocation and provide UNHCR with a copy of the final decision.”

Elsewhere in his speech, Emmerson says: “Almost without exception, **refugees** and migrants do not pose a risk – they are in fact at risk, fleeing regions where terrorist groups are most active. It is beyond question that terrorist activity, in the form of asymmetrical armed conflict, is a significant driver for internal displacement and the flight of **refugees**.

“Many states have introduced stricter border controls, built fences and walls to keep migrants and **refugees** out, engaged in push-back operations, criminalised irregular migration and abandoned pledges to accept **refugees**.

“Among the measures that pose serious human rights concerns are ethnic or religious profiling, the disproportionate collection of often inaccurate biometric and other data, forced fingerprinting and, perhaps most seriously, the criminalisation of irregular migration.”

Emmerson also raises concerns about the EU/Turkey agreement, which “provides for the blanket return of all migrants crossing from Turkey into Greece”. He said he was concerned about the “absence of individualised consideration and the risk of detention or ill treatment in Turkey”.

Emmerson’s report on the impact of counter-terrorism measures on the human rights of migrants and **refugees**, which details his criticisms, is on the UN’s website.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**(Fellside)

Star Rating: 4 stars

“An epidemic is sweeping the world: the epidemic of loneliness.” So says George Monbiot[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/georgemonbiot], who follows up his Guardian writing on isolation and **alienation**[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/12/neoliberalism-creating-loneliness-wrenching-society-apart] with an unexpected concept album for which he co-wrote the lyrics with Scottish singer-writer Ewan McLennan. It’s a powerful, poignant set, with McLennan’s effectively understated vocals matched against his classically influenced guitar work and harmonica, with sparse, effective backing including violin, harmonium and cello.

Related: George Monbiot: why I wrote an album of anthems for all the lonely people[https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/oct/03/loneliness-george-monbiot-ewan-mclennan-songs-tour]

The best portraits of contemporary Eleanor Rigbys include a widow desperate for a supermarket chat, an **immigrant** hotel maid and the evocative story of a “curator of solitude” in a police station at night. Songs about the solutions include a banjo-backed call to Reclaim the Streets, and the thoughtful Such a Thing as Society, which would have made a better finale than the reworking of We Shall Overcome.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Downing Street says it is not looking at taking students out of migration figures after suggesting idea was under review

Theresa May has dismissed the suggestion that foreign students should not be counted as **immigrants**, after the chancellor, Philip Hammond, suggested that such a move could be in line with public opinion.

Downing Street said it was not looking at whether to remove foreign students from official migration figures, despite earlier appearing to say this would be part of an overall review of the system.

It comes after reports of distance between No 10 and No 11[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/philip-hammonds-brexit-worries-point-to-cabinet-tensions] on a number of issues, from the approach to Brexit to May’s comments about monetary policy in the most recent Queen’s speech.

On Wednesday, Hammond told the Treasury select committee[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/19/philip-hammond-attempts-to-ease-concerns-over-hard-brexit] there were “conversations within government about the most appropriate way to record and address net migration”.

“As we approach the challenge of getting net migration figures down, it is in my view essential that we look at how we do this in a way that protects the vital interests of our economy,” he said.

“It is true that student visas have been abused in the past. The previous home secretary did sterling work tightening up on bogus educational institutions.”

When asked if students should be counted among **immigrant** numbers, he said: “My view is, this is a question of public perception and the public’s view. Clearly, **immigration** and the level of net migration is an issue of concern.

“The question we should be asking is, ‘What does the public understand should be included within that definition?’. It’s not whether politicians think one thing or another, it’s whether the public believe it.”

Andrew Tyrie, the chair of the committee, highlighted research showing that one-fifth of people thought students counted as **immigrants** and 59% were opposed to efforts to reduce their numbers, prompting Hammond to respond: “I think that’s very interesting information.”

However, a No10 spokesman said on Thursday: “The government objective is to reduce annual net migration to the tens of thousands, and in order to deliver this we are keeping all visa routes under review.

“Our position on who is included in the figures has not changed and we are categorically not reviewing whether or not students are included.”

Asked whether May had changed her mind, her deputy official spokesman said: “The issue of migration, migrant numbers, who enters the country and under what terms, is very much subject for review as we go through the process of exiting the European Union.”

The prime minister has long stuck to the position that foreign students should be included in the figures showing overall net migration numbers, fighting off an attempt to take them out under the previous Conservative government.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As young **refugees** arrive at Lunar House in the face of suspicion and demands for dental tests, local churches have come together to offer a warmer welcome

Lunar House is a brutal 20-storey office block in Croydon, named after the lunar landing of Apollo 11. This architectural monster is the frontline of Britain’s **immigration** administration – and the reason the children from the Calais **refugee** camp[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/17/refugee-children-britain-calais-resettlement-uk] are being bussed to Croydon, south London, to have their applications processed.

Bekele[https://about.me/bekelewoyecha] remembers his first encounter with Lunar House. The first day he waited 12 hours. It was so horrible he remembers the date: 3 March 2006. The next day he waited from 8am to midnight. Mostly, he waited outside. “I was brought up with stories of Britain and its respect for human rights. But I am sorry to say that during those early days I was robbed of my dignity.” There were no waiting facilities, no baby changing and nowhere to get a cup of coffee. Lunar House security guards nicknamed the entrance the “cattle shed”.

That was before a couple of nuns in a Winnebago turned up outside and started collecting people’s stories and distributing coffee. The security guards felt a bit uncomfortable strong-arming the nuns to leave. So they got a meeting with the head of Lunar House to discuss how **immigrants** were being treated there. This was the founding campaign of South London Citizens UK[http://www.citizensuk.org/south\_london]. One woman, a parishioner from the local Roman Catholic church, Sri Lanka-born Mary Aprigas, drove the campaign for a half-decent waiting area. In 2009 a small plaque was erected[http://www.croydonguardian.co.uk/news/4816303.New\_waiting\_area\_at\_Croydon\_s\_Lunar\_House\_finally\_completed/] to her in the foyer of the new facilities she campaigned for. It reads: “Voice of Courage”.

Bekele has been back to Lunar House every day this week, welcoming the children coming off the coaches from Calais. And others from local churches and further afield have been working behind the scenes. We came together early on Monday morning, encouraged by the presence of the former archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/17/rowan-williams-stop-foot-dragging-over-calais-child-refugees], and the bishop of Croydon, Jonathan Clark. As we met for morning prayer, one of the students from the theological college read the story of the child Jesus being forced to flee his home and of how political forces conspired to murder innocent children. It all seemed horribly contemporary.

The Home Office had asked local churches to provide a pool of criminal-records-cleared adults who could sit with the Calais children as they went through their interviews at Lunar House. The Salvation Army provided goodie bags. Church buildings nearby had been set up as welcome centres where the children could meet their families and escape the press.

We tried. But in the end, what will be remembered most from this week is that this country greeted vulnerable children not with welcome, but with fear and derision. Apparently, some didn’t look enough like children. They didn’t reward our “generosity” with cherubic faces and a gratifying tear. Instead, we got gangly male teenagers with a bit of fluff on their upper lip. And we wanted them examined by a dentist[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies], as if they were cattle.

Related: Give child **refugees** dental tests to verify age, says David Davies[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies]

A thousand or so children are still stuck in Calais, in the freezing mud and surrounded by every kind of threat. No wonder they had to grow up fast. They have fled Assad[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/14/syrian-regime-bombs-hospital-again-assad-vows-clean-aleppo] or Bashir[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2016/oct/13/immigration-fears-make-the-eu-prepared-to-do-business-with-murderers], the latest versions of Herod and Hitler. And despite the fact that parliament passed the amendment tabled by Lord Dubs[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/21/house-of-lords-votes-to-let-lone-child-refugees-come-to-britain] earlier this year, honouring the memory of the Kindertransports, so far not a single child has been brought over under that legislation. Not one. A more cynical mind might suspect that a thousand freezing children are seen by the British government as an acceptable price to pay to deter others from making the journey to Calais. Surely this cannot be the calculation being made by our vicar’s daughter prime minister?

Croydon’s most famous son is John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury to Elizabeth I. The town’s shopping centre and many of its businesses still bear his name. He is remembered for the schools he founded in Croydon and his concern for the young – a legacy that is being honoured by ordinary people from local Croydon churches in welcoming the children from Calais.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The front pages show that the press is still confused about how to deal with difficult feelings

Ooh, it’s the age-old question, isn’t it? How old is OK? When are they old enough? When is it OK to say that something was justified because they didn’t look like a child to you? I notice the Daily Mail this week deploying the famous hair test to determine whether or not it’s OK to go there. Wait – maybe that wasn’t clear and you thought I was talking about another type of hair? Guys, of course not! I’m talking about hair on the upper lip. Look at that one – it’s got bumfluff and it’s flaunting its smile. If anything, it’s us that’s going to be taken advantage of. Old muggins here is going to put out for another little chancer.

But you see the problem. Sometimes it’s really difficult to know whether we’re on about **refugees** coming to the UK, or underage children of celebrities that you shouldn’t feel bad about having sexual feelings for. Or maybe not you, but whoever chose the “gorgeous” paparazzi picture of the 11-year-old, or wrote the “leggy” picture caption to accompany it. Or whoever decides that the “child” in the phrase “child **refugee**” can now only appear in print in inverted commas[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3853830/How-child-migrants-straining-care-British-children-paying-price.html].

Occasionally, it’s almost like the Mail is deliberately trying to rip a tear in the age-appropriate continuum. Consider Thursday’s front page[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs/the\_papers]. The main headline ran: “Give ‘child migrants’ age tests, says Straw.” And right next to it was a picture of Cindy Crawford and her 15-year-old daughter, with an exhortation to “spot the difference”. Well, now you’re asking. I used to be sure it was something about one of them being a child, but I’m starting to lose my bearings. Also: can I give Cindy’s daughter an age test? She looks “older”. Say what you like about political correctness, it will never take our inverted commas from us.

Even so, whenever they’re talking about individuals of indeterminate age – be it **refugees** or hot minors – I always find it helpful to think of the Mail as engaged in a dangerously perverse take on George Carlin’s famous routine about words you can’t say on TV. “I can prick my finger,” he mused. “But I can’t finger my prick.”

Of course, Lost in Showbiz would like to stress that it’s not just the Mail that’s a bit “confused” about age. When Adam Johnson was found guilty of sexual activity with a 15-year-old this year, the Sun lost no time in denouncing the “pervert footballer”, despite having run pictures of Cindy’s Crawford’s aforementioned daughter during the trial, in which readers were invited to enjoy her “shapely pins”. She was 14 at the time.

Still, maybe the paper knew something we didn’t. Maybe it was using the same two-bit age-recognition software[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/19/how-oldnet-no-real-indicator-of-age-says-microsoft-amid-child-refugee-row] on which the Mail seem to be nosing its entire coverage of the child-**refugee** issue. It’s not to everyone’s taste, it must be said. I notice Gary Lineker has taken a lot of stick for appearing repulsed by the Mail’s angle – and he will doubtless take a lot more from the paper itself before its done with him[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3852104/Gary-Lineker-sparks-Twitter-row-blasting-utterly-heartless-treatment-child-migrants-arriving-Calais.html]. In case you missed this – Gary reacted to the front page querying the ages of some of the **refugees** leaving the Calais camp for the UK with a tweet reading: “The treatment by some towards these young **refugees** is hideously racist and utterly heartless. What’s happening to our country?”

How unforgivable that Gary should have failed to understand the Mail’s byzantine etiquette around the issue of age. He can’t say it hasn’t given him special insights. In fact, it wasn’t all that long ago that I saw a Mail headline[https://twitter.com/MarinaHyde/status/400194749732102144] inquiring suggestively: “So who’s the younger lady, Gaz?” over a picture of Gary with his “pretty stepdaughter”, who at the time was 11.

At least she was older than Heidi Klum’s daughter, described as a “leggy beauty”, who “showed off her best model walk through the parking lot” after a paparazzo caught her coming out of gym class. She was eight.

In some ways, though, it is through the prism of fathers and daughters that we can gain the most insight into the tabloid view of age. A year ago, I was deeply moved[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/11/alexander-carter-silk-charlotte-proudman-trump-father-daughter] by a rather angsty column written by the Sun’s former editor Kelvin MacKenzie[https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2016/oct/19/kelvin-mackenzie-entitled-to-attack-fatima-manji-over-hijab-says-ipso], shortly after José Mourinho had attended an award ceremony with his daughter wearing a dress that seemed to have aroused Kelvin. Aroused him to anger, I should stress. Although I suspect what Kelvin was really saying was that he found the picture appealing – certainly he must have, at some level, to have embarked on such a lengthy deflection mission. “If I were José Mourinho, I wouldn’t be impressed with my 18-year-old daughter,” he fretted. “Surely, no father would enjoy seeing his daughter wear so little.” I bet Donald Trump would. But if Kelvin prefers an answer closer to home, what about Sam Fox’s dad, whose permission he sought to print topless pictures of her when she was 16?

Making Kelvin sound like a moral philosopher, meanwhile, is Tory MP David Davies (not the Brexit secretary – the other one). By chance, I wrote about David last week[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/14/marmite-royal-yacht-britain-global-joke-news], when he made some sally in the Great Brexit Marmite wars. This week, he pops up again, declaring from a couple of photos of the Calais **refugees** that they “don’t look like children”, and demanding they be subjected to dental tests[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies].

Back then to that question: when is it OK to justify something with the observation that they “don’t look like children”? I’m just feeling my way on this. If you are a Tory MP, and about to deploy the phrase “They don’t look like a child”, you need to first ask yourself an important question. Are you looking at pictures of a) a little minx in a miniskirt, or b) someone who has fled a war zone and has been living in a tented migrant camp for months or even years? If it’s a), then it’s not OK, because times have moved on and we’re all a little more enlightened about which bits of our mind palaces we can open to the public. But if it’s b), it’s still totally fine to say it out loud.

David’s such a headline-seeking brainiac that I half expect him to roll out this plan to the Premier League, and demand that the big clubs fund in-nightclub dental screening to guarantee the age of the females the players might want to do it with later. Or maybe the bars could install booths fitted with the shonky age-guessing software the Mail are using?

Failing that, maybe someone could invent some software through which kid-related newspaper copy could be fed, in order to determine whether it’s “bravely saying the things that ought to be said” or “obviously fucking gross”. Consider this exhibit from a Sun article – featuring all! the! shocking! photos! – about a child beauty pageant[https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/reallife/893664/ocean-4-sunbathes-with-me-i-dont-like-fake-tans/] : “CAVORTING provocatively in a tiny pink swimsuit and clutching a cuddly stuffed kitten, little Ocean Orrey struts her stuff in a British beauty pageant – aged just FOUR.”

So, as we play out, readers, remember: it’s never OK to share pictures of four-year-olds and say they’re “cavorting provocatively” – unless you’re a national newspaper. I mean that seriously. I think you can literally be arrested for it.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Youths hide faces amid row over **refugees**’ ages and criticism that Home Office isn’t doing enough to protect their anonymity

Some of the latest unaccompanied **refugee** children to travel from Calais to London covered their faces as they arrived, following a row about the ages [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies] of the first teenagers to be rescued.

Their attempt to conceal their faces on Thursday came amid frustration from campaigners that the Home Office has not done enough to protect the anonymity of those being helped.

Fourteen children arrived at an **immigration** centre in Croydon, south London, on Thursday morning, days before the camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/12/half-jungle-camp-calais-bulldozed-migrants-moved] in Calais is expected to be demolished on Monday.

Related: Give child **refugees** dental tests to verify age, says David Davies[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies]

Among the group were five boys aged 12 to 14. There were also six boys and three girls described as slightly older teenagers. Six youngsters, including all the girls, covered their heads and faces in towels as they were greeted by reporters and photographers.

More than 50 of over 1,000 children in the camp have arrived in the UK under a programme to resettle unaccompanied minors. The latest group were the first to cover their faces, according to volunteers.

James Asfa, a community organiser with Citizens UK – which is helping coordinate the arrival of the children – said: “The first few children came out without covers. The second group didn’t want to be photographed but there was a concern the photographers would continue despite being asked not to by volunteers so they put blankets over themselves just before they got off the bus for protection.”

Another source working with the children said: “Lots of them don’t want the invasive photography that some of their peers had earlier in the week.”

Media coverage of the first arrivals and a call by the Tory MP David Davies to force them undergo dental or hand x-rays[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies] to verify their ages have been widely criticised.

Josie Naughton, co-founder of Help **Refugees**[http://www.helprefugees.org.uk/], urged the Home Office to do more to protect the identities of the children.

She said: “Exposing them to the media is disrespectful and hugely unkind. The media attention makes the public think the government is doing something, that the crisis is over. It isn’t. Less than 100 children have come to the UK this week, and there are thousands more.

“These children’s lives are their own, and not public property. There are laws protecting children in the UK. Why isn’t it the same for them? It is super important to remember these are vulnerable children fleeing war and conflict and unimaginable experiences. They deserve privacy and respect.”

Related: Home Office expected to speed up rescue of migrant children from Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/home-office-expected-to-speed-up-rescue-of-migrant-children-from-calais]

The Home Office has yet to respond.

Meanwhile, the fostering and adoption charity Tact[https://www.tactcare.org.uk/news/2614-2/] has distanced itself from a claim on its Twitter account that concerned the status of a male widely pictured on stories about the **refugee** children arriving in Britain. After the Sun and other newspapers suggested the male was an asylum seeker, the tweet claimed he was an interpreter instead.

The Home Office confirmed on Thursday that the man was not one of their interpreters. And Tact said in a statement: “Our information was from a credible source. However, if the male is indeed a migrant and not an interpreter, Tact regrets any concern caused. The tweet has now been withdrawn as we do not want to cause any further distress to the individual depicted.”

The Home Office is under pressure to speed up the operation to rescue children[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/home-office-expected-to-speed-up-rescue-of-migrant-children-from-calais] from Calais before demolition starts. It has pledged to prioritise people [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/10/uk-close-to-deal-for-transfer-of-child-refugees-from-calais-amber-rudd] under 18 covered by the so-called Dublin regulations that allow them be reunited with relatives already in Britain.

On Wednesday, Home Office minister Susan Williams said: “We will transfer as many children who qualify under the Dublin regulation before the start of clearance.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Low birth rate and high life expectancy ‘will lead to 5.3 million fewer inhabitants and over-65s making up 34% of total’

Spain by 2050 will be a depopulated nation dominated by elderly and single people, according to a report published, which predicts that the country will have lost 5.3 million inhabitants, or 11% of the current population, by the middle of the century.

Spain’s low birth rate and high life expectancy is seen as a demographic problem, which the report, released by the national statistics office[http://www.ine.es/prensa/np994.pdf] on Thursday, expects to become more entrenched.

If the trends continue, by 2050 the over-65s will make up 34.6% of the population, while close to a quarter of a million Spaniards will be over 100 years old. By that date there will be 1.7 million fewer children under 10 than there are today.

A country also once famed for large families seems destined to become a nation of singletons, with single-person households rising by about a fifth over the next 15 years, to make up 28% of the total. Two-person households will make up a third of the total.

Related: 'Teach young people we are not going to move over': stories of ageing in cities[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/28/teach-young-people-stories-ageing-cities]

While the birth rate is predicted to rise slightly, from 1.33 to 1.38, it will fall overall because there will be fewer women of childbearing age. The average age at which Spanish women have their first child is expected to rise from 31.9 to 33 years.

In the first 10 years of the millennium, **immigration** from Latin America, north Africa and elsewhere in Europe, boosted Spain’s reproductive population, but following the financial crisis hundreds of thousands of those **immigrants** have returned home. Meanwhile, large numbers of young Spaniards have themselves emigrated in search of work. However, **immigration** is predicted to slightly exceed emigration in the coming years.

In 1900 life expectancy in Spain was 35, meaning that half of those born did not live to be 15. Life expectancy is now 80 for men and 85 for women; if the trends continue, by 2065 this will rise to 88 and 91 respectively.

Demographers stress that elderly people should not be seen as burdensome on Spanish society. They point out that in general the over-65s have resources, are big consumers, and 70% of them have paid off their mortgages. During Spain’s long financial crisis [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/26/bank-of-spain-economic-recovery-accelerating] it has been pensioners who, above all, have saved their children and grandchildren from going under.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hillary Clinton calls Republican nominee’s unprecedented refusal ‘horrifying’ in debate that saw heated clashes on abortion, **immigration** and gun rights

Donald Trump used the final presidential debate with Hillary Clinton to declare he would keep the country “in suspense” over whether he would accept the outcome of November’s election, stoking conspiracies over the legitimacy of the democratic process.

The Republican nominee’s refusal to endorse the results of the forthcoming election, unheard of in modern American history, capped a fractious debate in which he clashed with Clinton over abortion[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/19/abortion-trump-clinton-debate], gun rights, **immigration** and foreign policy.

Related: Debate fact-check: Clinton and Trump's claims reviewed[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/19/third-presidential-debate-fact-check-trump-clinton]

In some of the most heated exchanges, Clinton accused Trump of being “a puppet” of Russian president Vladimir Putin. Trump repeatedly interrupted his Democratic rival, at one point cutting her off mid-sentence with the line: “ Such a nasty woman[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/20/nasty-woman-donald-trump-hillary-clinton] ”.

However, it was Trump’s refusal to accept the outcome of an election he is currently projected to lose that will stand out from Wednesday night’s ill-tempered clash.

Trump’s comments directly contradicted those of his running mate, Mike Pence, who just four days[http://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/video/pence-promises-to-accept-results-but-calls-election-rigged-786977859619] ago said he would “absolutely accept the result of the election”.

It also contradicted a promise Trump himself made last month, in the first presidential debate, when he was asked a nearly identical question about whether he would accept the election result.

“The answer is: if she wins, I will absolutely support her,” he answered then.

However on Wednesday, Trump repeatedly refused to accept the election result and raised questions about voter registration inaccuracies.

“I will look at it at the time,” Trump said, when pressed by Fox News moderator Chris Wallace, who said Trump was breaking with centuries of peaceful transitions of power. “I will keep you in suspense, OK?” the businessman said.

Clinton described her rival’s refusal to accept the outcome of the election, which takes place in less than three weeks, as “horrifying”.

“He is denigrating and he is is talking down our democracy,” said the former secretary of state. “And I, for one, am appalled that someone who is the nominee of one of two major parties would take that position.

“Every time Donald thinks things are not going in his direction, he claims whatever it is is rigged against him,” said Clinton, adding that he has, at various times, accused the FBI, the Republican primary process and the judicial system of being corrupt.

“There was even a time when he didn’t get an Emmy for his TV program three years in a row and he started tweeting that the Emmys were rigged.”

“Should have gotten it!” Trump interjected.

People in the debate auditorium giggled at that interruption from the Republican nominee, one of several occasions when the audience could be heard breaking a rule that they should stay silent.

On another, there were sniggers when Trump insisted: “Nobody has more respect for women that I do, nobody.”

The businessman’s treatment of women was once again on trial in a debate.

Asked about the nine women who have come forward to accuse Trump of the sexually predatory behavior he bragged about in a 2005 video leaked earlier this month[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-leaked-recording-women], Trump insisted they were all either seeking “10 minutes of fame” or had been somehow orchestrated by Clinton’s campaign.

“Those stories are all totally false – I have to say that,” Trump said. “And I didn’t even apologize to my wife who is sitting right here because I didn’t do anything.”

Pointing out how Trump has publicly denigrated his accusers, Clinton said: “Donald thinks belittling women makes him bigger. He goes after their dignity, their self-worth, and I don’t think there is a woman anywhere doesn’t know what that feels like.”

One of the women to level accusations at Trump, Jill Harth, who gave an extensive interview to Guardian US[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/jul/20/jill-harth-donald-trump-sexual-assault-lawsuit-video], tweeted mid-debate: “Trump lied and lied again,” adding: “He says he doesn’t know any of the women. Well, he definitely knew me.”

Another exchange from Trump likely to **alienate** some women, but one seemingly intended to court the evangelical vote, stemmed from a discussion about the future shape of the US supreme court, which has had an unfilled vacancy since conservative justice Antonin Scalia’s death in February.

Related: Clinton condemns Trump's abortion 'scare rhetoric' in debate clash[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/19/abortion-trump-clinton-debate]

Trump portrayed himself as a candidate who would protect the second amendment right to keep and bear arms and said Roe v Wade, the historic ruling in 1973 that legalized abortion in the US, would “automatically” be overturned if he were elected because of his commitment to pro-life justices.

The Republican characterized Clinton’s position as one that would “rip the baby out of the womb of the mother” in the final days of a pregnancy. “You can say that that is OK and Hillary can say that that is OK, but it’s not OK with me.”

Clinton countered that Trump’s “scare rhetoric is just terribly unfortunate”, while setting out her view in favor of women’s reproductive rights. “I can tell you the government has no business in the decisions that women make with their families in accordance with their rights,” she said.

The third debate was not as one-sided as the opening televised contest between the two candidates, in which Clinton was by most accounts declared the winner[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/debate-clinton-trump-recap-presidential-election-hofstra]. Neither was it as personal as the second debate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/10/debate-donald-trump-threatens-to-jail-hillary-clinton], in which the candidates clashed in some of the most brutal exchanges ever seen on a presidential stage.

However there was nothing in the last debate that seemed likely to alter the dynamics of a race in which Clinton has a six-point lead in an average of national polls – and an edge in almost all of the key battleground states needed to win the White House.

A CNN/ORC poll of debate watchers found 52% who thought Clinton emerged the victor, compared to 39% who said Trump won.

Embarrassingly for Trump, who has claimed victory in the wake of previous debates because he “won” instant – easily rigged[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/10/poll-won-debate-trump-clinton-drudge-report-us-voters] – online polls, he was also declared the loser on an online survey conducted by the pro-Trump website Breitbart.com.

The bad blood between the candidates was unmistakeable throughout their final head-to-head; pointedly, there was no handshake before or after the contest.

Trump spoke in stark terms about **immigration**, the touchstone of his campaign, saying there were mothers in the audience whose children had been “brutally killed” by undocumented **immigrants**. He promised to stem what he characterized as an avalanche of people and heroin coming across the border, which he said was “poisoning the blood” of young Americans.

Trump reiterated his call for a wall on the US-Mexico border and said of his plans to deport undocumented **immigrants**: “We have some bad hombres here that we’re going to get them out.”

Clinton reiterated her position of allowing undocumented **immigrants** to come out of the shadows, and mocked Trump for failing to mention his signature wall during his meeting with the Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto over the summer. “He choked,” she said.

She also delivered a wounding line telling him that there were “undocumented **immigrants** in America who are paying more federal income tax than a billionaire”.

Trump did not deny the charge of tax avoidance, instead repeating his argument that he only exploited loopholes that she should have changed with legislation when she was a New York senator.

“Because your donors and your special interest are doing the same thing as I do – except even more so,” he said.

The Democratic nominee was pressed over a disclosure in emails leaked via WikiLeaks[https://www.theguardian.com/media/wikileaks], the whistleblower website, which revealed she said during a speech[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/09/clinton-campaign-fends-off-questions-about-wikileaks-speech-excerpts] paid for by a Brazilian bank that her “dream” was for a “hemispheric common market with open trade and open borders”.

Related: Why the final debate highlights the madness of Donald Trump's ideas[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/19/presidential-debate-trump-clinton-analysis]

After first insisting the quote was taken out of context, Clinton deftly pivoted to Russia’s apparent involvement in the US election by allegedly hacking the emails of her campaign manager and passing them to WikiLeaks.

She insisted “the most important question of this evening” was whether Trump would condemn president Vladimir Putin’s “unprecedented” attempt to interfere in the US election[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/oct/07/us-russia-dnc-hack-interfering-presidential-election], which she said had been confirmed by 17 intelligence agencies.

When she challenged Trump to disavow Putin’s support, he replied: “I don’t know Putin. He said nice things about me. If we got along well, that would be good.”

“That’s because he would rather have a puppet as president of the United States,” Clinton shot back.

“No puppet,” Trump replied. “You’re the puppet.”

Trump added that Clinton has “no idea if it’s Russia, China, or anyone else” who was behind the hacking, apparently contradicting the reported briefings he has received from security officials fingering Putin’s regime.

He added: “She doesn’t like Putin because Putin has outsmarted at every step of the way.”

One section of the WikiLeaks disclosures Trump sought to capitalize on was an email in which her campaign manager appeared to question the Democratic candidate’s instincts.

“WikiLeaks just actually came out John Podesta said some horrible things about you and boy was he right,” Trump said. “He said some beauties.”

Trump, who is being opposed by many senior Republicans, added that Clinton’s suitability for office had also been questioned by her former Democratic rival.

Related: Hillary Clinton is almost certain to be president | Jill Abramson[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/20/hillary-clinton-president-debate-us-election]

“Bernie Sanders said you have bad judgment,” he said. “I agree.”

Clinton countered that Sanders has been campaigning for her across the country, warning voters the Republican candidate is “the most dangerous person to run for president in the modern history of America”. She added: “I think he’s right.”

There are 20 days left before election day, but Wednesday’s debate was the last occasion both candidates will share a stage, and marked the final stretch in one of the most wildly unpredictable presidential races of modern times.

It has been one that has been dominated throughout by the former reality TV star, who opened the first primary debate 14 months ago by brazenly declaring “politicians are stupid” and threatening to ditch the GOP and run as an independent.

His refusal on Wednesday to accept the outcome of the election was a similarly unprecedented move, and perhaps his last throw of the dice. But it is a move the Clinton camp is likely to exploit in the closing weeks of its campaign.

“Nobody, Republican or Democrat, can support him going around trying to question the integrity of our elections,” said Clinton’s campaign spokesman Brian Fallon, adding that Trump was jeopardizing “the peaceful transition of power that has been a long running tradition and is an important democratic institution in this country”.

• This article was amended on 20 October 2016. An earlier version said “just days before a pregnancy” where “in the final days of a pregnancy” was meant.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Local authority debates merits of Australian and Canadian visa system in bid to retain and attract skilled workers

Ideas for a regional visa system have been set out by the local authority for London’s financial district in an attempt to avoid staff shortages after the vote to leave the EU.

City of London Corporation published the proposals[http://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/business/economic-research-and-information/research-publications/Documents/Research%202016/regional-visas.pdf], drawn up by accountants PriceWaterhouseCoopers, after scrutinising the visa systems used in Australia and Canada. It outlines two ideas: one could be run by the local authorities which would listen to the business case for needing to recruit from abroad; the other would be run by UK Visas and **Immigration** (UKVI) which would judge the merits of cases put forward.

Regional visas, according to the report, would allow regional centres such as Manchester, Newcastle and Birmingham to become more competitive and lure more overseas talent. Individuals would be required to live in the area.

“A regional visa could present an opportunity for the UK to have a nuanced **immigration** system that successfully meets the requirements of UK business and economy post Brexit. Economies that are dependent on a single city hub are less resilient to global economic shocks. A regional visa system could facilitate and promote economic development outside of London,” the report said.

**Immigration** has been a key part of the Brexit debate. The home secretary, Amber Rudd, raised the idea of companies disclosing the proportion of foreigners they employ[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/government-faces-backlash-from-business-leaders-over-foreign-workers].

“By allowing the regions to control **immigration** this will recognise the fact that the needs of London and Yorkshire will differ dramatically. Whilst all regions will have to adhere to the same overall requirement criteria set by the Home Office they will be allowed to control the numbers of migrants and the skills they require for their region,” the report said.

It is not clear what visa regime will apply to EU workers after Brexit, but the report said that if the current visa system was applied around three-quarters of theBritain’s EU workforce would not meet these requirements. This could have an impact on the City of London – where 32 % of the workforce is international, with 12% hailing from Europe. It would also affect healthcare, agriculture and construction.

Australia and Canada are seen as the most relevant comparisons for a UK regional visa. The report said: “Both countries designed their systems to attract migrants to help combat problems of sparsely populated regions and declining populations. Whilst we acknowledge that a post-Brexit visa system will have different motivations, the mechanisms and lessons are relevant, as these relate to tying migration to particular area needs.”

Australia uses a regional sponsored migration scheme where a three-year visa is granted for workers sponsored by employers. Canada has a four-year programme where employers are able to hire from abroad when they have not been able to recruit at home.

The UK could adopt two types of visas - a 12-month visa for those recruited to fill a skills shortage or one for six years to fill a permanent role that could also lead to permanent residency after five years. Individuals entering the UK on the longer term visa would be permitted to purchase property in the area where they had been granted permission to work.

“This is not a London solution to a national problem, but actually something that can support growth outside of the capital across a wide variety of sectors,” said Mark Boleat, policy chairman at the City of London Corporation.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**70% of family cases – mostly Central Americans – have no legal representationFamilies without lawyers much more likely to be deported – and quickly

An overwhelming majority of migrant families received no legal representation during US **immigration** court proceedings, meaning they were more likely to be deported, and to be subject to faster proceedings, a new data analysis has revealed[http://trac.syr.edu/immigration/reports/441/].

Researchers at Syracuse University’s Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (Trac) found that since a 2014 surge in border crossingsby migrant families, 38,601 **immigration** cases involving migrant families have been closed throughout the federal **immigration** court system. Seventy percent of these families had no legal representation to defend them from deportation.

The analysis revealed that 43.4% of these unrepresented families were deported at their initial court hearing, compared with just 4% of families who secured representation.

Related: Central American migrants desperate to reach US risk new dangers at sea[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/15/migrants-mexico-human-trafficking-us-immigration-crackdown]

Overall, unrepresented families spent an average of just 60 days in the court system, whereas those with legal representatives spent 286 days before the courts.

Human rights observers said the findings were indicative of the “massive dysfunction and massive denial of due process” present in US **immigration** courts and warned that many families being deported could have failed to lodge legitimate applications for asylum or relief from deportation.

“These are hugely complex claims, in cases that often involve reams of evidence and of legal argument that can only really be done by a lawyer who is expert in that area,” said Clara Long, an **immigration** researcher at Human Rights Watch’s US program. “So the idea that someone representing themselves in **immigration** court can get a fair shake is just fiction.”

The analysis reveals that just one in 15 unrepresented families were able to file papers claiming asylum or apply for other forms of relief from deportation, compared with 70% of families who were able to obtain legal representation.

The statistics come just days after the Obama administration announced[https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/southwest-border-unaccompanied-children/fy-2016] that the number of families and unaccompanied minors crossing the southern border into the US was slightly higher in 2016 than it was during the surge of 2014. A total of 137,366 migrant families and children were apprehended by US border patrol this year, compared with 136,986 in 2014. The total number of apprehensions, however, was down from 479,371 in 2014 to 408,870 in 2016.

According to data published by Trac[http://trac.syr.edu/phptools/immigration/mwc/], groups from Central America made up the bulk of family cases brought to court in 2016. The 16,491 family cases from El Salvador brought in 2016 were the largest of any national cohort – with the vast majority of these (15,623) still pending.

Statistics published by the Department of Homeland Security showed that 27,114 families from El Salvador, 23,067 families from Guatemala, and 20,226 families from Honduras were apprehended at the border in 2016, with just 3,481 families apprehended from Mexico.

The homeland security secretary, Jeh Johnson, acknowledged on Monday that: “Far fewer Mexicans and single adults are attempting to cross the border without authorization, but more families and unaccompanied children are fleeing poverty and violence in Central America.”

Families and unaccompanied minors have been prioritised in **immigration** courts following an executive order issued by Barack Obama in 2014[https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/06/30/letter-president-efforts-address-humanitarian-situation-rio-grande-valle] but a shortage of judges has led to crippling backlogs throughout the system[https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/empty-benches-underfunding-immigration-courts-undermines-justice].

The Trac analysis also highlights large disparities in the access to counsel at different court locations. For example, about two-thirds of families before the judges in Baltimore, Memphis and Dallas had no representation, whereas less than 15% of families in New York, Orlando and San Francisco were unable to secure representation.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**European Space Agency says whereabouts of Schiaparelli craft unknown after it deploys parachute before signal goes dead

It travelled half a billion kilometres across the solar system, deployed its parachute flawlessly and survived a scorching descent through the Martian atmosphere, but the European Space Agency has confirmed that its Exo Mars lander was lost just one minute before it touched down on the surface of the red planet.

The Schiaparelli Mars[https://www.theguardian.com/science/mars] lander showed the first signs of a glitch as it released its parachute 1km from the surface and the signal went dead soon afterwards, ESA scientists said on Thursday, leaving them unsure of where the probe is and whether it crash-landed.

Andrea Accomazzo, Esa’s spacecraft operations manager, said: “When we put it in the Martian environment, the spacecraft didn’t behave exactly as expected … It might take quite some time before we are able to locate it.”

The loss of the half-tonne craft[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/oct/19/esa-exomars-scientists-wait-and-hope-as-fate-of-mars-schiaparelli-lander-remains-uncertain], which would have been the first European lander to perform science on the Martian surface, has echoes of the UK’s failed Beagle 2 mission, which touched down[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2004/aug/24/spaceexploration.sciencenews] in 2003 but failed to phone home and was only found a decade later[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2015/jan/16/lost-beagle-2-spacecraft-found-mars].

But speaking at a press conference on Thursday morning, Jan Wörner, ESA’s director general, insisted the operations had been largely successful. The lander going off-radar at the last minute would not put the second phase of ExoMars – a six-wheeled rover due to be launched in 2020 – in jeopardy.

“Yes, I am happy,” he said. “The engineering were doing good work, but still you just need a bit of luck to succeed.”

He confirmed that the lander’s mothership, the Trace Gas Orbiter (TGO), had successfully swung into an elliptical orbit around Mars. With a span of nearly 18 metres, the giant TGO is the more important of the two probes. It will spend years sniffing the Martian atmosphere for minute levels of gas, including methane which could point to the existence of **alien** life on the planet.

The lander’s primary goal was to test entry and landing technology planned for the rover, which will be armed with a two-metre-long drill that will burrow into the Martian soil in search of **alien** organisms. While engineers hope to learn from any glitches that befell Schiaparelli, a question mark hangs over the future of the ExoMars rover because of a £300m funding gap at ESA.

Wörner said he believed that ministers of member states who are being asked to cover the funding shortfall would not be deterred by the probe having gone off-course at the final hurdle.

“I think they will see we will show this mission is a success,” he said. “We don’t have to convince them, we just have to show them the results are obvious.”

A successful landing on Mars would have marked a first for Europe. In 1971, the Soviet Union’s Mars 3 craft became the first to land softly on Mars – although the spacecraft fell silent after transmitting from the surface for less than 20 seconds – and the US has managed several successful landings on the planet.

Ahead of the landing, François Forget, a French scientist on the European-Russian joint ExoMars mission, said: “Many attempts to land on Mars have failed exactly because there is such a long chain of actions to be flawlessly executed. There cannot be a single weak link.”

Data beamed back from the Schiaparelli lander now shows that it successfully entered the Martian atmosphere, deployed its parachute and slowed down from 21,000km/h to 240km/h. However, about 1km from the surface, when the craft was due to release its parachute and begin using its thrusters for the final phase of deceleration something went wrong. The thrusters fired, but only for three or four seconds instead of the expected 30 seconds. And then transmission went silent about 50 seconds before landing.

“We are not in a position yet to determine the dynamic conditions in which the lander touched the ground … to say whether the lander could have survived the landing or not,” said Accomazzo.

He added that finding the paddling pool-sized craft on the Martian surface would be a similar task to locating Beagle 2 or the Philae probe on the Rosetta comet, which was lost for almost two years after a bumpy touchdown on the comet 67P.

Named after the Italian astronomer Giovanni Schiaparelli, the European lander was released from the TGO on Sunday afternoon.

Andrew Coates, who works on the ExoMars rover at University College London’s Mullard Space Science Laboratory, said: “The science of 2020 is a huge chance for Europe and Russia, and the global science community, to get more information on whether there was or is life on Mars. It’s really unique, drilling 2 metres under the harsh surface, some 40 times deeper than Curiosity and below where harmful UV, oxidisation and radiation can reach. My feeling is we must carry on with the rover with its world class complement of context instruments, including our PanCam, and sample analysis instruments. We expect the scientific results to be truly stunning.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The reaction of a handful of people to the reuniting of teenager migrants with their families is sickening and shameful

Check their teeth. The lying “ hulking[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/17/from-the-calais-jungle-to-croydon-migrant-children-arrive-in-bri/] ” children let in from Calais. That small handful are not children at all. Use computer software to determine their true age, these quasi-criminals. Tory MP David Davies[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies] wants their teeth X-rayed. That’s right. While thousands of people have been festering in the camps about to be demolished, the public is being told we have overextended our “famous hospitality” by letting in these boys. We don’t want to be a soft touch.

I note that no one is talking about the Eritrean girl who was also let in this week[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/18/teenage-girl-arrives-uk-calais-crisis-eritrea-children-camp], because she is a girl. Because God knows that the women and girls in the camps qualify as vulnerable. Some are forced into sex work. Many dress as boys or stay in the tents to avoid the smugglers, but let’s not bother with details here. They, too, could be lying. Check their teeth. Like you would with a corpse. Or a cow. This is when dental records are actually used to determine age. But, again, why bother with details? Living or dead. Human or animal. Toxic discourse around migrants has gone mainstream – even if teeth checking has now, thankfully, been ruled out by the Home Office as unethical[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/home-office-rules-out-unethical-dental-checks-for-calais-refugees].

Davies[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/david-davies], would-be Teeth-Checker General, argues that people in Britain want to help children, “but we don’t want to be taken for a free ride”. He surely missed a trick here. While checking their teeth, we could also see if they own gold fillings and remove them. Or is that going a little too far? Is that a little too reminiscent of the unmentionable? Of course it is and Britain is a kind, caring nation. Fair, gentle, decent. We pride ourselves on these values. We claim them even as the gutter overflows with sulphurous racism dressed up as realism.

Related: Give child **refugees** dental tests to verify age, says David Davies[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies]

The discourse around migration ebbs and flows. They are “ vermin[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/apr/19/katie-hopkins-migrants-vermin-darkest-history-drownings] ” or “cockroaches”. These people have no place. The great anthropologist Mary Douglas[https://www.theguardian.com/news/2007/may/18/guardianobituaries.obituaries] defined dirt as “matter out of place”, and so these people with no place become dirt themselves. No longer human to us: simply threatening and other. There have been murmurs of empathy despite this. Oh, look, here is a drowned toddler and a sinking ship of people, whose names we will never know. Oh, look, there is an interminable war in Syria and children smattered with blood and dust sit half alive and we think something should be done. But it’s far away and it’s complicated.

Calais is not very far away, but it is complicated. Some of the people there are seeking asylum, some are migrants. Some are adults, some are children, some will die trying to get here and will never settle in France. Some have burned off their fingerprints[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/07/dublin-regulation-european-asylum-seekers] so as not to have to settle in their country of entry.

So the divvying up of these people into vulnerable and not vulnerable enough (they live in tents in the mud?) is a way for us to ration our compassion. The value of compassion has plummeted like that of the pound[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/11/pound-pressure-city-fears-hard-brexit-bank-of-england-business-live]. What is deemed valuable now is hardness. Stay hard for ever. Permanently hard. Hard Brexit. This is delusional, but it is a bravado whereby the weak and the vulnerable must be punished for reminding us that they exist. This fear of foreigners is political Viagra for a set of limp leaders.

Those who speak up for migrants are often those in possession of some actual facts about the situation. The migration of displaced people is massive and ongoing. Yes, more will come, however many fences are erected; yes, **immigration** has effects. It is no good simply saying that we are a rich country and can afford it, when so many feel very far from rich. The Brexit vote is being interpreted by the extreme right as a referendum on **immigration**. I continue to believe it was much messier and more complex than that. But alarm bells are ringing because of the flood of racism that is now permissible.

Related: The Good **Immigrant** review – an unflinching dialogue about race and racism in the UK[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/sep/22/good-immigrant-review-nikesh-shukla-britain-racist]

It is shameful that reuniting some teenagers with their families has caused this latest outpouring. It is shameful that the only moral leadership is coming from the church (and a few good Labour MPs) – although, historically, we know the church will step in when the Tories become too reprehensible. It is shameful, too, that we are now arguing over whether teenagers are teenagers, as if anyone over 18 has no rights at all.

There is now a trap where we talk of the good and bad **immigrants**, as Nikesh Shukla, editor of the book The Good **Immigrant**, has said[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/sep/22/good-immigrant-review-nikesh-shukla-britain-racist]. The good ones win Bake Off[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/the-great-british-bake-off] or long-distance races or save your aunt’s life in hospital. There are deserving and undeserving migrants. If someone has got from Afghanistan to within 22 miles of our coast, what category are they? There are the innocent ones – little children, maybe a few Syrians – so the rest must be guilty? In their years of journeying, some may have lied to survive. Wouldn’t you?

The reaction to this handful of people is sickening. Maybe some cannot imagine ever having to flee. Maybe it is better to be hard of heart and mind. But this hatred is a brittle creature. Check its teeth, find its age, you will indeed find it a very old thing, rotten to the core, stinking of decay.

If this is what governs our country now, you are welcome to it.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Campbell, in the midst of a midlife crisis, is still sucked into Blair vs Brown. In the background are the first signs of the dissatisfactions that ultimately led to Brexit

Why has there never been a male Bridget Jones? It may seem odd that this should have occurred to me half-way through the latest instalment of Alastair Campbell’s seemingly never-ending diaries, which are neither fictional nor comic, and yet it did.

It might be the habit he develops of opening each entry with a fitness assessment (“Pulse 53. Bad run, OK swim”) that reads like pure Bridget. But perhaps it’s that this time the heart of the diary isn’t political but emotional, dominated by a mid-life crisis with which one suspects many men will instantly identify.

Having quit Downing Street in 2003[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2003/jun/23/uk.labour], chiefly because his partner Fiona Millar urged him to, Campbell, in this new volume, is torn between two very different lives; a domesticated one with the long-suffering Millar and the kids, versus the bad-boy charms of Tony Blair and an exhilarating but ultimately toxic job at the heart of government. Deep down, he knows the latter isn’t really good for him. But the former doesn’t quite feel like enough. Strip away the politics and I suspect that conflict between career and family – along with the faintly obsessive triathlon training[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2004/jun/18/channel5.broadcasting], niggling ailments and the old struggle against depression overlaid with a new confusion about his purpose in life – will resonate rather widely. Like Ed Balls’s autobiography, this represents a new, more emotional strand of political writing. But are Campbell’s interior dramas enough to sustain such a long, hefty book?

Related: The Burden of Power: Countdown to Iraq by Alastair Campbell – review[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/jun/24/burden-power-alastair-campbell-review]

The action opens just as he leaves Downing Street, although arguably he barely leaves at all. Blair, who seems wholly in denial about his departure, rings for advice within hours before firing off a 15-page “weekend note” to the man who no longer works for him.

And so it goes on, with Campbell hovering in perpetual and occasionally resentful limbo; neither out nor in, by turns guilty about backsliding on his promise to Millar to give it up and guilty about leaving Blair to it. Before long he is “lethargic, depressed … so not used to this kind of meandering, not-sure existence”, struggling with both his mental and physical health and having rows with his partner. She’s impatient for them both to move on, and increasingly critical of their old bosses ( she formerly worked for Cherie Blair[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2007/jul/06/cherieblair.broadcasting] ). Campbell feels he gets no credit for having quit, but still can’t let go or stop defending Blair’s corner.

Meanwhile politics follows him around everywhere he goes. Even a consultation with his GP descends into a debate about Iraq, and his days are peppered with calls from old mates in government moaning about other old mates in government, like squabbling children begging a parent to intervene – often to Campbell’s frustration, now that he’s out of the daily fray. As he says, apropos a friendlier than expected lunch with Balls, “It was interesting how a little bit of distance was making me look at people in a different light.”

Perhaps in part because of this new perspective, Blair comes across slightly less likably this time; needier, more self-interested but also more self-doubting, and increasingly preoccupied with the soul-sapping war of attrition with Gordon Brown.

Again and again, Campbell uses the phrase “going round in circles” to describe the interminable, fruitless debates about whether Blair should sack Brown, try to save their relationship[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/sep/19/tony-blair-gordon-brown-war-labour], or quit himself (the surprise for many readers will be how early, and how seriously, Blair considered resigning). But if it feels like groundhog day to Campbell, it’s arguably more so for the reader. In truth the middle of the book drags, redeemed only by a fascinating and sympathetic account at the end of what was going on inside Brown’s head during the 2005 election.

The snag, however, is that suddenly all this feels like ancient history. The Labour landscape was unchanged enough under Brown, and even under Ed Miliband, for the earlier diaries to offer valuable insights. But the world Campbell describes is so **alien** to Jeremy Corbyn’s Labour that it barely makes sense to compare the two. The strength of the diary format, the sense that they’re an immediate first draft of history, has become a weakness; what you long for now is a more considered analysis of how on earth Britain got from there to here.

Campbell has a stab in his introduction, arguing that in retrospect the journals show New Labour wasn’t sufficiently cemented into the party and didn’t nurture new talent for the future. Perhaps, but the overriding impression the reader gets is of the impossible relationship between Blair and Brown becoming a black hole that sucked the life out of Labour, leaving too little energy for anything else. As a lobby reporter during that period, I did sometimes worry that we got hung up on “the TB-GBs” at the expense of policy. If so, I suspect we weren’t the only ones.

It’s striking, too, that while Iraq naturally casts a long shadow[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jan/20/alistair-campbell-iraq-war-corbyn] over this period, only once does Campbell record a conversation between himself, Blair and chief of staff Jonathan Powell about whether it was actually right to invade. (For the record it’s Campbell, who describes himself feeling somewhat “used” by the Americans and wonders if they did the “right thing in the wrong way”, whose view perhaps best stands the test of the time.)

What is clear in retrospect, however, is that the anti-**immigrant** backlash fuelling Brexit was growing even then. The late pollster Philip Gould is the Cassandra of this story, warning as early as March 2004 of “the most racist and unpleasant” focus groups he has ever conducted – although anger then was directed at asylum seekers, not EU migrants.

There is also a brief but fascinating passage about Blair’s promised (and ultimately abandoned) referendum on the EU constitution, and his desire to “get to a position on Europe where the question was in or out”. Campbell could hardly be expected to draw these threads together and predict Brexit in one late night diary entry in 2004, but it would be fascinating to see him try to retrace the steps. What a shame it’s too late for his publishers to skip the next two diary volumes, and ask Campbell instead for the definitive book on why New Labour ultimately failed.

• Diaries Volume 5: Outside, Inside, 2003-2005 is published by Robson. To order a copy for £20.50 (RRP £25) go to bookshop.theguardian.com [https://bookshop.theguardian.com/alastair-campbell-diaries.html?utm\_source=editoriallink&utm\_medium=merch&utm\_campaign=article] or call 0330 333 6846. Free UK p&p over £10, online orders only. Phone orders min p&p of £1.99.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The PM’s counterparts are in a combative mindset ahead of her debut summit, as they prepare to make an example of the UK

Brexit is not on the agenda for Theresa May’s debut summit: the prime minister has no more intention of revealing her hand before divorce talks start than EUleaders do of breaking their pledge of “no negotiations before notification”.

But the 27 other heads of government gathering in Brussels for the two-day European council meeting[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/20/theresa-may-to-tell-eus-other-leaders-there-will-be-no-second-referendum] will nonetheless be watching, and listening. The words – and policies – coming out of London have hardened the stance of many.

The only thing that matters is, don’t make the UK an argument for populists to leave.

Kees Verhoeven

Most European governments are convinced May’s Conservative party conference speech[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/may-on-collision-course-with-backbenchers-seeking-soft-brexit] earlier this month, in which she pledged to control **immigration** and regain full parliamentary and judicial sovereignty, was a statement of intent to take Britain out of the single market – while apparently still seeking the “best possible” trade deal.

“The problem is, they’re just not compatible,” said one EU diplomat. “Britain can’t have it both ways and we can’t rewrite the rules. It has to see that if it wants to opt out of fundamental obligations, it can’t opt into fundamental rights. No free movement, no EU rules, no EU budget payments means no free trade.”

Statements in recent weeks by the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, the French president, François Hollande[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/08/eu-leaders-line-up-to-insist-uk-will-pay-a-high-price-for-brexit-stance], and the EU council chief, Donald Tusk[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/its-hard-brexit-or-no-brexit-at-all-says-eu-council-president] – who chairs the summit and wants to avoid all discussion of Brexit beyond a brief progress report by May over dessert on Thursday night – have been very clear.

Related: Theresa May to tell EU's other leaders 'there will be no second referendum'[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/20/theresa-may-to-tell-eus-other-leaders-there-will-be-no-second-referendum]

No EU leader, in the member states or the institutions, has shown the least willingness to enter into a debate that would, in effect, risk breaking open the EU’s inseparable four freedoms – free movement of goods, people, capital and services – for the sake of a country that has voted to leave.

Xavier Bettel, the Luxembourg prime minister, neatly summed up European frustrations with Britain’s apparently determined attempt to both have its cake and eat it last week, observing: “Before they were in, and they had many opt-outs. Now they want to be out, with many opt-ins.”

There is a strong feeling in EU capitals that Britain is being unrealistic – even deluded – in its expectations, that it cannot possibly walk away with a better deal than it was offered to stay, and must in any event end up with a worse one than it (and everyone else) currently enjoys.

One reason for this is straightforward concern about other Eurosceptic populists knocking at the gate: in the Netherlands, France and Germany, the likes of Geert Wilders, Marine Le Pen and Frauke Petry will make further inroads in elections during 2017.

Mark Rutte, prime minister of the traditionally Anglophile Netherlands, told his parliament this week he was “training like a boxer” for Brexit negotiations. Kees Verhoeven, a member of the same assembly’s European affairs committee, said there was simply “no political space to make it easy” for the UK, and that “the only thing that matters is, don’t make the UK an argument for populists to leave”.

Even deeper than that, single-market solidarity, upholding the four freedoms, maintaining the integrity of the bloc’s institutions have, of necessity, hardened into top priorities. Whatever Brexiters may say about UK sales of Mercedes and prosecco, they will take second place.

For many on the continent, Brexit is a political project – so the EU will respond politically. Two of Germany’s largest trade associations this month again backed this stance[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/13/german-trade-bodies-back-angela-merkels-tough-stance-over-brexit], even if it comes at a short-term cost, saying allowing any British opt-out from the four freedoms would mark the beginning of the end of the single market.

Related: Europe's first ruling on Brexit: it's masculine, unless you're Italian[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/oct/19/el-brexit-la-brexit-eu-divided-over-gender-of-uk-departure]

EU diplomats speak, too, of genuine shock at proposals by the home secretary, Amber Rudd, to oblige British firms to disclose how many foreign workers[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/government-faces-backlash-from-business-leaders-over-foreign-workers] they employ. Even if it was swiftly withdrawn, the tenor of the suggestion, with its echoes of far-right doctrines of national preference, was greeted with astonishment.

In Paris, where Hollande talked of the need for the UK to face “a threat, a risk... a price” and ministers are agreed the City must lose its passporting rights and much of its euro trade, officials say any attempt to force French nationals to apply for visas[https://www.omfif.org/analysis/commentary/2016/october/nous-regrettons-le-brexit-but/] or work permits, as Rudd has since suggested, would be seen as a “hostile act”.

Bullish statements on fast-track bilateral trade deals by the international trade secretary, Liam Fox, have not gone down well on the continent either, where some feel Britain is actively working against the EU – currently struggling to seal its Canada trade deal – before it has even left the bloc.

So May’s views on the topics that are up for discussion in Brussels – trade, **immigration**, security, defence, Russia – will be listened to attentively. Will she be conciliatory, or inflammatory? Table-thumping, or modest?

This may be her first summit and Brexit may not be up for discussion, but how the British prime minister comes across this week could prove critical to how smoothly the negotiations, which will start before the end of March, proceed.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**While automation will have implications for the low-skilled jobs often filled by migrants, technology could offer additional, and better, opportunities

You don’t have to be a luddite to be worried about the effect technology is going to have on employment[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2015/dec/24/elon-musk-nominated-for-luddite-of-the-year-prize-over-artificial-intelligence-fears]. When asked: ‘What do you think is the biggest threat to job security in Australia?’ in an Essential poll last month[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/progressives-can-attract-hanson-supporters-but-not-by-insulting-them], 18% of those surveyed said it was the impact of technological change, while 31% said there was more to fear from free-trade deals that allow foreign workers into the labour market.

Combined, it means almost half of Australians fear technology or foreigners are a threat to their jobs. This leads to some fundamental questions about the impact the fourth industrial revolution[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/series/fourth-industrial-revolution] is going to have on migration and **refugees**. If jobs now routinely done by migrants (such as cleaning, fast food and other low-skilled, low-paid work) are increasingly automated, does it mean countries take fewer migrants? Does it mean they will only want well-educated migrants? And does this have implications for how **refugees** are valued by the wider community?

Pamela Curr, of the Asylum Seekers Resource Centre, says **refugees** have often filled jobs in rural areas. “Most particularly during the mining boom, young Australian men would much rather go to the mines where they could earn $100,000 a year plus, than go out and work in the agricultural field. So for instance, in meat processing, chicken processing and a lot of the heavy agricultural work in isolated locations, they were desperate for workers,” she says.

Curr says Hazaras, who mainly come from central Afghanistan and have a background in agriculture, regularly filled regional jobs, often in very isolated locations, after coming out of **immigration** detention in Australia.

Related: Why teaching graduates to be flexible is more important than worrying about jobs that don't yet exist[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/oct/14/why-teaching-graduates-to-be-flexible-is-more-important-than-worrying-about-jobs-that-dont-yet-exist]

But those isolated locations have just become a little less isolated. As of 29 September, farmers are allowed to fly 25kg drones over their property without an unmanned aircraft operator’s certificate. “That’s a drone that can take a pretty good payload, could carry a fair bit of chemical around for crop-spraying, [and] could easily carry cameras and other gear to do visual inspections,” said Peter Gibson of the Civil Aviation Safety Authority[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-04-01/new-drone-regulations-to-benefit-farmers/7293392].

Not every job taken over by drones will be one previously done by a migrant, of course, and Sydney-based migration agent John McQuaid says Australia is looking at technology and innovation as a positive[http://migrationblog.border.gov.au/2016/09/12/new-entrepreneur-visa-and-changes-to-the-points-test/]. “The government looks at what ideas can be turned into employment opportunities for Australians. What they are seeing is that the innovations area [such as new business startups, entrepreneurs and research] is providing jobs at a rate four or five times above almost any other start-up type businesses,” he said.

The federal government’s National Innovation and Science Agenda[http://www.innovation.gov.au/] website says it “is helping innovators to get funding to back their ideas and have a go”. As part of its “global innovation strategy”[http://www.innovation.gov.au/page/global-innovation-strategy], which started in July 2016, the government is investing $36m? over four years to improve Australia’s international science, research and innovation collaboration. One of the strategy’s aims is “to build strong regional linkages in the Asia-Pacific”.

Related: African migrants in Australia report worst discrimination, diversity study reveals[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/24/african-migrants-australia-report-worst-discrimination-scanlon-report]

Dr Anna Boucher of the University of Sydney is a migration specialist – she co-founded the migration studies unit at the London School of Economics – and says technology will not lead to a drop in **immigration**. “ Australia has, as a percentage of population, one of the highest rates of **immigration** in the developed, western world … and I don’t see that changing any time soon,” she said. “If you look at all the predictions on **immigration** that have come through the [Australian government’s] intergenerational reports[http://www.treasury.gov.au/Policy-Topics/PeopleAndSociety/Intergenerational-Report] over the last 10 to 15 years, they have all been downwardly conservative, so what actually happened has been much greater than what has been predicted.

“If we look at what’s happened with automation already over the last, say, 20 years, and what’s happened with **immigration**, there doesn’t seem to be an inverse relationship. Not all of this can be controlled by government. If people want to migrate, they figure out ways to migrate. They’ll work through the channels that exist, and if they can’t then they’ll work through illegal channels to migrate.”

Jiyoung Song, director of migration and border policy at the Lowy Institute, says economic migrants normally fill gaps in the labour market, rather than replace people. “There will still be the need of skilled migrants who will work across different national boundaries. The future of work is already having an impact on our lives.” She says advances in technology means national borders are increasingly no barrier to jobs – for instance, there is no reason a computer coder in India can’t do work for companies in Australia, the US or anywhere.

Related: With robots, is a life without work one we'd want to live?[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/sep/26/with-robots-is-a-life-without-work-one-wed-want-to-live]

While well-educated migrants are very much in global demand, people with fewer skills will still also be needed, Song says. “Those with the wanted knowledge and skill sets are likely to have greater mobility than those without. However, countries need both skilled and low-skilled migrants to fill the jobs the locals can’t do or don’t want to do, in other words, either the most cutting-edge jobs or the most unwanted jobs in domestic markets.”

She says advances in technology are unlikely to affect how **refugees** are valued. “**Refugees** are accepted for humanitarian grounds, not economic demand... However, in recent years and at the UN summit [in September][https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/refugee-crisis-rests-on-obama-summit-un-talks-fail], legal and complementary pathways were suggested as alternative ways to protect the rights of **refugees** and asylum seekers.

“What this means is that governments are considering the option to offer various other ways to settle temporarily and permanently for **refugees** and asylum seekers who have skills they want. This is a progressive solution not many governments are buying into at the moment, but it is the only viable way to solve the current **refugee** crisis,” said Song.

Matching **refugees**’ skills to jobs in their new country benefits both the individual and the host nation. In Berlin, Syrian **refugee** and developer Hussein Shaker[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/may/18/syrian-refugees-jobs-berlin-technology-migranthire], who struggled to find work using his IT skills due to his lack of German, co-founded MigrantHire. He soon found that tech companies in the city were so desperate for developers they didn’t care whether employees could speak German. It was their knowledge of ones and zeroes that mattered most.

Such innovation is happening locally too, with the Red Cross partnering with tech communities in Sydney and Melbourne for “Techfugees hackathons”[http://www.redcross.org.au/red-cross-partners-with-tech-community-for-refugee-hackathon.aspx] to find new ways that can help **refugee** families settle into Australian life. Techfugees[https://techfugees.com/] looks to address some of the issues faced by **refugees** and asylum seekers by connecting developers, designers, entrepreneurs and startups with non-profit and community organisations.

Vicki Mau, manager of migration support programs at Red Cross, says the ideas that have come out of Techfugees, such as an app to help connect migrants with interpreters and another to help link individuals to friends, mentors, services and employment, have been very innovative. “These are great for Red Cross and invaluable for participants, such as **refugees** and asylum seekers looking for work and mentors,” she said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happen, including Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn at PMQs and Philip Hammond giving evidence to the Treasury committeeMy PMQs snap verdictPMQs - Verdict from the Twitter commentariatLunchtime summaryHammond’s evidence to the Treasury committee - Summary

block-time published-time 6.06pm BST

Hammond's evidence to the Commons Treasury committee - Summary Philip Hammond , the chancellor, was once seen as a fairly hardline Eurosceptic but the Westminster kaleidoscope has been shaken so vigorously over the last six months that he has now emerged as the pro-Europeans’ best hope in cabinet. He did not say anything sensational or indiscreet in his evidence to the select committee, but for someone committed to giving “no running commentary” on Brexit, he was surprisingly candid. Here are the key points.

\* Hammond said the government should keep its Brexit options as open as possible and he appeared to criticise his Brexiteer colleague who are adopting a more hardline stance. He argued that keeping options open was a good negotiating strategy.

I am trying not to rule anything out. Every possible combination should be considered, because I genuinely believe that every time we rule something out we hand a negotiating chip to the opposite side of the table. Keeping as many things on the table as possible is the best negotiating stance.

And, in remarks that seemed aimed at colleagues like Liam Fox , the international trade secretary, he suggested that taking a firm stance against the single market or the customs union would be mistake.

[Theresa May ] needs the maximum possible space. My objective in supporting her is to ensure that she has the broadest range of options - properly costed and understood - and the maximum scope to deploy that broad range of options in what might be a wide-ranging negotiation.

I would say that those that are undermining the effort are those that are seeking to close down that negotiating stance, seeking to arrive at hard decisions that we don’t need at this stage. Keeping as many areas open, as many options open, as possible is the key to the strongest possible negotiating hand.

When it was put to him that the very existence of the international trade department suggested the UK would leave the customs union (because if the UK remains in the customs union, it will not be able to negotiate separate trade deals), Hammond said that “many EU countries have trade ministries even though they are inside the customs union” and that ministers in Fox ’s department were “promoting British trade”.

\* He said he there were “deeply pragmatic” at the top of the EU who would enable the UK and the EU to find a “mutually beneficial” solution to Brexit.

There has been quite a lot of position taking, as one would expect, at this stage of the negotiation. But I remain optimistic that there are, at very senior level across the European Union , some deeply pragmatic people who have shown by their actions time and again that they can find solutions when challenged with problems. And if we look at the history of the EU , how many times have people said there is no way through this problem or that problem? And yet the EU has been able to find a way through it. And I hope that pragmatism and engagement will deliver us a mutually beneficial solution.

\* He was criticised by MPs after saying he would not publish internal Treasury reports analysing the costs and benefits of Brexit. To do so would undermine the UK’s negotiating position, he claimed. But Labour’s Rachel Reeves said this stance was “disappointing”. And Andrew Tyrie , the committee chair, said most members of the committee would probably agree with Reeves on this.

\* He ruled out Scotland being able to negotiate its own trade deal with the EU . It was for the UK as a whole to strike a trade deal, he said.

\* He said other EU countries would not want a Brexit deal that damaged the City because that would be bad for Europe as a whole. Perceptions on the continent that other European financial centres were likely to gain if London lost access to EU markets were likely to “melt away” as people realised that UK jobs were more likely to go to the US, or disappear, than to go to other European countries, he said. London was Europe’s financial services centre as well as the UK’s, he said.

Anything which broke up this deep and broad pool of capital and expertise in London would be hugely detrimental to the real economy across the EU as well as the UK.

\* He said City firms were starting to be “realistic” about the likelihood of them not being able to retain the “passporting” regime that allowed them to operate in other EU countries. He said it in such a way as to imply he thought they were right to be “realistic” and to start considering alternatives.

\* He said the UK would not impose **immigration** controls that stopped banks hiring highly-skilled workers from abroad after Brexit.

\* He said the predictions that Treasury made about the negative impact of Brexit before the referendum were partly based on assumptions that were no longer valid. The BBC ’s Kamal Ahmed has written more about this.

enltrHammond sounds the death knell on "Project Fear" https://t.co/PmUMttLw1u [https://t.co/PmUMttLw1u] My Economics Blog

— Kamal Ahmed (@bbckamal) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbckamal/status/788760367811948545]

\* He said Britain might have to beef up border controls considerably after Brexit. Asked if it was true that an additional 5,000 customs officers would be needed were correct, Hammond replied:

It would be our choice, of course, but assuming that we wanted to operate an efficient at-the-border customs system under World Trade Organisation rules, we may need significantly more infrastructure at the border than we have now.

\* He said the government would not change the way the Bank of England decided monetary policy, despite Theresa May appearing to criticise its policy of quantitative easing in her Tory conference speech. He said

My understanding is that what the prime inister was trying to say is that we recognise that monetary policy, which is an important tool of macroeconomic policy, has a distributional impact. And, to the extent the government believes that distributional impact needs to be addressed or corrected, we also have tools available to us to do that..

There will be no change in monetary policy. Monetary policy is independently determined, that will continue to be the case. The monetary policy committee will continue to make decisions on interest rates and recommendations on unconventional monetary policy.

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.11pm BST

block-time published-time 5.17pm BST

Leadsom says UK could strike trade deal with EU 'in very short order' It will be “perfectly possible” to secure a free trade agreement with the European Union in a short period of time, environment secretary Andrea Leadsom told a select committee this afternoon. She said:

We have total regulatory equivalence with the EU . We are not Canada, where there were a few hundred years of different rules and regulations that needed to be sorted out in a free trade agreement. We’re certainly not China, where there is different language barriers and so on.

There is the economics and the politics, and I think the economics says it would be perfectly possible, perfectly realistic to get a free trade agreement in place in very short order.

Don’t forget the rest of the world takes an average of just over two years to negotiate a free trade agreement, and if I’m not very much mistaken that’s exactly what we’ve got between now and when we leave the EU , and that’s for a country that hasn’t aligned its rules and regulations for 43 years.

I’m extremely optimistic. The economics says it’s in all our interests to seek an agreement to continue to trade freely with each other. We have a strong hand because we import more than we export. The stars are in a strong place, it’s for us to work our socks off to deliver that.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.44pm BST

block-time published-time 5.01pm BST

Culture and science and technology committee election results in full And here are the voting figures for the two committees with Conservative chairs.

Culture

Damian Collins - 302

Helen Grant - 230

Science and technology

First round

Victoria Borwick - 71

Stephen Metcalfe - 190

Dan Poulter - 148

Derek Thomas - 18

Matt Warman - 90

Second round

Victoria Borwick - 73

Stephen Metcalfe - 193

Dan Poulter - 150

Matt Warman - 95

Third round

Stephen Metcalfe - 208

Dan Poulter - 171

Matt Warman - 101

Fourth round

Stephen Metcalfe - 241

Dan Poulter - 197

block-time published-time 4.53pm BST

Brexit and home affairs committee election results in full Here are the voting figures for the two committeee with Labour chairs.

Brexit

Hilary Benn - 330

Kate Hoey - 209

Home affairs

First round

Yvette Cooper - 216

Caroline Flint - 149

Paul Flynn - 65

Chuka Umunna - 111

Second round

Yvette Cooper - 235

Caroline Flint - 161

Chuka Umunna - 122

Third round

Yvette Cooper - 281

Caroline Flint - 196

block-time published-time 4.42pm BST

Benn and Cooper elected to chair Brexit and home affairs select committees respectively In the Commons John Bercow has just announced the results of the elections for four select committee chairmanship vacancies. Here is a list of the candidates. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/18/hague-calls-for-bank-of-england-and-other-central-banks-to-raise-interest-rates-or-lose-independence-politics-live?page=with:block-580619e0e4b055209adaec60#block-580619e0e4b055209adaec60] And here are the winners.

Culture - Damian Collins

Brexit - Hilary Benn

Home affairs - Yvette Cooper

Science and technology - Stephen Metcalfe

block-time published-time 4.35pm BST

Ipsos MORI poll shows Tories 18-point lead over Labour While I write up Philip Hammond ’s evidence to the Treasury committee, here is the latest Ipsos MORI poll to ponder. [https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/3794/Sharp-fall-in-economic-optimism-over-last-month.aspx] It shows the Conservatives with an 18-point lead over Labour.

Ipsos MORI poll. Photograph: Ipsos MORI poll/Ipsos MORI block-time published-time 4.21pm BST

Andrew Tyrie goes next.

Q: In 2015 George Osborne changed the way he carried out distributional analyses for his budgets. That meant they could not be compared with previous figures. Will you consider reverting to the old system?

Hammond says he is aware of this issue. No distributional analysis is perfect. There were weaknesses in the old system.

He says he will publish a distributional analysis for his announcements, and that he will consider the points Tyrie is making.

And that’s it. The hearing is over.

There was quite a lot to unpack. I will post a summary soon.

block-time published-time 4.18pm BST

Wes Streeting goes next.

Q: Surely parliament should have some say in what our opening position is in the Brexit talks?

Hammond says Theresa May has set this out. We are leaving the EU . We want controls on **immigration**. And we want the best possible access to the EU marketplace.

He says he does not want to constrain the prime minister any more than is necessary.

He says he remains optimistic that there are some “deeply pragmatic people” in the EU who can find solutions to these problems.

I hope that pragmatism and engagement will deliver us a mutually beneficial solution.

block-time published-time 4.13pm BST

Q: Andrew Haldane , the Bank of England’s chief economist, recently said it was better to invest in property than in a pension. Do you agree?

Hammond says it is not for him to give investment advice.

Q; But isn’t this a statement of the obvious?

Hammond says the housing market is different in different parts of the country.

block-time published-time 4.07pm BST

Steve Baker , a Conservative, goes next.

Q: When I was in the RAF there were documents that were secret because, if made public, that would be detrimental to the public interest. Should the same apply to cabinet documents about Brexit?

Hammond says he takes the old-fashioned view that cabinet conversations should stay private.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.08pm BST

block-time published-time 4.05pm BST

Hammond says the markets are relaxed about the government’s decision to delay the point at which the government budget moves back into surplus.

block-time published-time 4.04pm BST

Q: What is your view on ringfencing certain budgets?

Hammond says, in relation to ringfenced budgets, commitments were made at the time of the election. He will say more on this in the autumn statement, he says.

block-time published-time 4.02pm BST

Chris Philp , a Conservative, goes next.

enltrTSC member @chrisphilp\_mp [https://twitter.com/chrisphilp\_mp] says met with intl fin services chief said 10% of 9000 staff might have to leave UK if no passport or equivalence

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/788756652946251776]Q: Can you say that you hope and expect that financial services will get guarantees enabling them to carry on trading with Europe?

Hammond says he does expect that. He says London is Europe’s global financial services markets. He thinks, as the negotiations go on, other EU countries will realise that the demise of London would be damaging to them. Any jobs lost might to to New York, not to Europe, he says.

\* Hammond says he thinks other EU countries will realise that it is best for them to protect the City.

block-time published-time 3.58pm BST

The Labour committee member Wes Streeting has been tweeting about Hammond’s refusal to guarantee that EU nationals will be able to stay in the UK.

enltrDisappointing that - again - Hammond refuses to provide reassurance to EU nationals living in the UK about their post-Brexit futures.

— Wes Streeting MP (@wesstreeting) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/wesstreeting/status/788753059111460864]block-time published-time 3.55pm BST

Q: Will you keep the same fiscal target, but just roll forward the deadline for getting the budget into surplus? Or will you adopt a new type of surplus rule?

Hammond says Kerevan should not assume anything. He should wait until the autumn statement, Hammond says.

block-time published-time 3.53pm BST

Hammond says meeting export target will be 'stretching' Q: What do you think of the target to double export sales over the next four years? [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/aug/27/george-osborne-target-double-uk-export-long-way-off]

That will be “stretching”, says Hammond.

Q: Why do you keep the target if it cannot be met?

Hammond says the government has decided it is a useful target to have as a driver of policy.

\* Hammond says meeting export target will be “stretching”.

block-time published-time 3.50pm BST

Hammond rules out Scotland being allowed to have separate trade deal EU The SNP’s George Kerevan goes next.

Q: Would you support Scotland having a different trade deal with the EU ?

No, says Hammond. It will be for the UK as a whole to form a trade deal.

\* Hammond rules out Scotland being allowed to have a separate trade deal with EU .

block-time published-time 3.47pm BST

Q: Do you want a new competition policy? Or will it be much the same post-Brexit?

Hammond says some EU procurement rules are cumbersome.

But he does not support want John Mann seemed to be backing. (See 3.42pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/19/pmqs-may-corbyn-hammond-angela-eagle-was-subect-to-homophobic-abuse-after-challenging-corbyn-labour-inquiry-finds-politics-live?page=with:block-58078574e4b005f21833b107#block-58078574e4b005f21833b107] That would lead to the government propping up uncompetitive industries, he says.

block-time published-time 3.46pm BST

Andrew Tyrie goes next.

Q: You seemed to rule out deporting EU nationals. Did you?

Hammond says deportation is an emotive way. If the government does not get guarantees for its own citizens, it will have to decide what to do.

Q: But you could rule out deportations?

Hammond says that is correct. But it also has an obligation to get the best deal for Britons living abroad.

block-time published-time 3.44pm BST

Hammond says he supports the Northern Powerhouse agenda.

If you look at reasons for the UK’s poor productivity, one key factor is the gap between London’s productivity and the productivity of other cities, and city clusters, he says.

Q: Would you back cities to sign city deals?

Yes, says Hammond. It is happening, he says.

block-time published-time 3.42pm BST

Q: Do you anticipate adopting a buy British strategy for infrastructure projects?

Hammond says the government will introduce its own bespoke supply policy. It will seek to boost UK industry, so long as that does not involve the government paying too much for goods.

Q: William Hague has attacked the independence of the Bank of England. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/18/hague-calls-for-bank-of-england-and-other-central-banks-to-raise-interest-rates-or-lose-independence-politics-live?page=with:block-5805d1c4e4b0cd26ff71e3c3#block-5805d1c4e4b0cd26ff71e3c3] It looks like a concerted approach. Would you like to slap him down?

Hammond says Mann is wrong to say Hague is a friend of Hammond’s. The Bank of England will stay responsible for monetary policy, he says. There are no proposed changes to that.

Q: So whispers from the government should be ignored?

Hammond says, if Mann is talking about May’s conference speech, that was hardly a whisper. He says monetary policy has distributional consequences. The government can address those through fiscal policy, he says.

block-time published-time 3.38pm BST

Q: Are there any situations in which you can see EU citizens being deported over the next five years?

Hammond says he hopes and expects that EU nationals will be able to stay in the UK.

Mann says Hammond is implying that deportations could happen.

Hammond says that is not what he said.

If the UK fails to reach an agreement with EU countries to guarantee reciprocal rights for their citizens, then the UK will have to decide what it does.

block-time published-time 3.35pm BST

Labour’s John Mann goes next.

Q: You have said you back free movement for bankers. Will farmers be able to employees to o?

Hammond says he is not proposing free movement. He is saying financial services firms would be able to bring in skilled workers. That is not the same as free movement.

With the agricultural sector, he says the government will look at “an appropriate way of addressing the needs of the agricultural sector” in its **immigration**framework.

block-time published-time 3.33pm BST

Q: Is it your view that passporting has gone?

No, says Hammond. He says we should not take anything off the table.

block-time published-time 3.32pm BST

Q: Are two big financial statements a year - a budget, and an autumn statement - one too many?

Hammond says he knows that some people argue this. He will consider their case.

\* Hammond says he will consider the case for getting rid of the autumn statement.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.33pm BST

block-time published-time 3.30pm BST

Hammond says the financial services in London is very efficient, because of its scale and depth. That means that it can sustain a lot of business that only generates margin profits. If the market were to change, that business might move abroad.

block-time published-time 3.29pm BST

Q: What work has the Treasury done looking at any systemic risks that might emerge if there is no transitional arrangement?

Hammond says this is more a matter for the regulators.

block-time published-time 3.27pm BST

Hammond says he cannot imagine any circumstances where the government would use **immigration** controls to stop skilled workers coming to the UK to work in financial services.

Although people have concerns about **immigration**, they do not want to exclude this group, he says.

Or students, someone says.

Perhaps, says Hammond.

block-time published-time 3.25pm BST

Stephen Hammond , a Conservative, goes next.

Q: Does the government accept that passporting is key to the financial services sector?

Hammond says that, if passporting were retained, then the problem would go away for them.

But they are “realistic”, he says. Financial firms are looking at “other options” too.

block-time published-time 3.22pm BST

This is from the Spectator’s James Forsyth.

enltrLogic of Hammond’s position is that the UK’s Article 50 letter will say very little indeed…

— James Forsyth (@JGForsyth) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JGForsyth/status/788746687137316864]block-time published-time 3.21pm BST

Jacob Rees-Mogg , the Conservative leave supporter, goes next. He says he has been encouraged by what Hammond has said. Hammond does not sound like a “Bremoaner”, he says.

Q: What is your view of free trade?

Hammond says he supports free trade. But he is aware that there is a backlash against it around the world, he says.

Q: The Treasury document from earlier this year said, if we were trading with the EU on WTO terms, we would have to apply tariffs on European goods. Is that right?

Hammond says the UK would not have to apply tariffs. But there might be pressure to apply “reciprocity” (ie, to apply tariffs on EU goods in retaliation for them applying tariffs on ours).

Q: But as a chancellor would you ever stand up and apply a tax on bread?

Hammond says he does not want to rule out options.

block-time published-time 3.15pm BST

Q: Would you put not being in the single market but staying in the customs union as an option?

Hammond says every possible option should be considered.

Every time something is ruled out, that helps the UK’s negotiating partners, he says.

block-time published-time 3.14pm BST

Hammond says Ireland will be the country most affected by Brexit, apart from the UK.

block-time published-time 3.13pm BST

Here is some Twitter comment on the hearing so far.

From the Spectator’s James Forsyth

enltrStriking Hammond performance at the TSC. Won’t say he read May’s conference speech before it delivered & confirms Cabinet Brexit splits

— James Forsyth (@JGForsyth) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JGForsyth/status/788743618831998976]From the Sun’s Tom Newton Dunn

enltrHammond makes thinly veiled attack on Liam Fox : "Those that are undermining that effort are those seeking to close down options" #tsc [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tsc?src=hash]: "Those that are undermining that effort are those seeking to close down options"

— Tom Newton Dunn (@tnewtondunn) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tnewtondunn/status/788741664449986561]enltrHammond hints Theresa May will push for financial services' request for a transitional period post-Brexit: “We understand that ask” #tsc [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tsc?src=hash] will push for financial services' request for a transitional period post-Brexit: “We understand that ask”

— Tom Newton Dunn (@tnewtondunn) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tnewtondunn/status/788743585457905664]From the Times’ Philip Aldrick

enltrHammond "That's a question for others. I didn't propose that there would be a substantial fiscal divi" Lots of digs at the Brexit ministers

— Philip Aldrick (@PhilAldrick) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PhilAldrick/status/788742577503793152]block-time published-time 3.09pm BST

Labour’s Helen Goodman goes next.

Q: The rules of origin rules could add 24% to the cost of trade. The Guardian has highlighted today the government’s analysis of leaving the customs union. Are you looking at this?

Hammond says he cannot comment on a leaked document.

Q: In Norway some firms find rules of origin so onerous that they prefer to pay tariffs.

Hammond says the rules of origin rules impact differently on different sectors.

The Treasury is looking at all of these areas, and many more, to analyse the benefits and costs of different course of action, he says.

block-time published-time 3.06pm BST

Q: Will you ensure that there is a sensible transitional period? Uncertainty is a big worry for the City.

Hammond says he agrees with Streeting about uncertainty being an issue. He says the industry is proposing some kind of transitional period. The government “understands that ask from the financial services industry”. But the government will not provide a running commentary.

Tyrie says there is a running commentary in the press every time the cabinet Brexit committee meets. The best way to avoid that would be to stop it meeting, he says.

block-time published-time 3.04pm BST

Q: What do you think leave voters will be disappointed about? The lack of a substantial fiscal dividend from Brexit?

Hammond says he never promised voters a substantial fiscal dividend from Brexit.

But he takes it as a given that, in expecting the UK to leave the EU and to control **immigration**, voters want the government to protect jobs too.

block-time published-time 3.01pm BST

Wes Streeting , the Labour MP, is asking the questions now.

Q: You used to say we should stay in the single market. Is that still your view?

Hammond says the key thing is that the UK can trade as much as possible with the EU .

Q: But do you still support membership of the single market?

Hammond says the key point is access.

\* Hammond refuses to commit the UK to staying in the single market.

block-time published-time 2.58pm BST

Hammond says government should keep Brexit options open as much as possible during Brexit talks Hammond says “keeping as many options open as possible” is the secret to ensuring the Brexit negotiations succeed.

\* Hammond says government should keep its Brexit options open as much as possible during the Brexit talks.

block-time published-time 2.55pm BST

Tyrie asks Hammond about polling suggesting many people do not think foreign students should be included in the **immigration** figures.

Hammond says that is “very interesting”.

(He says it in such a way as to suggest he is sympathetic.)

block-time published-time 2.53pm BST

Tyrie says Treasury's internal reports on Brexit impact should be published Reeves says she thinks the public and parliamentarians deserve to see the government’s Brexit modelling. Earlier Hammond said that would not be published.

enltr. @PHammondMP [https://twitter.com/PHammondMP] : Any future modelling or analysis by @hmtreasury [https://twitter.com/hmtreasury] will not be published - it will only be used by negotiators

— BrexitCentral (@BrexitCentral) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BrexitCentral/status/788738318238380032]Andrew Tyrie , the committee chair, says he thinks most members of the committee will agree with Reeves.

\* Tyrie says Treasury’s internal reports on Brexit impact should be published.

block-time published-time 2.51pm BST

Hammond says the government cannot have a public debate about its negotiating position on Brexit. If it had such a debate, it would not have an effective negotiating position.

Setting out the government’s position would undermine it “in a spectacular way”, he says.

block-time published-time 2.49pm BST

Labour’s Rachel Reeves asks Hammond if the government still sticks by the Treasury analysis published during the EU referendum campaigning setting out the negative effect on growth three different Brexit options would have.

Hammond says that set out the government’s view at the time.

The forecasts in that document did not make allowance for any mitigating actions that might be taken after a vote for Brexit, he says. But in fact the Bank of England and the government have taken steps to limit the downsides of Brexit, he says.

He also says the government is not aiming for any of the three options in the document. It is looking for a bespoke deal for the UK.

block-time published-time 2.44pm BST

Hammond says government has not decided yet whether to leave EU customs union I missed the opening of the hearing because of a problem with the video feed. But it is working now.

Here are some of the things said already.

\* Hammond says there are no plans to change the way monetary policy is managed. That means the government does not intend to interfere the independence of the Bank of England .

enltr"We have no plans to change the way monetary policy is managed in this country. It is independently determined." @PHammondMP [https://twitter.com/PHammondMP]

— Kamal Ahmed (@bbckamal) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbckamal/status/788734671525937153]enltrHammond hits the soundbites: "monetary policy has a distributional impact...Fiscal policy will correct any of the distributional outcomes"

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/788735273089785856]

\* Hammond says no decision has been made yet on whether the UK will leave the customs union.

enltrAndrew Tyrie: "Will the UK be leaving the customs union?" @PHammondMP [https://twitter.com/PHammondMP] "We haven't made any decision on that yet."

— Kamal Ahmed (@bbckamal) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbckamal/status/788735569060851712]block-time published-time 2.38pm BST

Labour challenges Fox over claims UK can inherit terms of EU 's trade deals with non-EU countries The Guardian ’s splash today, about ministers being told that leaving the EU customs union could lead to a 4.5% fall in GDP by 2030, [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/18/theresa-may-given-stark-warning-about-leaving-customs-union] includes this revelation about Liam Fox , the international trade secretary.

The trade secretary told cabinet colleagues that he had received assurances from non-EU countries that they would allow the UK would be able to continue trading with them on the same conditions [as set out in their trade deals with the EU ] until new agreements had been drawn up.

Barry Gardiner , Fox ’s Labour shadow, has challenged Fox to provide evidence that this is correct. Most experts think the opposite, says Gardiner. In a statement he says:

Legal advice from the European Commission and confirmed by the House of Commons library suggests that the UK would have to renegotiate all those trade agreements concluded whilst we were members of the EU .

If Dr. Fox has the private assurances he has claimed from non-EU trade partners, then these need to be made public and confirmed because the UK must increase its trade to these countries by 37% over the next 15 years just to stand still.

A “cross your fingers” approach to what would constitute a 4.5% drop in GDP is simply not good enough.

Today’s reports again highlight just how dangerous this split in the government is. Policy decisions cannot be based upon private “gentleman’s agreements” made off the record by foreign politicians who may or may not still be in office when we need to call them in.

People need to know their jobs are being protected and businesses need clarity about the basis of future trade. This government is offering neither.

Among those who have argued in the past that the UK would not just be able to inherit the trade deals the EU has with non-EU countries after Brexit is the Commons Treasury committee. In a report earlier this year [http://www.publications.parliament.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmtreasy/122/122.pdf] it said:

Were the UK to leave the EU , it is very uncertain whether it would be able to continue to participate in these agreements. The extent to which the UK would have to enter into negotiations to ensure its continued participation would probably depend on the attitude of the contracting parties, about which little is known.

Barry Gardiner . Photograph: Stuart Wilson/Getty Images block-time published-time 2.25pm BST

The BBC ’s Laura Kuenssberg has posted an interesting blog [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37685659] about Philip Hammond , ahead of his appearance before the Treasury committee, looking at why there have been reports questioning whether he will stay long as chancellor. Here’s an excerpt.

Number 10 sources say they are “baffled” by the mutterings that Mr Hammond is an obstruction, or that he’s holding up the Brexit process. Treasury sources say the stories, including the suggestion that he might resign, are “utterly ridiculous”.

So what is going on?

First off, Philip Hammond has made no secret of his hope that the UK can retain economic ties with the EU that are as close as possible, and is on the record defending **immigration** - holding out the possibility that the control of migration might not be as tight after we leave the EU as some other ministers believe.

‘Cooler’ So for MPs suspicious of the motives of some ministers who backed Remain in the referendum, the chancellor is an obvious political target. For passionate Brexiteers he is an obstacle to a short, sharp departure from the EU who must be overcome.

block-time published-time 2.16pm BST

Philip Hammond gives evidence to the Treasury committee Philip Hammond , the chancellor, is about to give evidence to the Commons Treasury committee.

Here is Heather Stewart ’s preview story.

Related: Philip Hammond to be pressed on risks of UK leaving EU customs union [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/19/chancellor-economic-risks-uk-leaving-eu-customs-union-philip-hammond-treasury-economy]

block-time published-time 2.03pm BST

Lunchtime summary

\* Theresa May has rejected claims that the Home Office failed to act early enough on concerns about the leadership of the national child abuse inquiry, telling prime minister’s questions it could not be expected to respond to “suspicion, rumour or hearsay”. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/19/theresa-may-denies-failure-to-act-on-child-abuse-inquiry-concerns-lowell-goddard]

\* Jeremy Corbyn has accused the Conservatives of producing “parity of failure” in the NHS . He focused on mental health and health generally with all his questions at PMQs and told May:

I started by asking you about parity of esteem - all this government has produced is parity of failure. Failing mental health patients, failing elderly people who need social care, failing the four million on the NHS waiting list, failing five times as many people waiting more than four hours at A&E departments, and another winter crisis is looming. The Society for Acute Medicine, I believe, has it right when it says this funding crisis and the local government funding crisis is leaving the NHSon its knees.

May rejected his claim. She told him:

What has happened in the NHS over the last six years? More patients being treated, more calls to the ambulance service, more operations, more doctors, more nurses - that’s what’s been happening in the NHS .

But let’s just look at what your party’s approach to the National Health Service is: a former shadow health secretary said it would be irresponsible to put more money in the National Health Service ; a former leader of the Labour party wanted to weaponise the National Health Service .

At every election, the Labour party claims that the Conservatives will cut NHS spending, after every election we increase NHS spending. At every election Labour claims the Tories will privatise the NHS , at every election in government we have protected the NHS . There’s only one party that has cut funding for the NHS - the Labour party in Wales.

\* A Labour internal investigation has found that Angela Eagle received hundreds of “abusive, homophobic, and frightening” messages from party members. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/19/angela-eagle-abusive-homophobic-messages-labour-members] As Rowena Mason reports, it also concluded that it was “highly likely” that a window vandalised at her office [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/12/angela-eagles-constituency-office-vandalised-after-leadership-bid-launch] building – with a brick according to the report – was related to her shortlived leadership challenge to Jeremy Corbyn [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/19/eagle-and-smith-reach-a-deal-to-allow-single-corbyn-challenger-labour-leadership]. The investigation was conducted following complaints and counter-complaints about events in her local party, Wallasey. It was carried out by officials and upheld by a subcommittee of the party’s ruling body.

\* Simon Kirby, the City minister, has told peers that Philip Hammond , the chancellor, has made the case for financial services “loud and clear” in cabinet talks on Brexit. Kirby told a Lords committee:

The Treasury is responsible for financial services. He [Hammond] has made that case loud and clear at cabinet. All departments are working together to get the best possible deal.

\* A Conservative MP and sections of the British media have been accused of vilifying **refugees** by calling for dental tests to verify the ages of child migrants. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies]

block-time published-time 1.54pm BST

At PMQs Theresa May said the government was giving the NHS an extra £10bn - £2bn more than it asked for. (See 12.13pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/19/pmqs-may-corbyn-hammond-angela-eagle-was-subect-to-homophobic-abuse-after-challenging-corbyn-labour-inquiry-finds-politics-live?page=with:block-58075490e4b0cd26ff71eaa7#block-58075490e4b0cd26ff71eaa7] an extra £10bn - £2bn more than it asked for. (See

But Labour point out that the cross-party Commons health committee questioned this in a report it published in the summer. [http://www.publications.parliament.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmhealth/139/139.pdf#page=9] Here is the key excerpt from the report.

Our starting-point has been to consider the Spending Review claim that the NHS will receive an additional £10 billion above inflation by 2020–21. There are two reasons why this figure does not, in our view, accurately reflect the impact of the Spending Review on health expenditure. The first is that the £10 billion figure is expressed in 2020–21 prices, rather than the current (2015–16, the time of the Spending Review) prices which would normally be expected to have been used in the calculation of such figures. At 2015–16 prices, NHS England ’s budget will rise by £9.5 billion between 2014–15 and 2020–21. The second reason is that the £10 billion figure refers to the additional sum allocated to NHS England , not to total health spending. Part of the increase in funding to NHS England is being funded by reductions in areas of health spending which fall outside NHS England ’s budget, such as the public health grant to local authorities, and education and training funded through Health Education England . Those reductions amount to £3.5 billion in real terms, at 2015–16 prices, between 2014–15 and 2020–21. The overall impact is that total health spending—the Department of Health’s budget—will increase in real terms, at 2015–16 prices, by £6 billion between 2014–15 and 2020–21. If the spending review period is considered—2015–16 to 2020–21—that increase is £4.5 billion.

block-time published-time 1.31pm BST

Following her question at PMQs (see 1pm) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/19/pmqs-may-corbyn-hammond-angela-eagle-was-subect-to-homophobic-abuse-after-challenging-corbyn-labour-inquiry-finds-politics-live?page=with:block-58075ec6e4b005f21833b01b#block-58075ec6e4b005f21833b01b] the Labour MP Lisa Nandy is now saying Theresa May must come clean about when she knew about the concerns about Dame Lowell Goddard’s leadership of the child sexual abuse inquiry. In a statement Nandy said:

Theresa May set up the abuse inquiry and appointed its chair. She was the home secretary in April when serious concerns were raised with her department, and only she had the power to act on them. Today she suggested that she did know of problems but did nothing at all. For this investigation to regain the trust of survivors the prime minister must now come clean about what she knew when, and why she failed to intervene.

Lisa Nandy . Photograph: Martin Argles for the Guardian block-time published-time 1.21pm BST

PMQs - Verdict from the Twitter commentariat This is what political journalists and commentators are saying about PMQs on Twitter .

Generally the view is that it was a bit dull, and May v Corbyn was a draw.

(But May v Nandy was a different matter. See 1pm [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/19/pmqs-may-corbyn-hammond-angela-eagle-was-subect-to-homophobic-abuse-after-challenging-corbyn-labour-inquiry-finds-politics-live?page=with:block-58075ec6e4b005f21833b01b#block-58075ec6e4b005f21833b01b]. Journalists on Twitter are saying Nandy asked the sharpest Labour question.)

From ITV ’s Chris Ship

enltrNo score draw #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/788701435785601026]From the Daily Mirror’s Jason Beattie

enltrSnap verdict on #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] Corbyn checks May on state of the NHS Corbyn checks May on state of the https://t.co/mqt73T5JgP [https://t.co/mqt73T5JgP] Corbyn checks May on state of the pic.twitter.com/fx6PsXUf8P [https://t.co/fx6PsXUf8P] Corbyn checks May on state of the

— Mirror Politics (@MirrorPolitics) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MirrorPolitics/status/788711087701106688]From the Sun’s Harry Cole

enltrUseless Jeremy Corbyn was as big a joke as Theresa May ’s blue birthday gag at PMQs https://t.co/PPd06yKmIo [https://t.co/PPd06yKmIo]’s blue birthday gag at PMQs

— Sun Politics (@SunPolitics) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SunPolitics/status/788711404324921344]From the New Statesman’s George Eaton

enltr #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] review: Theresa May forced to admit that she heard of problems with child sex abuse inquiry https://t.co/vKGkebJS00 [https://t.co/vKGkebJS00] forced to admit that she heard of problems with child sex abuse inquiry pic.twitter.com/ThkUktAiSq [https://t.co/ThkUktAiSq] forced to admit that she heard of problems with child sex abuse inquiry

— The Staggers (@TheStaggers) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/TheStaggers/status/788716361140830208]From 5 News’ Andy Bell

enltrStarted well but @jeremycorbyn [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn] seemed to lose focus and @theresa\_may [https://twitter.com/theresa\_may] able to neutralise what might have been effective line on #NHS [https://twitter.com/hashtag/NHS?src=hash] able to neutralise what might have been effective line on #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash] able to neutralise what might have been effective line on

— Andy Bell (@andybell5news) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/andybell5news/status/788701205434404864]From Newsweek ’s Josh Lowe

enltrThat was a bit like a Miliband/Cameron round (Ed even got a mention). Lab win on substance of NHS , May brushed most of it off well-ish #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash], May brushed most of it off well-ish

— Josh Lowe (@JeyyLowe) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JeyyLowe/status/788701203630874624]From the Sun’s Tom Newton Dunn

enltrThe most stultifyingly tedious #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] exchange yet between Corbyn and May. To his blunt soundbites on NHS , she offered no illumination back.

— Tom Newton Dunn (@tnewtondunn) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tnewtondunn/status/788701266260164608]From the Guardian ’s Jessica Elgot

enltrCorbyn good at sticking to issues that ripple outside SW1. He'll still be criticised for not bringing up Tory cabinet splits though #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash]

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/788701250078531586]From the i’s Nigel Morris

enltrJeremy Corbyn has learnt to go on issues at #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] which unite his MPs... hence no mention of Brexit, Heathrow today

— Nigel Morris (@NigelpMorris) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NigelpMorris/status/788701082289569792]From the Independent’s John Rentoul

enltrI feel v old. On my 6th prime minister saying "more patients, more operations, more doctors, more nurses" at #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]

— John Rentoul (@JohnRentoul) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JohnRentoul/status/788700841297477636]From CapX’s Iain Martin

enltrPity the sketchwriters. 5 years of May (and Corbyn) PMQs is going to be hard work

— Iain Martin (@iainmartin1) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/iainmartin1/status/788704959491702784]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.24pm BST

block-time published-time 1.00pm BST

There was also a strong question from the Labour MP Lisa Nandy , who asked about the revelation yesterday that the Home Office was told about concerns about Dame Lowell Goddard, the child sexual abuse inquiry chair, earlier than the Home Office had admitted. Nandy asked May:

She set up the inquiry, she appointed the chair, she was the individual responsible for the inquiry’s success, she was the home secretary in April and she was the only person who had the power to act. Can she now finally tell us when she personally learnt of the serious problems developing in this inquiry and why it was she took no action at all?

May replied:

The home secretary cannot intervene on the basis of suspicion, rumour or hearsay.

This is significant because it implies that May had heard concerns about Goddard before 29 July, the date when inquiry staff formally complained to the Home Office .

But May also said that, although concerns were raised with a Home Office director general in April (as MPs were told at a committee hearing yesterday) [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/18/child-abuse-inquiry-insider-told-home-office-lowell-goddard-concerns-april], that conversation was confidential. May said:

She refers to the statement that was made yesterday in this House... She will also have noted that that conversation was asked to be confidential.... I think it is important for us to recognise that when the Home Office was officially informed of issues it acted.

block-time published-time 12.53pm BST

Angus Robertson 's questions I missed the question from Angus Robertson , the SNP deputy leader and leader at Westminster, earlier (as usual) because I was writing the PMQs’ snap verdict. But here it is.

Robertson asked about arms sales to Saudi Arabia, and their use in Yemen. May replied:

As he knows we have one of the toughest regimes in the world in relation to arms exports... we have pressed the Saudi government to properly investigate these issues.

Then Robertson said arms sales should be halted. He said:

They’re dropping missiles that are made in Britain... Can she give this House an assurance that civilians have not been killed by Paveway Four bombs which are partially built in Scotland? If she doesn’t know the answer to that question, how can she possibly in good conscience keep selling them?

May resorted to just saying reports of attacks on civilians should be investigated.

The point I made was a very simple one: we press for proper investigations into what has happened in those incidents before we reach conclusions... We do have strong relations with Saudi Arabia - that is important... What is important with incidents about which there are concerns is that they are properly investigated.

block-time published-time 12.46pm BST

Among John Bercow ’s achievements as Speaker is unofficially extending the time of PMQs. It is supposed to last for half an hour. But he normally lets it overrun by around 10 minutes and that one went on for 45 minutes.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.47pm BST

block-time published-time 12.46pm BST

Gerald Jones , MP for Merthyr Tydfil, says there will be a minute’s silence for the victims of Aberfan on Friday. Will May mark that too?

May says she thinks it is appropriate that we all mark that moment and show our respect.

And that’s it.

block-time published-time 12.44pm BST

Andy Burnham , the former shadow home secretary, says the new inquest into the Birmingham pub bombings is due to start soon. The police have a legal fund of £1m. But the relatives of victims have no funding.

May says they have been encouraged to apply for money from the legal aid fund. She hopes they will get it.

block-time published-time 12.43pm BST

Oliver Dowden , a Conservative, asks May if she agrees that all parties should refuse to tolerate antisemitism.

May says she agrees. The Commons should send a very clear message on this, she says. Every single political party has to agree. She says she wants Corbyn to think “very carefully” about the environment created in the party.

block-time published-time 12.42pm BST

Labour’s Robert Flello says the pottery industry is enjoying a modest revival. What will May do to ensure Stoke-on-Trent ceremics manufacturers keep tariff-free access to the EU .

May says she wants to ensure the UK has the best possible access to the EU .

block-time published-time 12.40pm BST

Labour’s Lucy Powell says only a tiny proportion of grammar school pupils qualify for free school meals. Will she accept there is no evidence base for expanding grammar schools?

May says she thinks it is wrong to have a law banning the expansion of good schools.

block-time published-time 12.39pm BST

Bob Neill , a Conservative, asks about the murder of a prisoner in Pentonville. Will the government have a review of the National Offender Management Service.

May says the justice secretary, Liz Truss, has raised the issue of violence in prisons with her. Truss is taking action to address this.

block-time published-time 12.37pm BST

Sir Hugo Swire , a Conservative, asks if May will back the first ever meeting of Commonwealth trade ministers.

May says the government applauds this and is looking for trade deals with the Commonwealth. It wants to make a success of Brexit.

block-time published-time 12.36pm BST

Alison Thewliss , the SNP MP, asks about the rule saying women who give birth to a third child due to a rape will not be affected by the two-child benefit limits. How will the government implement this?

May says the government is looking at this. It wants to allow this in the right way.

block-time published-time 12.35pm BST

Anne McLaughlin, the SNP MP, says May recently turned 60 but wants to keep working. What will the government do for the women losing out because of the rapid increase in the state pension age.

May says transitional arrangements are in place. She says 81% of those women affected by the 2011 change will only have to wait an extra 12 months for their pension.

block-time published-time 12.33pm BST

Labour’s Maria Eagle says Concentrix, which assesses people for benefits, is causing great distress by accusing people of wrongly being in relationships.

May says Eagle should welcome the fact the government has stopped some disabled people having to be regularly reassessed for benefits.

block-time published-time 12.31pm BST

Kenneth Clarke , the Conservative former chancellor, says May does not want to bring her Brexit plans to the Commons. Has she noticed that her ministers have been briefing the papers, and launching attacks on ministers who disagree with them? Does she agree there should be parliamentary support for the broad strategy.

May says the government is clear about its aims. Parliament will have its say during the course of the lenghty negotiations, lasting “two years or more”, not least on the great repeal bill.

block-time published-time 12.29pm BST

Richard Fuller, a Conservative, says he is glad the government is making a decision on airports next week. What is the timetable for implementation?

May says this has been debated for 40 years. This month the government will take a decision. But then it has to go to statutory consultation. After that the government will bring forward a national planning statement, on which MPs will vote.

block-time published-time 12.27pm BST

PMQs - Snap verdict PMQs - Snap verdict: May had a strong finish, but she may be a little unnerved just how vulnerable she is on the NHS and how easy it was for Corbyn to attack her on health. Corbyn started with two focused and very reasonable questions on mental health. It was noticeable how May seemed much more comfortable when she could talk about the police (her old portfolio) and the issue of mental health patients being held in cells, although Corbyn’s ‘this is still not good enough’ argument was effective. When he turned to the NHS , he just kept highlighting the funding crisis. He was not proposing anything specific, and he effectively ruled out any A&E closures (which is not a position many NHS managers would support), allowing May to outflank him by stressing the Tories’ commitment to localism. But Corbyn was able to shoot down this point quite well with a jibe about the NHS Act, which may be four years old but at least is more relevant than something Andy Burnham said before the 2010 general election (increased spending being “irresponsible”), which was one of the lines May relied on.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.25pm BST

block-time published-time 12.18pm BST

Corbyn says they all want local government and the NHS to work together better. But council funding has been cut. There is bed blocking, because no care is available. The problem is caused by a funding crisis. The government had disguised the extent of the crisis through temporary bailouts. That is a good thing. But why are they in crisis in the first place. Next month sustainability plans will be published. Many are worried because of the threats to A&E departments. Will there be no closures?

May says the government will spend £500bn over the course of this parliament on the NHS . But there is a difference. She says she thinks decisions should be taken locally. The Labour party favours a top-down approach.

Corbyn says top-down is what we got from the last government. It cost £3bn. She says the government promised parity of esteem, but has just delivered parity of failure instead. Another winter crisis is looming. The Society of Acute Medicines has it right when it says the NHS is on its knees.

May says more patients are being treated, and there are more doctors and nurses. A former health secretary said spending more on the NHS would be irrreponsible. Ed Miliband wanted to weaponise the NHS . Labour say at every election that the Tories will cut spending on the NHS . But the Tories spend more. There is only one party that has cut spending on the NHS , the Labour party in Wales.

block-time published-time 12.13pm BST

Corbyn says no one with a mental health condition should be taken to a police cell. He commends those police commissioners who have stopped this. But NHStrusts are in a crisis. NHS providers says it is the worst crisis in NHS history. In 2010 the NHS was in surplus. What has happened?

May says the government asked the NHS to come up with a five-year plan. Simon Stevens , the NHS England chief executive, asked for £8bn. The government promised him £10bn.

Corbyn says the NHS has gone into the worse crisis in its history. And yesterday Simon Stevens told the select committee he did not think the NHS was getting the money it needed. Will May address the reckless and counterproductive adult social care cuts.

May says Stevens said last autumn the case for the NHS had been heard and supported. She says extra money has gone into the better care fund. But it is important that the health service and local authorities work together to provide social care. She wants to see more of that. Labour would not put the money in, she says.

block-time published-time 12.09pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn also starts by remembering the Aberfan tragedy. He recalls collections for the disaster fund at the time. And he says Huw Edwards’ BBC documentary on it last night was tremendous.

He turns to mental health, and asks if parity of esteem is being delivered.

May says she also recalls the Aberfan disaster. And she thought the Huw Edwards’ documentary was poignant. It showed what happens when those in power do not take responsibility.

On mental health, she says the government is investing more. And the number of children’s beds is being increased.

Corbyn quotes a letter from Colin. A family member of Colin’s has a chronic mental health condition. He says too often it is left to the police. The Devon and Cornwall chief constable is threatening court action because he is being left having to deal with mental health issues.

May praises those in the Commons who have spoken about their own mental health problems. She says she is proud of the fact that, as home secretary, she changed the way police forces dealt with mental health. The number of people being put in police cells because of mental health issues has more than halved.

block-time published-time 12.05pm BST

Peter Bone , a Conservative, says it is his birthday. May has already given him a birthday present by letting everyone know we will leave the EU by 31 March 2019. The government wants to close Victorian prisons. That is spot on. Will May back reopening Wellingborough prison.

May wishes Bone a happy birthday, and says he hopes Mrs Bone will treat the occasion in an appropriate manner.

That seems to have flummoxed everyone...

After the laughter dies down, May says Wellingborough is being considered for a new prison.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.29pm BST

block-time published-time 12.03pm BST

Theresa May starts by saying MPs will want to remember those affected by the Aberfan disaster 50 years ago this week. It is right that we pause and reflect on this important anniversary, and recognise the solidarity and resilience of the people of Aberfan.

block-time published-time 12.02pm BST

enltrWhat will Jeremy Corbyn go on today at #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash] ? "Who knows?!" says @bbclaurak [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak] ? "Who knows?!" says #bbcdp [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcdp?src=hash] ? "Who knows?!" says

— Asa Bennett (@asabenn) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/asabenn/status/788696621118881792]block-time published-time 12.00pm BST

PMQs PMQs is about to start.

Here is the list of MPs down to ask a question.

enltrHere is the list for #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] - other MPs who catch the Speaker's eye will also get to ask a question. pic.twitter.com/NsSXmMElYc [https://t.co/NsSXmMElYc] - other MPs who catch the Speaker's eye will also get to ask a question.

— PARLY (@ParlyApp) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ParlyApp/status/788691983237873664]block-time published-time 11.53am BST

You can read all today’s Guardian politics stories here. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/all]

As for the rest of the papers, here is the Politics Home list of top 10 must-reads [https://www.politicshome.com/must-reads], and here is the ConservativeHome round-up of today’s politics stories. [http://www.conservativehome.com/frontpage/2016/10/newslinks-for-wednesday-19th-october-2016.html], and here is

And here are four articles I found particularly interesting.

\* Steven Swinford and Kate McCann in the Daily Telegraph says an ally of Philip Hammond says the government will not formally rule out any options for post-Brexit Britain until after the German elections next autumn. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/18/philip-hammond-tells-theresa-may-he-will-not-quit-after-accusati/] The Telegraph has headlined the story on Hammond telling Theresa May that he is not resigning (which might not come as a big surprise), but the comment about keeping all options open for at least another year is more interesting.

An ally of Mr Hammond told The Daily Telegraph he has made it “absolutely clear” to Mrs May that he will not stand down as Chancellor.

The source said that he believes he is the “right man for difficult times” and won’t be “pushed about” by Brexit ministers.

He will not formally rule out any options for post-Brexit Britain until after elections in Germany and France next year, the source said.

“Sanity will prevail when economic interests assert themselves more strongly than the political ones after the elections in Europe,” the source said.

“The Brexiteers can say what they like but the economic realities are what they are. He has made it absolutely clear to Theresa that he is here to stay. His responsibility will be to keep the econiomy in the best shape possible.

“He is a man who is guided by the figures and the facts. Where there are risks he will not be afraid to spell them out.”

\* The Times (paywall) says Boris Johnson and David Davis have formed a pact to fight the case for “hard” Brexit in cabinet. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/johnson-and-davis-thwart-rivals-with-a-united-front-fp775g5b7]

Boris Johnson and David Davis have formed a pact to drive a “hard Brexit” agenda and rebut warnings of its economic consequences, cabinet colleagues claim.

The pair agree common positions and tactics before meetings of the Brexit sub-committee where they push “an absolutist” vision of Britain’s future outside the EU , say ministers who backed Remain in the referendum.

Senior Conservatives claim that the pair go out of their way not to contradict one another and that their approach is broadly aligned.

Mr Johnson is reported to have repeatedly brushed away concerns raised by colleagues in meetings, insisting that Britain is on course to sign a trade deal with the EU within the two years afforded by Article 50, avoiding any economic shocks.

The partnership has unnerved Remain campaigners, who have not formed a similar united front.

\* Daniel Hannan, the Conservative MEP, says in the Sun that Brexit will save consumers almost £1,000 a year - but that Vote Leave did not push this claim hard during the EU referendum campaign because they thought people would not believe it. [https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2003567/cheer-up-nick-clegg-well-all-save-cash-in-brexit-britain-so-stop-insulting-us-with-these-silly-scare-stories-the-futures-bright/]

Before the referendum campaign began, Business for Britain calculated that cutting tariffs against non-EU states would save a whopping £933 a year for the average family.

Think of how that extra spending power would lift the economy. Instead of printing extra money, we’ll be letting people keep more of what they earn...

You may be wondering why Vote Leave didn’t make more of the £933 savings figure. The honest answer is that we doubted people would believe it.

\* James Slack in the Daily Mail says Lord Mandelson and Roland Rudd are “masterminding” Open Britain, which it describes as a campaign “to frustrated Brexit”. [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3849882/Lord-Mandelson-Straw-s-son-lead-bid-halt-Brexit.html]

Lord Mandelson and the millionaire City public relations man Roland Rudd were last night revealed as the two figures masterminding the campaign to frustrate Brexit [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/brexit/index.html].

The two arch-europhiles are pulling the strings of the Open Britain campaign group, which is demanding that MPs have a new vote on Britain leaving the EU .

The organisation – described as a band of ‘fifth columnists’ by Leave MPs last night – does not reveal the names of its board on its website.

But records from Companies House show Lord Mandelson and his close friend Mr Rudd both hold key roles. Both men previously tried to drag Britain into the euro and were prominent figures in the failed Remain referendum campaign.

block-time published-time 11.28am BST

Greg Hands, an international trade minister, has tweeted this.

enltrGreat to see the Union Jack driverless car and support Milton Keynes at #MIPIMUK [https://twitter.com/hashtag/MIPIMUK?src=hash] this morning. https://t.co/OzufRGTUnr [https://t.co/OzufRGTUnr] this morning.

— Greg Hands (@GregHands) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GregHands/status/788679385150812160]And in reply the Labour MP Jamie Reed posted this.

enltrMetaphor for our times, Greg. https://t.co/YDGDTRMOoi [https://t.co/YDGDTRMOoi]

— Jamie Reed (@jreedmp) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jreedmp/status/788686079100645376]block-time published-time 11.17am BST

Here is my colleague Rowena Mason ’s story about the Labour report into the abuse directed at Angela Eagle .

Related: Eagle received hundreds of abusive, homophobic messages from Labour members [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/19/angela-eagle-abusive-homophobic-messages-labour-members]

block-time published-time 11.01am BST

Meanwhile, the SNP continues to push Scotland’s case post-EU referendum in every way that it can.

This morning, senior Scottish government ministers are travelling to Brussels to hold a series of meetings. It will be the first time that new Brexit minister Mike Russell has visited the European Parliament since his appointment. Speaking ahead of the visit, Russell said:

Since the referendum result in June, the Scottish government has worked hard to continue our strong relationship in Brussels and protect Scotland’s interests across Europe.

A key objective from these talks will be to work with others across the political divide to avert a hard Brexit for Scotland – there is simply no UK mandate for that. I will also raise the first minister’s commitment to publish proposals that would allow Scotland to stay in the single market and to preserve aspects of our relationship with the EU even if the rest of the UK is intending to leave.

Meanwhile, SNP MP Joanna Cherry will lead an opposition day debate at Westminster later on the status of EU nationals in the UK, in which she will accuse the Theresa May ’s government of using them as “bargaining chips” in Brexit negotiations.

block-time published-time 10.48am BST

My colleague Ewen MacAskill spent quite a lot of time in Liverpool earlier this year, covering developments in the Labour party, including events in Wallasey. You can read all his reports here. [https://www.theguardian.com/membership/series/labour-liverpool]

block-time published-time 10.42am BST

Sadiq Khan , the mayor of London, has ordered a pay audit for people working for City hall or mayoral bodies. He did so after discovering that some Transport for London subcontractors (18 cleaning and security staff working at the London Transport Museum ) are paid less than the London living wage, which is currently £9.40 an hour. They are now having their wages increased.

Khan said:

It is shocking that people employed under the previous mayor were not paid the London living wage. Today I’ve tasked my deputy mayors with ensuring that all staff working at City hall and mayoral bodies are paid the London living wage.

block-time published-time 10.18am BST

And here is more from, the Labour inquiry report on the subject of the broken window.

It is highly likely that the brick thrown through the window of Angela Eagle ’s office was related to her leadership challenge. The position of the window made it very unlikely that this was a random passer-by. The window was directly between two Labour offices. Untrue rumours were subsequently spread that the building was occupied by many companies and the window was in an unrelated stairwell.

This was based on a Companies House search which found that the landlord had a number of companies registered there; in fact the only other occupant is the landlord on the upper floor. Once this incorrect rumour was spread, members repeated it as clear evidence Angela Eagle was lying. This is categorically untrue.

The office of Angela Eagle has endured a significant amount of abuse, including abusive and intimidating phone calls. Staff members were eventually forced to unplug the phone. The investigation has received many hundreds of abusive, homophobic, and frightening messages that have been sent by Labour members to Angel Eagle . Where appropriate, members have been administratively suspended pending investigation.

block-time published-time 10.17am BST

The Independent’s Ashley Cowburn has been tweeting extracts from the Labour report into Angela Eagle and Wallasey CLP.

enltrThe report, which draws on 100 anonymous witnesses, claims Wallasey CLP meeting have "challenging for some time". pic.twitter.com/Lf3oCzayzp [https://t.co/Lf3oCzayzp]

— Ashley Cowburn (@ashcowburn) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ashcowburn/status/788660759039533056]enltrInvestigation found some members “have truthfully claimed that homophobic instances occurred during the AGM” pic.twitter.com/6YQaaGEH11 [https://t.co/6YQaaGEH11]enltrInvestigation found some members “have truthfully claimed that homophobic instances occurred during the AGM”

— Ashley Cowburn (@ashcowburn) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ashcowburn/status/788661422028914688]enltrOn the brick thrown at her office (which some people attempted to deny): pic.twitter.com/O9DXukQxkm [https://t.co/O9DXukQxkm]enltrOn the brick thrown at her office (which some people attempted to deny):

— Ashley Cowburn (@ashcowburn) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ashcowburn/status/788662108271603712]enltrOne member of CLP had a hashtag created to encourage people to ‘shame’ him publicly: pic.twitter.com/5aMaEQHIPV [https://t.co/5aMaEQHIPV]enltrOne member of CLP had a hashtag created to encourage people to ‘shame’ him publicly:

— Ashley Cowburn (@ashcowburn) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ashcowburn/status/788663230474309632]enltrLikely Angela's CLP will now be suspended until the spring. "Not possible for CLP to meet safely in current climate" pic.twitter.com/oYKDBvOYW5 [https://t.co/oYKDBvOYW5]enltrLikely Angela's CLP will now be suspended until the spring. "Not possible for CLP to meet safely in current climate"

— Ashley Cowburn (@ashcowburn) October 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ashcowburn/status/788668241765892096]block-time published-time 9.50am BST

The unemployment figures are out. There is a minor increase in unemployment, but the rate remains unchanged at 4.9%. And employment is at the highest level since records began in 1971.

My colleague Graeme Wearden has full details on his business blog.

Related: UK unemployment rate sticks at 4.9% despite Brexit vote – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/19/markets-uk-unemployment-wage-growth-brexit-report-business-live]

block-time published-time 9.42am BST

British Dental Association opposes call to verify age of child migrants with dental checks The child migrants from Calais story has taken a bizarre and rather callous twist. The Conservative MP David Davies is demanding dental checks on the new arrivals, amid claims that they are older than they claim. The Sun is splashing on his comments today.

enltrWednesday's Sun front page:

"Tell us the tooth" #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/hHKrMBJUIx [https://t.co/hHKrMBJUIx]

— BBC News (UK) (@BBCNews) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNews/status/788499491389399040]On the Today programme this morning Davies (who is MP for Monmouth and not to be confused with his namesake, the Brexit secretary, David Davis ) defended his position.

We must not be naive about this. It’s no good Lily Allen turning up with tears in her eyes and all the rest of it - we need to be quite hard-nosed here.

People are desperate, I understand that, and they will say what they need to say to get in. When I was in the camp in Calais there were caravans with notices on saying ‘Come here, we will coach you in what to say to get into the UK’.

People in Britain, I think, want to help children but we don’t want to be taken for a free ride either by people who seem to have got to the front of the queue even though they clearly look, in some cases, a lot older than 18...

Someone who is willing to throw themselves on to an electrified rail line or jump into a moving lorry isn’t going to be terribly worried about having an X-ray.

But the British Dental Association has said that subjecting child migrants to dental checks to verify their age would be “inappropriate and unethical”. A spokesman for the BDA said:

We are vigorously opposed to the use of dental X-rays to determine whether asylum seekers have reached 18. It’s not only an inaccurate method for assessing age, but it is both inappropriate and unethical to take radiographs of people when there is no health benefit for them.

X-rays taken for a clinically-justified reason must not be used for another purpose without the patient’s informed consent, without coercion and in full knowledge of how the radiograph will be used and by whom.

David Davies MP. Photograph: Sarah Lee for the Guardian block-time published-time 9.25am BST

James Brokenshire , the Northern Ireland secretary, has told BBC Radio Ulster that he is “entirely satisfied” with the fact that he is not a permanent member of the cabinet’s Brexit committee. Like the Scottish secretary and the Welsh secretary, he will only attend by invitation, when his presence is required. He said:

I am able to attend meetings of that committee where there are Northern Ireland-related issues. I am confident I am able to represent Northern Ireland’s view, Northern Ireland’s perspective, into the Brexit consideration and absolutely remain at the heart of discussions across Whitehall in ensuring the voice of Northern Ireland is heard loud and clear, and I am that champion to ensure that the issues that matter to Northern Ireland are properly reflected into the negotiation.

block-time published-time 9.11am BST

Angela Eagle was subject to homophobic abuse because of her decision to challenge Jeremy Corbyn for the Labour leadership, the party has concluded.

An internal report into allegations of abuse and intimidation in Wallasey Labour party says that Eagle was targeted and its findings have been upheld by a Labour national executive committee sub-committee.

The Liverpool Echo has published details of the leaked report. [http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/what-report-allegations-abuse-wallasey-12045541] Here is the Echo’s story, [http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/angela-eagle-subject-homophobic-abuse-12045600] and here is how it starts.

Wallasey MP Angela Eagle [http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/all-about/angela-eagle] WAS subject to homophobic abuse and targeted because she challenged leader Jeremy Corbyn [http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/all-about/jeremy-corbyn] – according to Labour party chiefs.

A confidential report leaked to the ECHO details a Labour party investigation into allegations of abuse and intimidation at the Wallasey [http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/all-about/wallasey] Constituency Labour Party (CLP).

Although the claims have always been strongly denied by some party members, the report calls for the local party to remain suspended until next year.

The report comes against a background of claims of a “militant”-style takeover of the Wallasey Labour Party by hard left activists.

Now a meeting of a sub-committee of the Labour party’s ruling body, the National Executive Committee (NEC), has upheld the contents of the investigation report. Following the NEC meeting, Ms Eagle said: “The report by national party officers comprehensively explains what happened earlier this year and the NEC has accepted the findings.”

The report tackles the highly contentious issue of whether a brick was thrown through the window of the building where Eagle has her constituency office. Here is an extract from the Echo’s summary.

According to the report, the attack on the MP’s constituency office in Liscard was also “highly likely” to be connected to her challenge against Jeremy Corbyn for Labour’s leadership.

The report said: “It’s highly likely that the brick thrown through the window of Angela Eagle ’s office was related to her leadership challenge. The position of the window made it very unlikely that this was a random passer-by.” It said that claims it could have been targeting another company and Ms Eagle was “lying” about being targeted are “categorically untrue”.

Corbyn attended the NEC sub-committee meeting where the the report was discussed and Eagle has put out a statement welcoming his support. She said:

I am grateful that Jeremy took the unusual step of both attending and speaking in the meeting and that he expressed sincere sympathy for both me and for my staff.

It is now clear and accepted by the NEC that homophobic abuse was perpetrated by some members of the local Party; I will simply not tolerate it, and I know I have the backing of both Jeremy and union leaders when I say that there is no place for it in the Labour movement either.

As regards the vandalism of my office, I am grateful to both the internal investigators and the NEC for making clear both the facts of the matter and for the support of members up and down the country, including the Leader of the Labour Party, that such abuse both happened and is intolerable.

I will post any reaction to this as it comes in.

Otherwise, we’ve got PMQs. And then I will be covering Philip Hammond ’s evidence to the Commons Treasury committee in detail.

Here is the agenda for the day.

9.30am: Matthew Hancock, the digital economy minister, gives a speech at the Broadband World Forum.

9.30am: Unemployment figures are published.

10.30am: Brandon Lewis , the policing minister, gives evidence to a Lords committee on Brexit.

11am: Simon Kirby, the City minister, gives evidence to the Lords financial affairs sub-committee about Brexit.

12pm: Theresa May faces Jeremy Corbyn at PMQs.

2pm: Andrea Leadsom , the environment secretary, gives evidence to the Commons environment committee.

2.15pm: Philip Hammond , the chancellor, gives evidence to the Treasury committee.

2.30pm: Louise Casey, head of the Casey review team, gives evidence to the Commons public accounts committee about the troubled families programme.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary after PMQS and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Exomars scientists wait and hope as fate of Schiaparelli lander remains uncertain

After a journey of seven months and half a billion kilometres across the solar system, the fate of the European Schiaparelli Mars lander was uncertain on Wednesday night amid fears that a last-minute glitch had scuppered hopes for a historic touchdown on the red planet.

Earlier in the day, the half-tonne spacecraft was on target to become the first from the European Space Agency to perform science on the Martian surface. But despite a seemingly perfect approach to the planet, the lander appeared to run into difficulty as it neared, or reached, the ground.

Related: Mars landing: ESA declare success despite Schiaparelli probe's silence - as it happened[https://www.theguardian.com/science/across-the-universe/live/2016/oct/19/mars-landing-esa-attempts-to-set-schiaparelli-probe-on-red-planet-live]

At the European Space Operations Centre (ESOC) in Darmstadt, grim-faced mission controllers peered at their monitors as the moment they expected the probe to call home came and went in silence. Hours later, the veteran Mars Express orbiter relayed data back to Earth that the lander had gathered on the way down.

“Those signals stopped at a certain point which we reckon was before the landing,” said Paolo Ferri, head of mission operations at ESOC. “It’s clear this is not a good sign.”

The high-speed descent called for the Schiaparelli lander to slow from 21,000 km (13,039 miles) per hour to a standstill on the Martian surface in the space of six minutes. In that time, the spacecraft was programmed to release a parachute and fire nine thrusters to slow its fall through the tenuous, dust-filled atmosphere, before belly-flopping the final two metres to the ground, a crushable underside cushioning the blow.

Signals broadcast from the probe and picked up by the Giant Metrewave Radio Telescope in India showed that the descent was going well until the final moments when the telescope lost contact.

As engineers scrambled to work out what happened, mission controllers cheered and hugged in visible relief the moment far better news arrived from the lander’s mothership, the Trace Gas Orbiter (TGO), which had swung into an elliptical orbit around Mars. With a span of nearly 18 metres, the giant TGO is the more important of the two probes. It will spend years sniffing the Martian atmosphere for minute levels of gas, including methane which could point to the existence of **alien** life on the planet.

“We would like to find out if there was ever life, or is still life, on Mars today,” said ESA scientist Elliot Sefton-Nash.

A successful landing on Mars would have marked Europe’s belated entry into the prestigious club that has put working probes on the planet’s surface. Only the US has repeatedly set landers down on the planet. In 1971, the Soviet Union’s Mars 3 craft became the first to land softly on Mars, but that spacecraft fell silent after transmitting from the surface for less than 20 seconds. Five years later, Nasa’s Viking 1 was set down on the planet, paving the way for six more US landers since.

Mars is never an easy planet to land on. Since the 1960s, more than half of the missions to the surface have ended in failure. Europe came close on Christmas Day in 2003 when the Beagle 2 craft reached the surface, but failed properly to deploy its solar panels. Other spacecraft bound for the Martian surface have barrelled straight past the planet or simply clattered into the surface.

Named after the Italian astronomer Giovanni Schiaparelli, the European lander was released from the Trace Gas Orbiter (TGO) on Sunday afternoon. The two craft form the first phase of the joint European-Russian ExoMars mission which aims to hunt for **alien** life on the red planet.

The lander’s primary goal was to test entry and landing technology planned for the second phase of the mission, the six-wheeled ExoMars rover, which will be armed with a two-metre-long drill. Due to be launched in 2020, the UK-built rover is designed to burrow into the Martian soil in search of **alien** organisms. While engineers hope to learn from any glitches that befell Schiaparelli, a question mark already hangs over the future of the ExoMars rover because of a £300m funding gap at the European Space Agency.

Ferri said teams would work through the night on the data beamed back from Schiaparelli to work out what went wrong. “We should remember this landing was a test, and as part of the test you want to know what happened.”

Flight engineers will now spend more than a year flying the TGO into an orbit from which it can start the serious business of analysing the Martian atmosphere. Sensors onboard the orbiter are designed to detect minute levels of atmospheric gases, including methane which has stumped scientists since its detection by the Mars Express orbiter more than a decade ago. The gas may be given off by reactions between water and olivine in Martian rocks. But a more tantalising possibility is that the gas is wafting off microbial Martians[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2014/dec/17/methane-mars-curiosity-rover-life] that lie beneath the surface.

Andrew Coates, who works on the ExoMars rover at University College London’s Mullard Space Science Laboratory, said the arrival in orbit of the TGO was “excellent news for science.”

“The observations of methane in the Martian atmosphere will be made hugely more detailed by the TGO data when it starts is science mission in March 2018 after aerobraking to achieve its final circular orbit. They may take us closer to answering the question of was, or is, there life on Mars, but the ExoMars 2020 rover will, we hope, give us proof by drilling two metres under the surface,” he said.

“The nervous wait for information from Schiaparelli takes me back to Christmas Day 2003 when we waited forlornly for data coming from Beagle 2, over several days. Recent images[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2015/jan/16/lost-beagle-2-spacecraft-found-mars] show that Beagle 2, tantalisingly, almost worked. Now, hopefully the signals from the Mars Reconnaissance Orbiter, or later information, will reveal good news for Schiaparelli. For now we’ll have to wait with the anxious team, and hope.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**More than 100 **refugee** children may be bussed to Britain in the next four days to escape bulldozers due in the camp on Monday

The Home Office is understood to be about to urgently speed up its operation to rescue unaccompanied migrant children stranded in Calais, with more than 100 expected to be bussed to Britain in the next four days.

With bulldozers expected to arrive on the French site on Monday, the Home Office has come under fire from charities for not moving faster – while the Sun and the Daily Mail made controversial claims[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/rightwing-tabloids-pour-scorn-appearance-child-refugees] that not all of those who are arriving are children.

A Home Office minister, Baroness Williams, confirmed that there were an estimated “1,300 children in the camp” and said that 39 of the several hundred estimated to be eligible to come to the UK had been brought into the country this week in the only government update on numbers accepted so far.

In a House of Lords debate Williams insisted no date had been given by the French authorities for the destruction of the site even though the Foreign Office had an issued an advisory notice to travellers in Calais that they could expect congestion in coming days because of the French demolition.

Williams told the House of Lords that 14 children arrived on Monday, 13 on Tuesday and 12 on Wednesday. She said those with approval under the so-called Dublin regulations will be given sanctuary first; these allow migrants under 18 to be reunited with relatives already in another country.

“We will transfer as many as children who qualify under the Dublin regulation before the start of the clearance,” said Williams. However, one peer, Lord Roberts, said at the present rate of intervention there would be more than 1,000 children marooned when the demolition started.

The claimed change in pace comes at the end of a day of tabloid pressure on the government after the Sun, the Daily Mail and the Daily Express, among other newspapers, questioned the ages of the 13 children who arrived on Tuesday. The Sun reported on Wednesday morning that the children looked “suspiciously like adults” while several papers said one of the males who got off the bus in Croydon looked as old as 39 or 40, although this suspicion could not be backed up.

The Home Office said it works closely with the French authorities that do the initial screening to ensure those who are given sanctuary qualify for it. One source with knowledge of the situation said photographs were misleading and they have “never doubted” any of the migrants’ ages.

“All individuals are referred to the UK authorities by the France[https://www.theguardian.com/world/france] Terre d’Asile [charity] and are then interviewed by French and UK officials. Where credible and clear documentary evidence of age is not available, criteria including physical appearance and demeanour are used as part of the interview process to assess age.”

Home Office officials say that once **refugee** children have arrived in Britain they are fingerprinted as part of further identity checks. There is also the option of requesting a further local authority age assessment, which must be case law-compliant and approved by two social workers.

A Conservative backbench MP, David Davies, had called for migrants to be subject to dental checks to determine their ages and argued that Britain’s hospitality was being misused. However, the Home Office immediately ruled out their use[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/home-office-rules-out-unethical-dental-checks-for-calais-refugees], criticising the technique as “inaccurate, inappropriate and unethical”.

The Doctors without Borders charity which has volunteers in Calais branded the the suggestion as despicable and called for the Tory party chairman to consider discipline against Davies.

Related: Gary Lineker hits back at online abuse over criticism of Calais **refugee** coverage[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/gary-lineker-hits-back-at-online-abuse-over-hideously-racist-coverage-refugees]

Vanessa Cowan, the British Red Cross’s **refugee** family reunion operations manager, said it was a shame that the comments had been made because the children have been “recognised as having the right to be brought here”.

She added: “These children have gone through a process and they’ve applied as children and the evidence they have provided has been accepted by the Home Office that they are children and they qualify, and as such they have a legal right to be here and there’s nothing else to say about this.”

She said the children could go missing if they were not transferred before the camp’s demolition. “They could disappear and be put in a very vulnerable situation trying to survive outside the community. Anything can happen when you try to survive in an unfriendly environment.”

Campaigners including Citizens UK, which said it has reunited 60 children from Calais with relatives in Britain since March, claim to have identified hundreds of children in the camp who have a right to come to the UK but are unhappy about the pace of action. It is threatening legal action[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/19/calais-camp-charity-threatens-uk-with-legal-action-over-vulnerable-children] on behalf of 30 children and has criticised the Home Office for being slow and inefficient in its interventions.

Among those waiting to be reunited with their relatives on Wednesday were 13-year-old Shamsher Sherin, whose story led singer Lily Allen to break down and cry last week on a televised visit to the site. Allen tweeted: “So happy to see that Sham Sher made it to the UK safely and won’t be risking his life jumping on to moving vehicles.”

Another was a 17-year-old who had escaped war-torn Syria. Childhood friends and neighbours Ahmed and Muhammed 17 years old who had already been rescued from Calais waited for him outside Lunar House. They grew up together in the southern city of Daraa, which experienced intense bombing.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Chancellor uses Treasury select committee announce support for **immigration** system that supported foreign high-skilled workers

Philip Hammond has sought to allay fears that the economy will be sacrificed in Brexit negotiations, with support for foreign high-skilled workers, the expectation of a favourable deal for the City and a staunch defence of the Bank of England’s independence.

The chancellor, burnishing his credentials as an opponent of a hard Brexit, was hopeful a deal was possible that allowed all European nationals to remain in the UK and for UK nationals to remain in the EU.

He maintained the government must heed the call from voters to tighten border controls following the vote to quit the EU but restrictions would need to be relaxed to support jobs and growth.

“As we approach the challenge of getting net migration figures down to the tens of thousands it is, in my view, essential that we look at how we do this in a way that protects our economy and protects the vital interests of our economy,” he told a parliamentary committee.

Hammond is understood to be battling inside cabinet[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/18/theresa-may-given-stark-warning-about-leaving-customs-union] for a more emollient negotiating position with Brussels ahead of Theresa May invoking article 50 by March, which begins the two-year process of leaving the EU.

Some ministers are known to favour pulling out of all EU agreements and exporting to the trading bloc under standard international rules. This stance, and a speech by the prime minister at the Conservative party conference that appeared to put migration controls before the safety of the economy, have sent the pound plunging almost 18%.

May also appeared to question the Bank of England’s low interest policy and its independence from the Treasury, supported later by the former foreign secretary William Hague[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/18/william-hague-attacks-bank-of-england-over-ultra-low-interest-rates], further undermining confidence in the City.

Asked by MPs on the Treasury select committee about reports that the cabinet is split, Hammond appeared to take a swipe at his Tory rivals. “Those that are undermining the effort are those that are seeking to close down that negotiating space, seeking to arrive at hard decisions that we don’t need to make at this stage,” he said. “Keeping as many options open as possible is the key to the strongest possible negotiating hand.”

Hammond said negotiations were necessary to win the best deal for each industry. And he said there was “no doubt” that London will remain a global financial services centre following Brexit, supported by an **immigration** system that acknowledges the need for employers to recruit high-skilled workers.

“I cannot conceive of any circumstance in which we would be using those controls to prevent banks, companies moving highly-qualified, highly-skilled people between different parts of their businesses. That is essential for the smooth operation of our economy.”

Hammond was confident that perceptions on the continent of winning business from the City should it lose access to EU markets were likely to “melt away” as people realised that lost jobs and activities were more likely to go to the US or the far east, or disappear altogether.

London is Europe’s financial services centre as well as the UK’s, said the chancellor, adding: “Anything which broke up this deep and broad pool of capital and expertise in London would be hugely detrimental to the real economy across the EU as well as the UK.”

Analysts welcomed Hammond’s softer tone. Kathleen Brooks, research director at City Index, said: “It gives the markets a glimmer of hope that the UK may not target a hard Brexit.”

Asked about May’s comments and the government’s approach to monetary policy, Hammond said nothing had changed: “Monetary policy is independently determined. That will continue to be the case.”

Earlier, the chancellor was forced to defend his refusal to publish analysis being drawn up by the Treasury of the pros and cons of various potential Brexit deals.

Labour MP Rachel Reeves was backed by committee chair and Tory MP Andrew Tyrie as she said: “We can have a public debate but it will be without the facts available to us.

“That will be a very poor debate and I think that is a disappointing decision by the government. Taxpayers pay for the Treasury to do that work, chancellor, and I think the public and parliamentarians deserve to see that work.”

But Hammond insisted: “It would not be sensible – however irritating I understand that is going to be to some people – to go into the negotiation with all of our potential negotiating positions, all of the building blocks of a negotiating position spelled out in public with the costs and benefits and consequences displayed for our interlocutors on the other side of the table.

“I can promise you the European Union will not be arriving at the negotiations with all the downsides as well as upsides of different negotiating positions set out for us to see.”

He added: “We cannot have a public debate about what our negotiating position is going to be. If we were to do that, we would have no negotiating position.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Pictures of children arriving from Calais to join their families provoke tabloid campaign suggesting they are adults – and outpouring of hatred

Rightwing tabloids first used punctuation and then pictures to pour scorn on the the ages of the youngsters brought to London from Calais this week, or “children” (inverted commas included) as they are known in the Sun and Mail.

Related: Rowan Williams: government is 'foot-dragging' over Calais child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/17/rowan-williams-stop-foot-dragging-over-calais-child-refugees]

It was the Sun that led the way in putting pictures of three **refugees** on the front page on Tuesday under the headline “Are you kidding?”: Calais “children” arrive in UK”. A page nine story reported on the “row” over the childrens’ “true age”.

By Wednesday’s editions the Mail and Express had caught up, turning inside-the-paper stories questioning the ages of unidentified migrants into front-page stories. The Mail used the top half of its front page to promote another double page spread inside on the “child **refugees**” debate.

The front page of the Sun plastered the picture of one particular **refugee** to illustrate a call by a backbench Tory MP, David Davies, for dental x-rays to be used to check ages, under a banner headline “Tell us the tooth: migrant children look 40”. The tabloid’s top team, including editor Tony Gallagher, are understood to have used an app that used facial recognition technology to guess the ages of the **refugees** – and then to raise questions about them.

Such coverage prompted an interview with a backbench Tory MP, David Davies, on Radio 4’s Today programme, which fed into an online row about how a few pictures were being used to criticise a programme to admit just 100 **refugees** with relatives in the UK before the Calais camp’s closure.

Nobody is expecting the **refugees** who arrived this week to have to go through dental tests to prove they should remain in the UK, not even Sun executives. So why has the issue become such a live one?

“This completely undermines the case to take them in,” said one tabloid executive, pointing out that none of the unidentified but quite possibly traumatised **refugees** had written to complain about the coverage to date. Besides, editors had looked at the pictures expecting to see young children and girls, and were taken aback by the young men in hoodies.

All this ignored the fact that photographers cannot take pictures of minors without the consent of a guardian. Indeed by Wednesday, when pictures of far younger-looking children were made available by agency photographers, tabloid editors cited press regulation for making their use too difficult. “We would probably have to pixellate them,” said one.

Sun executives in particular, claiming to be cockahoop at having “led the way” on the story, seized on the pictures on Monday as proving the fears they had had all along about the resettlement scheme for unaccompanied children in Calais. “With those crows feet at 17, he’s obviously been using the wrong moisturiser!” hooted one.

However, the story, which was on the print front page two days in a row, was far lower down in the Sun’s online edition. While tabloid editors congratulated themselves, the reaction on social media was far more mixed, with some people tweeting out pictures of themselves at 16 to show how hard it is to determine a teenager’s age from an image alone.

Alastair Harper, who works for Unicef, began a hashtag #**Refugeeswelcome**, with a picture of himself as a 16-year-old.

Use #**refugeeswelcome**[https://twitter.com/hashtag/refugeeswelcome?src=hash] for your shot guys! Here's my one age 16 pic.twitter.com/p5p9v8Bk8I[https://t.co/p5p9v8Bk8I] — Alastair Harper (@harperingon) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/harperingon/status/788309838354845696]

Journalist Diane Lebel joined in on Twitter

16-year-old-me, wearing an awful lot of makeup to get into clubs (it worked btw) @harperingon[https://twitter.com/harperingon] @stellacreasy[https://twitter.com/stellacreasy] @JoeEEnglish[https://twitter.com/JoeEEnglish] #**refugeeswelcome**[https://twitter.com/hashtag/refugeeswelcome?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/suXi4w52CI[https://t.co/suXi4w52CI] — Diane Lebel (@dianelebel) October 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/dianelebel/status/788707003598274560]

But, as the reaction to the concerns for the **refugees** raised by Gary Lineker

and Lily Allen showed #**refugeeswelcome** was not universally popular.

Those shouting ' #**RefugeesWelcome**[https://twitter.com/hashtag/RefugeesWelcome?src=hash] ' keep the doors of their own homes securely locked. Just another scam by the Left to destroy our society— Peter McLoughlin (@pmclauth) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/pmclauth/status/788240734193344512]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Fox News survey shows Clinton with six-point lead over Trump Trump and Clinton face fear and loathing at third debateSign up for debate reactions and fact-check alerts for Android phonesHelp us hold power to account by supporting our fearless, independent journalism

block-time published-time 6.20pm BST

Madonna has made a very, erm, unique promise to fans who vote for Hillary Clinton in the upcoming presidential election.

“If you vote for Hillary Clinton,” Madonna told audience members at Manhattan’s Madison Square Garden, “I will give you a blow job.”

“And I’m good,” she elaborated, as the audience laughed and hooted. “I’m not a tool. I take my time.”

enltrMadonna opened for Amy. Msg @Madonna[https://twitter.com/Madonna] pic.twitter.com/qcfNAH4TOm[https://t.co/qcfNAH4TOm]

— Joe (@jgra555) October 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/jgra555/status/788552619929272320]block-time published-time 5.56pm BST

Muslim women's group inundated with hate mail after endorsing Hillary Clinton A post on the aggregator site Drudge Report sparked a cascade of hate mail and phone calls to the American Muslim Women political action committee[http://www.americanmuslimwomen.com/about-us/] (Pac) on Tuesday.

Mirriam Seddiq, a criminal defense attorney and the founder of the group, woke up to an email with a link to a site that sold ammunition covered in pork.

“It’s bullets made to kill Muslims,” said Seddiq.

After showing the email to her Pac colleagues, she realized that Drudge Report had highlighted their seven-week-old Pac at the top of its site. A link that read “Hijab for Hillary” referred to a press release[http://www.press.org/events/american-muslim-women-pac-press-conference] of the group endorsing Hillary Clinton last week.

enltrYesterday we got hoaxed, so let's return to the basics: Unhinged Islamophobia. pic.twitter.com/i6Ny90tvWj[https://t.co/i6Ny90tvWj]

— Imraan Siddiqi (@imraansiddiqi) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/imraansiddiqi/status/788422288748052480]While the link meant their site received a wave in traffic, the press release also contained Seddiq and her colleagues’ names and phone numbers.

“We’ve gotten dozens of hate mail to the website. And then our [communications director] said she had gotten about a dozen if not more hate emails,” Seddiq told the Guardian. “And then the phone calls started.”

Throughout the day, Seddiq and the Pac’s other board members received phone calls telling them to go back to their country, referred to them as towel heads, and some became threatening, Seddiq said.

The American Muslim Women Pac was founded by Seddiq shortly after the Democratic and Republican conventions. The Pac aims to get Muslim women more involved in the election cycle, partly by ensuring more of them register to vote.

Related: Muslim women's group inundated with hate mail after endorsing Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/19/muslim-womens-group-hate-mail-hillary-clinton-drudge-report]

block-time published-time 5.19pm BST

Ididn’t give much thought to Canada for the first 18 years of my life. Many Americans would not see this as a problem – Americans who think of Canada[https://www.theguardian.com/world/canada] as ‘America’s hat’. But when I found myself in a bar with hundreds of Canadian strangers on my first night at university in Montreal (a city where I could legally go to a bar at 18), I realized that this had been a tremendous oversight.

“Who’s the prime minister of Canada?” someone asked me, when I confessed my American-ness. I had no idea, and it hit me like a hockey puck smashed into an unguarded net: my ignorance of Canada was an awful oversight. For my whole life all of these Canadians had been living in Canada, not wanting to be American, drinking milk from bags.[http://mentalfloss.com/article/81468/why-do-canadians-drink-milk-bags]

Perhaps that’s why I was particularly moved by the sympathetic message sent south this week[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/18/world/americas/sympathetic-canadians-have-a-message-for-americans-you-guys-are-great.html?module=WatchingPortal®ion=c-column-middle-span-region&pgType=Homepage&action=click&mediaId=thumb\_square&state=standard&contentPlacement=3&version=internal&contentCollection=www.nytimes.com&contentId=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.nytimes.com%2F2016%2F10%2F18%2Fworld%2Famericas%2Fsympathetic-canadians-have-a-message-for-americans-you-guys-are-great.html&eventName=Watching-article-click] by some lovely northern neighbors: America, they say, you guys are already great. Designed by a Toronto-based creative agency, the video and accompanying social media campaign aims to help Canadians to “make a positive contribution to an election season that has been downright depressing”.

enltrThanks for introducing us to the cultural phenomenon known as the “Carlton Dance"! #tellamericanitsgreat[https://twitter.com/hashtag/tellamericanitsgreat?src=hash] @alfonso\_ribeiro[https://twitter.com/alfonso\_ribeiro] #HugANeighbour[https://twitter.com/hashtag/HugANeighbour?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/1C9qeueK7W[https://t.co/1C9qeueK7W]

— Lea (@CrayCrayRules) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/CrayCrayRules/status/788357279603101696]enltrSome great things about the US: BBQ, my friendly neighbours during my 5 yrs in CT, the NFL, Star Wars, Disneyland. #TellAmericaItsGreat[https://twitter.com/hashtag/TellAmericaItsGreat?src=hash]

— Steve McKoen (@Steve\_McKoen) October 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/Steve\_McKoen/status/788067266373890048]enltrBeyoncé, the food, (Omg! the food is to die for), innovation, music, parks, sports, hospitality, accents & diversity #tellamericaitsgreat[https://twitter.com/hashtag/tellamericaitsgreat?src=hash] ??

— Bryna Corcoran (@BrynaTweets) October 16, 2016[https://twitter.com/BrynaTweets/status/787531058581348352]Like an ignored younger sibling reaching out to give a gentle squeeze of the hand to a pompous, bullying older one in a time of sudden vulnerability, it’s a most Canadian acknowledgment of our current predicament. Polite. Sensitive. Cheerful. Gently overlooking the fact that Canada rarely crosses the mind of many Americans unless they’re looking for a way to easily emigrate if national leadership is passed into the hands of a despotic, racist egomaniac by a bonkers electorate.

Americans often speak as if “moving to Canada” to escape the worst of the United States is a decision that can be made casually. We discuss the idea as though we believe that Canada is but a giant, pleasant, snowy backyard that we can wander into when we feel like it.

Related: Canada's response to the US election is a most Canadian nod to our predicament | Jean Hannah Edelstein[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/19/canada-response-to-us-election-tell-america-its-great]

block-time published-time 4.54pm BST

Trump campaign manager: 'I do not believe' there will be widespread voter fraud In a break from Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump, campaign manager Kellyanne Conway told MSNBC this morning that she does not think that the upcoming presidential election will be the target of widespread voter fraud, despite her charge’s baseless claims[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/18/trump-rigged-election-obama-warning-america-divided] that the election is on the verge of being stolen.

“No, I do not believe that,” Conway told MSNBC’s Stephanie Ruhle when asked about the ( im[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/can-you-rig-a-us-presidential-election-experts-say-its-basically-impossible/2016/10/18/7bcc4390-9557-11e6-bc79-af1cd3d2984b\_story.html] )possibility of wide-scale fraud at the polls.

“Absent overwhelming evidence that there is, it would not be for me to say that there is,” Conway continued. “We know in the past we know that people who are dead are still on the voter rolls. We know that people are voting a couple different times in places, so you do hear reports here and there.”

On Monday, Trump specifically said that 1.8 million dead people would vote – and for “somebody else”. The statement was apparently a reference to the fact that one 2012 study[http://www.pewtrusts.org/~/media/legacy/uploadedfiles/pcs\_assets/2012/pewupgradingvoterregistrationpdf.pdf] found up to 1.8 million active voter registrations from deceased voters. In reality the study it found no evidence of fraud or that any illegitimate ballots were cast – it simply meant state voter databases were out of date.

“I think Donald Trump’s point is a larger one,” Conway continued, dismissing Trump’s claims that the election is “rigged” as a criticism of journalists. “She has so many advantages,” Conway said of Hillary Clinton. “She has endless money, she has a lot of the media. She has a very popular president and first lady out there campaigning for her.”

block-time published-time 4.32pm BST

How do you one-up bringing Bill Clinton’s accusers to the second presidential debate? By bringing President Barack Obama’s Kenyan half-brother to the third presidential debate.

enltrTrump is bringing Obama's half-brother to the debate, @KatyTurNBC[https://twitter.com/KatyTurNBC] reports

— Bradd Jaffy (@BraddJaffy) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/BraddJaffy/status/788503100340506625]Malik Obama, the president’s half-brother, reportedly[http://nypost.com/2016/07/24/why-obamas-half-brother-says-hell-be-voting-for-donald-trump/] stopped supporting the Democratic Party - a moot point since he’s not a US citizen and cannot vote, as it happens - when Obama (the president) came out in support of same-sex marriage rights.

If Trump plays his cards right, Obama will be out of the White House by January!

block-time published-time 4.25pm BST

In an interview with Breitbart News, a former local news reporter has accused former president Bill Clinton of sexually assaulting her.

Leslie Millwee told the far-right website[http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2016/10/19/exclusive-video-interview-new-bill-clinton-sexual-assault-accuser-goes-public-first-time/] that Clinton, then the governor of Arkansas, groped her on three occasions while she was a reporter for a local news station in Fayetteville, Arkansas.

“He followed me into an editing room,” Millwee said. “The first time I remember. That it was very small. There was a chair. I was sitting in a chair. He came up behind me and started rubbing my shoulders and running his hands down toward my breasts. And I was just stunned. I froze. I asked him to stop. He laughed.”

Millwee had previously told the story in a 2011 paperback titled You Can’t Make This Stuff Up!

block-time published-time 4.13pm BST

Milwaukee is one of the most politically polarized and racially segregated cities in America. Paul Lewis and Tom Silverstone discover a mix of **alienation** and hope in the city’s African American community:

America’s most segregated city: the young black voters of Milwaukee[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/18/milwaukee-wisconsin-segregation-young-black-voters-election-video]block-time published-time 4.03pm BST

With less than three weeks until the election, President Barack Obama is keeping his eyes on the down-ballot races - particularly the Democratic pickup opportunity for a party desperate to unseat Florida senator Marco Rubio.

Congressman Patrick Murphy, the newly minted winner of the Miami Herald’s endorsement, has released a new Spanish-language ad featuring the president addressing Spanish-speaking Florida voters.

“Patrick will fight for **immigration** reform, better education, and higher wages. Working each day to improve our lives,” Obama says in the ad, according to a translation. “Go out and vote for Patrick. Your vote is very important.”

block-time published-time 3.53pm BST

Tonight's debate: Who, what, where, when? Debate officials are seen on stage inside the Thomas and Mack Center prior to tonight’s debate between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton on the campus of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Photograph: UPI / Barcroft Images When is the debate? Like the previous two presidential debates, tonight’s debate starts at 9pm ET and is scheduled to run for 90 minutes without commercial interruption. ( Other interruptions, however, are inevitable.[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JSsdEQ8gB2o] )

Who is participating? Aside from Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton and Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump, you mean? Fox News anchor Chris Wallace - the first anchor from that network to host a presidential debate - will moderate tonight’s engagement. For a network that has been embroiled in scandal that brought down its chief executive[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/21/roger-ailes-leaves-fox-news-sexual-harassment-claims], Wallace’s position is an opportunity to hit the reset button on a miserable year - although Trump’s willingness to feud[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/14/fox-anchor-megyn-kelly-meets-donald-trump] with Fox News personalities means that Wallace will not be protected from onstage criticism from the candidate just because he’s besties with Sean Hannity.[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/06/trump-only-goes-on-hannity-megyn-kelly-clashes-with-friend-at-10-oclock]

What is the format? The debate will consist of six 15-minute segments, following the same format as the first presidential debate. Each segment will be approximately 15 minutes long. Wallace will open each segment with a question, after which each candidate will have two minutes to respond. Clinton and Trump will then have an opportunity to respond to each other. Wallace may use the balance of the time in the segment for a deeper discussion of the topic. Those topics, as revealed by the Commission on Presidential Debates[http://www.debates.org/index.php?page=2016debates], are as follows:

\* Debt and entitlements

\* **Immigration**

\* The economy

\* Supreme Court

\* Foreign hot spots

\* Fitness to be president

Where is the debate being held? The debate is being held at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, which means that the journalists covering the debate are going to come home broke and hung over (they’ve earned it, trust me).

How do I watch the misery? That’s the easy part! The debate will be broadcast on the three major networks, as well as the cable news networks and C-SPAN. For those watching on their phones at the gym or on their laptops in their fallout shelters, Facebook will stream ABC News’s coverage and Twitter will stream the debates in partnership with Bloomberg.

block-time published-time 3.22pm BST

The increasingly bitter presidential campaign and Donald Trump’s refusal to follow protocol has claimed another victim, this time in the form of the pre-debate handshake between candidates’ spouses.

According to the New York Times[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/19/us/politics/melania-trump-bill-clinton.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share], the ritual of Bill Clinton and Melania Trump crossing the stage and shaking hands before the debate’s beginning was likely scuttled after the Clinton campaign responded to Trump’s attempts in the second presidential debate to seat three women who have accused Bill Clinton of sexual impropriety in his family box, which would mean the former president of the United States shaking hands with women who have accused him of sexual assault on national television.

This time, the Clintons aren’t horsing around:

But the Clinton side is not taking any chances at the final presidential debate, on Wednesday night in Las Vegas, and has apparently gained approval of a different protocol for the entry of the candidates’ spouses and families into the debate hall.

block-time published-time 3.12pm BST

Hillary for America is making a bid for national unity in the campaign’s latest advertisement, A Place for Everyone - part of what the campaign is characterizing as its “closing argument.”

Narrated by Hillary Clinton, the ad splices together footage of diverse Americans performing everyday tasks while the former secretary of state intones that her “vision of America is an America where everyone has a place.”

block-time published-time 3.08pm BST

Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] may be a nightmare for fans of logic, justice and the English language. But he’s a godsend for any writer out to capture a character you can’t ignore.

Small wonder so many songwriters signed on to 30 Days, 30 Songs[http://www.30days30songs.com/], a kind of sonic pop-up project that has been delivering a new message of protest every 24 hours for the entire month leading up to the election. Each piece means to offer a different view of the mother of all reality show stunts: the Trump campaign.

Nine have been released so far, together swirling a cocktail of wit, vitriol and apoplexy. Not every participant in this project wrote a song to order. Josh Ritter[http://www.joshritter.com/] ’s The Temptation of Adam first turned up on an album nearly a decade ago, while Jim James’s Same Old Lies already served as the first single off his forthcoming solo album. For yesterday’s release, REM retro-fitted a song from nearly 20 years ago. It’s a live version of World Leader Pretend, a song whose megalomaniacal, wall-building narrator originally served as a metaphor for a self-involved lover. Subbing in Trump proves not that big a leap.

Related: 'Isn't anybody going to stop me?' 30 songs protesting a President Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/oct/19/anti-trump-30-days-30-songs-project-musicians]

block-time published-time 2.43pm BST

Siren: A new poll from the Arizona Republic[http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/elections/2016/10/19/arizona-poll-hillary-clinton-donald-trump/92339110/] shows Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton leading in the Grand Canyon state by five points - yes, you read that correctly.

Clinton has won the support of 39% of likely Arizona voters, according to the poll, while Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump is supported by a dismal (for a Republican in Arizona) 33.9%. An additional 20% of Arizona voters are undecided.

This latest poll only adds more credit to the theory that Arizona’s shifting demographics may put the state in play, considered a fantasy for most of the 2016 campaign. The idea that blood-red Arizona’s 11 electoral votes could be up for grabs has inspired a flurry of campaign spending and surrogate placement by the Clinton campaign this week, with more than $2m in advertisements purchased and first lady Michelle Obama set to address a Phoenix campaign rally tomorrow afternoon.

For more on Arizona’s purple-ish possibilities, The Guardian’s Lauren Gambino reported from Phoenix:

Related: As Trump slips into red with Latinos, Democrats hope to turn Arizona blue[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/19/donald-trump-arizona-latino-voters-democrats]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.50pm BST

block-time published-time 2.31pm BST

Debate notifications: reactions and fact-checks straight to your phone During the third and final US presidential debate tonight, the Guardian Mobile Innovation Lab will send experimental notifications[https://www.gdnmobilelab.com/third-debate/] with real-time reactions and live fact-checks from Guardian US reporters and editors.

These notifications are separate from the breaking news alerts sent through the Guardian mobile app, and you don’t have to be an app user to take part in this experiment.

Please take the follow-up survey we’ll send out following the experiment. Your feedback is important to us, and will inform our future work.

block-time published-time 2.23pm BST

Looks like Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] is getting his wall after all.

In anticipation of tonight’s final presidential debate, the Culinary Workers Union is building a wall of taco trucks outside Trump International Hotel, miles away from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas’s campus – the setting for the showdown between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton.

The rally aims to have at least five taco trucks as well as a giant banner designed as a wall where members, organizers and participants will be able to write messages and sign their names. While approximately 400 people are expected to rally in the morning on the Las Vegas[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/las-vegas] strip, the trucks will be handing out free tacos in order to support the protest. The union has been using Twitter and other social media platforms as they promote their #WallOfTacos and #TacosOnEveryCorner event, hoping to make some noise before the debate.

enltrAt Culinary Union meeting of former and current Trump workers: "bad bosses make bad presidents" pic.twitter.com/QMqVHm7Eft[https://t.co/QMqVHm7Eft]

— issie lapowsky (@issielapowsky) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/issielapowsky/status/788468224341839872]They will be joined by representatives from Plan Action, Latino Victory Project, iAmerica, Center for Community Change Action, For Our Future, and 50 **immigrant** advocacy activists from Los Angeles. The Democrat Ruben Kihuen – who is running to represent the fourth congressional district in the House – will also speak at the rally.

“We’re protesting Donald Trump’s hotel here in Vegas, where a majority of workers voted to unionize,” said Kihuen[https://www.buzzfeed.com/adriancarrasquillo/a-union-is-building-a-wall-of-taco-trucks-outside-trumps-las?utm\_term=.om0qrDk9z#.qhPQo59m6]. “Trump has failed to sit down at the table with them.”

Related: Taco trucks will be lined up near presidential debate in Las Vegas[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/19/wall-of-taco-trucks-las-vegas-presidential-debate]

block-time published-time 2.15pm BST

In an “exclusive” interview with The Late Show’s Stephen Colbert, “Melania Trump” - who suspiciously looks like Broadway star Laura Benanti[https://twitter.com/LauraBenanti] - appeared via satellite to clear the air around Donald Trump’s most recent controversies.

block-time published-time 1.52pm BST

Marco Rubio has declared that, unlike many other members of his party, he will not answer any questions relating to emails hacked by the Russian government and released by WikiLeaks:

I will not discuss any issue that has become public solely on the basis of WikiLeaks. As our intelligence agencies have said, these leaks are an effort by a foreign government to interfere with our electoral process and I will not indulge it. Further, I want to warn my fellow Republicans who may want to capitalize politically on these leaks: Today it is the Democrats. tomorrow it could be us.

Looks like somebody took the Miami Herald editorial[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/oct/18/donald-trump-campaign-election-news-hillary-clinton-live?page=with:block-5806d3dde4b005f21833adf7#block-5806d3dde4b005f21833adf7] calling him “a disappointment” to heart.

block-time published-time 1.28pm BST

What to expect at tonight's debate Good morning, and welcome to the Guardian’s campaign liveblog.

Donald Trump’s plane idles near Hillary Clinton’s plane in Las Vegas. Photograph: Brendan Smialowski/AFP/Getty Images With a mere 20 days until election day, the bleary eyes of a campaign-weary nation are aimed squarely at Las Vegas, where the third and final presidential debate between Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton and Republican rival Donald Trump is set to begin in 12 hours.

In the nine days since the two candidates last met, the polling gap between Clinton and Trump has yawned ever wider, after 10 women came forward[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/list-of-donald-trump-sexual-misconduct-allegations] with allegations that Trump had sexually assaulted them in incidents stretching back decades. Trump’s response - that the accusers were Clinton plants with the goal of “rigging” the upcoming election - may have appeased some of his supporters, but a late-breaking survey[http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2016/10/18/fox-news-poll-clinton-tops-trump-by-6-points.html] from Fox News last night shows just how far the Republican presidential nominee’s chances of victory in November have fallen:

\* Clinton has a 6-point national lead over Trump, but that’s just the tip of the iceberg...

\* The poll, one of the first to be conducted entirely after the full slate of Trump’s accusers came forward, shows Clinton leading among women by 7 points.

\* Whites with a college degree, long a Republican bloc, favor Clinton by 9 points.

\* Voters believe, by a two-to-one margin, that Trump committed at least some of the sexual assaults of which he has been accused.

\* Clinton leads on every single issue[http://www.foxnews.com/politics/interactive/2016/10/18/fox-news-poll-october-18-2016/], minus the economy, as well as on qualifying attributes like temperament, judgment and making decisions about the use of nuclear weapons.

So how does this affect tonight? Tonight’s debate may be Trump’s last opportunity to salvage the dwindling support that in recent weeks has seemingly placed the election increasingly out of the Republican nominee’s reach - and if we’ve learned anything about Trump over the past 16 months, it’s that he’s at his most vicious when backed into a corner. Repetitions of his baseless claims of voter fraud to assert that the election is “rigged”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/18/trump-rigged-election-obama-warning-america-divided], as well as continued references to Bill Clinton’s past personal scandals, are a given.

Clinton, unflappable in the second debate even as Trump invited women who have accused her husband of sexually predatory behavior, is unlikely to take the bait.

“We understand the strategy that he is trying to do to explain his loss and also to try to deter voters,” said Jenn Palmieri, the Clinton campaign’s communications director, “[but] we believe that it’s going to be easier to vote than ever before.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.51pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Software giant says program was designed as ‘fun app’ after it was used in article questioning the age of Calais **refugees**

Microsoft has warned that software being used to guess the ages of child migrants admitted to the UK was designed as a “fun app” and was “not intended to be used as a definitive assessment of age”.

A Daily Mail article stated that one migrant pictured “was rated by a facial recognition program as having the features of a 38-year-old”, following comments from the Conservative MP for Monmouth, David Davies, who questioned the age of some of the minors pictured in the media.

But a Microsoft spokesman said: “How-old.net was designed to be an example of how developers could build a fun app using modern development practices. It is not intended to be used as a definitive assessment of age.”

The row comes after Davies tweeted:

He was reacting to photographs published by some publications, despite the photographing of minors without permission being against the Independent Press Standards Organisation code of conduct[https://www.ipso.co.uk/editors-code-of-practice/#Children].

It was soon noted that How-Old.net estimated that Davies – a fresh-faced 46-year-old – was, in fact, 58.

You know the software The Mail are using to question the age of migrants? Here's how old it thinks 46 year old David Davies MP is. pic.twitter.com/DweqtMwm4m[https://t.co/DweqtMwm4m] — Ben Rathe (@benrathe) October 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/benrathe/status/788689608024391680]

Davies’ demands for people coming to the UK from the Calais camp to undergo dental tests to verify their age was dismissed as “inappropriate and unethical” by the British Dental Association (BDA)[https://www.bda.org/].

The Ukip MEP Jane Collins also tweeted[https://twitter.com/Jane\_CollinsMEP/status/788049887275393024] to say those arriving from Calais “look very mature for their age”. Collins is 46, but the program estimated her in one photo to be 70, although in another image it said she looked 54 years old.

Those children arriving today look very mature for their age.— Jane Collins MEP (@Jane\_CollinsMEP) October 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/Jane\_CollinsMEP/status/788049887275393024]

Government guidance[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/257462/assessing-age.pdf] states: “All available sources of relevant information and evidence should be considered, since no single assessment technique, or combination of techniques, is likely to determine the applicant’s age with precision.”

The government uses a number of factors to determine age, including whether asylum seekers have provided credible documentary evidence proving their age and that they have a “physical appearance or demeanour which does not strongly suggest they are significantly over 18 years of age”.

Borderline cases are subject to the Merton test, which is used by local authorities to assess the age of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children before support is given, and which has to be signed off by two social workers.

The chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission David Isaac, who the facial recognition software thinks is 85, tried to bring the subject away from the “irrational” tone and back to the plight of child migrants.

“We are seeing the highest number of child **refugees** since the second world war. Britain has a proud history of welcoming people that need our help. We have always treated them with respect. Calling for intrusive checks on teeth on those coming from wartorn countries is not the answer,” he said.

“Experts also agree it is not an accurate way to determine age. The best way to protect children’s rights is to treat them as children until proven otherwise. If there is any doubt, age should be verified by an independent expert. We should not resort to determinations by using photographs or computer software.”

Stella Creasy, the Labour MP for Walthamstow (real age 39, estimated age by facial recognition program 44) noted in a tweet:

Fwiw odd about the child **refugee** pics furore is no one seems to realise children don't travel on their own- adult Carers with them too..— stellacreasy (@stellacreasy) October 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/stellacreasy/status/788658853776883712]

She added that she had asked for further details on the government’s verification process to “end the madness”, adding: “Clue doesn’t involve a twitter app …”

lets end this madness- have tabled PQ to ask govt to set out verification process for child **refugees**. Clue doesn't involve a twitter app...— stellacreasy (@stellacreasy) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/stellacreasy/status/788425579699789824]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Forget the nasty headlines. What makes me proud to be British are the nurses, charity workers and volunteers working to help those seeking sanctuary on our shores

Until recently I would never have considered myself a patriot. Though I do feel an attachment to the comfy familiarity of the country I’ve lived in my whole life, I’ve never really been the Union Jack bunting and jubilee tea party type. I hate litter, but the recent Clean for the Queen[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/27/gove-and-johnson-strike-a-pose-in-clean-for-the-queen-campaign] campaign left me with the urge to dump a bin bag out of my window in protest. Talk of “British values” also makes me somewhat twitchy, because I’m aware that defining positive characteristics as uniquely British traits often means labelling people considered “unBritish” as inferior.

I also think we made the wrong decision when we voted to leave the EU[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum]. According to rhetoric that has become worryingly normalised in recent months, this alone makes me a “treacherous snake” and enemy of the nation – 48% of voters have found themselves cast as an insufficiently patriotic fifth column. Any talk of the benefits of EU membership, or the economic risks of leaving, sees them dismissed as “remoaners” who must be “silenced” for the greater good. Presumably, my hazy republicanism and aversion to claims of British exceptionalism are just further evidence that I’m the enemy within.

However, the more frenzied these accusations have become, the more I’ve realised that I do actually love my country. It’s not a love based on cliched symbols or nostalgia for empire like the version being rammed down our throats by the pro-Brexit brigade, but in the positive aspects of the UK as it actually is – not least those who welcome and defend young **refugees** in need.

I’m not interested in arguing our superiority to other nations, but there are many things about this country that I believe are worth celebrating. And unless people are more vocal about the positive characteristics of the UK as we perceive them, we allow the concept of patriotism to be defined by people who would happily destroy those same attributes and institutions.

The NHS, for example, is a truly miraculous achievement. Universal, free at the point of use healthcare is something that enriches our lives in ways we might not always fully appreciate. It’s a weight off our minds, a safety net, the knowledge that everyone will be looked after because that’s the way we do things here. Most people agree it should be defended at all costs. For all of his flag-waving and patriotic pint-drinking, Nigel Farage[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/nov/12/film-nigel-farage-insurance-based-nhs-private-companies] does not. He’s previously said he’d like to see it replaced with a privatised, Singapore-style system.

The leave campaign’s false claim[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/reality-check/2016/may/23/does-the-eu-really-cost-the-uk-350m-a-week] that quitting the EU would result in increased NHS funding was particularly awful because it played on voters’ admirable compassion. Most of us want to ensure that healthcare is available for those who need it, even if we could personally afford private insurance. It’s a grim irony that the NHS might actually suffer as a result of the economic hit of Brexit.

The welfare state as a whole is something we should be proud of, but several years of government austerity has encouraged a scarcity mindset that threatens our ability for empathy and cooperation. We’ve been encouraged to believe that there’s not enough to go around, and to draw the circle around who should be included ever tighter. There’s talk of pregnant women being forced to show their passports before being allowed to give birth in hospital, though denying basic healthcare goes against everything the NHS is supposed to stand for.

Related: First group of **refugee** children arrives in Britain from Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/17/refugee-children-britain-calais-resettlement-uk]

Most upsetting has been the reaction to 14 child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/17/refugee-children-britain-calais-resettlement-uk] who have just arrived in the UK from the Calais camp. Instead of simply being welcomed, they were met with national newspaper headlines speculating that they were older than authorities had ascertained – never mind that their gangly appearance and facial hair is typical of many post-pubescent teenage boys.

Those who paint themselves as patriots often hark back to the second world war as the pinnacle of British achievement, but the attitude many currently display is the opposite to that which they celebrate. The “Blitz spirit” meant pulling together and getting on with things in difficult circumstances, not turning on your neighbour in a desperate desire to find someone to blame. We took tens of thousands of European Jewish **refugees** because they were in need. Now that people from Syria and Afghanistan are seeking sanctuary, many supposed patriots want to close our doors.

Not everyone, though. It’s heartening that many other people have been keen to challenge the nastier media reactions and insist that **refugees** are welcome here. Some voted to leave the EU and others to remain, but they’re united by their open-mindedness and compassion. If anything makes me proud to be British, it’s the campaigners, lawyers, social workers, doctors, nurses, charity workers and volunteers who’ve worked tirelessly to support **refugees** adapting to life in the UK. Their humanity is what really makes the country great.

• To discuss the issues raised by this piece please use this form[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/share-your-views-on-the-governments-response-to-calais-child-refugees]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Match of the Day presenter says he has received much ‘stick’ after describing media response as ‘hideously racist’

Gary Lineker is standing by his criticism of the “hideously racist” media treatment of **refugees** after his comments sparked online abuse and a call from Ukip to sack him from Match of the Day.

The former England captain was drawn into a row about whether adults were being accepted into Britain as unaccompanied children[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies] in a scheme to resettle **refugees** from the Calais camp.

Related: Give child **refugees** dental tests to verify age, says David Davies[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies]

The Sun claimed the picture of one of those who it said had been accepted was “35 if he’s a day” and that it was a “fiasco” for the British authorities to take their ages on trust. The Tory MP David Davies said dental checks should be used to verify ages, in a call later rejected by the Home Office as “unethical”. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/home-office-rules-out-unethical-dental-checks-for-calais-refugees]

After the first edition of the paper appeared Lineker tweeted:

The treatment by some towards these young **refugees** is hideously racist and utterly heartless. What's happening to our country?— Gary Lineker (@GaryLineker) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/GaryLineker/status/788407048031600640]

His stance was applauded by campaigners for **refugees**.

Thank you @GaryLineker[https://twitter.com/GaryLineker] for speaking out about this. The world needs more compassionate people like you! https://t.co/gfvl42zxAu[https://t.co/gfvl42zxAu] — Care4Calais (@Care4Calais) October 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/Care4Calais/status/788704774103392256]

But Ukip’s spokesman, Patrick O’Flynn, called for Lineker to be sacked from Match of the Day for expressing political views on the issue.

If Mr Lineker wants to be Lib-Left political voice then fair enough, but get him off MOTD please.Time to pass baton to Jermaine Jenas anyway— Patrick O'Flynn (@oflynnmep) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/oflynnmep/status/788445853010788352]

Lineker later complained that he had also been subjected to much online “stick”[https://twitter.com/GaryLineker/status/788697435619155968] for his comments.

One asked: “So how many are you taking into your home then Gary? Very easy to shout racist mate when you’re sitting on a crisp fortune.”

But Lineker stood by his remarks, rounding on one critic by saying:

I'll say what I want on my twitter feed, thanks. However old they are they're bloody human beings, like you....well sort of. https://t.co/j3bq24k7Ox[https://t.co/j3bq24k7Ox] — Gary Lineker (@GaryLineker) October 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/GaryLineker/status/788692459727556609]

Wonder what makes some people feel, by sheer good fortune of place of birth, superior to others. I need a lie down.— Gary Lineker (@GaryLineker) October 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/GaryLineker/status/788696297062666240]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERERefugee** Council data shows that some young asylum seekers have been unlawfully detained in adult centres. This must end

When Theresa May was home secretary she boasted proudly[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/oct/10/immigration-bill-theresa-may-hostile-environment] about creating a hostile environment for migrants. As some of the unaccompanied children who have been living in the Calais **refugee** camp arrive in the UK this week that hostile environment[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3850840/Third-batch-child-migrants-begin-journey-Calais-Jungle-UK-Home-Office-admit-two-thirds-past-children-lied-age-officials.html] has been very much in evidence. Most notably, there have been claims that some of these children are “faking it”. It’s been strongly suggested that they are really adults posing as children to sneakily take advantage of the UK’s gullibility, kindness and generosity towards outsiders, and should have to undergo dental checks to determine their age. The hostility has also spread to those who dare support these children publicly. Lily Allen was heavily trolled[http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/37633342/lily-allens-been-trolled-after-visiting-a-migrant-camp-in-calais] when she visited the Calais camp to show her support for those living there in appalling conditions. And now Gary Lineker has been deluged with abuse on Twitter[http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/gary-lineker-faces-torrent-abuse-9073112] for expressing similar support for the children arriving from Calais this week.

The Home Office is not known for being a soft touch when it comes to asylum seekers and it has stated clearly that any child brought to the UK must have provided clear and credible documentary evidence proving their claimed age.

It’s also worth noting that those who criticise the youngsters who have arrived so far this week – poring over their facial features for evidence of deceit regarding their age – have omitted to mention the scores of children who have been wrongly detained in adult **immigration** removal centres over the years.

For children who have witnessed and sometimes experienced atrocities in their home countries and who leave family behind to embark on hazardous journeys to safety, being locked up with adults in conditions equivalent to a category B prison when they reach the UK really is the last straw. The experience compounds their trauma.

The **Refugee** Council works closely with unaccompanied child asylum seekers and closely monitors these unlawful detentions. Their records show[http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0002/5945/Not\_a\_minor\_offence\_2012.pdf] that from the start of October 2014 to the end of December 2015 they received 37 referrals of age-disputed young people who were being treated as adults and detained on the basis of the Home Office policy that their physical appearance and demeanour strongly suggested they were significantly over 18. Of these 37 referrals, the **Refugee** Council supported 25 of the young people. Of these 25 young people, 13 have been assessed and accepted as a child by a local authority. Seven have been released into the care of the local authority pending assessment, but absconded. Two were assessed to be adult. One was removed from the country before action was concluded. Two are being looked after as children pending the outcome of court proceedings.

From the start of January to the end of March this year, the **Refugee** Council received seven referrals of age disputed young people in detention, and supported six of them. Five of these have already been accepted as children and are in the care of the local authority, while one young person is in the care of the local authority pending the outcome of further assessment.

They received 11 such referrals between April and July this year, and of the 10 they supported, two have already been accepted as children, seven are in the care of the local authority being treated as a child pending assessment, and one is still in detention but is due to be released imminently.

In 2012 it was reported that the Home Office had to pay out £2m in the case of 40 child asylum seekers who were wrongly detained as adults[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/17/council-asylum-seeker-children-classed-adults] - compensation of more than £1m, plus £1m costs. Girls and boys – including 25 who were aged 14 to 16 – from countries including Afghanistan, Iran, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Eritrea, Uganda, Somalia and China, were involved in the case.

The youngest was a 14-year-old girl from Sri Lanka. Some were survivors of torture in their home countries and some of the girls were survivors of rape and other forms of sexual violence.

Among the 40 were some who had already been assessed by social services and declared to be children. They showed officials letters from social services stating that they were looked-after children, but the Home Office still detained them.

As a result of this case, government officials accepted that the policy was unlawful and changed it. But the new **Refugee** Council data shows this abuse is continuing.

The current climate of profound hostility towards children who have suffered unspeakable things and committed no crimes is alarming. Let’s hope the Home Office does not respond to this populist backlash against these children by unlawfully locking up more of them.

• To discuss the issues raised by this piece please use this form[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/share-your-views-on-the-governments-response-to-calais-child-refugees]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Using medical information to try to pinpoint a young person’s age is folly, for both practical and ethical reasons

The use of dental X-rays to determine the age of child **refugees** has been repeatedly proposed by ministers and then dropped over the past 15 years.

Practical as well as ethical considerations show that the idea cannot work; children are not “date stamped”.

**Refugees** are treated differently if they are under 18, so there has always been a premium on trying to establish beyond doubt the precise age of an asylum seeker; and yet it has proved a “quasi-science” in the same league as measuring skulls to determine ethnicity.

Medical opinion is strong on the issue. As the Royal College of Paediatricians, the British Medical Association and Great Ormond Street Institute of Child Health have all pointed out, the tests are not accurate.

Related: Home Office rules out 'unethical' dental checks for Calais **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/home-office-rules-out-unethical-dental-checks-for-calais-refugees]

Professor Tim Cole, of Great Ormond Street, said: “If you test children around the age of 18, or three years either side, in this way, the results get one third of the ages wrong. When people are much older, say 30 or 40, it can be a lot more accurate. But if you think of puberty and what different rates children develop at, you can see how wrong these tests can be.”

Perhaps the most authoritative intervention to halt the use of such checks came in 2008, when Sir Liam Donaldson, then chief medical officer, endorsed medical and dental opposition to the use of dental X-rays to establish the age of asylum seekers. He said it was unethical to subject young people to radiation when no medical benefit was involved.

Four years later,his successor, Dame Sally Davies, forced the UK Border Agency to suspend a renewed attempt to use dental X-rays when it became clear that they had not sought ethical permission for the programme.

In 2001, the age determination tests were so rudimentary that all that some asylum seekers were asked to do was wave their hands at the Home Office caseworkers sitting behind a glass screen. They have moved on since then.

Most people understand that teenagers’ appearances vary widely

Judith Dennis, the **Refugee** Council

The Home Office says there is no single assessment technique that came come up with a precise answer. Instead, a number of factors are taken into account, including whether there is “clear and credible documentary age proving their claimed age” and that they have “a physical appearance or demeanour which does not strongly suggest they are significantly over 18 years of age”.

In borderline cases, the Merton test is employed, which involves two social workers.

Home Office guidance on the test, laid down in a high court judgment involving Merton council in 2003, says: “The decision maker must seek to elicit the general background of the applicant, including the applicant’s family circumstances and history, educational background, and the applicant’s activities during the previous few years. Ethnic and cultural information may also be important. If there is reason to doubt the applicant’s statement as to their age, the decision maker will have to make an assessment of the applicant’s credibility, and he will have to ask questions designed to test the applicant’s credibility.”

But, as Judith Dennis of the **Refugee** Council said, “It is not possible to judge how old someone is by looking at them, and most people understand that teenagers’ appearances vary widely.”

The **Refugee** Council says only half of the children under five in the developing world had their births registered. In sub-Saharan Africa, 64% of births go unregistered, and in South Asia 65% of all births go unregistered.

The home secretary, Amber Rudd, may have wrongly raised expectations about the first batch of Calais **refugees** when she said last week that children aged 12 and under would have been given priority. But the Home Office say they have confirmed that those who have come are under 18 and have every right to be in Britain.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rally planned with at least five taco trucks and a banner designed as a wall outside Trump hotel near the showdown between the Republican and Clinton

Looks like Donald Trump is getting his wall after all.

In anticipation of Wednesday’s final presidential debate , the Culinary Workers Union is building a wall of taco trucks outside Trump International Hotel, miles away from UNLV’s campus – the setting for theshowdown between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton.

The rally aims to have at least five taco trucks as well as a giant banner designed as a wall where members, organizers and participants will be able to write messages and sign their names. While approximately 400 people are expected to rally in the morning on the Las Vegas strip, the trucks will be handing out free tacos in order to support the protest. The union has been using Twitter and other social media platforms as they promote their #WallOfTacos and #TacosOnEveryCorner event, hoping to make some noise before the debate.

At Culinary Union meeting of former and current Trump workers: "bad bosses make bad presidents" pic.twitter.com/QMqVHm7Eft[https://t.co/QMqVHm7Eft] — issie lapowsky (@issielapowsky) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/issielapowsky/status/788468224341839872]

They will be joined by representatives from Plan Action, Latino Victory Project, iAmerica Action, Center for Community Change Action, For Our Future, and 50 **immigrant** advocacy activists from Los Angeles. Democrat Ruben Kihuen – who is running to represent the fourth congressional district in the House – will also speak at the rally.

“We’re protesting Donald Trump’s hotel here in Vegas, where a majority of workers voted to unionize,” said Kihuen[https://www.buzzfeed.com/adriancarrasquillo/a-union-is-building-a-wall-of-taco-trucks-outside-trumps-las?utm\_term=.om0qrDk9z#.qhPQo59m6]. “Trump has failed to sit down at the table with them.”

The relationship between labor unions and Trump has been a tumultuous one. Last December the majority of workers in Las Vegas voted and officially agreed to unionize, but Trump Hotel management has not recognized the vote and has refused to meet or discuss labour issues. Union groups across the country have lent their overwhelming support including a protest outside Trump International Hotel in Washington DC[http://www.insidesources.com/dc-unions-picket-trump-hotel/] on October 13.

On Tuesday , The Culinary Workers Union – who have endorsed Hillary Clinton – held a press conference where many members who have worked at Trump hotels expressed their frustrations and described what it’s like to be an employee for Trump without the possibility of ever bargaining their contracts. This is supported by a video that was published last month where workers expressed their anger toward Trump Hotel and Casino establishments. “We get paid three dollars an hour less and bad benefits,” said Jeff Wise, a worker at Trump Hotel Las Vegas, “so the employees got together, voted democratically to have a union. Donald Trump ignores this vote.”

The union and their partners also wanted to ensure Latinos had an opportunity to vent their frustrations before tonight’s debate. “We want to make sure our voices are heard on election day,” says Pili Tobar, communications director for the Latino Victory Project, a nonpartisan organization co-founded by Eva Longoria and Henry R Muñoz III. “There’s no way that he will make it to the White House if we have anything to do with it so we wanted to make sure we gave his campaign a proper welcome in Las Vegas.”

On Tuesday for example, Tobar’s organization - who is one of the union’s main collaborators - arranged for taco trucks to act as voter registration booths throughout Las Vegas. The Culinary Union has spent the last year registering more than 8,000 people to vote and helped more than 2,200 of its members to become American citizens this year.

After the wall rally, hundreds of **immigrants** and volunteers will attend a debate viewing party at the Culinary Union and on Thursday they will host a forum with Trump Hotel workers to elaborate what it’s like to work for the Republican nominee.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As the first child **refugees** arrive in the UK from Calais, we’d like to find out your views on the government’s response

The Home Office has ruled out calls for dental X-ray checks to verify the age of Calais **refugees** arriving in Britain[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/home-office-rules-out-unethical-dental-checks-for-calais-refugees] criticising them as “inaccurate, inappropriate and unethical”.

Related: Do you help or work with **refugees**? Share your stories[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/do-you-help-or-work-with-refugees-share-your-stories]

The official rejection of the demand from Conservative backbenchers was welcomed by the British Dental Association, which had earlier condemned the proposal as inappropriate and inaccurate.

David Davies, chairman of the Commons Welsh affairs select committee, had said dental checks or hand X-rays to check bone density should be used to check ages[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/child-refugees-dental-tests-verify-age-david-davies] and stop Britain’s hospitality being abused.

He said: “People in Britain want to help children but we don’t want to be take for a free ride either, by people who seem to have got to the front of the queue even though they clearly look in some cases a lot older than 18.”

We would like to know what you think about the government’s response. Is the number of children enough? Are you concerned that the government is taking to much time to address the pressing issue of unaccompanied children? You can share your views with us using the form below and we’ll use the most interesting in our reporting.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Legal ruling identifies risk of serious harm to returning Eritreans as MPs condemn ‘inexcusable’ delay in revising existing guidance

The Home Office will alter its much-criticised policy on Eritrean asylum seekers, after a legal ruling found that the majority of those fleeing the country risk persecution or serious harm on returning.

The ruling, which could affect thousands of Eritreans, one of the largest groups to seek asylum in Britain every year[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/publications/immigration-statistics-july-to-september-2015/asylum#nationalities-applying-for-asylum], contradicts the government’s existing country guidance, which deems it safe for migrants to return to Eritrea after leaving illegally.

Earlier this year, a report by MPs found hundreds of asylum applications from Eritreans are being incorrectly refused[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jul/28/hundreds-of-eritrea-asylum-applications-still-incorrectly-refused], owing to what was described as the government’s “unacceptable” policy on accepting **refugees** from the country. The July report by the home affairs select committee found that, in the first quarter of 2016, 86% of appeals by Eritrean asylum seekers were decided in their favour.

Related: There must be no compromise with Eritrea's tyrannical Afewerki regime[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/oct/28/eritrea-afewerki-regime-human-rights-glenys-kinnock]

An appalling human rights record, forced labour, indefinite compulsory military conscription and widespread use of torture has earned Eritrea the sobriquet “Africa’s North Korea”. Migrants from the one-party, closed state formed the largest group of people applying for asylum in the UK last year[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/publications/immigration-statistics-october-to-december-2015/summary]. The UK received a total of 3,695 applications from Eritreans in 2015, approximately one-third of which (1,319) were granted.

In the judgment this month, the upper tribunal (**immigration** and asylum) issued a new country guidance case on Eritrea, which determined that Eritreans of or approaching the draft age of 18, who had evaded national service, deserted, or were likely to be suspected of doing so, faced a “real risk of persecution or serious harm” if sent back. The tribunal rejected the argument, set out in existing Home Office guidance, that Eritreans could return safely by sending a letter of apology and paying a “diaspora tax”.

The country guidance ruling, where the tribunal lays down the approach other judges should take, was welcomed by MPs, human rights groups and **immigration**lawyers.

Stuart McDonald, a member of the home affairs select committee, said he hoped it would force the government to correct its guidance on Eritrean asylum seekers. The delay in doing so was “inexcusable”, he said.

McDonald, the Scottish National party’s spokesman on asylum and **immigration**, said: “The determination is a welcome one. It’s just very frustrating that it has taken this to force the Home Office to get its house in order.”

The **Refugee** Council’s policy manager, Judith Dennis, said: “This ruling has confirmed that the government’s treatment of Eritreans who’ve sought **refuge** here is both dangerous and unjustifiable. It’s vital that the Home Office now focuses on protecting Eritreans who’ve fled here in fear of their lives rather than putting them at further risk.”

Colin Yeo, a barrister at Garden Court chambers who specialises in **immigration**, said: “It’s been a massively wasteful and rather political decision by the Home Office. It is not only wasteful of Home Office funds but tribunal funds and legal aid funds as well as really stressful for applicants.”

Elizabeth Chyrum, director of Human Rights Concern Eritrea, said: “In short, the tribunal decided that it could not rely on Home Office policy … and that other evidence, including that provided by the UN commission of inquiry, provided a much more accurate assessment of political conditions in Eritrea.”

Related: Hundreds of Eritreans' asylum applications still 'incorrectly refused'[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jul/28/hundreds-of-eritrea-asylum-applications-still-incorrectly-refused]

The upper tribunal case was brought on behalf of three Eritreans and centred around a heavily criticised report by the Danish **Immigration**Service[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/sep/10/britain-refusing-asylum-eritreans-discredited-report], which was used to determine asylum applications in Denmark. The Home Office updated its country guidance for Eritrea in March 2015, based on the Danish report, advising that Eritreans are no longer at risk of persecution if they return home after leaving the country without official permission. The guidance is used by UK **immigration** officials to determine the legitimacy of asylum applications.

In its ruling, the tribunal appeared to suggest that not only would a letter of apology not establish a safe return, but that it could expose individuals to potential danger. Such a letter amounted to “a confession of guilt by the person who signs it”, stated the ruling, exposing returnees to what the regime might deem “appropriate punishment”.

The tribunal said: “We do not accept that the evidence goes anywhere close to establishing the payment of tax and the signing of the letter would enable draft evaders and deserters to reconcile with the Eritrean authorities.”

The case, brought by three Eritrean asylum seekers, centred on the Danish fact-finding mission on which the report was based, which has been criticised as misleading and inaccurate by the UN High Commissioner for **Refugees**[http://www.ft.dk/samling/20141/almdel/uui/bilag/41/1435206.pdf], Human Rights Watch[http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/12/17/denmark-eritrea-immigration-report-deeply-flawed] and others.

The ruling accepted that criticisms of the mission were “well made”.

Tasaddat Hussain, of Broadway House chambers, part of a legal team that represented two of the Eritreans in the case, said: “It appears that the outcome of the case is in line with what international opinion says: that nothing has changed in Eritrea.”

The ruling, which was seen by the Guardian, as well as those asked to comment on it, has now been removed from the upper tribunal’s website without explanation.

A Home Office spokesperson said: “We have noted the court’s ruling and will be updating the country guidance accordingly.

“All country information and guidance is based on a careful and objective assessment of available evidence from a range of sources including media outlets, local, national and international organisations, and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.”

Earlier this month, the Home Office removed country guidance on Eritrea from its website.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**While we rake over Clinton’s emails and Trump’s late-night tweets, climate has been the elephant in the room, leaving scientists and campaigners asking why there hasn’t been a single direct question about the crisis

Climate change has been the elephant in the room during the past two US presidential debates. Ignoring this issue would be more understandable if this metaphorical pachyderm wasn’t about to rampage the lives of Americans, causing upheaval on a scale not seen since the start of human civilization.

“I’ve been shocked at the lack of questions on climate change, it really is fiddling while the world burns,” said Kerry Emanuel, a leading climate scientist. “This is the great issue of our time and we are skirting around it. I’m just baffled by it.”

Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton have yet to face a moderator question on climate change during two debates in which time was found to grill Clinton repeatedly over her use of emails and to ask Trump about a series of late-night tweets he sent about a former Miss Universe’s sex tape. Lester Holt, the moderator of the first debate, was reportedly set to ask a climate question but ran out of time.

Wednesday’s final debate is set to retread the same ground, with debate referee Chris Wallace of Fox News planning to prod[http://www.debates.org/index.php?mact=News,cntnt01,detail,0&cntnt01articleid=71&cntnt01origid=93&cntnt01detailtemplate=newspage&cntnt01returnid=80] the candidates on **immigration**, the economy and “fitness to be president”.

Wallace has also decided to ask about “foreign hot spots”, but it appears unlikely that it will segue into talking about the diabolical heat suffered in Kuwait[http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/kuwait-swelters-record-breaking-54c-heatwave-weather-7152911.html] and India[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/20/india-records-its-hottest-day-ever-as-temperature-hits-51c-thats-1238f] this year.

“It’s like a sort of collective cowardice,” said Emanuel of the omission. Michael Mann, another prominent climate scientist, added: “One has to wonder if television networks are compromised by the millions of advertising dollars they take from fossil fuel interests.”

Should the final debate also neglect climate, the only question related to the issue across four-and-a-half hours of TV will have come from Ken Bone, he of red sweater and short-lived internet sensation, who asked about coal mining policy as the credits were preparing to roll on last week’s debate. Climate campaigners have been unable to contain their exasperation.

“Let’s be clear: a last minute question about energy doesn’t do justice to the threat of the climate crisis,” said May Boeve, executive director of climate group 350 Action shortly after the debate.

“This crisis threatens our communities, our economy, and the future for our children – we saw that threat with Hurricane Matthew just this week – yet climate change doesn’t get a single direct question in the debate.”

Hurricane Matthew[https://www.theguardian.com/world/hurricane-matthew], which resulted in more than 20 deaths, is just the latest example of an extreme event, from flooding in Louisiana[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/16/louisiana-flood-damage-recovery] to a historic drought in California[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/california-drought], that will become more common as the world warms.

This year hasn’t exactly been short of climate conversation topics – 2016 is on track to be the warmest on record[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/oct/18/2016-locked-into-being-hottest-year-on-record-nasa-says?CMP=edit\_2221], beating a mark set just in 2015. The Paris climate accord has been ratified by nations[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/07/paris-agreement-climate-change-carbon-emissions] around the world while the Obama administration has attempted to implement its Clean Power Plan in the teeth of fierce opposition from 27 states[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/sep/28/clean-power-plan-court-obama-climate-change]. Alaska barely had a winter[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/mar/24/iditarod-climate-change-sled-dogs-winter-alaska] this year while some American communities are already having to relocate due to rising seas.

Nearly two-thirds of Americans say that climate change is at least somewhat important to them personally, according tor the Yale Program on Climate Communication[http://climatecommunication.yale.edu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/publications/climate-spiral-silence-america/], although few people talk about the issue with family or friends.

Americans are broadly in favor of developing clean sources of energy but there’s a clear political divide about how to approach climate change. Polling by the Pew Research Center[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/10/10/clinton-trump-supporters-worlds-apart-on-views-of-climate-change-and-its-scientists/] shows half of Clinton’s supporters care about climate change a great deal, compared to 15% of Trump supporters.

This division is most starkly demonstrated by the candidates themselves. Clinton has talked about installing half a billion solar panels, halting oil drilling in the Arctic and, in sobering evidence of this election’s debasement, proudly told the DNC that “I believe in science”.

While some liberal Democrats are suspicious of Clinton’s climate credentials – fears were exacerbated by recent leaked emails that show[http://www.ibtimes.com/clinton-wikileaks-update-leaked-emails-show-hillary-told-climate-change-activists-get-2432359] she said those who want to shut down fossil fuels should “get a life” – the former secretary of state’s plan cannot be compared meaningfully with Trump’s.

The Republican nominee has called climate change a Chinese hoax and “bullshit”. He has promised to withdraw the US from the Paris climate deal, revive the coal industry while also expanding oil and gas drilling. He has darkly hinted at scrapping the Environmental Protection Agency and resurrecting the controversial Keystone oil pipeline.

“I wish there was a proper battle of ideas that we could judge accordingly,” said Michael Brune, executive director of the Sierra Club. Green groups have supported Clinton almost as a default position because she’s the only candidate who accepts climate science.

While Clinton and Trump differ on issues such as police shootings, **immigration** and the economy, both candidates at least accept that these things actually exist. It’s tricky to have a debate on a topic that a participant doesn’t think is real.

Trump’s denial is shared by many members of Congress, who have been lavished with $29.6m in contributions from fossil fuel companies in the 2016 election cycle, according to figures compiled by ClimateTruth.org Action[http://nofossilfuelmoney.org/].

Regardless, here are three germane, and pressing, climate change questions that Wallace could ask:

An overwhelming majority of climate scientists say that climate change is real, caused by humans and is a growing threat to our way of life. What would you do as president to tackle this clear and present danger?

All of the top 10 hottest years on record have occurred since 1998[http://www.climatecentral.org/gallery/graphics/the-10-hottest-years-on-record], the year when many climate skeptics claim that global warming somehow stopped. The world’s top scientific institutions are unequivocal[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/jan/25/record-hot-years-near-impossible-without-manmade-climate-change-study] that the burning of fossil fuels is the cause of this warming, with recent research showing this brings punishing drought[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/oct/05/climate-change-megadrought-california-global-warming], extreme weather events, poverty[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/17/climate-change-could-drive-122m-more-people-into-extreme-poverty-by-2030-un-united-nations-report] and economic stagnation[http://www.nature.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/nature/journal/v527/n7577/full/nature15725.html].

The Pentagon has said that climate change is a national security risk due to the destruction caused by rising seas and displacement of people. What would you do to prepare the US for this?

Millions of people are set to become climate **refugees**[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/en-us/climate-change-and-disasters.html] as crops fail and drinking water supplies are sullied by seawater, potentially putting the current **refugee** crisis in the shade. The Pentagon has warned[http://www.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/612710] of the potential for conflict and the need for humanitarian mobilization but the two main presidential candidates have yet to talk about this.

Rising sea levels are already causing Americans to be uprooted and whole cities to be put at long-term risk. What national plan will you put in place to ensure that areas such as New York, Virginia and Florida aren’t inundated?

Incidents of nuisance flooding have more than trebled along US coasts since the 1960s, with most coastal areas set to be inundated by 30 days or more a year by 2050[http://www.noaanews.noaa.gov/stories2014/20141218\_sealevelrise.html]. Miami Beach is spending $400m on a system of pumps to ward off the sea for just a few decades, according to its mayor. Climate change is far from an abstract concept for people in towns in Louisiana[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/mar/15/louisiana-isle-de-jean-charles-island-sea-level-resettlement] and Alaska[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/aug/16/alaska-town-shishmaref-vote-climate-change-relocation] that are being relocated due to the rising seas.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Assumed ‘special status’ for Irish citizens not guaranteed when Britain leaves the EU, says expert

The rights of Irish citizens to emigrate to Britain will need to be enshrined in law if their assumed “special status” is to continue, according to legal experts.

The Irish have more rights than other EU citizens in Britain because of the historical ties between the two countries, such as the right to vote and the right to stand for public office, including Westminster.

It has been widely assumed that this comes from the special historical links between the two countries and specifically the 1949 Ireland Act, which officially ended the country’s status as a British dominion.

But Bernard Ryan, professor of migration law at Leicester University, said this was a vague statement and if it were challenged might not have much legal value. “There is some sort of political consensus and the Ireland Act has some sort of legal aspiration, but I would not say it in itself protects the rights of the Irish,” he said.

The act was designed to treat the Irish the same as Commonwealth citizens, who in 1949 had the right to emigrate to Britain.

Irish and Commonwealth citizens were both subsequently subjected to **immigration** controls. In the case of Irish citizens, the controls never amounted to anything in practice as they were cancelled out by an exemption that came into force on the same day as the the **immigration** (control of entry through Republic of Ireland) order 1972[http://legislation.data.gov.uk/uksi/1972/1610/made/data.htm?wrap=true].

This exemption, under common travel area legislation, means that to this day there is no legal requirement to show a passport when crossing the British/Irish borders, although there are rights to deport undesirables.

Ryan is one of the few lawyers examining the unique position of Irish citizens in detail. He has been cited in a post-Brexit House of Commons briefing paper on the “special status of Irish nationals in UK law”.

He said: “The minimum needed would be some sort of political statement on **immigration** and future rights of Irish citizens. But I feel in reality something has to be written into **immigration** legislation going forward.”

The right to vote is probably the least contentious issue as it is provided for in the Representation of the People’s Act 1983 and was reciprocated by Ireland in 1984.

The chances of EU citizens settled in Britain retaining all their rights to live, work and retire in the UK after Brexit have been rated at zero by legal experts[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/13/zero-chance-eu-citizens-keep-same-rights-post-brexit-expert].

A leading barrister who specialises in international public law told a House of Lords[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/lords] panel in September that it was inconceivable that the laws would survive entirely intact.

Prof Alan Vaughan Lowe QC said this was the price millions of people – including 1.3 million Britons abroad and 3 million non-Britons living in the UK – were likely to pay for Brexit.

Such was the uncertainty surrounding negotiations and the demands of other EU states, he said, that the British government might have to consider compensation for British citizens abroad if some rights, such as access to Spanish or French healthcare, were lost.

But Lowe told the Lords’ justice subcommittee that what worried him most was the lack of knowledge about the issue at government level. “There is very little evidence of people knowing what they are trying to do,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Economics and rising intolerance mean many millennials are reconsidering their plans to work or study in the UK

It didn’t take long for Ciaran Coyle to understand what the outcome of the EU referendum meant. Just a few hours in fact.

The young Irishman was discussing the repercussions of the result outside a bar in Manchester with two others when, he says, he was spat at and assaulted. The attack left a friend, another Irishman, in hospital with a bleed on his brain.

“The only reason we can think of why anyone would do this is because he heard two Irish guys disagreeing with the outcome of the referendum,” says the young musician, who moved to Manchester in 2003 for university and came to love the city’s unique cultural buzz.

The incident has left Coyle considering a move to a “a more tolerant” part of Europe. More than three months after Britain’s Brexit vote, he is one of many Irish millennials in Britain who are beginning to reappraise their future in a country that currently attracts one in 12 Irish graduates in search of work, and is home to many Irish students.

For many, a growing unease has been compounded by this month’s Conservative party conference[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-draws-line-under-cameron-era-with-return-to-small-c-conservatism], where the mood music sounded to some Irish people like a 21st-century resurrection of the “no blacks, no Irish, no dogs” era.

Annie Hoey, president of the Union of Students in Ireland (USI), says she is starting to become aware, anecdotally, of Irish students beginning to think twice about plans to move to the UK.

“Since the vote there’s a sense that things have changed and it’s hard not to pick up on media coverage of some of the hostility from some in Britain towards EU**immigrants**, whether it is attacks or things that are being said in the workplace.”

The Irish ambassador to Britain, Dan Mulhall, says: “There are 7,000 to 8,000 Irish people, young and educated, in Canary Wharf. If you turn them into second-class citizens they will just go somewhere else.”

For others, it is not a question of choosing to move elsewhere, but of fear about their continued right to remain in the UK.

Sarah and Robin Gill run four restaurants in south and east London, including the critically acclaimed The Dairy. Originally from south Dublin, the couple have lived in Britain for more than a decade.

After the vote to leave the EU was announced, Robin says, confusion was rife among their waiters and chefs, many of whom are from outside the UK, about their status in the country. One staff member asked Robin: “Do you need to go?”

Aside from worries about legal status and the rise in anti-foreigner sentiment in Britain, the potential economic impact of Brexit may yet act as a drag on young Irish **immigration**.

This is a concern Jack Cantillon, a trainee solicitor and executive board member of the London Irish Graduate Network[http://www.londonirishgraduatenetwork.com/], has detected among his peers. “I know of some people who have been looking at various fall-back options, such as going to Canada or the US, if the economy here was to make it difficult for them to pursue their careers in the way that they wanted.”

Jane Ní Dhulchaointigh, originally from Co Kilkenny, studied at the Royal College of Art, where a bursary from the EU covered her fees. During the course she came up with the idea for Sugru, a flexible silicone that can be manipulated before it hardens and is used for fixing and augmenting everyday objects, and which has now reached yearly sales of about £5m.

She is now worried that Brexit will affect Sugru’s sales if increased regulations and border controls are introduced.

“I very much hope for the sake of London’s future creative community and creative economy that [Brexit] doesn’t result in further barriers to young creative people choosing to come here and continue to do the great things that make it such a vibrant and interesting place,” she says.

“Being so international means we found it very hard to believe that anyone could vote for Brexit, considering the world is just opening up and we are all connecting more. It is hard to believe in this day and age that people would want to close things down,” she adds.

Opposition to the leave vote is not universal among the Irish community. Catherina Casey, a prominent figure in London Irish circles who has set up the Irish in London online network, says the capital is the “most culturally rich city in the world” but describes the EU as an administrative entity that has not worked for the UK.

The vote could lead to Ireland reconsidering its position within Europe, she believes. “Obviously I am Irish and very proudly Irish but I am a parent as well. My children live in this country,” she says.

“I feel that this country needs to go back to basics a little bit and find out what it is all about and redefine itself in order that it knows what sort of relationship it will have with both Europe and the world. From an Irish perspective, Ireland and Britain will always be inextricably linked, whether Britain is in Europe or out of Europe.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As Berbera port deal opens global trade gateway, Somaliland optimistic that freedom from EU policy will allow Britain to acknowledge self-declared state

Britain’s looming departure from the EU may be a fraught issue at home, yet in one corner of the Horn of Africa hopes are harboured of a very definite Brexit[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum] dividend.

The government of Somaliland[https://www.theguardian.com/world/somaliland] believes the impending split marks a pivotal moment, one that will free the UK to grant the self-declared state the international recognition it has been seeking for more than 25 years[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/oct/21/somaliland-inspired-scotland-catalonia-independence].

“I think Brexit will make it much easier for the British government to make up its mind,” said Somaliland’s foreign minister, Dr Saad Ali Shire.

“Under the EU, all the members have to abide by the EU policy regarding Somaliland. Britain did not have much leeway to make up its own mind. Being out of the EU [means] they can do whatever they want. I think it’s good for us. I think they will have the flexibility in their foreign policy.”

Related: Somaliland inspired by Scotland and Catalonia independence campaigns[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/oct/21/somaliland-inspired-scotland-catalonia-independence]

Shire’s comments come at a potentially transformative moment not just for the former British protectorate but also for the wider east African region, after one of the world’s largest port operators announced a 30-year concession to manage and develop Somaliland’s Berbera port[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2012/jul/27/berbera-port-pastoralism-livestock-somaliland].

The $442m (£360m) deal between DP World and Somaliland[http://gulfnews.com/business/sectors/shipping/dp-world-signs-442m-joint-venture-with-somaliland-1.1825624] – which has long sought deep-pocketed investors to modernise the port and exploit its offer of a free trade zone around Berbera – heralds a new gateway for trade between east Africa and the rest of the world.

Ethiopia, Somaliland’s landlocked neighbour and one of the world’s fastest growing economies, is particularly likely to feel the benefit. The deal gives Ethiopia and DP World a potential alternative to the dominant Red Sea port in Djibouti, the government of which has been engaged in a legal wrangle with the Dubai-based firm in relation to its concessions there.

The government of Somaliland regards the Berbera port project as crucial to the diversification of its largely pastoral economy.

At present, the natural deepwater port is capable of handling 60,000 6.1-metre (20ft) containers annually. The new scheme is expected to increase capacity to 1.2m containers a year, attracting more shipping lines to east Africa.

Work on the port, developed by the Soviet Union during the cold war, is expected to be completed in 2019. “The main impact of the extension is the confidence it gives to international investors,” said Shire. “A lot of other people were on the sidelines and had not made up their minds about whether or not to invest in a country that was not recognised. I think it will boost the investment climate and encourage others to come in.”

Catalysts for economic development are a priority in Somaliland, which is struggling with the twin challenges of climate change[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/nov/23/somaliland-climate-change-drought-cyclones-life-or-death-challenge] and the recent arrival of large numbers of **refugees** escaping Yemen’s civil war[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/22/yemeni-refugees-flee-somaliland-saudi-air-strikes]. Among the **refugees** are Somalis returning after fleeing in the opposite direction. The UN high commissioner for **refugees**, UNHCR, puts the figure at more than 9,500[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/latest/2016/1/569380ee6/lone-children-fleeing-war-yemen-seek-safety-somaliland.html], although many more may be unregistered.

“The foundation of our economy is livestock, but unfortunately the conditions are changing. The rains are smaller. We don’t know when they are going to come, and also we have more frequent droughts. Now we have one every one or two years,” said Shire.

“We have to provide assistance to the people affected by the drought, so that will reduce our resources available to support the **refugees** from Yemen – so we really need immediate assistance with the drought and the **refugees**.”

The UK, which has hosted a series of talks[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/topical-events/somalia-conference-2013] aimed at repairing relations between Somaliland and Somalia, has been reluctant to endorse Somaliland’s quest for recognition.

A spokesperson for the Foreign Office said: “It is for Somalia and Somaliland to decide their future, and for regional neighbours to take the lead in recognising any new arrangements.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Poor weather and complex regional politics mean it will take two weeks to reach the city says Gen Sirwan Barzani

Iraqi forces advancing on Mosul could take two weeks to reach the city and two months to liberate it from Islamic State (Isis) control, a general involved in the battle has said.

Sirwan Barzani, a brigadier general of Iraqi Kurdish peshmerga forces told CNN[http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/18/middleeast/mosul-isis-operation-iraq/] that bad weather could prolong the battle yet further.

Related: Battle for Mosul: 'This is going to take a long time – Isis won't give up'[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/18/battle-for-mosul-day-two-isis-iraqi-kurdish]

The general made his assessment on the second full day of the battle, as peshmerga forces approached village by village across the Nineveh plain from the east, and regular Iraqi army units and some Shia militias advanced along the highway from Baghdad in the south.

President Obama warned of a gruelling campaign ahead.

“I’m confident that we can succeed, although it’s going to be a tough fight and a difficult fight,” the president said at a joint press conference in Washington with the Italian prime minister, Matteo Renzi. “It is Iraqis who are doing the fighting. And they are performing effectively and bravely, and taking on significant casualties. There will be ups and downs in this process, but my expectation is that ultimately it will be successful.”

In his interview, Gen Barzani said: “My expectation is two months for the fight inside Mosul, but weather is one of the factors that can delay the process.”

He said that it would take the advancing troops two weeks just to reach Mosul, but noted an agreement with the Iraqi central government in Baghdad that peshmerga forces will not enter the city to take on Isis in the streets. That will be left to the regular army, federal police and Sunni tribal militias.

The same prohibition on entering Mosul also applies to Shia militias, known as the Popular Mobilisation Units (PMU’s) or Hashd al-Shaabi. Their deputy commander, Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis, said on Tuesday, however, that his forces would fight to the west of Mosul for the town of Tal Afar.

In interviews with the Guardian[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/anyone-who-flees-is-shot-dead-mosul-locals-trapped-as-isis-digs-in-for-fight], residents of the multi-ethnic city said one of their principal fears if and when Isis was defeated was that Shia forces, responsible for past sectarian atrocities, would carry out reprisal killings against Sunnis.

On Wednesday the Office of the UN High Commissioner for **Refugees** told the BBC that 900 people had fled Mosul and crossed into Syria – the first large group of civilians confirmed to have escaped since the military began. Aid agencies believe a mass exodus of about 1.3 million from the city and its surroundings could take place as soon as forces enter.

As the flow of those fleeing Mosul intensifies, Isis members are widely expected to try to hide among **refugees**. Some civilians in Mosul say they have already seen militants abandoning their checkpoints and trying to mix with the population.

There are also fears that Isis will use use civilians who stay in the city as human shields. There have been reports of militants preventing people from leaving the city and directing them towards buildings that might be targeted in airstrikes.

In a further illustration of the complicated regional politics likely to dog Mosul’s future, Turkey’s president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, invoked a century-old Ottoman manifesto, the Misak-i Millî (National Oath), to bolster his country’s claims on Mosul.

Erdogan told an international law conference in Istanbul that those who doubt Turkey’s claims should read the Misak-i Millî and understand what the place means to us” according to the Kurdish news agency Kurdistan24[http://www.kurdistan24.net/en/news/1e9e370c-0585-4aaf-b6dd-ebccb92ca93f/erdogan-invokes-document-that-claims-mosul-as-turkish-soil].

Turkish involvement in the battle for northern Iraq and in particular its military presence in Bashiqa, 10 miles north of Mosul, where it has trained Sunni militias, has infuriated the Iraqi government of Haider al-Abadi.

Related: Europeans must get ready for jihadis fleeing Mosul, says EU security expert[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/18/europeans-must-get-ready-for-jihadis-fleeing-mosul-says-eu-security-expert]

“They say Turkey should not enter Mosul. Come on! How do I not enter? I have a 350 kilometres [217 miles]-long border with Iraq. And I am under threat from that border,” Erdogan said.“They tell us to withdraw from Bashiqa. Nobody should expect us to do so.”

The US defence secretary, Ash Carter, is due to visit Turkey on Friday[http://www.defensenews.com/articles/as-mosul-operations-begin-carter-to-visit-region], in a bid to soothe tensions between US allies in what Washington sees as the most decisive battle against Isis.

There are 18,000 Iraqi army troops involved in the offensive and about 10,000 Kurdish peshmerga, against an estimated 5,000 Isis fighters thought to be inside Mosul city and its outskirts. Of the 5,000 US military personnel in Iraq, only about 100 are near the frontlines, advising Kurdish and Iraqi army units and helping target air strikes, the Pentagon said on Tuesday. A spokesman said that four US air strikes were carried out on targets inside Mosul on Monday.

Additional reporting by Fazel Hawramy

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A space for our readers to talk about articles of the day in the Opinion section – with input from the writer below the line Join us below the line to take part in a discussion from 10am-2pm

Welcome to our space – open every Wednesday from 10am – for discussing the day’s Opinion articles. This week we’d like to begin by discussion two articles, both political.

First is Aditya Chakrabortty[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/adityachakrabortty] on globalisation and the impact this is having on the poorest. He says globalisation is about protecting big business – as can be seen from the TTIP and Ceta deals – against the public. No wonder voters in the US and Europe are turning to populists, Aditya argues.

I heartily agree that Nigel Farage and Trump are grotesques. But the free-traders peddle their own untruths. They have insisted that black is white, even as the voters beg to differ. In their seminar rooms, their TV studios and their Geneva offices, they have perpetrated the ideological sleight of hand that equates internationalism with free trade, and globalisation with untrammelled corporate power. The result has been misery for workers from Bolton to Baltimore to Bangladesh. But it has also left the six-figure technocrats who supervise our economic system pushing a zombie idea. Because that is what free trade has become: an idea leached of life and meaning but stumbling on for want of any replacement. We have a globalisation for bankers, but not for children fleeing the bombs of Syria. Security for investors but not for workers.

Read the full article here[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/19/free-trade-broken-idea-elites-deals-ceta-ttip-economic]

What do you think? Is globalisation about protecting big businesses? Do we need an alternative? What is it?

In terms of the impact of globalisation, we also have an interesting look at Brexit – with **immigration** a main factor in how people voted – and what the demise of Ukip means for the Conservative party. Rafael Behr asks: with the party seemingly moving to the right what will happen to the Tories on the left? Is there an opportunity for Labour to grasp some of this contingent?

It cannot be said that the Conservative remainers are entirely vanquished, but they are disoriented and leaderless. So it is not surprising that they are finding a degree of fellowship with **refugee** MPs of a New Labour[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/labour] disposition who are benighted in a haze of their own. They were not strangers. Some hatchets were buried on the campaign trail in pursuit of a remain vote. But now there is an emerging sympathy in shared **alienation**, as each side sees its party captured by an agenda hatched on their respective fringes.

Read the full article here[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/19/coalition-liberal-brexit-tory-remainers-labour]

What do you think? What will remainers do now? With the demise of Ukip, will the Tories become more rightwing?

\* Aditya will be joining us below the line at 11am to discuss his article. Post your questions now.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Unionists who voted remain reject any notion of Irish reunification, but could the ramifications of an EU exit change that?

When Britain voted for Brexit, a strange thing happened in North Down, an affluent, unionist-dominated area of Northern Ireland with a strong sense of British identity.

As the results came in it became clear North Down had other affinities: European. The area voted in favour of staying in the EU, as the majority of people in Northern Ireland did.

The outcome of June’s referendum triggered a summer of speculation. Had attitudes changed? If unionists saw EU membership as important, might they reconsider their ancient hostility to reunification with Ireland?

Some asked if there should be a “border poll”, a referendum on whether Northern Ireland should stay in the UK or join the Irish Republic. Others feared a push by Scotland towards independence[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/30/no-real-shift-towards-scottish-independence-since-brexit-vote-poll] could fatally undermine unionist confidence in the unity of the UK.

But passions quickly cooled. Politicians, among them Bertie Ahern, the former Irish prime minister, said the time wasn’t right for a reunification vote.

Related: Irish Republic signals support for UK plan to avoid post-Brexit 'hard border'[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/10/idea-of-uk-border-controls-in-ireland-is-ridiculous-says-irish-mep-matt-carty]

In unionist strongholds voters stress that pro-remain is not the same as a pro-reunification. Even diehard loyalists say they are opposed to any “hard border” with the Irish Republic post-Brexit.

In the North Down seaside town of Bangor, at her home overlooking the mouth of Belfast Lough towards the Irish Sea beyond, remain voter Jill McGimpsey says she never once thought about giving up on the UK even after the Brexit vote.

“The reason I voted to remain was because of all the economic warnings over a possible downturn in business if we left the EU,” says the 56-year-old estate agent. “For me that meant the impact on the local housing market and fear that it would be adversely affected.

“I never thought for one minute after the UK overall voted for Brexit that I would change my mind about Northern Ireland’s constitutional status. Brexit was and is irrelevant when it comes to my Britishness.”

She and her pro-Brexit neighbour Carl McLean stress that they are opposed to a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic – the UK’s only land frontier with an EU state.

McLean, who has just returned from Brussels on business, says: “Unionists as well as nationalists enjoy the benefits of an invisible border and cross-border cooperation. We don’t want to be stopped at checkpoints or have our vehicles held up at customs posts.

“It might come as a surprise to some people on the mainland but we unionists like travelling and doing business down south in the republic. Many of us commute there on a daily basis, spend weekend breaks in the south and watch Ireland in the rugby internationals in Dublin. We would hate a hard border as much as any nationalist would.”

For many unionists with links to Scotland, the big Brexit fear is that it might prompt a second referendum resulting in Scottish secession from the UK, leaving Northern Ireland in an odd rump state comprising England and Wales.

In the staunch unionist constituency of Lagan Valley, Scotland is on the minds of two loyalists who belong to Orange flute bands in the town of Lisburn.

“My sister works in a big bank in Edinburgh and was like many people in the Scottish financial sector very worried about the impact of Brexit and how jobs might be lost if the UK voted out,” says Graham Kenny. “She convinced me to vote for remain.

“There was also the worry about Brexit pushing the Scots towards another referendum vote. Given the family, cultural, political and social ties between Northern Ireland and Scotland the last thing I wanted was to see the Scots walk away from the other union.”

The 43-year-old, who is a member of the Ulster Political Research Group, the party that grew out of the loyalist paramilitary Ulster Defence Association, adds: “Even if Scotland walked away from the UK, which I think is not going to happen now, Brexit would never push me towards supporting a united Ireland. Our unionism is rock solid.”

His friend and fellow loyalist bandsman Gareth Walker voted for Brexit.

Walker says: “I work on a community project here in Lisburn that integrates **immigrants** into our community. We work on the Old Warren housing estate to ensure our large Polish population feel welcome and fully integrated with the locals. In the past we have had lectures and films teaching our young people about how Polish pilots fought in the Battle of Britain to save our country. So for me voting for Brexit was never about being anti-**immigration**. It was about taking control of our own affairs and not being bossed about by Brussels.”

Walker says he too is opposed to any hard border with the Irish Republic.

I don't think anyone should go off floating other ideas but keep strictly to the Good Friday agreement

Bertie Ahern

“I try to follow the Northern Ireland football team everywhere around Europe and often that means driving to Dublin airport to get to games abroad. I love the idea of no restrictions on the way down and I like visiting Dublin too. I have made friends with Republic of Ireland fans from the south at the airport on our way to games including Euro 2016 in France.

“I want those good relations north and south to continue even though, Brexit or no Brexit, I am still British.”

A BBC poll in September[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-37309706] found that eight out of 10 people in a survey of 1,000 voters said Brexit would not change their views on the union with Britain or a united Ireland. The same poll said 63% would still back remaining within the UK. A majority in the poll – 52% – were opposed to holding a border poll on Irish unity.

Among those who oppose a border poll is Ahern[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/04/bertie-ahern-uk-reimpose-irish-border-after-brexit-eu-northern-ireland], the three times Irish taoiseach and Tony Blair’s key ally in the negotiations leading up to the 1998 Good Friday agreement.

He said: “Nobody should be talking about border polls. Border polls should only come into account when there is a realistic opportunity down the road, when I’ll be probably long gone, when there is a realistic chance of one succeeding.”

Ahern, who built up a deep friendship with the late Rev Ian Paisley in the discussions leading to the establishment of a devolved power sharing government in 2007, said any all-Ireland negotiations about Brexit’s impact should be only under the institutions set up via the Good Friday agreement.

“That should almost be the gospel. So I don’t think anyone should go off floating other ideas but keep strictly to that agreement which was underpinned by the European Union and is a recognised international treaty.”

Additional reporting by Stephen Collins, political editor, the Irish Times

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Each side has seen its party captured by a fringe agenda. But shared despair is not enough to bring about a political renaissance

The choice of new MP for the Oxfordshire seat of Witney in a byelection on Thursday wipes one of the last traces of David Cameron from the surface of British politics. The Conservative candidate will win[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/witney-byelection-hard-brexit-may-be-key-issue-in-camerons-former-constituency]. Polite tribute will be paid to his predecessor, whose portrait will be quietly taken down. With stunning speed, the man who led the Tories for a decade has become just somebody that they used to know.

Related: Parliament 'very likely' to be asked to agree Brexit deal[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/18/parliament-very-likely-to-be-asked-to-agree-brexit-deal]

Perversely Ukip, which played a significant role in the former prime minister’s political demise, looks bereft[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/ukip-mep-steven-woolfe-quits-party], suffering the loss of a treasured enemy. Nigel Farage’s career tracked the rise and fall of the Notting Hill brand of liberal Conservatism that was espoused (but not always practised) by Cameron’s ruling clique.

It was Cameron who dismissed the Kipper tendency in his own ranks as “ fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists[http://news.bbc.co.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/1/hi/uk\_politics/4875502.stm] ”, who amplified public anxiety about **immigration** without identifying a solution, who acquiesced to demands for an EU referendum and then botched the campaign. He fed Ukip as much culture-war grievance as it could swallow, then unwittingly cooked up a Brexit pudding so rich that the party struggles to digest its own victory.

Ukip is now in a “death spiral”, according to Stephen Woolfe[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/senior-ukip-figures-back-paul-nuttall-for-leadership-after-steven-woolfe-storm], the **immigration** spokesman who earlier this week resigned from his party. He may be right; he may have spoken prematurely. For a party in total disarray, Ukip’s poll rating is holding up pretty well.

But it does feel as if Farage’s reactionary parade and Cameron’s Tory “modernisation” project were bound in political symbiosis, each defined by the opposing force. The decline of one diminishes the other.

In that sense, Ukip’s rolling leadership crisis is the extra-parliamentary twin to the malaise afflicting the rump of pro-European Tories inside the Commons. Cameron-era liberals and Faragist reactionaries are both stumbling around the same strange new landscape, their familiar landmarks cast into darkness by the sudden all-eclipsing rise of Theresa May: a prime minster committed to Brexit but maddeningly inscrutable when it comes to the terms.

It cannot be said that the Conservative remainers are entirely vanquished, but they are disoriented and leaderless. So it is not surprising that they are finding a degree of fellowship with **refugee** MPs of a New Labour disposition who are benighted in a haze of their own. They were not strangers. Some hatchets were buried on the campaign trail in pursuit of a remain vote. But now there is an emerging sympathy in shared **alienation**, as each side sees its party captured by an agenda hatched on their respective fringes.

The Commons tearooms have always hosted cross-party friendships, but they tend to stay hidden behind the wall of tribal antagonism that MPs display to the public. After Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership election victory last year, Tory MPs encountered new candour in Labour counterparts feeling besieged by a radical left movement that targeted them as fifth columnists. Conversations that used to dwell on parliamentary gossip turned into something more like political trauma counselling.

Then came the referendum, and the horror that some Tory liberals felt watching Eurosceptic colleagues cast off the robes of moderation and economic prudence to splash around in murky pools of xenophobic populism. The experience of fighting a campaign with most of Fleet Street lined up on the other side also gave pro-EU Conservatives a salutary taste of what it feels like to have reasonable arguments incinerated in flames of hysterical press partisanship (a familiar sensation on the left). A common purpose in rehabilitating evidence-based centrism was born.

There is a Commons majority for a softer style of Brexit, but any alliance to check the hardliners is in its infancy

That is how the government was forced last week to accept a Labour motion demanding that parliament debate the terms of exit from the EU[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/theresa-may-accepts-need-for-brexit-debate-in-parliament]. There was no back-channel plot. Keir Starmer, shadow Brexit secretary, launched a tentative foray and found a platoon of eager Tories at his side. The Conservative whips defused the situation with a face-saving amendment asserting that the referendum mandate must be respected.

The Tory rebellion was partly a spontaneous reaction against the mood at the party’s conference the previous week, where “hard” Brexiteers had set the tone. It felt, according to one former minister, “as if the party was high on amphetamines” in Birmingham, speeding towards disaster, and needed to come down to earth.

That alarm blended with simmering resentment at the way allies of Cameron and George Osborne were culled and their legacy trashed in the first days of May’s reign. Downing Street pulled its punches in the referendum campaign, vetoing personal attacks on Brexit-backing ministers in the hope of facilitating post-combat reconciliation. But the leavers observed no such Geneva conventions. Despite May’s own notional remainer allegiance, the new era started with executions of the deposed king’s officers. That massacre has not been forgotten.

There is a Commons majority for a softer style of Brexit, but any alliance to check the hardliners is in its fragile infancy. The referendum result is an irrefutable rebuke to the remainers. They lost the vote. They lost the argument.

The fact that Tory and Labour moderates have also lost influence in their parties gives cause for common despair. But there is no obvious mechanism for turning the sympathy they feel for each other into a political renaissance in the country. Throw in all the Lib Dems and you still have a coalition of losers. Nick Clegg and Ed Miliband[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/oct/10/ed-miliband-mps-parliamentary-vote-brexit-terms-video] made impressive, forensically argued speeches in last week’s debate. But they are commentators, not commanders.

It is hard to dispel the pall of decline over the once-mighty liberal centre that cratered when Cameron fell. Its despondent champions wear the faded colours of an ancien regime. They may still claim to represent tens of millions of voters, but they don’t know how to organise their people, nor are they clear about what they are organising around. They see terrible social and economic turbulence ahead if Britain crashes chaotically out of Europe. They fear for the future, and with good reason. But it is hard to win a battle over tomorrow still dressed in mourning for yesterday.

• You can comment on this article and others on our Your Opinions thread, which opens every Wednesday at 10am

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**What has triggered the row that is splitting the Coalition? Plus four other questions about Australia’s gun control laws

Gun control in Australia has been thrust into the political spotlight once again as reports emerge that Malcolm Turnbull may be willing to consider relaxing Australia’s firearms laws.

The reports appear to focus on softening restrictions on lever-action shotguns in exchange for support from the Liberal Democrat senator David Leyonhjelm[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/19/coalition-splits-over-adler-shotgun-ban-as-one-nation-calls-for-softening-of-firearm-control] to pass industrial relations legislation.

Related: Coalition splits over Adler shotgun ban as One Nation calls for 'softening' of firearm control[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/19/coalition-splits-over-adler-shotgun-ban-as-one-nation-calls-for-softening-of-firearm-control]

National firearms laws created after the Port Arthur massacre[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/15/it-took-one-massacre-how-australia-made-gun-control-happen-after-port-arthur] in 1996 set out how weapons can be used and imported, in collaboration with federal, state and territory governments.

Here are five questions about Australia’s gun laws you need to know the answers to.

1. What’s the big deal about lever-action shotguns? There’s a lot of attention on the Adler lever-action shotgun but the issue is far bigger than that. Gun control groups – as well as police and law enforcement agencies – have raised concerns about the categorisation of all lever-action shotguns as “category A”. This is the most common type of licence that Australian gun owners can obtain; there are more than 700,000 category A licence holders across the country.

By way of contrast, pump-action shotguns are listed as “category C” firearms. It is more difficult for gun owners to obtain these types of firearms, and there are greater restrictions on their use. Some firearms in this category are entirely restricted outside of specific military purposes.

Despite their relatively low categorisation, lever-action shotguns can still fire extremely rapidly, which has been a issue of concern. Here’s one illustration from Arnold Schwarzenegger in Terminator 2. In this (over-the-top) footage, Schwarzenegger is firing a Marushin M1887 lever-action shotgun.

The debate about categorisation is being canvassed in the upcoming national firearms review, which is due to be completed this year.

2. What has triggered the row? The federal government issued an import ban on all lever-action shotguns[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/aug/28/after-20-years-australias-gun-control-debate-is-igniting-once-again] with a firing capacity of more than five rounds. The justice minister, Michael Keenan, announced the temporary ban in 2015. Keenan said it had been introduced because “the government was concerned that a significant number of high-capacity lever-action shotguns were shortly due to be imported into Australia”. This was in part a reference to the new Adler A-110, a model with a higher capacity magazine.

In August 2016 the government decided to extend the ban[https://www.ministerjustice.gov.au/Mediareleases/Pages/2016/ThirdQuarter/Lever-action-shotguns-import-ban.aspx], pending the outcome of the national firearms review later in the year.

3. Why were people unhappy with the ban? The decision annoyed a lot of people for a lot of different reasons. The gun lobby was furious that all types of lever-actions weapons were subject to an import ban. Gun-friendly politicians such as Lleyonhjelm and some Nationals party members[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/19/adler-shotgun-new-south-wales-deputy-premier-backs-lifting-ban-on-imports] have opposed it.

On the other side of the fence, gun control groups see the ban as largely ineffective. This is because the Adler and other lever-action shotguns can be easily extended to increase their magazine capacity. For instance, an Adler with a five-cartridge magazine can be extended to hold 10 cartridges “with a simply DIY kit”, according to Gun Control Australia’s Samantha Lee. And Adler seven-shot rifles can be modified down to five-shot magazines to meet the import criteria. Various online gun outlets in Australia offer cheap and easy extension kits[https://shop.iceng.com.au/collections/magazine-extension-kits] that would allow a person to legally import a firearm and then extend its magazine’s capacity.

4. Who has the power to restrict gun imports in Australia? The power rests with the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton. To enforce the lever-action shotgun moratorium, he introduced a regulation amending the customs (prohibited imports) regulations 1956[https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/F2015L01233]. This added to the prohibition list “a lever-action shotgun fitted with a firearm magazine having a capacity of more than five rounds”.

Related: It took one massacre: how Australia embraced gun control after Port Arthur[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/15/it-took-one-massacre-how-australia-made-gun-control-happen-after-port-arthur]

But how lever-action shotguns are categorised is a separate issue. National laws that restrict the use of firearms have been made in agreement with the states and territories. The categorisation of weapons can essentially be changed only when all the states and territories agree.

5. Does the federal government have the power to weaken gun control laws? The government could easily lift the import ban on lever-action shotguns. The **immigration** minister could simply repeal the regulation.

This wouldn’t change the broader gun control framework in Australia. To change the categories of weapons, or make changes to laws surrounding the use of or tests for firearms, would require that the changes be made by the states and territories.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Leave is pitted against remain in Labour’s race to chair powerful commitee of MPs, with result due on Wednesday afternoon

The contest to chair a powerful committee of MPs which will scrutinise the government’s Brexit deal will be a two-horse race between Labour’s former shadow foreign minister Hilary Benn , who is pro-remain, and the prominent leave campaigner Kate Hoey .

Benn, who campaigned vigorously for remaining in the EU , was backed to chair the Exiting the European Union select committee by the former Labour leader Ed Miliband and other senior colleagues, including Angela Eagle , Dan Jarvis and Andy Burnham .

Benn also has support from the pro-EU Tories Anna Soubry and Andrew Mitchell, as well as Sarah Wollaston, who changed her mind to back remain [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/09/dr-sarah-wollaston-defects-vote-leave-remain-campaign] in the late stages of the referendum campaign.

Hoey, a long-time vocal advocate for leaving the EU , joined Ukip leader Nigel Farage’s Leave.EU group to make the “left-wing case” for exiting. The MP for Vauxhall, south London, counts both leave and remain-backing MPs among her supporters, including the Labour Brexiters John Mann, Frank Field and Gisela Stuart, the Tory leave supporter Theresa Villiers , and the pro-remain former SNP leader Alex Salmond [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/alexsalmond].

Benn said he believed that the referendum decision had to be implemented and said he would seek to scrutinise and offer advice to the government. “Our aim should be to minimise the risks and uncertainty for business, protect the things that the British people value and make the most of the opportunities,” he said.

Related: Brexit: cross-party MPs renew calls for parliamentary scrutiny [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/15/brexit-cross-party-mps-renew-calls-for-parliamentary-scrutiny]

Hoey said: “I campaigned passionately for a leave vote, and agree that those of us who did so have a particular responsibility to make a success of it. I am putting myself forward as chair of this new committee because I want to be a constructive part of making this work.”

Only Labour MPs were eligible to stand for the committee chairmanship, which scrutinises David Davis ’s department. A separate international trade select committee to examine Liam Fox ’s department has been assigned an SNP chair, with Angus MacNeil standing unopposed.

MPs will vote for their preferred candidate on Wednesday morning, with results announced that afternoon.

Other key committee positions are also being elected, with four Labour MPs competing to replace Keith Vaz as chair of the home affairs select committee. All four are former members of the shadow cabinet: Yvette Cooper , Chuka Umunna [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/chuka-umunna] and Caroline Flint [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/caroline-flint] under Ed Miliband , and Paul Flynn under Jeremy Corbyn .

Cooper, who is backed by MPs including Harriet Harman and Dominic Grieve, said there were key Brexit issues for the committee to scrutinise, including security co-operation, cross-border policing and **immigration**.

Umunna, already a member of the committee and backed by committee colleague Naz Shah , as well as the former Lib Dem leader Nick Clegg , also said Brexit would be a focus, and said he had spent time visiting Boston in Lincolnshire, talking to people in the area which recorded the highest leave vote, as well as in his own constituency of Lambeth which notched up the highest remain vote.

Flint, who was a home office minister in the Labour government, has been nominated by a number of former shadow ministers including Angela Eagle , Mary Creagh and Liz Kendall . In a statement, Flint said she wanted to take a rigorous look at **immigration** policy as chair. “Good policy must reflect the variety of experiences from Cornwall to Caithness or Conwy, not simply the loudest voices or most powerful interests,” she said.

Of the four, only Flynn has served under the current Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn . The MP said he had “an apprenticeship of 29 years serving on select committees” and boasts support from the left of his party, including chief whip Nick Smith, shadow justice secretary Richard Burgon and shadow business secretary Clive Lewis .

Five Tory MPs are competing to chair the science and technology committee: Victoria Borwick, Stephen Metcalfe , Dan Poulter , Derek Thomas and Matt Warman .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of the day’s political developments as they happenAfternoon summary

block-time published-time 5.46pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* Theresa May will not hold the final vote on airport expansion for more than a year to allow for public debate, with cabinet ministers such as Boris Johnson and Justine Greening allowed to express opposition if Heathrow is the chosen option. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/18/airport-expansion-vote-put-on-hold-for-more-than-a-year-by-theresa-may] As Rowena Mason reports, the prime minister wrote to cabinet colleagues on Tuesday saying the government’s decision on whether to back airport expansion at Heathrow or Gatwick would be taken by a cabinet committee before the end of the month. She said any cabinet minister with longstanding opposition to the chosen option will be permitted to dissent publicly on behalf of their constituents [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/18/heathrow-or-gatwick-airport-expansion-to-be-decided-next-week], without campaigning against the government or speaking against it in parliament. At Westminster MPs were expecting the key vote on airport expansion to come this autumn, and the news has prompted speculation about why May appears to have postponed the Commons decision. One theory is that she wants to avoid Zac Goldsmith, the Conservative MP, resigning and triggering a byelection in Richmond Park, as he has threatened to do if Heathrow goes ahead. Today the Evening Standard reports that local Conservatives would back Goldsmith, [http://www.standard.co.uk/news/transport/tories-in-revolt-over-heathrow-a3372236.html] as would Tania Mathias, the Tory MP for the neighbouring constituency, Twickenham.

\* The Treasury has cancelled plans to let people sell their pension annuities. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/government-cancels-plans-to-create-a-market-for-secondary-annuities]

\* A member of the independent inquiry into child sexual abuse panel has said she went to the Home Office with concerns about the then chair, Dame Lowell Goddard, in April, months before the Home Office said it was aware of the reservations surrounding her. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/18/child-abuse-inquiry-insider-told-home-office-lowell-goddard-concerns-april]

\* Parliament is “very likely” to be asked to ratify any future treaty agreement with the European Union, the high court has been told by lawyers for the government. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/18/parliament-very-likely-to-be-asked-to-agree-brexit-deal] As Owen Bowcott reports, the suggestion that MPs might ultimately be able to exert some control over the final Brexit settlement prompted the pound to surge immediately against the dollar in exchange markets. Details of parliament’s potential role emerged during the third day of a legal challenge over whether ministers or MPs have the power to give formal notification to Brussels that Britain is withdrawing under article 50 of the treaty on the European Union [https://www.theguardian.com/world/eu].

\* The Institute for Fiscal Studies has said that 11.5m families set to lose an extra £100 a year from the government’s benefits freeze because of post-Brexit inflation. (See 1.19pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/18/hague-calls-for-bank-of-england-and-other-central-banks-to-raise-interest-rates-or-lose-independence-politics-live?page=with:block-580606dde4b055209adaebfa#block-580606dde4b055209adaebfa] has said that 11.5m families set to lose an extra £100 a year from the government’s benefits freeze because of post-Brexit inflation. (See

\* The Treasury blocked other government departments from charging diesel cars to enter towns and cities blighted by air pollution, documents revealed during a high court hearing on Tuesday [https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/oct/18/treasury-blocked-moves-to-charge-diesel-cars-to-enter-polluted-uk-cities].

\* One of the MPs behind a damning report on Sir Philip Green’s handling of BHS has dismissed criticism of their work by the peer’s lawyers as an attempt to “wiggle off the hook for his responsibilities”. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/18/sir-philip-green-criticises-mps-report-bhs-collapse]

\* The former foreign secretary William Hague has warned the Bank of England that public anger about the impact on savers of low interest rates is rising and could lead to a revolt that threatens its independence. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/18/william-hague-interest-rates-savers-revolt-bank-england]

\* Jeremy Corbyn has announced more appointments to his frontbench team nearly two weeks after starting the reshuffle. As the Press Association reports, Andy Slaughter and Steve Reed , who were among the 63 shadow ministers who walked out in June, have agreed to serve the Labour leader. Slaughter becomes shadow minister for housing and London while Reed becomes shadow civil society minister. Serving under chief whip Nick Brown to enforce party discipline are Thangam Debbonaire, Nick Smith, Chris Elmore, Karl Turner , Alan Campbell , Mark Tami , Jessica Morden , Judith Cummins , Vicky Foxcroft , Jeff Smith and Nic Dakin.

Shadow international trade secretary Barry Gardiner is given additional responsibility for international climate change and Bill Esterson, shadow minister for business, energy and industrial strategy, also takes on the international trade brief.

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.49pm BST

block-time published-time 5.18pm BST

Treasury abandons plan to let people sell their pension annuities The government has made a second big announcement this afternoon. A key element of the coalition’s pension reforms has been abandoned, the Press Association reports.

Plans to allow people to be able to sell on their retirement annuities on have been scrapped by the government because consumers could not be guaranteed that they would get good value for money.

Due to be launched in April 2017, the planned changes would have freed up people to sell their annuity income if they want to, without tax restrictions that currently apply, as long as their annuity provider agreed.

But the Treasury said that after speaking to the industry, regulators and consumer groups, it had decided not to take forward the plans - saying it was not willing to allow a market to develop which could produce poor outcomes for consumers, such as receiving poor value for their annuity income and suffering higher costs.

block-time published-time 4.59pm BST

Here is some more Twitter comment on the airports expansion letter released by Number 10.

From the Telegraph’s James Kirkup

enltrSo Boris, Justine etc can speak vs Heathrow expansion but still banned from "actively campaigning" against; and can't speak in HoC. Huh?

— James Kirkup (@jameskirkup) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jameskirkup/status/788405882560405505]From the Independent’s John Rentoul

enltrObservations: 1. "Official Sensitive" means "on Twitter ". 2. Option of "no expansion" ruled out. 3. Heathrow 3rd runway will never be built.

— John Rentoul (@JohnRentoul) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JohnRentoul/status/788406251201957888]From Sky ’s Faisal Islam

enltrNot right to say that the Heathrow decision delayed by a year - National Policy Statement was always going to take a year...

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/788407998536450048]enltr-- we might not though get what would have been a quick political vote behind likely Heathrow expansion - that does help avoid a by election

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/788409398863466500]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.00pm BST

block-time published-time 4.52pm BST

Here is Sky ’s Faisal Islam on the Number 10 letter about airport expansion.

enltrPM's letter to all ministers suspending collective responsibility on Heathrow: no vote for at least a year until NAtional Planning Statement pic.twitter.com/ELFkp3CEll [https://t.co/ELFkp3CEll]

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/788404095405162497]enltrBut that means Heathrow will get go ahead and then some ministers "not expected publicly to advocate Government collective position"

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/788404675284443136]block-time published-time 4.42pm BST

Key airport expansion vote to be put off for at least another year, says No 10 Turning away from the child abuse inquiry hearing, my colleague Rowena Mason has just come back from the Number 10 lobby briefing. Amazingly, it turns out that the final Heathrow vote will not take place for at least another year.

enltrTheresa May letter to cabinet reveals final airport vote delayed for another year till winter 17/18 - for "full + fair public consultation" pic.twitter.com/0ffTwTH6tA [https://t.co/0ffTwTH6tA]

— Rowena Mason (@rowenamason) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rowenamason/status/788401417899868161]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.08pm BST

block-time published-time 4.40pm BST

David Winnick accuses Home Office of misleading committee Winnick says that he thinks the committee has been treated in a “shabby way” and that it has been “misled”.

block-time published-time 4.38pm BST

Q: It has been reported that Liz Sanderson, a special adviser to Theresa May when she was home secretary, knew about concerns about Goddard well before she resigned.

Sedwill says that the same report says he was told about these concerns. But he was not, he says. The report was wrong.

block-time published-time 4.31pm BST

David Winnick, the Labour MP, goes next.

Q: Should we be satisfied with what Amber Rudd told us in September about why Goddard resigned?

Sedwill says Winnick asked Rudd about this in the Commons on Monday. Rudd said she was giving Goddard’s own reason for going. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/17/brexit-cabinet-infighting-is-just-lively-debate-says-hunt-politics-live?page=with:block-5804ed5fe4b055209adae75d#block-5804ed5fe4b055209adae75d]

Given Goddard rejects the allegations, we can only go on her own explanation when wanting to know why she resigned.

block-time published-time 4.26pm BST

Q: When were your first made aware of the allegations of racism against Goddard?

Sedwill says he heard some of these allegations for the first time when he read them in the Times last week.

Q: What about the racism allegations?

Sedwill says he had not heard about those, formally or informally, before they were in the papers. The complaints he had heard about Goddard had been expressed in general terms.

He stresses that Goddard denies these allegations fiercely.

block-time published-time 4.24pm BST

Ranil Jayawardena , a Conservative, goes next.

Q: Are you satisfied that Goddard was vetted properly?

Yes, says Sedwill. She went through a proper vetting process. The Home Office took references from the New Zealand judiciary. He points out that the home affairs committee also took evidence from her.

block-time published-time 4.17pm BST

Q: Did you report to Theresa May on the meeting Drusilla Sharpling had with a Home Office director general in April?

Sedwill says he did not, because he was not aware of that. He says the point of that meeting was to provide an early warning that things were off track. But Sharpling said at the time that she wanted no action taken.

Q: But why wasn’t that reported upwards?

Sedwill says the information was provided in confidence. At that point the panel did not want any action taken. They were trying to resolve the problems.

Q: Was that a reasonable judgement?

Sedwill says that was a reasonable decision for the Home Office director general to take at the time.

block-time published-time 4.14pm BST

The Labour MP Lisa Nandy has been tweeting about what has emerged from the hearing so far.

enltrPanel members say they raised concerns with senior Home Office officials a full 3 months before the Home Office claims #CSAInquiry [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CSAInquiry?src=hash]

— Lisa Nandy (@lisanandy) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/lisanandy/status/788391585738350592]enltrThis evidence session reveals an astonishing level of disfunction in the #CSAInquiry [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CSAInquiry?src=hash] over the last year. How could Ministers not have known?

— Lisa Nandy (@lisanandy) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/lisanandy/status/788392230453215232]enltrProfessor Jay says she will publish an interim report in 2018. Yesterday Rudd told the House she expected it in 2017 #CSAInquiry [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CSAInquiry?src=hash]enltrProfessor Jay says she will publish an interim report in 2018. Yesterday Rudd told the House she expected it in 2017

— Lisa Nandy (@lisanandy) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/lisanandy/status/788392549299982336]enltrAstonishingly the Home Office's Permanent Secretary says he was completely unaware of any concerns about the #CSAInquiry [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CSAInquiry?src=hash] until 29 July

— Lisa Nandy (@lisanandy) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/lisanandy/status/788395449736650756]block-time published-time 4.12pm BST

Q: Did you have regular discussions with the home secretary about the child abuse inquiry?

Sedwill says he had weekly bilateral meetings with Theresa May , when she was home secretary, as he does with Amber Rudd . They discussed child abuse and other issues. But he does not recall specifically discussing how the inquiry was going.

block-time published-time 4.10pm BST

Q: John O’Brien, secretary to the inquiry, said it was separated from the Home Office by a “low brick wall”. What did you mean that?

Sedwill says Tim Loughton would have to ask O’Brien. He says as far as he was concerned, the Home Office had an arm’s length relationship with it.

block-time published-time 4.07pm BST

Q: How many meetings did you have with Goddard?

Sedwill says he met her twice.

block-time published-time 4.06pm BST

Sedwill says he did not hear of Goddard concerns until 29 July Q: Are you saying you were never told of any concerns about Goddard?

Until 29 July, that is correct, says Sedwill.

He says Tim Loughton raised the prospect in an interview at the weekend that the Home Office might have picked up on these concerns unofficially.

But that was not the case, he says. It would have been wrong for the Home Office to have used back channels to find out what was happening in the inquiry, he says.

He says MPs would have objected if the Home Office had been monitoring the inquiry unofficially.

Mark Sedwill. Photograph: Parliament TV block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.08pm BST

block-time published-time 4.02pm BST

Mark Sedwill, Home Office permanent secretary, questioned by committee Mark Sedwill, the Home Office permanent secretary, is giving evidence now.

Q: Amber Rudd , the home secretary, told us in September that Dame Lowell Goddard resigned because she was lonely. Why did Rudd not mention all the complaints about Goddard that led up to this.

Sedwill says that Rudd could only go on what Goddard said in her resignation letter.

Q: We have been told this afternoon that concerns were raised about Goddard in April?

Sedwill says he was not aware of that meeting. He only became aware of that recently. The meeting was with a Home Office director general who did not pass that information on, in accordance with the terms agreed at the time.

block-time published-time 3.56pm BST

Frank and Sharpling say they have no concerns about the current chair.

(That’s fortunate. She is sitting in between them.)

(From left) Ivor Frank, Prof Alexis Jay and Drusilla Sharpling. Photograph: Parliament TV block-time published-time 3.52pm BST

Chuka Umanna goes next.

Q: Can you report if you do not the the confidence of victims’ groups?

Jay says there are many victim and survivor groups. They do not agree. She knows that some will not engage with it. She is sorry about that. But she thinks she has the support of many of these groups.

Sharpling says panel members are being invited to speak to victims’ groups. They are taking up these invitations.

block-time published-time 3.49pm BST

Jay says the new approach she announced yesterday [https://www.iicsa.org.uk/news/statement-chair] is designed to enable the inquiry to reach conclusions more quickly.

block-time published-time 3.48pm BST

Tim Loughton is pressing on. From the TV coverage (which briefly had the sound turned down - Parliament TV does not broadcast protests at hearings like this) the man who interrupted the proceedings seems to have been ejected.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.49pm BST

block-time published-time 3.46pm BST

A member of the public sitting in the inquiry is interrupting.

block-time published-time 3.43pm BST

Labour’s David Winnick goes next.

Q: You say you cannot give us any details about Ben Emmerson’s suspension. This is a public inquiry. Public money is being spent on it. Do you accept us to be happy not to know why Emmerson resigned?

Jay says in his resignation letter Emmerson said he was not the person to take forward the inquiry into the next stage.

Q: Aren’t we entitled to know led up to this?

Jay says the suggestion Emmerson left because of a disagreement with her was not true.

block-time published-time 3.41pm BST

Jay says she has never in her life been accused of tolerating bullying or offensive behaviour.

block-time published-time 3.38pm BST

Q: How many people have left the inquiry since it was set up?

Jay says she does not have the number. But she does not think the number is significant, or “above average”.

block-time published-time 3.36pm BST

James Berry, a Conservative, goes next.

Q: Why was Ben Emmerson suspended as counsel to the inquiry? [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/18/child-abuse-inquiry-theresa-may-amber-rudd-lowell-goddard]

Jay says she cannot comment on this. It is a confidential, personnel matter.

Q: Other counsel working for the inquiry have quit. Did any of them mention Emmerson in their resignation letters?

Jay says she cannot comment on that, for the same reason.

block-time published-time 3.31pm BST

A member of the public at the back interrupts briefly, saying the public has been waiting for results too.

block-time published-time 3.29pm BST

Nusrat Ghani , a Conservative, goes next.

Q: When will you finish the inquiry?

Jay says she hopes to get most of the work done by 2020. There will be an interim report by 2018. And there will be reports on particular aspects of the inquiry’s work as it is going along.

She says she will be able to say more about this when she has finished her review of how the inquiry is operating.

block-time published-time 3.27pm BST

Q: Did other members of staff raise concerns about Goddard with members of the panel?

Sharpling says that is not a question she can answer.

block-time published-time 3.25pm BST

Q: Is there anything else the inquiry needs?

Jay says she is glad McDonald asked this. It has been looking for premises in London for a hearing centre. She says it has been difficult, because it needs facilities where victims can speak out. But landlords have been very uncooperative. As soon as they hear it is for the abuse inquiry, they do not want to offer property.

block-time published-time 3.23pm BST

Q: Has the government made available all the information it needs from the government?

Sharpling says she will not go into that, because that is part of the conduct of the inquiry.

block-time published-time 3.21pm BST

The SNP MP Stuart McDonald goes next.

Q: Was there anything Goddard said that made her unfit of her role?

Jay says this is a reference the claims made in the press. She cannot comment on them. Employees are entitled to privacy, she says.

block-time published-time 3.18pm BST

Lisa Nandy , the Labour MP who tabled an urgent question in the Commons yesterday, has written an article for the Guardian which we have just launched saying the full circumstances of Dame Lowell Goddard’s departure must be given.

Related: Survivors of child abuse deserve the truth from Theresa May | Lisa Nandy [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/18/child-abuse-inquiry-theresa-may-amber-rudd-lowell-goddard]

block-time published-time 3.10pm BST

Sharpling says it is the chair and the panel who are the controlling minds of this inquiry.

Jay says she agrees.

block-time published-time 3.09pm BST

Jay says 20% of the inquiry staff are former Home Office officials.

Q: Can you understand why people think that this is under the control of the Home Office?

Jay says these people are doing these jobs because they are knowledgable about the issues.

Frank says it is normal for the secretary of an inquiry to come from its sponsoring department.

Umunna says in this case some survivors think the Home Office is to blame for what happened.

block-time published-time 3.04pm BST

Labour’s Chuka Umunna goes next.

Q: Why did you go to the Home Office in April?

Sharpling says she does not indulge in gossip. She went to the Home Office because of concerns about the leadership of the inquiry.

Drusilla Sharpling. Photograph: Parliament TV block-time published-time 2.59pm BST

Child sexual abuse inquiry brought in “facilitator” to help panel communicate with chair Frank says a “facilitator” was brought in to help the panel get on with Goddard.

Q: Are you saying you needed a mediator?

Frank says it was a facilitator, not a mediator.

\* Child sexual abuse inquiry brought in “facilitator” to help inquiry panel communicate with inquiry chair.

Q: Why could you not just discuss things with her direct. You are all adults.

Sharpling says the panel often spoke to Goddard without a third party. But an outsider was brought in on one occasion. That is not unusual when groups want to improve communication, she says.

block-time published-time 2.56pm BST

Labour’s David Winnick goes next.

Q: I’m not interested in gossip. But hasn’t the inquiry been an unhappy ship since it was launched last year.

Jay says she does not accept that.

block-time published-time 2.56pm BST

My colleague Sandra Laville points out that Sharpling’s revelation about going to the Home Office in April with concerns about Goddard undermines the suggestion from the Home Office (in Amber Rudd ’s statement to MPs on Monday) that concerns were only raised in July.

enltrSharpling raised concerns about Goddard leadership in April 2016 #hasc [https://twitter.com/hashtag/hasc?src=hash]

— Sandra Laville (@sandralaville) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/sandralaville/status/788374984997691392]enltrHome office has said only had a complaint in july 2016#hasc

— Sandra Laville (@sandralaville) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/sandralaville/status/788375057584287744]block-time published-time 2.50pm BST

David Burrowes, a Conservative, is asking the questions now.

Q: What has been achieved under Goddard?

Jay says the inquiry has got 200 people to give evidence through its truth project initiative. And she says the literature review conducted by the inquiry was good. And there have been preliminary hearings.

Frank says the inquiry has put victims at the heart of what it does.

Q: Has that been worth £14.7m over the last year?

Frank says reducing the level of child abuse in the UK is not a choice. It is an imperative.

Ivor Frank Photograph: Parliament TV block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.25pm BST

block-time published-time 2.43pm BST

Drusilla Sharpling, another panel member who is giving evidence with Jay, says she does not want to indulge in discussions of character. But she says there were concerns about Goddard.

She says in April she reported her concerns about the leadership of the inquiry to the Home Office, with approval of the panel. She did not want her concerns shared. The panel wanted to manage the issue, she says.

block-time published-time 2.41pm BST

Loughton asks Ivor Frank, a member of the panel who is giving evidence alongside Jay, what he thought of Goddard.

Frank says it was easier when Goddard was out of the country.

Q: Was she a nightmare to work with?

Frank says he would not have used that language.

block-time published-time 2.39pm BST

Jay says she thought Goddard would rather have sat as inquiry chair on her own. Jay says she thought Goddard did not want to work with the panel that was supposed to be advising her.

block-time published-time 2.37pm BST

Tim Loughton , the Conservative acting committee chair, is asking the questions.

Q: Dame Lowell Goddard wrote a letter to the committee after she resigned highlighting problems with the inquiry. Did you agree with it?

Prof Alexis Jay says she agrees with some of Goddard’s points. But she does not agree with Goddard’s call for the scope of the inquiry to be reduced. And Goddard did not address the other problems that arose.

Jay also says Goddard was not right about the inquiry being underfunded, because it did not spend all is budget last year.

Q: Do you agree that Goddard should have addressed the problems she identified as chair?

Yes, says Jay.

block-time published-time 2.27pm BST

Child sexual abuse inquiry chair gives evidence to home affairs committee Professor Alexis Jay, chair of the child sexual abuse inquiry, is about to give evidence to the home affairs committee.

She will be asked about the measures she announced yesterday to make the inquiry more manageable. [https://www.iicsa.org.uk/news/statement-chair]

But she will also be asked about the circumstances that led to the surprise resignation of her predecessor, Dame Lowell Goddard, in August, and the allegations of misconduct against Goddard, which Goddard strongly denies. [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/17/uk-child-abuse-inquiry-chair-hopes-to-complete-work-by-2020]

block-time published-time 2.10pm BST

Candidates announced for elections for 4 select committee chairmanships Politicians love a good election and tomorrow we’ve got four of them in the House of Commons. Five select committee chairmanships have become vacant and, in line with the Wright reforms introduced in 2010 (named after the then Labour MP Tony Wright, who chaired a committee that recommended them), the posts are filled by MPs voting in a secret ballot. Previously it used to be a whips’ stitch-up. Four of the posts are contested, and nominations have just closed.

Two of the committees chairmanships have been allocated to Labour and there is a Jeremy Corbyn effect at work; some particularly experienced candidates are standing who would not normally be standing, because in other circumstances they would be serving on the Labour front bench.

The contest that will attract most attention is the one to replace Keith Vaz as chair of the home affairs committee. This goes to a Labour MP, and there are four candidates.

Yvette Cooper , Normanton, Pontefract and Castleford

Caroline Flint , Don Valley

Paul Flynn , Newport West

Chuka Umunna, Streatham

This will be a fascinating contest. Cooper, a former shadow home secretary, Flint, a former Home Office minister, and Umunna, a former shadow business secretary and a current member of the committee, are all strong, mainstream candidates. Flynn, a career backbencher who briefly held two jobs in Jeremy Corbyn ’s shadow cabinet over the summer, is more of a maverick, but he is also passionate about the executive being accountable to parliament.

There will also be keen interest in the contest to become chair of the new Brexit committee. Again, it has been allocated to Labour and there are just two candidates.

Hilary Benn , Leeds Central

Kate Hoey , Vauxhall

Benn is strongly pro-EU, and Hoey is strongly anti, and so it is straight remain/leave fight. Given the fact that most MPs backed remain, and that he is highly respected in the Commons anyway, Benn seems a dead-cert.

There are five candidates for the post of science and technology committee chair, which goes to a Conservative. They are:

Victoria Borwick, Kensington

Stephen Metcalfe , South Basildon and East Thurrock

Dr Poulter, Central Suffolk and North Ipswich

Derek Thomas , St Ives

Matt Warman , Boston and Skegness

And there are just two candidates for the culture, media and sport committee, which also goes to a Conservative.

Damian Collins, Folkestone and Hythe

Helen Grant, Maidstone and The Weald

MPs vote tomorrow and the results will be announced in the afternoon.

The fifth committee is the new international trade one. This has been allocated to the SNP and there is just one candidate for chairman, Angus MacNeil . So he’s got the job.

block-time published-time 1.45pm BST

Whitehall bade farewell to one of its finest at St Margaret’s church, alongside Westminster Abbey, this lunchtime at the memorial service for Chris Martin, who was principal private secretary to David Cameron .

Martin died of cancer last year at the age of just 42, and the church was packed with friends, many of whom are senior civil servants. Cameron gave a Bible reading, before returning to the pews to sit near former Labour leader Ed Miliband , underlining the best civil servants’ ability to serve politicians of all stripes.

Cabinet secretary Jeremy Heywood also spoke; and the address was given by historian of Number Ten, Anthony Seldon, who said Martin’s rapid rise to the very top of the British establishment, via his local comprehensive and Bristol university - not the standard public school and Oxbridge route - should light the way for others.

block-time published-time 1.33pm BST

The BBC ’s Kamal Ahmed has written a helpful blog on the Heathrow decision. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-37678115] Here’s an extract.

Philip Hammond , the chancellor, has been careful not to express a view, but senior Treasury officials have made it clear they believe Heathrow is the better option for boosting economic growth.

That is because it is closer to many more population centres in the UK compared to Gatwick, including Bristol and the South West, the Midlands and the north of England.

One other Cabinet minister told me: “I would do both Heathrow and Gatwick - that would tell the world Britain is open for business.”

That option is not officially on the table, although if the government does back Heathrow, it could make positive noises about Gatwick expansion in the future.

block-time published-time 1.30pm BST

Julian Glover, a former Conservative transport adviser (and a former Guardian journalist), has used a post on Twitter to point out that although the government might want to expand links with China, visa rules are still a significant obstacle.

enltrHeathrow decision = gushing talk on new routes to China etc Ignore. BA just announced axing LHR to Chengdu flights. UK visa rules cut us off

— Julian Glover (@julian\_glover) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/julian\_glover/status/788348883315331072]block-time published-time 1.26pm BST

A post-Brexit promise from the prime minister to Northern Ireland’s two leading politicians has caused a political storm in the region today.

Details of Theresa May ’s letter to first minister Arlene Foster and deputy first minister Martin McGuinness have been made public.

In her message to the Democratic Unionist and Sinn Fein ministers, May made yet another commitment to maintain freedom of travel for Irish and British citizens not only across the border in Ireland but between the two states. She said:

The UK government , the Northern Ireland executive and the Irish government have all been clear that we wish to see the continuance of the free movement of people and goods across the island of Ireland and the maintenance of the common travel area across the whole of the UK and Ireland, which has served us well.

Although she cited five key areas where her government will address for Northern Ireland - including the border, the agri-food sector and the energy market - the prime minister was vague in her letter about specifics of how London will help Belfast with any negative post-Brexit impact on the economy and society.

The fact that the letter only became public this morning on BBC Radio Ulster’s The Nolan Show has angered other politicians at the Stormont parliament in Belfast . Colum Eastwood , the leader of the Social Democratic and Labour party, has asked why the reply to Foster and McGuinness, who wrote to the Prime Minister in August outlining their concerns, was not debate in the Assembly yesterday. The cross community Alliance party also criticised the lack of “concrete” proposals from Downing Street over Foster and McGuinness’ concerns.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.33pm BST

block-time published-time 1.19pm BST

Post-Brexit inflation will cost 11.5m families an extra £100 a year in lost benefits, says IFS The Institute for Fiscal Studies has published a short analysis [https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/8699] this morning looking at the impact of rising inflation on those claiming benefits. Normally benefits are uprated in line with inflation, but the government has frozen most working-age benefits and tax credits until 2020, which means that higher inflation makes them ever less generous.

Here is the key passage from its analysis.

Figure 1 shows how the size of the expected cut in generosity resulting from the four-year cash freeze has increased in the light of upwards revisions to forecast inflation. As of March 2016 the freeze represented a 4% cut in the value of those benefits affected relative to previous plans (given OBR inflation forecasts). As a result, 11.5 million families were expected to lose an average of £260 a year, saving the government £3.0 billion in 2019–20. Given the latest inflation forecasts from the IMF , the policy now represents a 6% cut to affected benefits. The same 11.5 million families are now expected to lose an average of £360 a year (£100 a year more than expected in March), saving the government £4.2 billion in 2019–20 (i.e. an additional £1.2 billion over what was expected back in March). Greater losses are found among families – typically those on lower incomes – who receive more in benefits: for example, ignoring the 3.2 million families who only receive child benefit, the average loss from higher inflation rises to £140 per year (from £330 to £470).

\* Some 11.5m families set to lose an extra £100 a year from the government’s benefits freeze because of post-Brexit inflation.

And here is the chart quoted in this passage.

Increased losses faced by benefit claimants caused by inflation increases. Photograph: IFS The IFS also says that freezing benefits has become “something of a habit” for the government but that it is bad policy.

From the benefit recipient’s perspective, there is a reason that benefits are uprated in line with prices by default – since one purpose of benefits is to provide a minimum standard of living, their level should reflect the cost of purchasing the goods and services required to provide that minimum standard. While it is perfectly reasonable to argue – as the 2015 Conservative Party manifesto did – that the working age benefit system should be made less generous over this parliament, it is hard to see why the appropriate size of cut should be arbitrarily determined by the impact of movements in sterling on prices.

block-time published-time 12.56pm BST

Here is my colleague Jessica Elgot’s story on the airports announcement.

Related: Heathrow or Gatwick: airport expansion to be decided next week [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/18/heathrow-or-gatwick-airport-expansion-to-be-decided-next-week]

block-time published-time 12.54pm BST

Number 10’s decision to announce that it will be suspending collective responsibility over the airport expansion decision is being taken in the lobby as Downing Street all but admitting that the government will decide to go ahead with the third runway.

This is from the Evening Standard’s Pippa Crerar.

enltr @PippaCrerar [https://twitter.com/PippaCrerar].... which is strongest hint yet that Heathrow runway will get green light. Why else suspend cabinet collective responsibility?

— Pippa Crerar (@PippaCrerar) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PippaCrerar/status/788343707699478528]This is from the Daily Mail’s Jason Groves.

enltrLooks like Theresa May backing Heathrow expansion - collective responsibility suspended to prevent Boris + Justine Greening resignations

— Jason Groves (@JasonGroves1) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JasonGroves1/status/788345277312827392]And this is from Faisal Islam.

enltrAs I said yesterday - Heathrow third runway in sight, as Number 10 says PM suspends Cabinet collective responsibility on Aviation Review

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/788346017632714752]block-time published-time 12.35pm BST

The government will make the final decision on airport expansion at Heathrow or Gatwick next week, the prime minister’s spokeswoman has confirmed.

In the strongest signal the government is preparing to expand the third runway at Heathrow, Theresa May told colleagues at cabinet on Tuesday morning that opponents of whatever decision is made will have a “set period” to speak frankly about their opposition.

Both foreign secretary Boris Johnson and education secretary Justine Greening are vocal opponents of Heathrow expansion. Downing Street would not confirm whether that would mean ministers would have a free vote in Parliament to oppose any decision.

Crucially, the cabinet committee which will make the decision next week has no London MPs among its members. On the committee are Theresa May , chancellor Philip Hammond , business secretary Greg Clark , transport secretary Chris Grayling, communities secretary Sajid Javid . Scottish secretary David Mundell , environment secretary Andrea Leadsom , chief whip Gavin Williamson and party chair Patrick McLoughlin are also on the commitee.

block-time published-time 12.33pm BST

Ministers free to object to Heathrow expansion after decision taken next week, No 10 says Number 10 has announced that the decision about building a third runway at Heathrow will be taken next week. And ministers will be allowed a free vote, my colleague Jessica Elgot reports.

enltrNEW: Heathrow/Gatwick decision will be made by cabinet committee next week. Cabinet responsibility will be "temp suspended"

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/788340311353389056]enltrStrongest hint yet that decision will be Heathrow. PM spox made clear ministers w "longstanding views" will have period to express them.

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/788340555390550016]enltrCrucially, cabinet sub committee on airports which will make final decision next week has no London MPs pic.twitter.com/ixk4Tuizre [https://t.co/ixk4Tuizre]enltrCrucially, cabinet sub committee on airports which will make final decision next week has no London MPs

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/788340808751648768]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.42pm BST

block-time published-time 12.14pm BST

Turning back to William Hague and the Bank of England ’s independence (see 9.31am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/18/hague-calls-for-bank-of-england-and-other-central-banks-to-raise-interest-rates-or-lose-independence-politics-live?page=with:block-5805d1c4e4b0cd26ff71e3c3#block-5805d1c4e4b0cd26ff71e3c3], Ben Chu, the Independent’s economics editor, has been responding to Hague’s article on Twitter .

enltrSo all those years when Osborne was praising "active monetary policy" William Hague was thinking "you clown": https://t.co/sOPw2GQ6YA [https://t.co/sOPw2GQ6YA] was thinking "you clown":

— Ben Chu (@BenChu\_) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BenChu\_/status/788327294813216768]enltrOsborne in 2013. Presumably Hague thinks the former Chancellor had "lost the plot" too: https://t.co/KysyygA6Fe [https://t.co/KysyygA6Fe]enltrOsborne in 2013. Presumably Hague thinks the former Chancellor had "lost the plot" too: pic.twitter.com/liPlGC8zoa [https://t.co/liPlGC8zoa]enltrOsborne in 2013. Presumably Hague thinks the former Chancellor had "lost the plot" too:

— Ben Chu (@BenChu\_) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BenChu\_/status/788327557661921280]enltrCentral banks (rightly or wrongly) believe zero/negative rates support GDP and employment. Hague says never mind what they think....

— Ben Chu (@BenChu\_) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BenChu\_/status/788329994401509376]block-time published-time 11.58am BST

Here is a story from today’s Financial Times (subscription) [https://www.ft.com/content/4155cd6c-9485-11e6-a80e-bcd69f323a8b] about the US chambers of commerce report that Ben Bradshaw raised with Boris Johnson . And here is how it starts. (See 11.54am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/18/hague-calls-for-bank-of-england-and-other-central-banks-to-raise-interest-rates-or-lose-independence-politics-live?page=with:block-5805fe84e4b005f21833aa17#block-5805fe84e4b005f21833aa17] about the US chambers of commerce report that Ben Bradshaw raised with Boris Johnson . And here is how it starts. (See

US companies with almost $600bn of investments in the UK are reviewing their plans for expansion in the UK amid concerns over its post- Brexit [https://www.ft.com/topics/themes/Brexit] access to the EU ’s single market, the largest US business group has warned.

The US Chamber of Commerce , in a document due to be presented to the UK’s Cabinet Office this week, warns that a post-Brexit UK would need “unfettered access” to the European market in goods and services to retain and attract US investments.

The warning from the world’s largest national business lobby group, which represents companies with investments worth some $590bn in the UK, follows similar warnings from the Japanese business community [https://www.ft.com/content/d58a94c0-7358-11e6-b60a-de4532d5ea35].

It highlights the delicate balance [https://www.ft.com/content/a076953e-8ecb-11e6-a72e-b428cb934b78] that Theresa May ’s government faces to retain foreign investors’ confidence while working to deliver on the wishes of the majority of UK voters who opted to leave the EU in June.

block-time published-time 11.55am BST

Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary, asks about the article Johnson wrote backing EU membership. Why does he no longer agree with himself?

Johnson says people have have read the article conclude that it actually makes the case for leaving the EU .

block-time published-time 11.54am BST

Labour’s Ben Bradshaw asks about an American Chambers of Commerce report due out that will reportedly say American firms are thinking of leaving the UK after Brexit.

Johnson says he has not seen the report yet.

He says he has no doubt the UK will be able to strike a fantastic deal with the EU , while also becoming more attractive to other countries by striking a great set of trade deals.

Alex Salmond , the SNP international affairs spokesman, asks what Johnson’s stance is on Turkey joining the EU .

Johnson says he is in favour - provided the UK has left the EU by then.

Salmond says Johnson argued for the UK to have full participation in the single market after Brexit during the EU referendum campaign. So why is it wrong for MPs to demand this?

Johnson says no government lets the Commons have a vote on its negotiating position in talks like this.

block-time published-time 11.50am BST

Boris Johnson takes questions in Commons Boris Johnson is taking questions in the Commons now. He is talking about Brexit.

Lucy Allan , a Conservative, asks what assurances have been given to Japan about Brexit.

Johnson says investors can be sure we will get the best possible deal.

The SNP’s Chris Law asks what the timetable is for support being given to Scotland to help them cope with Brexit.

Johnson says this was a UK decision. We will get a “fantastic deal for this country”, he says.

Alberto Costa , a Conservative, asks for an assurance that Italians will be able to stay in the UK after Brexit.

Johnson starts by responding in Italian. Then, in English, he says EU citizens will be able to stay in UK provided their is reciprocity.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.59am BST

block-time published-time 11.35am BST

Cameron could have won EU referendum if he had eased austerity by £3bn, study claims Three economists from the University of Warwick have published some fascinating research on the Brexit vote. Sascha Becker, Thiemo Fetzer and Dennis Novy argue that austerity was a key factor in the vote and that, if public spending cuts had been moderately less severe, remain would have won.

They reached his conclusion by studying the referendum results at local level and cross-referencing the results against various socio-economic factors. You can read the entire 62-page paper (Who voted for Brext? A comprehensive district-level analysis) here (pdf). [http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/economics/research/centres/cage/manage/publications/305-2016\_becker\_fetzer\_novy.pdf] And here is a summary.

(I’m grateful for acme in the comments for flagging this up BTL yesterday.)

\* The academics claims that if the government could have won the referendum if it had spent £3bn more on public services.

Our results indicate that modest reductions in fiscal cuts could have swayed the referendum outcome...

The analysis suggests that just a slightly less harsh regime of austerity aimed at cutting benefits could have substantially reduced support for the Vote Leave campaign and overturned the result of the EU referendum.

We find that the quality of public service provision is also systematically related to the Vote Leave share. In particular, fiscal cuts in the context of the recent UK austerity programme are strongly associated with a higher Vote Leave share. We also produce evidence that lower-quality service provision in the National Health Service is associated with the success of Vote Leave...

Our regressions allow for a counterfactual analysis. We find that relatively modest reductions in fiscal cuts at the local authority level (less than £50 per person) may have been sufficient to lead to the opposite referendum outcome, pushing the Vote Leave share below 50 percent. The overall reductions in fiscal cuts would have amounted to less than £3 billion in total for the UK. In contrast, even major changes to **immigration** from Eastern Europe would have been very unlikely to sway the vote in any meaningful way.

\* They claim that **immigration** from Eastern Europe increased the leave vote, but not **immigration** from other EU countries or from outside the EU . But they say reducing **immigration** from Eastern Europe may not have affected the result.

A reduction in migration from Eastern Europe, which could have been achieved by opting to phase in freedom of movement in 2004 (which much of the rest of Europe did), could have also reduced the margin of victory for the Leave campaign, but would have been unlikely to overturn the referendum result...

We also find strong evidence that the growth rate of migrants from the 12 EU accession countries that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 is tightly linked to the Vote Leave share. This stands in contrast to migrant growth from the EU 15 countries or elsewhere in the world. We therefore conclude that migration from predominantly Eastern European countries has had a distinct effect on voters. However, we cannot identify the precise mechanism – whether the effect on voters is mainly economic through competition in the labour and housing markets, or rather in terms of changing social conditions.

\* They say that the UK’s first-past-the-post electoral system contributed to leave winning.

Anti-EU parties, in particular the UK Independence Party (Ukip), have seen strong popular support in European parliament elections that are based on proportional representation. However, despite significant popular support for Ukip, the party is essentially not represented in the national parliament, implying that a significant share of voters lack formal access to the political system through representation of their views. At the same time, the strong popular support has rightfully attracted media attention. But it has come with no obligation for far-right politicians to assume roles of responsibility towards their electorate by exercising executive power...

We argue that the ‘Westminster bubble’ is key to understanding the voting outcome. The under-representation of anti-EU parties in the British parliament is likely a crucial contributing factor to the lack of attention paid in the political process to struggling areas, especially in England and Wales. As a result of the first-past-the-post voting system, Ukip currently only has one member of parliament in the House of Commons out of over 600, despite the fact that Ukip came first in the most recent European Parliament elections. Ukip representatives are therefore hardly in positions of political responsibility and thus largely escape media scrutiny. It may therefore be appropriate to consider ways of introducing more proportional representation into British politics.

But, remember, just because something gets published by academics, that does not mean it is necessarily correct. Chris Hanretty, a politics lecturer and elections expert, has published a critique of the paper [https://medium.com/@chrishanretty/did-austerity-cause-brexit-7051e691f0ab#.siqz2hxow] arguing that the Warwick authors have confused correlation with causation. Here’s an extract.

The problem (which the authors recognize) is that “local authority cutbacks” are a bit like “purchases of value brands” in the example I gave above: they’re a consequence of an underlying problem, rather than a factor in their own right. As the authors write,

geographic variation in the size of the fiscal cuts captures the underlying baseline degree of demand for benefits: the places with highest demand for benefits were naturally more affected

In other words: cuts were more severe in poorer areas. If poorer areas were more likely to vote Leave, then anything which is associated with poorer areas will also (probably but not necessarily) end up being associated with the Leave vote, and might therefore emerge as a predictor of the Leave vote purely in virtue of this connection.

Oh, by the way — poorer areas were more likely to vote Leave [https://www.ft.com/content/1ce1a720-ce94-3c32-a689-8d2356388a1f].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.44am BST

block-time published-time 10.55am BST

Balls says he fears Corbyn is unelectable Here are some quotes from Ed Balls ’ interview on the Victoria Derbyshire show.

\* Balls, the former shadow chancellor, said that he feared Jeremy Corbyn was unelectable. He said it was possible that Corbyn could make himself electable, but that so far there was no evidence of this happening.

I think that Jeremy Corbyn and his supporters have got to persuade people they actually really want to be in government, because if you want to be in government you’ve got to persuade those sceptical people in the middle to trust you. Now, Jeremy Corbyn has been re-elected as the leader. It looks like he will fight the next election. I am fearful that the way he’s going about it means that Labour is currently unelectable. But he’s still got a chance to turn that round...

It’s not impossible for Jeremy Corbyn to reach into the centre. But it means he’s got to show he’d be tough on public spending, he’s got to listen to people on national security. He’s got to work with business, rather than be an anti-business figure. So far, we’ve not seen signs of that, but I think he’s got to be given a chance now.

\* He said the leadership challenge against Corbyn was “premature”.

\* Balls said it was possible Corbyn could decided to stand down before the general election.

I think the interesting thing will be if Jeremy Corbyn realises that being supported by thousands of cheering supporters, your members, is not the same as appealing to voters in the country, who are generally too busy with their own lives to come to one of your rallies, and realises that actually this is not for him, and for him to stand aside and therefore have another leadership election before the next general election. I think that is not impossible, and I think that it’s something that he might think about very hard.

\* He said Dan Jarvis could be a credible leadership candidate in the future.

I think Dan Jarvis is a really good guy. He’s got an amazing experience of public service for our country round the world. I think he’s at the still early stages of his political career. He’s chosen not to be a candidate in previous Labour leader elections. I don’t know, he could be, he could be one of the people who might in the next 10, 15 years emerge. I don’t know.

I’ve taken the quotes from PoliticsHome. [https://www.politicshome.com]

block-time published-time 10.15am BST

Ed Balls seems to be on TV far more often these days talking about his role as a Strictly contestant than he ever was talking about his job as shadow chancellor. He has just been on the BBC ’s Victoria Derbyshire show, and he said he thought Jeremy Corbyn might stand down as Labour leader before the general election.

enltrIts "not impossible" @jeremycorbyn [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn] cd quit as Labour leader before next election says @edballs [https://twitter.com/edballs] cd quit as Labour leader before next election says @VictoriaLIVE [https://twitter.com/VictoriaLIVE] cd quit as Labour leader before next election says

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/788303879867858945]enltrEd Balls predicts @jeremycorbyn [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn] will "think very hard" about whether he wants to be PM and may stand down before elex @VictoriaLIVE [https://twitter.com/VictoriaLIVE] will "think very hard" about whether he wants to be PM and may stand down before elex

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/788304230398525440]enltrI am fearful that under @jeremycorbyn [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn] Labour is unelectable says @edballs [https://twitter.com/edballs] Labour is unelectable says @VictoriaLIVE [https://twitter.com/VictoriaLIVE] Labour is unelectable says

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/788306081252511744]enltrLabour leadership contest was "premature" challenge to @jeremycorbyn [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn] says @edballs [https://twitter.com/edballs] says @VictoriaLIVE [https://twitter.com/VictoriaLIVE] says

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/788306913050128384]block-time published-time 10.03am BST

David Coburn, Ukip’s only MEP in Scotland, is one of the UK’s more, er, unvarnished politicians. He has not, until now, features in lists of the runners and riders for the next Ukip leader, but this morning he told Good Morning Scotland, that if the call came, he might be willing to serve. This is what he said when asked if he would be a candidate in the leadership contest.

Can I lead the party? If I were asked by colleagues then of course I would do my best, but it’s not about who is governing, it’s to do with getting a group of people together, a collegiate group of people who are going to run the thing. That’s much more important. Politics is not about individuals, it’s about the collective; what we want is an agenda for the future.

My colleague Marina Hyde has tweeted this response.

enltrOnly time I saw Coburn was on UKIP flotilla. He was waving a glass of sauvignon blanc & bellowing "this is what real fisherman look like!" https://t.co/IPwHHw2SBh [https://t.co/IPwHHw2SBh]

— Marina Hyde (@MarinaHyde) October 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MarinaHyde/status/788301622484971520]For another pen portrait of Coburn, I’ll quote this item from Michael White’s Labour party conference diary two years ago. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/sep/24/labour-conference-diary-new-york-mayor-bill-de-blasio]For another pen portrait of Coburn, I’ll quote this item from

After Ed Miliband ’s tough conference week it’s now the others’ turn on the ducking stool, starting with Ukip which cheekily meets on the Labour leader’s home patch at Doncaster racecourse tomorrow. Judging by the sound of his noisy telephone conversation on a London-bound train this week, David Coburn, newly-elected Ukip MEP for Scotland [https://www.theguardian.com/uk/scotland], is certain to enliven any debate. Though colourful Coburn complained about leaks from inside Ukip his frequent references to “Nigel” alerted fellow passengers. In quick succession he was heard calling the Greens “a cult-like scientology,” referred to Labour’s Scottish leader, Johann Lamont, as a “fishwife” and to her Tory rival, Ruth Davidson, as “a fat lesbian”. Asked for comment by the Guardian , Coburn, 55, said he often travels on trains, talks a lot and can’t remember it all. Fat lesbian? “Well, she is a lesbian, what about it? I’m a homosexual.” Only in Ukip.

David Coburn (left) with Nigel Farage, the Ukip leader. Photograph: David Cheskin/PA block-time published-time 9.47am BST

Here is a chart from the ONS bulletin [https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/inflationandpriceindices/bulletins/consumerpriceinflation/sept2016] showing changes to CPI inflation over the past year.

Changes to CPI inflation over last year. Photograph: ONS/ONC block-time published-time 9.38am BST

Sharp rise in CPI inflation to 1% The inflation figures are out, and there has been a sharp increase.

\* The rate of consumer price index inflation rose to 1.0% in September from 0.6% in August, the Office for National Statistics said.

Here is the ONS bulletin.

And here is my colleague Graeme Wearden ’s business live blog, which is covering this in more detail.

Related: UK inflation rises to 22-month high of 1% – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/18/uk-inflation-prices-to-rise-after-brexit-vote-hits-pound-business-live]

block-time published-time 9.31am BST

The Conservative party conference was dominated by what the party said about **immigration** but one of the most intriguing lines to emerge was what Theresa May said about monetary policy and quantitative easing. In remarks that seemed highly critical of the Bank of England, and its QE policy, [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-consigns-cameron-to-history-in-populist-speech] she said: “While monetary policy, with super-low interest rates and quantitative easing, provided the necessary emergency medicine after the financial crash, we have to acknowledge there have been some bad side effects.” Downing Street later had to clarify that she was not trying to interfere with the Bank’s independence and that QE policy was a matter for them.

But it would be unwise to think that that is the end of the matter, and this morning a powerful voice has come to the aid of those in Number 10 who think it is time for a QE rethink. William Hague , the former Conservative leader and former foreign secretary, has used his column in the Telegraph [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/17/central-bankers-have-collectively-lost-the-plot-they-must-raise/] to suggest that the Bank of England should raise interest rates or lose its independence. He also lists 10 problems with the Bank’s continued reliance on QE. Here is an extract.

I am not an economist but I have come to the conclusion that central banks collectively have now indeed lost the plot. The whole point of their independence was that they could be brave enough to make people confront reality. Yet in reality they are blowing up a bubble of make-believe money to avoid immediate pain, except for penalising the poor and the prudent...

Some central bankers would mount a strong defence of their approach. They would explain that there is a global glut of savings, so interest rates are in any case kept low by market forces. This is true, but it does not mean those rates have to be driven to zero, or even below zero now in some places, by the authorities...

I have bad news for them. The accumulating effects of loose monetary policy globally [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2016/06/08/desperate-ecb-risks-destroying-european-project-with-negative-ra/] are intensely political. When pension funds renege on promises, or inequality widens further, or savers become desperate, huge public and political anger is gong to burst over the heads of the world’s central banks.

The only way out is for the US Fed to summon the courage to lead the way to higher interest rates, and others to follow slowly but surely. If they fail to do so, the era of their much-vaunted independence will come, possibly quite dramatically, to its end.

Where this will lead, I don’t know, but it is strong stuff, and an interesting indication of how the debate is shifting fundamentally on monetary policy. It is also worth imagining what the reaction would be if Jeremy Corbyn or John McDonnell had written this. When they made much milder suggestions last year about interfering with the Bank’s independence, there were howls of protest in the City. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/17/central-bankers-have-collectively-lost-the-plot-they-must-raise/] or John McDonnell had written this. When they made much milder suggestions last year about interfering with the Bank’s independence,

It is a relatively quiet morning at Westminster, but Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary, is taking questions in the Commons later. And this afternoon I will be covering the home affairs committee hearing into the child sexual abuse inquiry in detail.

Here is the agenda for the day.

9.30am: Inflation figures are published.

10.45am: The Polish ambassador Arkady Rzegocki and and his Romanian counterpart Dan Mihalache give evidence on Brexit to a Lords committee.

11.10am: Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, campaigns in the Witney byelection.

11.30am: Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary, takes questions in the Commons.

11.30am: Sadiq Khan , the mayor of London, takes part in an LBC phone-in.

2.15pm: Professor Alexis Jay, chair of the child abuse inquiry, gives evidence to the Commons home affairs committee. At 3.45pm Mark Sedwill, the Home Office permanent secretary, gives evidence to the committee.

2.30pm: Jeremy Hunt , the health secretary, and Simon Stevens , the NHS England chief executive, gives evidence to the Commons health committee

3.30pm: Margot James , the business minister, gives a speech to the Resolution Foundation on low pay.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Isis members could pose as **refugees** and return to Europe unnoticed if they lose control of the Iraqi city, warns EU commissioner Julian King

Europe must be prepared for an influx of Islamic State militants if Iraqi forces retake control of Mosul, the EU’s security commissioner has warned.

Related: Battle for Mosul: 'This is going to take a long time – Isis won't give up'[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/18/battle-for-mosul-day-two-isis-iraqi-kurdish]

Although Julian King did not believe there would be a large number of Isis fighters leaving the jihadist group’s Iraqi stronghold for Europe, the British diplomat stressed that even a handful of jihadists returning would pose a “serious threat that we must prepare ourselves for”.

Thousands of Europeans have gone to Iraq and Syria over the past two years to fight with Isis, but the Islamist extremists have suffered a string of defeats in recent months in both countries.

Those defeats have prompted some of its fighters to begin returning to the continent, but about 2,500 European fighters remain in the conflict zones, King told the German newspaper Die Welt.

Chris Phillips, managing director of counter-terrorism consultancy Ippso, said Isis was “entering a new phase” and that waning control over its so-called caliphate “would force them into more guerrilla or terrorist actions”.

“I think we will see a growth of terrorist attacks across north Africa and the west,” he said, adding that fighters could use the same routes as **refugees** to slip in unnoticed.

A French security source said anti-Isis coalition forces must strive to trap the jihadists in Mosul. About 400 French nationals are thought to be still in the war zones. Thousands of Tunisians have also fought for the terror organisation, making them the biggest group by nationality.

Related: If the Mosul offensive is a success, what could this mean for Isis?[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/isis-mosul-offensive-iraq-islamic-militancy]

France is particularly unsettled about potential Islamist returnees after being hit by a series of terror attacks, including the 13 November assault in Paris[https://www.theguardian.com/world/paris-attacks] in which jihadists returning from Syria killed 130 people.

In Germany, which took in about 900,000 asylum seekers last year, many are growing increasingly wary after two attacks in July committed by **refugees** in the name of Isis. The country’s spy agency chief, Hans-Georg Maassen, has also warned of the radicalisation of newcomers to Germany.

About 340 cases have already been recorded of Islamists posing as aid workers to gain access to asylum seekers in shelters, he said, but the real number could be far higher.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As the first clashes settle into a grind, **refugees** speak of a desperate Isis dug in deep inside the stronghold as relations sour between Iraqi and Kurdish liberators

Their relief was palpable. Old men who had walked through the desert, families who arrived in clapped-out cars, and black-veiled women and girls: all were coming straight from the clutches of Islamic State (Isis).

The war’s most recent **refugees** queued on Tuesday at a checkpoint in the town of Khnash, around 14 miles from Mosul, where they spoke of the terror and confusion they had run from only hours before.

“It’s not good at all,” said a man from the nearby town of Adla, as he walked his elderly mother down a dusty hillside. He spoke of a counteroffensive staged there by the terrorist group. “The Iraqi army arrived yesterday and took the town, and today Isis came back and the army ran away. We weren’t expecting this.”

On its second day, the battle to retake Mosul from Isis – which has been described as the battle that will either reunite Iraq[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/kurds-lead-advance-on-mosul-in-decisive-battle-for-iraqs-second-city] or divide it for good – settled into a grind. The opening clashes on Monday had seen around 23 villages and hamlets taken by both Iraqi and Kurdish forces, with both sides claiming that their early gains had exceeded expectations.

Peshmerga forces succeeded in clearing villages to the north-east and east of the city, and say they are in the process of handing over liberated areas to Iraqi troops who alone will advance further into Mosul itself. But as the push towards the last urban stronghold of Isis in Iraq continues, the cooperation necessary to get them there is already starting to fray.

Related: Fighting for every yard: on the ground with Kurdish troops pushing into Mosul[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/kurdish-forces-mosul-peshmerga-troops-isis-iraq-fighting-every-yard]

At the checkpoint on Tuesday, as Peshmerga officers organised the new **refugees** into groups and handed out water, an Iraqi humvee roared down the road towards them, barrelling through the checkpoint and covering both **refugees** and troops in coarse grey dust.

“He could have been a suicide bomber,” said one Kurdish officer as he brushed himself down. “They are pigs,” said another. “They know nothing about respect.”

As an Iraqi army tanker towed along a broken-down truck, the Kurds stood by. Soldiers briefly disgorged and milled around, neither side speaking much to the other. “It’s shameful what they are doing with all their flags,” said a Kurdish officer who had stepped away from his counterparts. “They are all over their tanks and artillery.”

Over a crest behind the group, Iraqi army artillery pieces were dug into the soil, several festooned with flags depicting revered Shia imams. The images had been contentious in the lead up to the war, but are even more so now that the battle has begun. “They are aiming for a sectarian conquest,” said the Peshmerga officer. “This is not a war of liberation.”

Amid the tension, the newcomers spoke of how the offensive had thrown their homes into fresh turmoil. All had fled towns on the outskirts of Mosul and none had escaped the city itself. “It’s terrible at home,” said Abu Layla, who had come from a village 10km from the city. “They [Isis] are panicking and getting more nasty than ever.”

Abu Layla’s two wives and four daughters were all wearing niqabs which covered their faces, except for eye slits. They settled into a makeshift car park among around 200 men, women and children, some wearing more conventional head scarves of vivid pinks, yellows and blues that the dust could not obscure.

Aid agencies believe a mass exodus of around 1.3 million from the city and its surroundings could take place as soon as forces enter Mosul, held by Isis since June 2014. The flow from the outskirts so far has been manageable, with less than 1,000 people crossing into Iraqi- or Kurdish-controlled areas on Tuesday.

Related: Battle for Mosul: Iraqi forces converge in decisive battle against Isis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/kurds-lead-advance-on-mosul-in-decisive-battle-for-iraqs-second-city]

“This is going to take a long time,” said another man. Referring to the river Tigris, which splits Mosul roughly in two, he added: “These guys are mostly Iraqis and they will not give up. People on this side of the river can not run away to Anbar. They have to fight.”

Up the road to Irbil, in a **refugee** camp where most of the new arrivals will be sent, recent arrivals from Mosul agreed. “The east bank of the river will be the most difficult to take,” said one man, a former member of Iraq’s intelligence services, who would not give his name.

“Those from the west bank who want to stay and fight have moved to the east. They have dug tunnels, laid mines. They have put blast walls across the most narrow of streets.

“But despite all that, their situation is terrible. There are sleeper cells ready to rise up against them. I was part of those cells. I spent the past two years sleeping in friends’ houses and on farms. They killed my father and they want to kill me. I had to leave two weeks ago. They were going to houses looking for me.”

Most of the other men in a screening area of the Dibaga camp had also fled Mosul in recent weeks. Only a small number had escaped the city in the days before the fighting, and virtually no one had made it to safety in the 48 hours since.

As the flow of those fleeing Mosul intensifies, Isis members are widely expected to try to hide among **refugees**. Camp officials in Dibaga say they are aware of the issue. “We get them a lot,” said one such official. “They get all this way and they get off the truck and put their hands up and say, ‘I was in Isis.’ One of them said to me that he doesn’t care if we jail him for life. Just so long as he is safe. The Iraqi military would have killed him.”

Asked about the possibility of Isis members fleeing north or east, Abu Juud, 23, who escaped Mosul earlier this month, said: “We know who the families are, we know where they are from, who is good and who isn’t. It is impossible for them to flee with small groups and very difficult in large groups. They will be caught.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**First unaccompanied girl, from Eritrea, and 12 boys are greeted in London as concerns grow about 1,000 children stuck in camp

The first female child **refugee**, a teenager from Eritrea, has arrived in the UK from France along with 12 male **refugees** aged between 13 and 17 who were due to be reunited with their families as part of the Home Office’s speeded up response to the Calais crisis.

They arrived on the second coach to carry unaccompanied **refugee** children from Calais to Britain in two days[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/17/refugee-children-britain-calais-resettlement-uk]. They were greeted with clapping and cheering by a small crowd outside a Home Office processing centre in Croydon, south London, before being swiftly chaperoned inside by police.

But there was growing cross-party concern from MPs and charities about the fate of the estimated 1,000 unaccompanied child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/24/new-fears-for-lone-children-calais-refugee-camp] still stuck in the Calais camp, part of which is set for demolition on Wednesday.

In a letter to the home secretary, Amber Rudd, they expressed “deepest concern” for the unaccompanied minors’ and vulnerable people’s safety and welfare amid what they called “inadequate” plans for their future. The letter, signed by Conservative MP Heidi Allen, Labour’s Yvette Cooper, and more than 50 other MPs, requests that “all unaccompanied minors should be removed to a place of safety before demolition begins”. It also requests that a “designated safe area for any remaining minors and vulnerable people” should be created before the eviction starts[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/08/child-refugees-calais-camp-stranded-britain-ignored-pleas-home-office].

Related: The UK must fulfil its moral duty to Calais’ unaccompanied children | Bernard Cazeneuve[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/17/uk-moral-duty-calais-unaccompanied-children-asylum]

The Kids’ Cafe, where lone migrant children receive free food, has been issued with a demolition notice and volunteers expect that it will be knocked down within the next 48 hours. “It is absolute chaos,” said Mary Jones, who helps to run the cafe. “None of them know where they will be going. It is like taking their home away from them.”

The medical charity Doctors of the World, which has been working with **refugees** in Calais since 2003, said there was no clear plan for those children not going to the UK.

“We are very concerned for unaccompanied children who aren’t entitled to come here. What will happen to them? Past camp clearances have only caused them more suffering,” Leigh Daynes, executive director of the charity, said. “Dismantling the camp won’t stop **refugees** coming to Calais nor make the thousands there already disappear. People will just come back only to live in even more squalid conditions in much smaller settlements and squats with fewer facilities, which could badly affect their physical and mental health.”

Daynes added that he hoped the police would act “proportionately” when the main stage of camp demolition[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/01/calais-camp-razed-refugees] begins, “as our medics regularly see **refugees** who’ve been injured, sometimes seriously, at their hands”. Shops and cafes are expected to be knocked down this week and tents and shacks where asylum-seekers sleep are expected to be destroyed from Monday.

**Refugee** charities in Calais said the Home Office drive to speed up reunification of child **refugees** with family in the UK[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jun/13/unaccompanied-child-refugees-uk-families-from-france] has not been accompanied by any provision for vulnerable children believed to be eligible to travel to Britain under the “Dubs amendment”[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/14/child-refugees-in-limbo-in-calais-because-of-home-office-delays], which gives an unspecified number of “vulnerable unaccompanied child **refugees**”, who arrived in the EU before 20 March, the possibility of coming to the UK. French officials are understood to be working in the camp with British officials this week to register children with relatives in Britain, but charities say there is no evidence of any registration process for “Dubs” children.

“We think there are at least 54 unaccompanied girls, mostly Eritrean and a few from Ethiopia and Sudan, the vast majority of whom have no family in the UK, so are only eligible for Dubs,” Liz Clegg, a volunteer, said. “We have only five days left before demolition and there has not been a single mention of Dubs children; we believe they are the most vulnerable children on the site.”

A Home Office spokesperson said there would be no announcement about the quantity of children expected to be transferred to Britain until the process was complete. “Children who may be eligible to come to the UK under the Dubs Amendment to the **Immigration** Act 2016 must be supported in France while their cases are considered. If it is in the best interests of children who meet the Dubs criteria they will be transferred to the UK,” an official said.

But volunteers said there was no information available about where the potentially eligible children could be rehoused in France. “The registration process is chaotic. We have no information about what will happen to the children when the camp is demolished. The children are in a state of complete confusion,” Mary Jones said.

Laura Griffiths, senior field manager for Safe Passage UK, the charity that has been working to reunite **refugee** children with relatives, said: “The main concern is that in the chaos children with a right to reunite with family are being missed and no plan is yet in place for the highly vulnerable children who qualify for sanctuary in the UK under Dubs. With demolition potentially just days away there are still well over 1,000 children in the camp.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Man suspected of trying to smuggle himself into UK is reportedly crushed to death in lorry after evading detection at Calais and Dover

A man suspected of trying to smuggle himself into Britain illegally has been found dead inside a lorry that entered the UK from Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/07/people-in-freezer-lorry-m25-services-white-hgv], and may have been killed after its load crushed him to death.

Owners of the Airport Cafe in Sellinge, near Ashford, Kent, called police at around 8.30am on Tuesday, after a distressed lorry driver reported a body trapped between palettes of catalogues for children’s retailer Jojo Maman Bébé.

Paramedics from the South East Coast ambulance service (Secamb) pronounced the man dead at the scene.

It is understood the man, described as African in appearance, managed to evade border checks at Calais, where other would-be **immigrants** were detected, and again at Dover. It is not known at what point during the journey he was killed.

Pat Breen, 65, co-owner of the Airport Cafe, said the driver had parked the lorry and approached a member of his staff.

“He was obviously a bit panicked, saying ‘politsky, politsky’,” Breen said. “The wife spoke to him, he took her over to the lorry and asked her to go into the back. In the back, she saw a leg sticking out. The person didn’t move or respond to any noise or shouting, so she assumed...

“Her immediate thing was to come back and phone the police. She said she thought the person was probably dead. All the [emergency] services came.

“Since then we’ve found out that the driver reported **immigrants** at Calais in his vehicle. The vehicle was searched, they found **immigrants**[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/22/sixteen-detained-after-lorry-stopped-on-m1-in-immigrants-investigation] and they removed them all, apart from the one that was hidden. [The lorry] was again checked at Dover; a dog was sent on which failed to find him. And at some time, the load shifted and he was crushed between it.”

Breen said it was clear that the palettes holding the magazines had moved during the journey, trapping the man, who had attempted to conceal himself between them.

“He’d gone down between the palettes, I’m assuming it moved across and crushed him and he couldn’t breathe,” he said. “He’d disguised himself in the lorry by covering himself in magazines, and apparently he’d taken cling film off the palettes to wrap himself in, to keep warm overnight or something.”

A spokeswoman for Kent fire and rescue service said firefighters had used a forklift truck to remove the load to allow officers and paramedics access to the man’s body. Secamb sent two paramedic cars and an ambulance to the incident. “Sadly the man was pronounced dead at the scene,” a spokesman said.

Kent police issued a statement stating they were called to the scene at 8.29am. “It is believed the lorry had travelled from France and inquiries are on-going to identify the man and ascertain the cause of death,” they added.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Anti-Slavery Day should put a spotlight on whether the government’s agenda helps or hinders progress on ending human trafficking

Theresa May was recently asked what makes her angry. She was succinct in her response: “Injustice … child sexual abuse, modern slavery. When we see the powerful abusing their position[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with%3Ablock-57f360a3e4b01506cbf24f90].”

The prime minister has been public in her concerns around slavery for some time now. She appears particularly proud of the Modern Slavery Act[http://www.legislation.gov.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/ukpga/2015/30/contents/enacted], which she and her team brought on to the statute books in 2015. She has established a £33m fund[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/22/4500-slavery-victims-supported-by-salvation-army-in-five-years] focused on “high risk countries where we know victims are regularly trafficked to the UK”. She has repeatedly stated that her government will lead the way in defeating modern slavery.

Related: Survey finds 70% of migrants arriving in Europe by boat trafficked or exploited[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/18/70-of-migrants-to-europe-from-north-africa-trafficked-or-exploited-un-united-nations-survey]

High-level political commitment to addressing slavery is something Anti-Slavery International[http://www.antislavery.org/english/] has long called for. So having a UK prime minister who makes slavery eradication one of her priorities is to be welcomed and is an opportunity to further advance the work many of us have been doing for such a long time.

To make a lasting difference, May will need to broaden her perspective beyond a criminal justice response to slavery. Crucially, she will need to ensure that other policy areas that can directly impact slavery – in particular trade, development, migration and international human rights law – are not neglected.

There is already a risk that the current anti-**immigration** rhetoric and the **Immigration** Act 2016, [http://www.legislation.gov.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/ukpga/2016/19/contents/enacted] with its introduction of an “illegal working” offence, will undermine the intent of the Modern Slavery Act.

As early as 2006 Anti-Slavery International identified how enslaved people often had their migration status made irregular to increase the power that traffickers had over them, allowing them to be threatened with denunciation to the authorities and deportation. In other words, traffickers typically try to render their victims in a position of “illegal working” as part of the process of their enslavement.

It used to be commonplace for victims of trafficking to report a lack of interest of the police in their plight, which, to her credit, May recognises as a considerable failure in the UK’s domestic response to slavery. However, the new offence of “illegal working” can only lead to further confusion.

A closer look at statistics of the national referral mechanism[http://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/about-us/what-we-do/specialist-capabilities/uk-human-trafficking-centre/national-referral-mechanism], the UK-wide slavery victim identification and protection system, reveals that **immigration** status has a huge influence on how likely a victim is to be protected. For example, of those referred to the NRM, 77% of Poles and 67% of Lithuanians were recognised as victims of trafficking in 2015, while only 11% of Vietnamese and 10% of Nigerians were equally lucky. Given this, one cannot blame a trafficked Nigerian for being hesitant to come forward as a victim.

Related: Bid for freedom: rescuing trafficked fishermen as they dock in Cape Town[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/aug/11/rescuing-trafficked-fishermen-cape-town-south-africa-slave-like-conditions]

It was good to hear that a big part of the £33m will be spent in the countries seen as the main sources of trafficking to Britain, such as Nigeria and Vietnam. Poverty and lack of opportunities in source countries are big factors behind trafficking, so development efforts should contribute to minimising those risks. However, rejecting a big majority of potential victims from those countries and most often deporting them is at odds with that approach.

As the prime minister prepares to lead Britain out of the EU she will need to find other trading partners. India is being mentioned as one such nation, despite the fact that the wholesale failure of rule of law for millions of Dalits contributes to their enslavement, often in export-oriented industries that provide our high streets with cheap clothes. How likely is it that modern slavery considerations will feature in those negotiations?

No doubt, by way of response to these slavery concerns in international trade, May would point to the important transparency in supply-chain provisions in the Modern Slavery Act, which were the result of intense lobbying by ethically minded British businesses.

However, even the most robust business action cannot take the place of the essential governmental action required to establish the necessary human rights protections – in international trade policy and national business and employment regulation – that are needed to eradicate slavery from international business supply chains.

I have no doubt May’s intentions on slavery are honourable. But they will be hamstrung from the outset if she does not consider carefully how other policies can contribute directly to that cause of her visceral anger: the very positions of power that some chose to abuse.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**We’ve been scapegoated throughout history, but we also have a strong tradition of protest and dissent. Now is the time to harness our growing voting bloc

Every election cycle, Latinos don’t quite match their voting potential. But every cycle, it should also be said, we come closer.

It’s been a long process to merge the gap between potential and reality because to be Latino in America is paradoxical. We are frequently told how powerful we are, how desperately politicians need us if they are to win, and how quickly our ranks are growing.

Related: Donald Trump's kryptonite: millions of active – and furious – Latino voters | Sabrina Vourvoulias[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/09/latino-voter-turnout-trump-kryptonite]

But our lived reality tells a different story. It remains politically expedient to scapegoat our communities. Hatred of **immigrants** from south of the border provided the bedrock for the Trump campaign, but long before him, there was Sheriff Joe Arpaio, Steve King, Lou Dobbs – the list goes on.

To be sure, there is a vigorous, politically engaged sector of our community. But there is also a pervasive sense of helplessness, of lethargy – there are so many of us, but so little is changing.

Under a Democratic president, a man Latinos helped surge into the White House, undocumented **immigrants**, many of whom are economic and political **refugees**, are being deported[http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/obamas-deportation-policy-numbers/story?id=41715661] en masse. Some are taken in raids[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-immigration-deportation-exclusive-idUSKCN0Y32J1]. Detention centers swell with our people. For detained LGBT **refugees**, particularly those who are transgender, the conditions are inhumane.

Preceding all of this is a history of oppression and marginalization. When the border was moved south[https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/guadalupe-hidalgo], Mexicans who were already living on the land found themselves labeled as **aliens**. In the 1930s and 40s, up to 2 million Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, regardless of citizenship status, were rounded up and expelled[http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/09/08/437579834/mass-deportation-may-sound-unlikely-but-its-happened-before] from the country.

Today, an onslaught[https://thinkprogress.org/study-finds-republican-voter-suppression-is-even-more-effective-than-you-think-3b2562ae2f52#.za2ibswj9] of voter restrictions that disproportionately harms the Latino community, such as voter ID laws, suppresses the ability for Latinos to express their will in the electoral process. Our turnout isn’t exactly what it could be, and English is a huge barrier for many **immigrants** to engaging in politics.

And yet, despite it all, our ranks are growing. We are registering[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/18/magazine/27-million-potential-hispanic-votes-but-what-will-they-really-add-up-to.html?\_r=0] to vote. We are reshaping the electoral map, and politicians who use our existence in this country as a cudgel would do well to take note: the strategy of othering us has an expiration date. We could soon be the majority[http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2015/07/06/its-official-the-us-is-becoming-a-minority-majority-nation].

There are plenty of pundits who argue that the prophecy of a powerful Latino voting bloc remains a myth, but I believe we have reason to be optimistic.

That we have so far failed to activate the sleeping strength of Latino voters is not to suggest that we are not politically active or that we have never succeeded in political protest. I would point to the Chicano Moratorium[https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/ncr-today/important-day-us-history-chicano-moratorium], the largest anti-Vietnam War protest spearheaded by any minority group. It drew 30,000 demonstrators in East Los Angeles in 1970.

I would also point to Cesar Chavez and the National Farm Workers Association. The success of the Modesto march in 1975, which started with just a few hundred people and swelled to 15,000, is a counterpoint to claims that Latinos lack the education and means to engage in political action.

To be Latino is to inherit a rich history of resistance. Our people, so often mistreated by both sides, but especially by Republicans, are waking up. I look at young Latinos who are taking to the streets to fight for undocumented people, to protect Daca[http://www.nbclosangeles.com/on-air/as-seen-on/SoCal-Residents-Protest-DACA-Block\_Los-Angeles-292210971.html], to free LGBT **refugees** from detention.[https://voiceofoc.org/2016/05/transgender-advocates-launch-hunger-strike-to-protest-santa-ana-ice-contract/] It is a reminder that we were never truly silent, and that our voice is growing louder every day.

We need to harness this energy and direct it to getting Latinos to the voting booth if we are to make manifest our potential in this country. That includes pushing for more Spanish-language material from campaigns, dismantling voter ID laws[http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/page5/documents/VoterIDLawsSuppressionofMinorityVoters.pdf] that target Latinos, and actively engaging with organizations like Voto Latino[http://votolatino.org/] that are working to get more Latinos registered to vote. It includes talking to our family members, especially those of us who speak English and have an understanding of American politics, about why it’s important to vote and why it’s more crucial than ever to be a part of the electoral process.

It’s important that we do: Trump wasn’t the first demagogue to use our community as scapegoats, and he won’t be the last.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Companies including Tecate and Cucapá are using humor to push back against the Republican’s fighting talk (and market their products)

When a group of young Mexicans began selling “I support Donald” T-shirts to Trump supporters on the streets of Los Angeles last month they drew reactions of anger and disbelief from many passersby.

The joke was on the buyers. As temperatures rose a clown nose appeared on the Republican presidential candidate and the wording on the shirts changed, crossing out “I support” and leaving “El Que Lo Lea,” which translates to whoever reads this but is a nod for any Mexican Spanish speaker to the popular phrase: “Whoever reads this is an asshole.”

The prank was part of a viral marketing campaign by the Mexican craft brewery Cucapá[http://cucapa.com/], with the sales destined to fund free beer giveaways and a big party in Mexico City.

Cucapá’s stunt was the latest in a series of advertising campaigns by Mexican businesses that have mocked and criticized the Republican candidate for his racist rhetoric.

Mario García, the Cucapá founder, said the company came up with the idea after Trump’s surprise visit to Mexico in August. Upon returning to the US, Trump triumphantly proclaimed[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-meeting-president-pena-nieto-immigration] : “Mexico will pay for the wall, 100%. They don’t know it yet, but they’re going to pay.”

Related: 'Cállate, imbécil': the best Mexican responses to Donald Trump's visit[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-memes-cartoons-pena-nieto]

A native of the border town of Mexicali, García responded to Trump’s latest affront by organizing the T-shirt sales and posting footage online with the message[https://twitter.com/cucapa/status/780459899075514368] : “Someone tell Donald he paid for our beers”. The videos went viral, with Cucapá claiming they clocked up 8.3m views and 500,000 interactions within 10 days.

“As Mexicans we all feel extremely offended and we have the right to defend ourselves,” said García, whose firm sells border-related ales with names like Green Card, Runaway and La Migra, the Mexican slang term for **immigration** officials. “As a beer company I don’t think we’re going to reach young people by taking a formal political stance, but instead we can stay true to ourselves by taking a more humorous, irreverent stance.”

Trump has been loathed in Mexico ever since decrying its people as criminals, rapists and drug-dealers when he launched his campaign last year. With Trump urging the US to stop doing business[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/570235239848681472?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw] with its southern neighbor, it was only a matter of time before Mexican companies began to respond.

I have a lawsuit in Mexico’s corrupt court system that I won but so far can’t collect. Don’t do business with Mexico!— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) February 24, 2015[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/570235239848681472]

Tecate, a Mexican beer company owned by Heineken, released a commercial[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bev4NZEFsCQ] on Fox News during the first presidential debate that mocked Trump’s planned border wall. In its place, Tecate proposed a new wall, “tremendous” mini beer wall, more like a very long bar, where people from both countries could meet to share ice-cold Mexican lager. “This wall may be small but it’s going to be huge,” claimed the ad.

“Being a Mexican brand, we almost felt the obligation to play into this conversation,” said Felix Palau, vice-president of Tecate USA. “We really wanted to address this notion of a wall. However, we wanted to put a positive spin on it, while raising a glass to beer’s uncanny ability to bring people together.”

He’s an easy target. It’s very difficult to find a Mexican who likes Donald Trump

Fernanda Guerra, marketing director

Larger corporations like Corona[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Rj48IJaI14] and Aeromexico[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Isj2\_xjulHI] have launched more subtle campaigns that also question the concept of borders, while Mexican[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dlQ5pPqp8mE] and Argentine[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTEnBC-2ZL4&feature=youtu.be] TV networks have used Trump’s inflammatory comments about **immigrants** to promote football matches taking place in the US. “We don’t have victories anymore. The American dream is dead,” Azteca, Mexico’s second largest media company, quoted Trump saying in its promotions for September’s USA v Mexico soccer match.

It’s unusual for Mexican businesses to release such political commercials. Fernanda Guerra, director of the digital marketing firm Wawa[http://wawa.mx/], said Mexican companies normally avoid such delicate issues for fear of losing clients or undermining important relationships. While smaller, more irreverent brands like Cucapá have less to lose from releasing bolder adverts, Guerra said larger corporations tend to be more serious and risk averse. In Trump’s case, however, companies of all sizes are taking shots at him.

“He’s an easy target. It’s very difficult to find a Mexican who likes Donald Trump,” Guerra explained. “He’s someone who’s been attacking Mexican society so there’s a common sense that he’s our enemy.”

The strength of anti-Trump sentiment on both sides of the border has created opportunities for philanthropy as well as publicity. Since launching a Trump-baiting viral campaign last year, John Rexer, founder of the Mexican liquor brand Ilegal Mezcal[http://www.ilegalmezcal.com/], has raised over $30,000 to provide educational opportunities for children in Guatemala and undocumented youths in Los Angeles and his native New York.

Inspired by a conversation with a distressed Mexican waiter in a New York restaurant, Rexer began mocking up posters of Trump’s face with a phrase the **immigrant** had used: “Donald eres un pendejo” (Donald you’re an asshole). His team quickly put up over 5,000 posters, projections and spray-paintings across several major US cities.

Ilegal Mezcal is now selling T-shirts with the same design to raise money for charity. In April they donated $2 for every shot of their liquor that customers consumed at 75 bars across three continents as part of a mass drinking protest dubbed “ A shot at Donald[http://www.ilegalmezcal.com/donald] ”.

“Some people have been shocked, asking, ‘Should companies be taking this kind of stance?’” said Rexer, a former Mexico resident who now lives in Guatemala. “It takes some degree of risk for a brand to take a political point of view but I think Mexican brands have a responsibility to their own people. They do business with the US and they should be concerned with [Trump’s] tone, that not only affects them business-wise but also affects the bigger picture.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**I still profoundly dislike the unequal American system. Yet, despite this, I have learned to love the country’s unrealized project

There never really was a dream to come to America.

Related: Tell us how you got here: share your stories of **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/22/tell-us-how-you-got-here]

I had visited twice before – and both trips had confirmed an immense culture gap. The first time, which involved staying with a Harvard-educated, blonde east coaster when I was 19, I was so unhappy, I actually developed a rash at the end of my stay. I joked I was clearly allergic to the country, and dyed my hair black upon my return.

But by the time I was 24, I was back on a plane, crossing the Atlantic. This time it was love, not friendship, and I was determined to give it my best shot.

My American diplomat husband-to-be, whom I had met in front of the Brazilian embassy on Piazza Navona when I was living in Rome as a journalist, was waiting for me in Philadelphia.

It was August 2010, and we were due to move to Washington DC in September.

After a couple of nights staying with his parents in Philadelphia’s suburbs, husband-to-be and I headed to South Carolina to an island named Fripp, where his family had a large vacation home. Here, we spent the last few weeks of summer.

Fripp was exquisite. Walks through sand dunes and creaky gates revealed near-empty wind-swept beaches. Quiet streets dotted with perfectly matching large wood-paneled houses with white decks and rocking chairs circled around alligator-filled lagoons. Towards the end of the day, water sprinklers sprayed the island’s bright green grass in perfect synchrony with the sound of thousands of crickets.

Related: Why I came to America: chasing my dream – and the man I loved | Meera Nair[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/11/immigration-america-story-bangalore-dream]

The air was hot and humid, but made entirely bearable by the easily accessible ocean, multiple swimming pools, and perfectly air conditioned interiors of, well, everything.

In the evenings, husband-to-be and I would drive to a fresh shrimp shack just off the island to buy dinner. As we crossed the bridge to drive back onto Fripp laden with seafood, we would slow the car down, and wait in line for our turn at the booth. Getting onto the island involved showing a man at the entrance of the island your membership badge. Fripp Island, you see, is a private, gated community – run by a property owners association.

“The island is private? How can you privatize an entire island?!” I exclaimed when I first realized this a few days into our stay.

As a European, the idea seemed absurd. What if people from the mainland want to come to the island for the day?

Residents, and their guests only, husband-to-be confirmed.

We drove on.

My senses heightened.

There was no denying the island’s beauty. It was difficult not to enjoy end of afternoon trips back from the beach in the electric golf carts that everyone used to get around. The few people you did pass along the way always waved jolly salutations. Mostly, it was glorious deep blue and green landscapes with sieges of herons and families of deer.

Related: Pop music lured me from west Africa all the way to the United States | Manthia Diawara[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/20/how-i-got-here-pop-music-lured-me-from-west-africa]

There was also no denying how much fun it was to open the immense fridge door inside this summer house I had suddenly become a rightful occupant of, decide which of the many sodas I wished to drink, crack it open and drink it sitting at the kitchen counter. Actual longterm Americans may not get how quintessentially and magically American this feels to the outsider.

But in between the excitement during those first weeks of grappling with America as my new home, a distinct sense of unease, and discomfort started to settle. Like if you listened carefully to the background noise, you might hear the sound of constant nails screeching up and down a blackboard.

Trips to the mainland revealed a diverse South Carolina population. Everyone I saw on the island though, where the population fluctuates between a few hundred and 5,000 depending on the time of year, was white. Everyone.

“Where are all the black people?” I asked a day or so later. I recall a mumbled response.

At the island’s gym, which was accessed – like all other island amenities – with my family membership card, I learned to politely ask to change the channel when I arrived and the television was playing Fox News.

People were so terribly nice to me. My eyes squinted, and I took a thousand mental notes. A sea of questions inundated my brain.

Beyond the immense membership fees and the cost of buying a house, at what cost did this life come? What system propped up this kind of artificial reality? And who bore the brunt of it?

Related: I'm an Iraqi **refugee** living in America. Some wish me dead – all I want is a 'hello' | Faleeha Hassan[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/04/iraqi-refugee-living-in-america-some-wish-me-dead]

It has now been six years since that first trip to Fripp, and that time feels like a very distant dream. My marriage was short-lived – a very happy outcome as it turns out.

As my ex-husband took diplomatic postings in west Africa, I headed to graduate school in New York where Occupy Wall Street was getting under way. There, I studied human rights, and wondered why – for a country that seemed so keen on promoting human rights abroad, people seemed so reluctant to think about them at home.

I started answering some of those questions that had begun to form on Fripp in a graduate thesis on housing and the legacy of segregation. I found new questions to ask (and not enough answers) when I later moved to Detroit as a journalist in 2013 and covered heartbreaking mass water shut-offs and mass tax foreclosures over the course of a year-and-a-half stay.

For now, I am back in New York, living in a tiny apartment in a Dominican neighborhood, where I avoid turning the air con on as much as possible, to save on bills.

Next year, I apply for citizenship.

Somewhere along the way, in my hatred for the hypocrisy of a profoundly unequal American system, I learned to love the country’s unrealized project. In as much as it can ever really be the case, this strange place has become my own.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Extremist surge got national attention during the Oregon militia standoff and has continued to rise with Trump, with his legitimization of white nationalist politics

In the past 12 months, Jessica Campbell has had her car’s fuel line cut and its wheel nuts loosened. Late last year, she had a GPS tracker surreptitiously attached to her vehicle. She is now accustomed to being tailed by unfamiliar vehicles on Interstate 5 near her home in Cottage Grove, just outside Eugene, Oregon. Strangers have regularly come uninvited onto her property; someone even stripped the barbed wire on her fence “just to send a message”. Online, she has repeatedly been threatened with rape and death.

And last week, when she showed up at the Canyon City community hall in Grant County, she told me that someone shot at her and her entourage. They misread their GPS, took a wrong turn and stopped to get their bearings when a crack rang out with what Campbell thought was a.22 bullet whizzing by their vehicle.

Such threats are part of the pushback her work has sparked in rural Oregon.

Campbell co-directs the Rural Organizing Project[http://www.rop.org/], a not-for-profit group that sets out to confront the rightwing insurgency that has been bubbling away in parts of rural Oregon and throughout the west. A political organizer since high school, she now coordinates groups attempting to respond to divisive tactics from rightwing activists on **immigration**, race and public land ownership.

This extremist surge received national media attention during the occupation[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/14/oregon-militia-occupation-revolt-motivation-politics-public-land-ranching-environment] of the Malheur national wildlife **refuge** by the Bundy group, but it has continued to rise alongside Trump, with his legitimization of white nationalist politics and his apparent inspiration of insurrectionists across the country.

Related: Rebel cowboys: how the Bundy family sparked a new battle for the American west[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-family]

The Patriot movement is an overarching description for a range of antigovernment groups – from organised militia groups to tax protesters and so-called “sovereign citizens”. They have burgeoned during the Obama years and have carried out actions, such as the occupation[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/13/us/oregon-malheur-wildlife-refuge-bundy.html] of a wildlife **refuge** to border patrols[https://news.vice.com/article/its-an-american-problem-meet-the-militias-patrolling-the-us-border] in Arizona.

This year, Patriot members have run for office in rural counties[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/10/patriot-movement-oregon-militias-donald-trump-election-2016], and at least one militia leader, Joseph Rice, attended[https://www.instagram.com/p/BIBiEoED7Dq/] the Republican national convention to cast his vote for the Republican nominee. Some sheriffs, such as Glenn Palmer[http://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/08/sheriff/\_glenn/\_palmer/\_makes/\_his.html] in Grant County, have clear sympathies and links with the movement.

Elsewhere, according to Campbell, Patriot sympathizers are moving into communities in order to tip the electoral balance towards far-right candidates. She fears this trend will continue long after a Trump defeat. “I’m seeing a lot of paramilitary groups recruiting on the basis of a likely Hillary Clinton win,” she said.

I’m seeing a lot of paramilitary groups recruiting on the basis of a likely Hillary Clinton win

Jessica Campbell

When Trump started talking about rigged elections[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/oct/17/donald-trump-rigged-election-hillary-clinton-news-live] and how a Clinton win would show that democracy was broken, “it was just amazing seeing how that resonated with people – a sense of democracy being broken, feeling like the candidates don’t represent them or anything they want to see happen in this country,” she added.

Campbell would vastly prefer that Clinton wins but acknowledges that it may be like it was “after Obama won, where there was a huge growth in Patriot movement organizing. I’m worried that we are going to see the same thing.” The alleged bomb plot[http://[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/15/us/kansas-bomb-plot-arrest-somali.html?\\_r=0] by militia members in Kansas, timed for the day after the election, shows the way in which those fears might be borne out.

The Rural Organizing Project is not waiting idly for this tide to roll in. The group has just finished a statewide tour in which they presented a report[http://www.politicalresearch.org/2016/10/03/release-major-investigation-toolkit-to-aid-oregon-communities-facing-militia-movements/] on the growth of the Patriot movement, which they collaborated on with Political Research Associates[http://www.politicalresearch.org/#], a thinktank that watches the far right.

Instead of inviting people to view it online, Campbell and her colleagues went to eight rural towns and delivered the main points in a series of lectures. The tour finished late last week.

Each event followed a pattern developed through long experience confronting those who would prefer that progressive voices aren’t heard. At each stop, after Campbell’s brief Powerpoint summary of Patriot movement organizing in Oregon, they invite written comments that are then read out. In Bend, one question asked about the impact of Patriot movement organizing on tourism; in Canyon City, people wanted to know about the economic roots of the far-right insurgency. Small-group discussions follow. The format is designed to de-escalate the tension that has increasingly riven small-town politics in Oregon, and to minimize opportunities for disruption.

Campbell and her crew also travel with a highly visible security detail, partly made up of Portland members of the All African People’s Revolutionary Party[http://www.aaprporegon.org/]. Earlier this year, attendees of a workshop were harassed in the carpark outside the event, and they decided that positive, protective steps were needed.

The events are hosted by local progressive organising groups, and at the largest events, such as the one in Canyon City in Grant County, 50 to 60 people showed up – a large number in a county of about 7,000 residents. Although many who come represent the active, progressive minority in small towns, resistance to the militia movement has a way of binding people together who may disagree on a range of issues. Campbell says that the Grant County group features people from “across the political spectrum” who share a concern about who is directing county politics.

These numbers underscore something Campbell stresses: while media reports often suggest that patriots and the far right are representative of community opinion, they are frequently no more than a vocal minority. ROP’s presence encourages those who disagree to the far right’s prescriptions to rise above the intimidation they use to silence their opponents.

There were clear signs that their strategy – which for now Campbell calls “an experiment” – is working to empower locals, and even open up a dialogue with those who have been drawn into the orbit of the far right.

In Canyon City last January, Judy Schuette heard about the plans of militia members to meet in Grant County and perhaps spread the occupation there. Schuette called for a response and a public meeting on Facebook. On the floorboards of the community hall, she recalls that “I didn’t know how many people would show up, and we wound up with about 70 people.”

After being formally organised in February, the group carried out several actions. They visited Harney County to show support for a protest there, and attended meetings of the county court, the local governing council, to protest increasing militia and Patriot disruption of the body.

But ROP’s tour doesn’t just let them put on another big public gathering. Activists also get de-escalation training from the security detail and much-needed information about how to fight and win a long-term campaign against the rightwing insurgency in their community.

For Campbell, local organisers like Schuette are the prime movers for making change in rural Oregon.

“They’re incredibly dedicated and brilliant. They’re mostly women who care about their community. In Grant County and other counties where people are feeling that their lives could be on the line if they don’t act now, that’s where people are doing the best work.”

But Campbell is clear-eyed about the roots of the problem, and her diagnosis cuts through a lot of the armchair debate about where the resentment that underpins rightwing insurgency comes from. “In rural areas the conditions have been ripe for a white nationalist populist movement. Especially in Oregon where we’re facing demographic shifts in a lot of places, and the economy’s hurting so badly, and we’ve had decades of scapegoating of people of colour as the reason why our economies are so bad.”

In some Oregon counties, as in other rural areas, libraries are shutting, and sheriff’s departments can’t provide 911 dispatch after dark. Dwindling services lead to a sense of abandonment. The right can easily step in and provide both a clear political narrative to explain this, and a set of simple-seeming solutions.

“The Patriot movement is attracting people who feel disenfranchised. It’s real out here, where people feel like they have not been listened to at the state level, and particularly by Democrats,” Campbell says.

The same dynamic has been driving the election. “The appeal of both Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders was that they didn’t feel like establishment figureheads. It didn’t feel like they were going to uphold the status quo.”

Democrats, who hold a rare trifecta of both state houses and the governorship, see no point in outreach to deep red counties in the east and south of the state. “It’s been pretty clear that rural Oregon has been written off. We’re often the only game in town.”

The focus of the tour might be the militia movement, but the real goal is addressing this sense of lost political agency.

“Our goal isn’t to take down the Patriot movement. It’s to build a rural Oregon where people have some access to democracy and are able to create change and have an impact on their communities.”

Helping these communities to demand the resources they need to shut down right wing insurgencies means having a conversation with them, and not simply dismissing or scapegoating them. It also requires bravery: if you confront the far right on their own turf, you might be threatened, followed or shot at.

We haven’t all been given as big a share of courage as Campbell, the rest of the ROP, and local organizers have. But we can at least listen to what they have to say about the origins of America’s rightwing surge.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Children’s stunted lives; the Dalai Lama; our addiction to cars

Stunting children’s lives

I found deeply depressing the comment from World Bank president Jim Yong Kim about stunted children in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) not reading a single letter after going through three or four years of schooling (7 October)[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/30/world-bank-name-and-shame-countries-fail-stunted-children]. Fortunately, Peru is showing the way in addressing this dreadful problem of stunting, notably, by giving cash grants to mothers and monitoring children to ensure they are getting the nutrition they need.

It worries me, however, that the mother cited in the article, although doing all the right things with the money to prevent stunting in her younger four, had eight children all told. Whether this was by choice or not, the fact remains that for poor families it is easier to feed two children than eight.

Perhaps it is correlation rather than causation, but those countries that have a high incidence of stunting also have high fertility rates. Thus it would seem logical, indeed humane, to provide voluntary family planning services in association with the cash handouts and monitoring of children. Most sub-Saharan countries still have very strong cultural preferences for large families; nevertheless, if mothers could be persuaded to space their children a minimum of three years apart, it would allow for better nutrition of babies and toddlers, and indeed of the mothers themselves if they become pregnant again.

Jenny Goldie

Michelago, NSW, Australia

The Dalai Lama’s worth

Squeezing him out is probably not the best solution, but is the Dalai Lama (7 October)[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/02/the-guardian-view-on-the-dalai-lama-dont-squeeze-him-out] worth all the fuss? Having been to Tibet and seen how Dalai Lamas lived – thanks to the scrimping of the poor – and are worshipped in death – massive tombs in solid gold – I have become somewhat sceptical.

When the Chinese returned to Tibet in 1951, they discovered a country that had fallen back into the Middle Ages; Lhasa stank – only one flush toilet existed in the whole country and that was in the Dalai Lama’s new summer palace along with a British-made bathroom. And what did the Dalai Lama of the time do? Did he stay to give moral support to his people who made such sacrifices for him? No, he scuttled off out of it.

Admittedly, the Chinese have been heavy-handed in their clean-up, but those who regret this most are probably camera-wielding tourists eager to record Tibet “as it was”.

Alexandra Tavernier

Marcq-en-Baroeul, France

• It is despicable that the world leaders and religious leaders kowtow to the Chinese and fail to acknowledge and condemn the atrocities committed in Tibet and to outlaw probably the world’s wisest man: the Dalai Lama.

Caryl Dickson

St Ives, NSW, Australia

Hungarian referendum fails

Thank you for providing George Szirtes a page to explain the background and contexts of the apparently ambiguous result of prime minister Viktor Orbán’s anti-**refugee** referendum (7 October)[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/01/hungary-freedom-viktor-orban-rabble-rousers-migrants-refugees-racism]. Since a whopping 98% of those who did vote favoured the proposal, Orbán’s deputy head could claim a “sweeping victory” over the EU – a sort of Hungarian Brexit. Except that it wasn’t. By simply not voting, a majority of the Hungarian people brought it down, constitutionally: to pass, it had needed a 50% turnout and only got 43.9%.

Szirtes was a young boy among the quarter-million Hungarians who became **refugees** after the heroic uprising of 1956 against the Soviet Union’s puppet state. What a heartless irony that a Hungarian prime minister should seek to turn present-day **refugees** away. And what a strange one that he is in bed with the ruler of Russia. And strangest of all that a candidate for US president would love to join them.

John Ridland

Santa Barbara, California, US

Brexit future looks bleak

As Jonathan Freedland points out, there is a significant minority in the UK who did not vote for Brexit, as well as many dissenters amongst those who did, who cannot accept Theresa May’s Thatcheresque posturing from a position of demonstrable weakness (14 October)[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/07/marching-mad-brexit-someone-speak-48-per-cent]. The only visible deal to be negotiated is one of a “soft Brexit” that appeases both the Ukip anti-**immigration** faction as well as the still-dominant Merkel faction, who insist on all EU members accepting some level of free movement and acceptance of **refugees**. A difficult fence to straddle, if the ultimate goal is to maintain as a minimum the favoured-nation trading status enjoyed by Norway.

May’s poker hand is very short on winning cards – the bluff that the rights of current EU citizens in Britain could be at risk if Britain fails to get the terms it demands seems little short of suicidal, as the current falling value of sterling indicates. May’s only recourse if her terms for a continuing relationship with the EU are rejected, would be a closer relationship with either China or the US, clearly risky options as well as being mutually exclusive.

This is clearly a case where the longer-term national interest must take priority over individual or party interest, but where are the champions of this interest? In the unlikely event of the legal challenge to the validity of the Brexit vote succeeding, we might see a consensus of parliamentarians whose vision is broader than that of the current leadership, but without such an outcome, the future looks bleak.

Noel Bird

Boreen Point, Queensland, Australia

Car travel is far too cheap

George Monbiot is, of course, right to point out how we have become addicted to cars, but I wouldn’t hold my breath about this changing anytime soon (30 September)[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/20/roads-car-use-health-driving]. Far from “sitting fuming in a toxic cloud”, most car journeys are actually quite convenient and cheap. And this where the problems start.

The marginal cost of running a car is so low that if you own a car you would be mad (or really dedicated) to consider paying at least twice this to use an infrequent bus or train or even walk. We have friends who think nothing of driving a few hundred metres to visit us.

Perhaps modern smart-card technology will eventually allow drivers to pay the full cost of their own car as they use it. In our village we have a community car club where cars can be hired by the hour at a fully inclusive rate, but it is still difficult to wean people off their own car. If the fuel duty were increased significantly this would help, but what government would have the courage to do this?

Our behaviours that cause climate change are so embedded and habitual, and climate change is seen as so distant, that change will be difficult. If we are serious about tackling climate change we need a combination of the imaginative solutions George Monbiot describes and some real sticks (such as fuel duty increases) to fund these.

Martin Mansell

Lochwinnoch, UK

• George Monbiot is correct that if a transportation system were designed today with the objective of moving people efficiently, it would not focus on the private automobile. However, at least in North America, our transportation systems were not designed for efficient movement, but rather for auto industry profit.

The car companies bought up the streetcar systems of almost every major North American city – Toronto and San Francisco alone successfully resisted – in order to tear up the rails and create a market for their product. This eventually resulted in an antitrust conviction – and a fine of one single dollar.

Greg DePaco

New Westminster, British Columbia, Canada

A love letter to the Weekly

Sitting at the Oslo Central rail station with my coffee and the Guardian Weekly for 7 October, I am reminded again why I love this paper. The article about Colombia[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/03/why-colombians-voted-against-peace-farc-president-santos-better-deal] puts the announcement by the Nobel peace prize committee in a sharper light, and that is just one of many worthwhile articles.

I felt silly wanting to write you a love letter but then I turned to page 20 and found David Ferguson[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/27/when-strangers-meet-life-is-richer-kio-stark] ’s If you see me somewhere, say hello. Hello, David Ferguson and all you other readers of this unique newspaper, which binds us together in a particular way. Would that the journalistic and editorial traditions of the Weekly were more common, because I am convinced it would give rise to more of the “delicious sedition” that Ferguson and I – and I hope many more – hold dear.

Rachel Myr

Kristiansand, Norway

Briefly

• Zoe Wood’s article Ashley Madison on rebound (7 October)[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/sep/27/ashley-madison-we-thought-about-her-as-a-hollywood-star-gone-wrong] doesn’t mention the probable side effects of the behaviour being advocated by this website – HIV, gonorrhoea and other sexually transmitted diseases, the harm done to the children by marital break-up, and the unhappiness of one or both of the husband and wife couple.

Rob Segal and James Millership’s bottom line seems to be how much they can line their own pockets, and the rest of humanity can go to hell in a handcart. They may end up doing just that themselves.

Jennifer Gibson

Worthing, UK

• You published a fascinating article on rats (7 October)[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/sep/20/man-v-rat-war-could-the-long-war-soon-be-over]. Two things struck me: in the US alone 12,000 children per year are accidentally poisoned by pesticide meant for rats. Can this be true?

I suppose we tolerate this collateral damage because of “our inability to live responsibly within our environment; our tendencies toward hedonism and greed; and our failures to look after the weakest among us”. Which is a powerful, if chastening, summing up of human behaviour.

Alex Siddall

Reading, UK

Email letters for publication to weekly.letters@theguardian.com [mailto:weekly.letters@theguardian.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Interior minister says there have been misunderstandings on each side but both must take responsibility for crisis

France’s interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, has warned of a damaging blame game between his country and the UK over the Calais **refugee** crisis, with accusations of selfishness and inhumanity preventing action to support vulnerable individuals.

He said there has been a catalogue of misunderstandings between France and the UK about the mechanisms and political will to solve the Calais migrant crisis.

“From the point of view of some in France[https://www.theguardian.com/world/france], the Calais migrants’ misery is entirely down to the selfishness of the British government,” he wrote in an article[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/17/uk-moral-duty-calais-unaccompanied-children-asylum] for the Guardian.

Cazeneuve said some felt that the UK was using the Le Touquet agreement, which controls entry from Europe to the UK, to shirk its responsibility.

“They accuse the UK of using these agreements in an unscrupulous way, as a means of refusing to take in **refugees** fleeing conflicts in the Middle East, including unaccompanied children with family connections in the UK,” he said.

The minister said it should be accepted that neither Britain nor France was the first safe country where migrants and **refugees** had landed, but both had to take responsibility.

Related: The UK must fulfil its moral duty to Calais’ unaccompanied children | Bernard Cazeneuve[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/17/uk-moral-duty-calais-unaccompanied-children-asylum]

“We are accused of being too slow to process asylum applications, and of being indifferent to the human stories behind each set of forms,” he said. “The reality, of course, is that neither government has chosen to leave people with the right to **refugee** status in the cold and the mud – women and children least of all.”

Cazeneuve has said there is now greater political cooperation to solve the crisis, saying the transfer of 6,000 people from the camp to reception centres across France is the reason the government has begun dismantling the Calais camp.

Last week, the home secretary, Amber Rudd, told MPs[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/10/uk-close-to-deal-for-transfer-of-child-refugees-from-calais-amber-rudd] the French authorities had agreed to verify a list of 387 child **refugees** with a legal right to come to the UK drawn up by Citizens UK. “Once we have that official list we will move quickly within days and remove very quickly those children,” she said.

More than 70 unaccompanied **refugee** children have arrived in the UK under the Dublin regulation, which give **refugees** the right to join family members who are in the UK. Fourteen arrived from Calais on Monday[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/17/refugee-children-britain-calais-resettlement-uk] as part of the Home Office’s attempt to relocate children before the camp is demolished.

However, Cazeneuve said, the dismantling of the Calais camp could only be the first step. “We must not just prevent migrants from living in precarious conditions on our soil, be it in the area around Calais or on the Kent coast,” he wrote.

“We must also act together to ensure that **refugees** aspiring to gain asylum in Europe[https://www.theguardian.com/world/europe-news] are dealt with in conditions of solidarity and humanity, in a manner in keeping with the history and the values of our two countries.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**British, US and French special forces and paratroopers support push by peshmerga from east and Iraqi army from south

Iraqi forces, supported by US-led airstrikes and special forces, advanced on Mosul from the east and the south on Monday in the first phase of a long-planned offensive to retake the city from Islamic State.

The advance on Monday evening aims to liberate Iraq’s second biggest city, an Isis stronghold where its leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, declared the establishment of a caliphate two years ago.

The Kurdish forces, known as peshmerga, advanced steadily in long armoured columns across the Nineveh plain to the east of Mosul, pausing at each deserted village to allow engineers to search for mines and booby traps left by Isis.

Peshmerga officials claimed their tanks had destroyed two Isis suicide truck bombs. By the end of the first day in the attempt to oust the jihadi group from their last major Iraqi stronghold, Kurdish leaders said their forces had captured 200 sq km (77 sq miles).

Most of the local population on the Nineveh plain has fled since Isis seized the area in the summer of 2014.

Meanwhile, the Iraqi army has also moved into villages to the south of the city, where local tribes had ousted Isis on their own.

Early reports suggested the peshmerga advance from the east met relatively little resistance while the Iraqi army and Shia militias advancing from the south faced tougher opposition and more difficult terrain.

Related: Battle for Mosul: Isis city under attack from Iraqi and Kurdish forces – live news[https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2016/oct/17/mosul-battle-iraq-isis-islamic-state-peshmerga-latest]

Under a US-brokered agreement negotiated in the run-up to the offensive, thepeshmerga and Shia militias such as the Iranian backed Hashd al-Shaabi are supposed to stop short of entering Mosul itself, which is mostly Sunni, allowing the Iraqi army’s counter-terrorism force, federal police and local tribal fighters to conduct the house-to-house fighting in the city, with the aim of minimising sectarian conflict [http://www.thenational.ae/opinion/comment/the-battle-for-mosul-is-a-struggle-for-iraq-itself#page1] in the aftermath of the battle against Isis.

US, British and French special forces are playing a supporting role in the offensive, some giving coordinates on enemy targets for airstrikes. The US has a total 5,000 troops in Iraq, many serving as advisors to the 12 Iraqi brigades that have been specifically trained for the battle of Mosul. An ABC correspondent covering the peshmerga advance reported that US troops from the 101st Airborne Division were operating openly with the Kurds.

“Early indications are that Iraqi forces met their objections and are ahead of schedule on this first day. Peter Cook, the Pentagon spokesman, said.

He said Isis has an estimated force of between three and five thousand inside the city, which has a population of about a million.

“They have had two years to dig in and to plan IED’s [improvised explosive devices- booby-traps],” Cook said. “This is an enemy with a capacity to make life difficult.”

He added that when Iraqi forces identify an Isis stronghold, they may pass on the coordinates to US “forward air controllers” serving behind the front line. Any subsequent air strike would have to be approved by the US command and the Iraqi authorities.

“There are Americans on the outskirts of the city, but Iraqis are in the lead, and the Americans are operating behind the forward line,” Cook said.

Addressing his troops at Khazer, east of Mosul, the president of the Iraqi Kurdistan region, Masoud Barzani, said: “This is the first time the peshmerga and Iraqi forces have worked together against Daesh [Isis] … we hope this will become a concrete foundation for our future relations with Baghdad.

“The liberation of Mosul is not an end to terror and terrorism but this was a good lesson so in the future we will resolve our differences through understanding and working together. We reassure the people of Mosul that both the peshmerga and the Iraqi army will do everything not to cause any loss to the people and no revenge killing will take place.”

Lt Gen Stephen Townsend, the commander of US military operations against Isis, said in a statement: “This operation to regain control of Iraq’s second-largest city will likely continue for weeks, possibly longer. Iraq is supported by a wide range of coalition capabilities, including air support, artillery, intelligence, advisers and forward air controllers.

“But to be clear, the thousands of ground combat forces who will liberate Mosul are all Iraqis.”

“Everyone is staying at home because we don’t know what else to do. Daesh are mostly moving around on motorbike and have small and heavy guns,” said Abu Mohammed, a 35 year-old in the east Mosul. “The planes started bombing Mosul around one in the morning today and they are in the sky constantly and occasionally striking targets.”

“Daesh are moving into civilian houses and mixing with the population. For example Daesh has placed a large depot of IED’s in a house next to my cousin’s house. I begged him to leave his house and bring his family to stay with me as the house could be targeted by coalition. He refused and said: Whatever destiny brings,” said Mohammed (not his real name).

Another resident, Abu Sabra, aged 22, said: “Daesh is collecting tires in the city in order to burn them at Bashiqa junction to prevent the planes from targeting them.”

He added that the jihadists had lined up shipping containers along the sides of the roads in Mosul.

“There is no money and even though the food is cheap we can not buy. This evening we only had fried potatoes,” Abu Sabra said. He said Isis was shooting anyone seen trying to flee Mosul, but there were growing signs of potential resistance to Isis from inside the city.

“I can see sign that people want to resist Daesh because they have had enough. In my neighborhood , some people openly use their mobile phones which is forbidden. Others who still have their guns hidden, are preparing to join the peshmerga or the Iraqi army when they enter the city to fight Daesh.”

Related: If the Mosul offensive is a success, what could this mean for Isis?[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/isis-mosul-offensive-iraq-islamic-militancy]

The UN high commissioner for **refugees** (UNHCR) warned that up to 100,000 Iraqis[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-un-idUSKBN12H11N] may flee to Syria and Turkey to escape the battle for Mosul, and the organisation appealed for an additional $61m (£50m) to provide tents, camps, winter items and stoves for displaced people inside Iraq and new **refugees** needing shelter in the two neighbouring countries.

Josh Earnest, the White House spokesman, said the US had contributed more than $1bn since 2014 to address the humanitarian situation. “There’s a lot of investment that’s gone into this effort in advance of the operation and I think that will begin to pay dividends as we make progress against Isil in Mosul,” he said. “There has been an intense focus on making sure that when Isil is cleared from communities in Iraq there is a clear strategy for stabilising those communities.”

The Pentagon said seven million leaflets would be dropped over Mosul in the coming 48 hours advising civilians to stay in their homes and advising them on how to stay as safe as possible in the course of the looming battle.

The start of the offensive, which has been months in the planning, was announced in an address on state television by Iraq’s prime minister in the early hours of Monday morning. Haider al-Abadi said: “We have been battling Isis for more than two years. We started fighting Isis in the outskirts of Baghdad, and thank God we are now fighting them in the outskirts of Mosul and, God willing, the decisive battle will be soon.

“These forces that are liberating you today, they have one goal in Mosul, which is to get rid of Daesh and to secure your dignity. They are there for your sake.”

After a month-long buildup, the last urban stronghold of Isis in Iraq has for several days been almost completely surrounded by a 30,000-strong force.

On Monday morning just before dawn, columns of peshmerga fighters could be seen lined up for the offensive to the north-east of the city. The forces had taken control of seven villages and the main road linking Mosul with the Iraqi Kurdish regional capital, Irbil, by 10am BST, Turkey’s state-run news agency reported.

Soldiers had earlier stood by bonfires singing battle hymns while in the distance the sound of airstrikes reverberated along with a regular artillery barrage.

Related: Five key questions about the battle for Mosul[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/how-important-is-the-battle-for-mosul-iraq-islamic-state]

South of the city, Iraqi forces, which had driven hundreds of miles for what Baghdad has hailed as a last battle against the terrorist group, moved into their final positions on Friday.

Skirmishes have flared outside Mosul over the last few days with an airstrike on one of its main bridges on Sunday. It is not clear who was responsible for the strike on the al-Hurriya bridge but Amaq, the news agency associated with Isis, blamed US forces. It is thought that the destruction of the bridge could hinder Isis fighters trying to flee the city.

Early on Monday, a dense, noxious haze hung over the mountains and the plains leading to Mosul – caused by oil fires lit by Isis in anticipation of the attack.

Isis is believed to have heavily mined the roads leading into its territory with large numbers of improvised devices and the Iraqi government has previously warned Mosul residents to stay in their homes.

In a reflection of the widespread concern over potential sectarian conflict once Isis is ousted, the Saudi foreign minister, Adel al-Jubeir, said on Monday that Mosul would turn into a bloodbath and descend into mass killings if the Iraqi government allowed Shia militias to enter the city.

In a rare press conference in London, Jubeir said: “We oppose any kind of involvement by the Shia militias. If they go into Mosul... I would expect the negative reaction will be tremendous and if there are mass killings, it could end up being a bonanza for violent extremists, and recruitment for Daesh. It could add fuel to the sectarian fires raging in the region and so we have urged the Iraqi government not to use the Shia militias. That is the greatest danger that we see.”

He said that although there had been reassurances from the Iraqi government about the deployment of Shia militias, he was not sure the Iraqi government was fully in control.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The past week has shown that the route towards hard Brexit will be full of political, economic and constitutional pitfalls

Welcome to the Guardian’s weekly Brexit briefing, a summary of developments as Britain moves – not without incident – towards the EU exit. If you’d like to receive it as a weekly email, please sign up here[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/31/eu-referendum-morning-briefing-sign-up].

Producing the Guardian’s thoughtful, in-depth journalism is expensive – but supporting us isn’t. If you value our Brexit coverage, please become a Guardian supporter[https://membership.theguardian.com/supporter?CMP=ema-3377] and help make our future more secure. Thank you.

The big picture Last week provided a fair few signs that the path towards the kind of clean, hard Brexit Theresa May outlined to such rapturous reception at the Conservative party conference will not be without pitfalls.

The obstacles – political, economic, constitutional – came thick and fast.

The one that garnered most media attention, of course, was Marmite-gate, a pricing row between Tesco and Unilever that saw the supermarket run short of supplies[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/12/tesco-running-low-key-unilever-brands-price-row-supplier-supermarket-falling-pound] of Britain’s much-loved (and hated) spread and other famous household brands.

That was resolved fairly rapidly. But analysts warned[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/15/after-marmite-bitter-taste-price-rises-new-year-2017-retail] it was merely a harbinger of the major price rises[http://www.politico.eu/pro/nick-clegg-chocolate-cheese-prices-will-soar-after-hard-brexit/] likely to hit British consumers in the new year as manufacturers and retailers find themselves forced to respond to sterling’s fall against both the euro and dollar, with the pound now plumbing record lows[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/12/sterling-rebounds-brexit-fears-bank-of-england-business-live?page=with:block-57fe1163e4b05d915e424186#block-57fe1163e4b05d915e424186].

It is in the nature of currencies, of course, that their value fluctuates. More of a worry for the prime minister may be the stiffening parliamentary opposition to her view that MPs need not necessarily be consulted before article 50 is invoked.

After several Tory MPs threatened to vote with Labour on the question, May was forced to accept the need for “full and transparent” parliamentary scrutiny[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/theresa-may-accepts-need-for-brexit-debate-in-parliament] of the UK’s negotiating terms before Brexit is triggered (though she stopped short of allowing a vote).

Perhaps heartened by the government climbdown, a powerful cross-party group of MPs is now demanding it publishes a substantive outline[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/15/brexit-cross-party-mps-renew-calls-for-parliamentary-scrutiny] of its plans for the UK’s future relationship with the EU – a “Brexit blueprint” – and ensure parliament can amend it before negotiations start.

That’s not the end of it. Scotland is not too happy, either, with the direction Brexit appears to be taking in the wake of the Conservative conference.

The first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, said it was “highly likely” that Edinburgh would call a second independence referendum[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/16/nicola-sturgeon-second-scottish-referendum-likely-in-event-of-hard-brexit] by 2020 if Britain left the EU single market, adding that she also wanted to explore ways of keeping Scotland in the single market even if the rest of the UK left.

Nor, it seems, are some of the most important sectors of the UK economy taking the threat of a hard Brexit lying down.

After the French finance minister, Michel Sapin, said US banks were planning a post-Brexit exodus[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/14/us-banks-planning-exodus-from-brexit-britain-michel-sapin-french-minister] from the City, the Open Europe thinktank said some could begin moving assets out of the UK[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/17/banks-could-move-assets-out-of-uk-by-2017-if-eu-passport-is-lost] as early as the end of 2017 if no deal is in prospect to maintain their rights to sell services freely across the EU.

And the chief executive of Nissan, Carlos Ghosn, was sufficiently alarmed at the prospect of tariffs on car exports to seek a personal meeting with May, during which she assured him the company would not be penalised[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/14/nissan-chief-executive-carlos-ghosn-meets-theresa-may-brexit-talks] by Brexit (although there was no detail on how that might be achieved).

The politics of the immediate financial aftermath of Brexit, too, look somewhat delicate, with Downing Street refusing to rule out the UK having to continue paying into the EU budget[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/18bn-brexit-divorce-bill-eu-payment-boris-johnson] after its exit and analysis suggesting a €20bn (£18bn) “Brexit divorce bill”. That is hardly likely to please hardline Brexiters.

(Separately, the government is reportedly looking into the possibility of continuing to pay billions of pounds into the EU budget[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/17/cabinet-considers-plan-to-keep-citys-single-market-access-by-pay/] after Brexit to maintain single-market access for the City and other vital sectors.)

Doubtless, however, the prime minister will be heartened by the cheering words of her foreign secretary, Boris Johnson, who told the foreign affairs select committee that:

We are going to get the best possible [EU] deal for trade in goods and services... We are going to get a deal which is of huge value, and possibly of greater value. I think those who prophesied doom before the referendum have been proved wrong, and I think they will continue to be proved wrong.

The view from Europe Leaders from the EU’s 28 (for the time being) member states gather at the end of the week for a European council summit in Brussels that will be May’s first. Brexit won’t be up for formal discussion – “no negotiation before notification”, as Brussels likes to say – but the PM will utter the B-word at dinner on Thursday evening.

It’s likely to be a fairly chilly affair. Donald Tusk, the council president who will chair the summit, became the latest EU leader to make clear the EU’s view of the situation, saying last week that Britain faced the stark choice of either a hard Brexit or no Brexit – the first time he has taken such a clear line.

Tusk said the leave campaign and its “take back control” slogan showed the UK wanted to be free of EU law while rejecting free movement of people and contributions to the EU budget:

This approach has definitive consequences. Regardless of magic spells, this means a de facto will to radically loosen relations with the EU – something that goes by the name of hard Brexit... The only real alternative to a hard Brexit is no Brexit, even if today hardly anyone believes in such a possibility.

Meanwhile, back in Westminster In the ongoing tussle between government ministers over priorities for Brexit, the chancellor, Philip Hammond, is widely seen as the most economically cautious voice against ditching single market access in favour of **immigration** controls.

Unnamed cabinet “sources” have now started briefing against Hammond, accusing him of “arguing like an accountant” (apparently a bad thing for the man in charge of the nation’s finances).

Monday’s front pages saw similar stories in two conservative newspapers relaying the anger of more staunchly pro-leave cabinet colleagues[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/philip-hammonds-brexit-worries-point-to-cabinet-tensions] at Hammond reportedly questioning the wisdom of a rapid post-Brexit crackdown on unskilled EU workers arriving in the UK.

Monday's Times front page:

Hammond clashes with Brexiteers on migrants #tomorrowspaperstoday[https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers[https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/WnPOVPBSvd[https://t.co/WnPOVPBSvd] — Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 16, 2016[https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/787767310631174144]

May’s official spokeswoman didn’t deny there had been “lively debates” within the cabinet’s Brexit committee – whose 12 members are split evenly[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/14/theresa-may-brexit-committee-members-pro-leave-boris-johnson] between leavers and remainers – but described these as a necessary way to thrash out the best consensus position.

But perhaps more uncomfortable for the government is that it is, at long last, facing some effective opposition to its “no running commentary” mantra as to what Brexit might mean.

Keir Starmer, the very able former director of public prosecutions recently named Labour’s shadow Brexit secretary, has already helped produce a probing list of 170 questions for the government over Brexit, forced May into permitting a debate[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/theresa-may-accepts-need-for-brexit-debate-in-parliament] on the strategy for leaving the EU – and used that debate to give the government an uncomfortable time[https://www.theguardian.com/law/video/2016/oct/12/keir-starmer-on-brexit-on-what-terms-should-we-leave-the-eu-video] about what it is up to.

You should also know that:

\* The high court began hearing a legal challenge to Theresa May’s plan to start the article 50 process of leaving the EU without a vote in parliament[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/government-cannot-trigger-brexit-without-mps-backing-court-told-article-50].

\* Brexit could hit Ireland harder than Britain, according to Irish leaders[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/16/irish-pm-calls-brexit-summit-to-confront-looming-crisis], who have called an unprecedented summit amid warnings of an economic “disaster” on both sides of the border.

\* The number of hate crimes leaped by 41%[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/hate-crimes-eu-referendum-home-office-figures-confirm] in the month after the Brexit referendum, Home Office statistics confirm.

\* Boris Johnson said the UK’s continued membership of the EU[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/16/secret-boris-johnson-column-favoured-uk-remaining-in-eu] would be a “boon for the world and for Europe” in a previously unpublished newspaper column written days before the vote.

\* Eastern Europeans who work seasonally at UK farms[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/16/brexit-vote-brings-uncertainty-for-fruit-pickers-and-farmers] fear for their livelihoods post-Brexit, while their employers fear a labour shortage.

\* There has been a huge rise in Britons applying for Irish citizenship[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/13/huge-rise-in-britons-applying-for-irish-citizenship-after-brexit-vote], with the London embassy handling more cases in a month than in the whole of 2015.

\* Theresa May is to fly to India next month[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/16/theresa-may-to-visit-india-trade-priorities-post-brexit-uk-single-market] on a trip seen as a key test of her ability to win backing for future for post-Brexit trade deals.

\* A Conservative councillor from Surrey has called for support for the UK’s membership of the EU to become a treasonable offence[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/call-to-keep-uk-in-eu-should-be-treason-urges-tory-councillors-petition].

Read this: In the Guardian, Zoe Williams says the cabinet EU hardliners are not Brexiters but dangerous political extremists[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/16/hard-brexiters-political-extremists-boris-johnson-cabinet] who have “nothing but their confidence”:

To be simultaneously so certain, and yet so chaotic, is perhaps an inevitable condition for extremists, but one you’d only see when doomed to observe them at close range. The question is not whether they can last, but how much damage they can do before they fall.

At Politico, Paul Taylor says Britain is hurtling toward the worst of all worlds[http://www.politico.eu/article/theresa-may-tories-britain-uk-brexit-eu-deal-delusions-negotiations/] – a swift, hard Brexit on unfavourable trade terms – and the government is suffering from worrying delusions:

Unable to resolve the contradiction between single market access and controlling **immigration**, May and her ministers are denying that they face any such choice. Perhaps some of them genuinely believe the time is ripe for European governments to reinterpret freedom of movement. But that idea is deluded... The unity and strength of the remaining EU is their top priority.

In the Times (paywall)[http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/were-heading-for-the-biggest-crisis-since-suez-vhqxzcpl7], after Michael Gove accused the remain campaign of “slut-shaming” the British public, Matthew Parris offered an eloquent and passionate rebuttal, arguing Britain was heading for a worse disaster than Suez:

Bayonet the wounded all you like, Leavers, but the nation waits to hear your plans. The initiative is yours. We await your proposals and we accept your right – even your duty – to proceed with them. But we want to know what they are. How do you plan to make this thing work?... We ask because the suspicion grows that none of you has the foggiest. And if that’s true, then you have betrayed the trust of 17 million people who thought you knew. Before the referendum you assumed the mantle of “us” in a revolt against “them” and profited mightily from that assumption. But now you’re in charge. So scream – because the people’s anger will be terrible.

And back at the Guardian, a Dutchman, Joris Luyendijk, subjects us to another bracing blast of European realism[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/12/britain-brexit-eu-pound-euro], observing that in practice, Brexit will mean whatever the EU, not Britain, wants:

It will defend its national and continental interests with as much vigour as Britain will. And, since the EU is more than seven times bigger, it will impose its will. Whatever the political darlings of the billionaire-owned British press tell themselves and their followers, Brexit will mean what the EU decides it means.

Tweet of the Week: The prime minister of Luxembourg neatly explains just why it is that the EU-27 are so disinclined to listen once more to Britain’s very particular demands...

Xavier Bettel on Brexit: “Before they were in and they had many opt-outs; now they want to be out with many opt-ins” https://t.co/jBhASFoKa5[https://t.co/jBhASFoKa5] — POLITICO Europe (@POLITICOEurope) October 11, 2016[https://twitter.com/POLITICOEurope/status/785739375225270273]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The #BoycottSchoolCensus campaign won concessions over collecting data on children’s nationality – but in the current chilling climate parents still fear getting caught out

There is a chill over schools this October and it’s more than an autumnal breeze. Two intrusive new rules issued by the Department for Education have caused consternation among schools, academics and journalists – giving an early version of the spine-tingling normally reserved for Halloween.

The first is an edict that schools should record the nationality and birthplace of every child[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/26/parents-boycott-requests-childrens-country-of-birth-information] and send them to the government. Schools were told in the summer, but a fuss erupted this month (including the #BoycottSchoolCensus[https://twitter.com/hashtag/BoycottSchoolCensus?src=hash] campaign) as the collection date drew closer and schools sent poorly worded letters to parents, in some cases asking all foreign nationals to report to the school with their passports. In reality, schools do not need to ask for documentation and parents are under no obligation[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/oct/08/boycottschoolcensus-why-parents-are-refusing-to-reveal-their-childs-nationality] to answer. But given this happened in the same week that the home secretary announced plans to have all companies list their foreign workers[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/09/plan-to-force-firms-to-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers-abandoned], fears grew that this was part of an **immigrant** witch-hunt[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/mar/27/ministers-immigration-crackdown-education-tourists].

Related: Ministers planning **immigration** crackdown on 'education tourists'[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/mar/27/ministers-immigration-crackdown-education-tourists]

There is a sensible reason for collecting more information about children. Government data on ethnicity is limited. Attainment data groups all “black” pupils and, when looked at in this way, we hear how “black” pupils on free school meals get better exam results than their counterpart “white” pupils. But this masks huge differences within the group. For example, black Igbo speakers – typically from Nigeria – have a very high average GCSE pass rate, while black Portuguese speakers – typically from Angola and Guinea-Bissau – have a very low one[http://schoolsweek.co.uk/focus-on-white-pupils-hides-ethnic-minority-under-achievement/]. It does make some sense for the DfE to seek more specific information for the purpose of better analysis and targeting resources.

What’s not clear, though, is why potentially useful data on children’s home language has become mixed with questions about their nationality and birthplace. According to the Coram Centre[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/nov/09/illegal-migrant-children-denied-access-education-housing], about 60,000 children born in Britain, with British birth certificates, are nevertheless not British. A common reason is that their parents entered on a visa that has now expired, meaning the child does not automatically have British citizenship. So a question of nationality that is easy for some families is difficult for others.

The risk is that parents afraid their child might get caught out could remove the child from school rather than put the family at risk of deportation. Sir Michael Wilshaw, the head of Ofsted, has already warned that children kept away from school are at greater risk of exploitation[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/jul/14/missing-children-risk-of-exploitation-ofsted-michael-wilshaw].

Related: #BoycottSchoolCensus: why parents are refusing to reveal their child's nationality[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/oct/08/boycottschoolcensus-why-parents-are-refusing-to-reveal-their-childs-nationality]

Thankfully, after a public fuss and a clever campaign by Against Borders for Children[https://www.schoolsabc.net/], the DfE has formally agreed with the Home Office that this year’s information will not be passed on for the purpose of **immigration** checking[http://schoolsweek.co.uk/pupil-nationality-data-is-safe-with-us-says-government/]. But I wouldn’t bet against it happening in future. Children’s details have been passed by the DfE to the Home Office[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/12/individual-childrens-details-passed-to-home-office-for-immigration-purposes?CMP=twt\_a-education\_b-gdnedu] for **immigration** purposes already. And in 2013, the government considered trying to ban the children of illegal **immigrants** ( “education tourists”[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/mar/27/ministers-immigration-crackdown-education-tourists] ) from schools – until it realised this would contravene UN rules.

The second chilling announcement signalled that the government intends to restrict access[http://schoolsweek.co.uk/academics-must-show-research-to-government-two-days-before-publishing-say-new-dfe-rules/] by journalists, academics and bloggers to important government data on schoolchildren. Those with access to the national pupil database were told that in future, they must not write anything about the data without showing it to the government first – with 48 hours’ notice. “This will reduce the risk that DfE are caught off guard by being asked to provide statements about research the appropriate people have not seen,” an email said.

This is bizarre for a government that spent the past six years banging on about its “open data” agenda. Could it perhaps be a response to those many researchers who were able to show, over and again, that grammar schools do not aid social mobility?

In US legal terms a “ chilling effect[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chilling\_effect] ” is “the inhibition or discouragement of the legitimate exercise of natural and legal rights by the threat of legal sanction”. In a world where parents are afraid to send their child to school in case it means deportation, and where academics are afraid that telling the government inconvenient truths could risk their livelihood, these are chilling times.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Secrecy laws, funding cuts and restrictive contracts have effectively gagged civil society advocates, special rapporteur says

The Australian government should urgently review the Border Force Act’s secrecy provisions and improve protections for whistleblowers in the **immigration**detention system, a United Nations special rapporteur has said.

The UN independent expert Michel Forst made the recommendation while launching a report that concludes that Australian governments have effectively gagged civil society advocates with secrecy laws, funding cuts and restrictive contracts that prevent them speaking up about human rights abuses.

Civil society groups including Save the Children have welcomed the preliminary findings, which Forst presented in Canberra on Tuesday after a two-week visit meeting human rights defenders.

Related: Offshore detention whistleblower loses job after condemning 'atrocity' of camps[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jun/21/offshore-detention-whistleblower-loses-job-after-condemning-atrocity-of-camps]

Forst said Australia had “hundreds of secrecy laws that unnecessarily restrict access to government information”, including the Border Force Act and state anti-protest laws. These formed part of “mounting evidence of a range of cumulative measures” putting pressure on civil society groups and increasing the disparity between Australia’s commitments to the rule of law and its practice.

In particular, Forst singled out secrecy in the **immigration** portfolio, changes denying environmental advocates legal standing, cuts to community legal centres and gag clauses preventing advocacy by non-government organisations receiving grants.

“The **immigration** department has gone to extraordinary lengths to curb whistleblowers, public servants or contractors, to share information in the public domain about serious human rights abuses in offshore detention centres,” he said.

The Border Force Act contains a section criminalising the making of an “unauthorised disclosure”[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/27/immigration-detention-doctors-challenge-border-force-acts-secrecy-clause-in-court] about conditions in detention camps, punishable by two years in prison.

Forst said aspects of the law that related to freedom of expression should be reviewed and the public interest disclosure framework “substantially strengthened … to ensure effective protection to whistleblowers”.

He said he was “astounded” at “frequent public vilification of rights defenders by senior government officials” to discredit and intimidate them. Media and businesspeople had “contributed to stigmatisation”, he said.

“Even the president of the Australian Human Rights Commission, Prof Gillian Triggs, faced government intimidation and public questioning of her integrity, impartiality and judgment after the commission’s inquiry into the child harm in **immigration** detention[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/apr/01/human-rights-commission-president-gillian-triggs-hits-back-at-the-critics].”

It forces staff to face an invidious choice: to face prosecution, or speak out about egregious child rights violations

Mat Tinkler, Save the Children

High-profile whistleblowers such as Dr Peter Young[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/05/-sp-australias-detention-regime-sets-out-to-make-asylum-seekers-suffer-says-chief-immigration-psychiatrist], the former head of mental health for International Health and Medical Services, and Paul Stevenson, a traumatologist who worked on Nauru and Manus[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jun/20/the-worst-ive-seen-trauma-expert-lifts-lid-on-atrocity-of-australias-detention-regime], have faced heavy recriminations for speaking out about abuses in offshore detention.

They, and others, have lost jobs, been publicly vilified and, in some cases, had their communications monitored, and police investigations launched into their activities. Friends and colleagues have been telephoned and harassed by police, seeking information about private conversations.

Wilson Security even took the extraordinary step of hiring a private investigator to “aggressively” pursue[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/29/wilson-security-hired-investigator-to-find-sources-of-stories-about-detention-centres] the sources of stories in the Guardian and other media outlets.

Forst said contractors such as Save the Children had been subjected to raids and egregious allegations of misconduct, removed from operations[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jan/15/save-the-children-workers-unfairly-fired-on-nauru-for-political-reasons-report] and had their personal and professional reputations targeted by politicians and media[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/18/peter-dutton-says-he-wont-be-defamed-by-guardian-and-abc-over-nauru-files].

He said many activists spoke of an atmosphere of fear and censorship, and several defenders preferred not to meet with him for fear of retaliation.

Access to justice was restricted by clauses preventing appeal against **immigration** decisions, and reported attempts by the government to grant officers in detention centres immunity from criminal and civil liability.

The head of policy and public advocacy at Save the Children Australia, Mat Tinkler, told Guardian Australia Forst’s conclusions were “absolutely right”.

“The regime of secrecy on offshore processing means Australian taxpayers don’t have the opportunity to judge [its] merits... they don’t have all the facts on the table,” he said.

“It forces staff to face an invidious choice: to face prosecution, or speak out about egregious child rights violations when nothing is being done to remedy them.”

Tinkler welcomed the recommendation to review the Border Force Act, noting that although there had been no prosecutions Forst found it had a chilling effect.

He said Save the Children had “a well-documented history of being attacked for being the messenger of bad news”. It had resulted in the “absence of a rights-based organisation providing support to vulnerable people in detention”, Tinkler said.

Forst noted that the government had introduced a bill to prevent individuals or organisations that have engaged in environmental activities[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/nov/18/coalition-unexpectedly-pushes-on-with-green-lawfare-legislation-plan] in the past two years from challenging decisions under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act.

The government had used “vitriolic language” to describe those bringing legal challenges, calling them “radical green activists” engaged in “vigilante litigation”.

Forst complained of “drastic defunding of peak bodies” including the total defunding of the Environmental Defenders Offices[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/mar/31/environmental-defenders-office-lashes-out-at-george-brandis-over-funding-cuts] and the National Congress of Australia’s First Peoples.

Gagging clauses prevented organisations that received government funding from “doing any form of advocacy, which is contrary to the principle of a free and democratic society”, he said.

An Australian Conservation Foundation campaigner, Basha Stasak, welcomed the UN rapporteur’s findings that environmental campaigners had been “vilified” for legitimate legal action.

She called on the government to “take on board the recommendations that environmental groups have a legitimate interest in decision making and in the courts” and withdraw amendments to deny them standing and deprive them of tax-deductible status.

Related: Coalition to restrict green groups' right to challenge after Carmichael setback[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/aug/18/coalition-to-remove-green-groups-right-to-challenge-after-carmichael-setback]

On Tuesday, Triggs told the Senate legal and constitutional affairs legislation committee that there had been “a real slipping back in our commitment to the rule of law and fundamental freedoms” in Australia.

Forst said the degradation of protections for civil society could be “reversed and improved” and called on the government to adopt a national action plan on human rights.

He will present a final report with his findings and recommendations to the UN human rights council in 2017. The government will be given an opportunity to comment on the factual aspects of the draft report before its final submission.

Forst’s visit will be followed by a visit from a special rapporteur on the human rights of migrants in November and in 2017, who will report on conditions in offshore detention on Manus Island and Nauru.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Labor moves to suspend standing orders after reports PM may weaken gun laws as Turnbull describes Amnesty’s claims of torture on Nauru as ‘absolutely false’. Follow it live...

block-time published-time 2.47am BST

DON’T SHOUT!

enltrIan Macdonald, Senator for hypocrisy? #estimates[https://twitter.com/hashtag/estimates?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/f3jgYafixT[https://t.co/f3jgYafixT]

— Senator Penny Wong (@SenatorWong) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/SenatorWong/status/788189897857171456]block-time published-time 2.36am BST

Our favourite legal and constitutional affairs committee has broken for lunch.

As have the others. Chairman Ian Macdonald did counsel people to get food and not survive on snakes and lollies.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.46am BST

block-time published-time 2.34am BST

Labor’s new strong man.

Tony Abbott helping his prime minister on guns. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 2.30am BST

Tony Burke says that, unless the Coalition supports Labor’s motion, they cannot be trusted not to water down the gun laws.

A vote on the motion is deferred.

The House in on to the vocational education bills.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.36am BST

block-time published-time 2.29am BST

Malcolm Turnbull says:

Let me be very clear... we stand by John Howard’s gun reforms.

The Adler is a seven-shot lever-action gun.

Turnbull says the Adler gun is category A, the easiest guns of four categories to acquire.

That is why there has been an import ban. But its classification still has to be considered by the Coag group that does these things.

Turnbull says his government has ensured that no lever-action guns with more than five rounds can be imported.

We stand by the agreement and want to see it stronger, says Turnbull.

Labor’s attempt to use this is a disgrace, he says.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.36am BST

block-time published-time 2.20am BST

Tanya Plibersek now speaks.

Everyone in Australia would remember exactly where they were when they heard of the Port Arthur massacre.

block-time published-time 2.19am BST

Turnbull does not look happy.

We want to get on with the business of government, says Pyne.

He notes Turnbull wants to speak.

block-time published-time 2.16am BST

Bill Shorten ends, saying at least Tony Abbott is strong.

Gawd.

Now Christopher Pyne is responding, stepping everyone through the Labor factional wars.

The prime minister appears.

block-time published-time 2.13am BST

At the very same time that Labor moves their motion:

enltrDisturbing to see reports of horse-trading on gun laws. ABCC should be supported on its merits.

— Tony Abbott (@TonyAbbottMHR) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/TonyAbbottMHR/status/788185131261362176]Here to help.

block-time published-time 2.11am BST

This is the Labor motion:

That the House:

1. Notes that:

a) This morning, there are reports the prime minister will do a deal on gun laws to pass the Abbott government’s industrial relations bills; and

b) The prime minister has on at least five occasions just this morning refused to rule out trading away John Howard’s gun laws to pass the Abbott government’s industrial relations bills; and

2. Therefore, the House resolves that:

a) It will never put the safety of Australians at risk by trading away John Howard’s gun laws to pursue an Abbott government attack on workers; and

b) It will never water down Australia’s gun laws.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.37am BST

block-time published-time 2.10am BST

Bill Shorten on the Coalition :

This is not the party of John Howard anymore... they are not fit to clean his shoes on this issue.

He notes Howard opposes the watering down on laws for the Adler shotgun.

A reminder: Senate crossbencher David Leyonjhelm wants to horse-trade to allow the Adler into Australia in return for his vote on the ABCC.

This morning, Turnbull supported Howard’s gun reforms but said he would not flag his negotiations in the media.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.38am BST

block-time published-time 2.07am BST

From an ABC News spokesperson :

The Four Corners report ‘The Forgotten Children’ told the story of the more than 100 **refugee** children who are living on Nauru, recognised as **refugees** and released from detention but trapped in a legal limbo. It was an important story, of obvious public interest. ABC News and Four Corners stand by the report and reject the claims of the government of Nauru. The interviews with the children were conducted remotely by Four Corners and their stories were subjected to the program’s usual rigorous fact-checking processes. The program was made in this way because the Nauruan government routinely refuses journalists access to report on offshore processing and charges prohibitive fees for media visas, which are not refunded if the applications are refused.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.39am BST

block-time published-time 2.04am BST

Labor moves to suspend standing orders on gun laws The House has begun.

Labor moves immediately to suspend standing orders on reports that Malcolm Turnbull may weaken John Howard’s gun laws.

The prime minister is willing to risk more guns on the streets for one vote in the Senate.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.39am BST

block-time published-time 2.01am BST

We are back.

The Greens senator Nick McKim asks Ian Macdonald to allow Penny Wong to answer George Brandis’ claim that Wong attacking someone’s human rights on the basis of a relationship is a serious accusation.

Macdonald says there is no point of order. He simply stopped the committee because everyone was shouting. [Irony font]

I won’t have anyone shouting over anyone else.

Brandis repeats his assertion.

Wong says it is demonstrably untrue and beneath contempt.

The flier for the function says the cheques for $40 were made payable to the Liberal party.

Macdonald said at $40 it would hardly be a fundraiser.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.42am BST

block-time published-time 1.52am BST

Penny Wong has come back with Tim Wilson’s attendance at a Liberal party event.

Brandis seeks clarification on a question.

Wong :

Would just like to be pompous the whole day?

Brandis :

You’re just being boorish now.

Wong is seeking to separate Wilson’s appearances at Liberal party functions in a private capacity and a public capacity as human rights commissioner.

Brandis says Wilson did not attend Liberal party events while a human rights commissioner but he accompanied his fiance, who was a member of the Liberal party. He went along as a “plus one”, says Brandis.

Wong says Wilson was headlining the role for a Liberal party fundraiser – that is, he was the main attraction at the fundraiser. Brandis starts on human rights of individuals and their relationships.

He doesn’t have a human right to use his position to generate funds for the Liberal party, says Wong.

You of all people, says Brandis.

That is not the case, the attorney general is seeking to avoid the answer.

Macdonald stops the hearing and the feed goes dead and we cut to a flourish of fairy tale music, which was quite appropriate.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.41am BST

block-time published-time 1.41am BST

Greens senator McKim goes to the Amnesty report. He says the committee heard from the **immigration** department that Australia was not in breach of **refugee**convention.

Triggs says the commission has been on record as being in breach of the **refugee** convention in a number of aspects of detention.

Brandis says the government does not accept the view that Australia is in breach of the convention.

McKim says, you honestly think that Australia is not refouling **refugees**?

Brandis said no.

McKim :

By turning boats back at sea, we are not refouling **refugees**?

Brandis says no, in many more words than that.

block-time published-time 1.33am BST

The Greens senator Nick McKim is asking about the Opcat (convention on torture). Triggs sees the “enormous importance” of the ratification. McKim tries to draw out a judgment at the slowness of the ratification process by the government.

She says it is not up to her to express those “emotions”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.48am BST

block-time published-time 1.30am BST

The Liberal senator Ian Macdonald accuses Labor senator Penny Wong of talking over others.

Penny Wong cracks up.

Senator Penny Wong. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.37am BST

block-time published-time 1.26am BST

Nauru government accuses Four Corners of coaching kids From AAP:

The Nauru government has accused the ABC Four Corners program of coaching **refugee** children for its documentary about the plight of youngsters detained on the island nation.

It claimed the ABC did not seek comment from the Nauru government before airing the “wild and unsubstantiated” claims by “discredited” former detention welfare services provider Save the Children.

“It was clear that these children were coached, and that the entire process of filming the **refugees** was stage-managed, as the program has not been to Nauru,” the government said in a statement.

The government accused the ABC of biased political propaganda, saying the report was an embarrassment to journalism.

“From start to finish it was denigrating, racist, false and pure political activism,” it said.

The show aired footage of Nauruans belting-up each other. But the government maintained Nauru was not a violent country and had a lower crime rate than Australia.

Comment has been sought from the ABC.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.52am BST

block-time published-time 1.20am BST

enltrThe Future Fund has told #estimates[https://twitter.com/hashtag/estimates?src=hash] it has been "taking risk out of the portfolio" and it expects returns will be lower

— Stephen Dziedzic (@stephendziedzic) October 18, 2016[https://twitter.com/stephendziedzic/status/788172169859600385]block-time published-time 1.19am BST

Rosie Lewis of the Oz[http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/foreign-affairs/labor-claims-ministers-chinese-watch-is-wristy-business/news-story/ca9477aae46b70c5e2a989729484e4ce] reports this morning on a bluetooth watch and a minister.

A bluetooth watch given to infrastructure minister Paul Fletcher by Chinese company Huawei has come under heavy scrutiny after Labor suggested it could pose a security risk but the piece has never been worn by its owner.

Labor Senate leader Penny Wong took interest in the watch after it was declared on Mr Fletcher’s updated register of members’ interests alongside a Chinese teapot from the same company.

Senator Wong used Senate estimates yesterday to ask the Department of Parliamentary Services if it had “any concerns” about a device provided by Huawei being connected to its computer network, noting there were a “range of security concerns” on the public record about the telecoms giant.

The former Labor government banned Huawei from participating in the rollout of the National Broadband Network on the basis of security advice from the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation and the Defence Intelligence Organisation.

The Abbott government kept the ban in place.

DPS said intelligence agencies recommended hardware such as USBs received from external sources should not be connected to the parliamentary networks.

But the department assured Senator Wong there was malware detection software that initiated anti-virus checks upon connection.

Fletcher says its all G because he does not wear the watch.

That wag Bowers is amused.

Tea, anyone?

Teapot with microphone in the spout. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.38am BST

block-time published-time 1.10am BST

The disability discrimination commissioner, Alastair McEwin, before the Senate legal and constitutional affairs committee. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.14am BST

block-time published-time 1.08am BST

Senator Linda Reynolds has begun on Gillian Triggs.

She asks about a Triggs quote in an interview, here in the Saturday Paper[https://www.thesaturdaypaper.com.au/news/politics/2016/04/23/human-rights-commission-president-gillian-triggs-speaks-out/14613336003160].

Ramona Koval asked:

You’ve said, ‘When I was younger I thought one could build on the past. But I have learned that we need to be eternally vigilant in ensuring human rights in a modern democracy.’ Is that a sense of an idea of conservatism, building on the past, not letting go of good things that have been achieved? And feeling that confidence in that idea has been shaken?

Triggs said this:

A shocking phenomenon is Australians don’t even understand their own democratic system. They are quite content to have parliament be complicit with passing legislation to strengthen the powers of the executive and to exclude the courts. They have no idea of the separation of powers and the excessive overreach of executive government.

Reynolds says she understands the need for better civic education but not Triggs’ cynicism about the Australian people.

A conversation ensues about the role of parliamentarians and Triggs’ role.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.13am BST

block-time published-time 12.58am BST

enltrBoth @SBS[https://twitter.com/SBS] and the ABC's Michelle Guthrie up at #estimates[https://twitter.com/hashtag/estimates?src=hash] today pic.twitter.com/XWRziZysNr[https://t.co/XWRziZysNr]

— amanda meade (@meadea) October 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/meadea/status/788160755178741760]block-time published-time 12.55am BST

Pollies v press this morning.

Annual pollies versus press basketball match. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian As Mike Bowers was heard to utter, float like a butterball, sting like a flea.

There is speculation that Labor MP Ed Husic simply organises this as a chance to beat up on journalists.

block-time published-time 12.51am BST

The attorney general, George Brandis, the race discrimination commissioner, Dr Tim Soutphommasane, and the Human Rights Commission president, Gillian Triggs, before the Senate legal and constitutional affairs committee. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.04am BST

block-time published-time 12.46am BST

Will nobody think of Barry Gibb ?

enltrImmigration depart admits visa costs for Bluesfest will jump from $7200 to $55k+ under changes starting in November #estimates[https://twitter.com/hashtag/estimates?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/ddq0Ai9PxU[https://t.co/ddq0Ai9PxU]

— Alice Workman (@workmanalice) October 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/workmanalice/status/788162555352985600]block-time published-time 12.38am BST

I did forget there was party room meetings today. Caucus is breaking so we will have some reports from that shortly.

block-time published-time 12.37am BST

The attorney general is listing all the funding relating to ice addiction for Jacqui Lambie.

Brandis says there is no insufficiency in our laws in relation to ice.

There are very strong laws with very strong penalties.

But Lambie is particularly concerned about the rights of parents for drug-addicted kids. Brandis says he will have a “good constructive talk” with her.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.44am BST

block-time published-time 12.33am BST

Turnbull answered a few extra questions at a doorstop.

Q: David Leyonhjelm says that the government welched on a deal with him last year about the sunset clause for the Adler shotgun. He thinks that he has been treated poorly. Do you think he has got any grounds for those concerns?

Turnbull:

David Leyonhjelm and I have discussed the matter and I’ll be working hard to ensure that any concerns or disappointment he has is addressed.

block-time published-time 12.31am BST

Thanks to Jasper Lindell, aspiring journalist, who is helping out today. Bless him for taking one of the hearings on:

Senator David Leyonhjelm has just recovered from a coughing fit in the Senate Rural and Regional Affairs and Transport Legislation Committee.

WA Labor senator Glen Sterle broke from questions to wonder whether someone was getting him a defibrillator.

He might be joining his friend, ex Senator D ay soon.

Senator Sterle was asking the Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation managing director, John Harvey, about rent arrangements for the Australian Pesticides and Veterinary Medicines Authority in light of its move to Wagga Wagga.

Hearing that rent was cheaper than the previous Canberra office, Sterle also joked:

Maybe we should move the parliament out there.

block-time published-time 12.28am BST

Jacqui Lambie wants to know from the attorney general, George Brandis, why the government is not ratifying the optional protocol on the convention against torture (Opcat)[http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/OPCAT/Pages/OPCATIndex.aspx].

Brandis says the government supports the principles in Opcat.

He says a number of steps need to happen first, including consultations with states and territories. It is on the agenda for the next Coag meeting for attorneys general on Friday.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.35am BST

block-time published-time 12.24am BST

Jacquie Lambie asks Triggs about the rights of families and access to mental health services for ice-addicted children. She is getting to the ability of parents to compel ice addicts into medical intervention.

Triggs takes the question regarding compulsion on notice.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.35am BST

block-time published-time 12.20am BST

Watts is digging to see if he was still on the public purse while starting his preselection process. Triggs said he was careful to discuss his resignation quickly.

block-time published-time 12.18am BST

Murray Watts asks if Triggs is sure that former freedom commissioner Tim Wilson didn’t undertake political campaigning or attend events while he was on the payroll of the HRC.

As far as she knows, he did not breach the guidelines.

Brandis :

Thank you very much Prof Triggs for that answer.

Watts says, so he did attend Liberal events on the public purse?

He attended various political parties’ events in his advocacy role for the Human Rights Act, says Brandis.

That included the Labor party if they wanted to engage with him on human rights issues.

So which ones? Brandis said he attended a Greens events. But he cannot say whether Wilson attended National party events.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.29am BST

block-time published-time 12.11am BST

Gillian Triggs says there is a cap for commissioners’ expenses. There is a high level of discretion for commissioners to spend their budget. She says new commissioners often spend more in the first year because they travel extensively to consult. Then it settles down.

There is also family reunion expenses and living away from home allowances.

Triggs says the annual cap is $30,000. Watt points out in Wilson’s first year, he spent $77,000. Triggs will get back to him on the reasons for the overspend.

Brandis intervenes for Wilson, his appointee and friend. He points out that the commission’s headquarters are in Sydney and he lives in Melbourne.

Watts says he is sure no one would be qualified for the job in Sydney.

Brandis asks:

Are you suggesting only people in Sydney should be qualified for the job?

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.27am BST

block-time published-time 12.04am BST

The Labor senator Murray Watt asks about former freedom commissioner Tim Wilson’s expenses. Wilson is of course now MP for Goldstein.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.14am BST

block-time published-time 12.02am BST

enltrProf Triggs' appearance a reminder of the last time Brandis, MacDonald & O'Sullivan bullied a statutory officer who dared to stand up

— Senator Penny Wong (@SenatorWong) October 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/SenatorWong/status/788151611717627904]block-time published-time 12.01am BST

The Greens senator Lee Rhiannon accuses senator David Leyonhjelm of horse trading.

There should not be horse-trading on these bills. It is so important that we do not let our stringent gun laws slip away by bartering over bills like this.

The ABCC is a piece of anti-worker legislation. It has nothing to do with cracking down on corruption, it is about union busting.

We know the Turnbull government is desperate to resurrect the ABCC bill but are they so desperate that they are willing to relax sensible gun laws that keep our communities safe?

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.09am BST

block-time published-time 11.59pm BST

Albo whacks colleague Gavin Marshall: his comments say more about him than others Senior Labor left shadow minister Anthony Albanese has responded to comments by senator Gavin Marshall, an ally of Kim Carr, threatening colleagues’ preselection[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/17/labor-left-try-to-stem-infighting-after-shorten-backs-kimberley-kitching-for-senate].

At a press conference in Canberra, Albanese said:

I have seen the comments about not just Andrew Giles but Catherine King and Jenny Macklin – they are all valued colleagues, they are all frontbench colleagues, they’re all playing a significant role in the parliament. And they have, I think, the support of everyone not just here but importantly the people in their respective electorates, which is why they were all returned on July 2 at the federal election.

Albanese said Marshall’s comments “speak for themselves” and “say more about senator Marshall than they do about the colleagues he’s disparaged”.

Asked about the preselection of Kimberley Kitching for Stephen Conroy ’s Senate vacancy, Albanese said it was a matter for the Victorian branch and he did not have a vote but noted that Kitching had the support of “some significant figures” in the Victorian branch (read: leader Bill Shorten ).

The preselection was conducted in accordance with the rules, Albanese said, but noted he has previously called for ALP members to have votes in all Senate preselections.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.08am BST

block-time published-time 11.54pm BST

The deputy prime minister, Barnaby Joyce, made the decision[http://www.canberratimes.com.au/national/public-service/barnaby-joyce-relocates-three-research-organisations-from-canberra-to-regional-australia-20160209-gmq2c7.html] earlier this year to move offices of the Grains Research and Development Corporationfrom Canberra to regional areas.

On Wednesday Mr Joyce announced three Canberra-based research organisations will have work shifted out of the national capital.

The Grains Research and Development Corporation, based in Barton at the foot of Parliament House, will have four offices outside Canberra at Dubbo, Toowoomba, Adelaide and Perth even though the GRDC recently signed a new lease.

AusTender documents [https://www.tenders.gov.au/?event=public.cn.view&cnUUID=0258805A-00C4-79E5-FAB3808BA496DAF9] say the 10-year, $12.2m lease for the grains corporation’s office in Barton was signed in December 2013 and expired in 2024.

The tweet below lists the costs related to those moves.

It is timely given the controversial decision by Joyce to move the APVMA offices out of Canberra to his own electorate. In the context of the election.

enltrGRDC gives #estimates[https://twitter.com/hashtag/estimates?src=hash] their relocation/fitout/running costs to move to four sites, excluding GST: #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] #agchatoz[https://twitter.com/hashtag/agchatoz?src=hash] @abcrural[https://twitter.com/ABCRural] pic.twitter.com/MRmvCmqkb4[https://t.co/MRmvCmqkb4]

— Anna Vidot (@AnnaVidot) October 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/AnnaVidot/status/788146261983502336]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.56pm BST

block-time published-time 11.47pm BST

There is a fair bit of tension in the room in this estimates.

Fawcett’s questioning was controlled and Soutphommasane was not backing off.

Now the Liberal senator Linda Reynolds is asking Triggs how she sees her role. Obviously the Coalition is trying to catch her out overstepping the mark. Triggs is walking carefully.

Perhaps what you are getting at is what is our mandate...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.56pm BST

block-time published-time 11.42pm BST

Triggs is asked by the Coalition senator David Fawcett about the complaint about the Bill Leak cartoon on the grounds of 18c.

Triggs says she cannot speak about individual complaints.

This was reported in the Oz[http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/media/bill-leak-cartoon-reviewed-for-racial-hatred/news-story/687803550b49792faaaae85c220b83f5] :

Bill Leak and the Australian are staring down a Human Rights Commission challenge under section 18C, 10 weeks after the cartoonist’s provocative drawing led to a public debate over Indigenous parental neglect.

Commission president Gil­lian Triggs’s delegate, Jodie Ball, has written to the newspaper’s lawyers to advise that allegations of racial hatred under the Racial Discrimination Act will be investigated.

The allegations are in a complaint by Melissa Dinnison over Leak’s August 4 cartoon, which prompted widespread commendation and criticism for its blunt portrayal of a crisis in Aboriginal parenting.

Fawcett suggests the cartoon presented a good image of a police officer in authority.

Triggs won’t bite so Fawcett moves to race commissioner Tim Soutphommasane about his comments about the cartoon and his assessment about “racial stereotyping”. Soutphommasane points out that his comments are appropriate because he has no role in the complaints process and does not judge the complaints.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.55pm BST

block-time published-time 11.34pm BST

For #agrinerds...

enltrAg #Estimates[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Estimates?src=hash] is underway, Barry O'Sullivan chairing. GRDC up first. Livestream for #agrinerds[https://twitter.com/hashtag/agrinerds?src=hash] via: https://t.co/QOn5a9mWMs[https://t.co/QOn5a9mWMs] #agchatoz[https://twitter.com/hashtag/agchatoz?src=hash] #ozpol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ozpol?src=hash]

— Anna Vidot (@AnnaVidot) October 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/AnnaVidot/status/788138428491718656]block-time published-time 11.33pm BST

enltr #estimates[https://twitter.com/hashtag/estimates?src=hash] exploring how NBN Chair published this fiery op-ed despite advice it breached caretaker conventions https://t.co/PjRxVTCfWv[https://t.co/PjRxVTCfWv]

— Matthew Knott (@KnottMatthew) October 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/KnottMatthew/status/788142085077553152]block-time published-time 11.26pm BST

Brandis also intervened, reminding Macdonald he could stop the hearings.

Macdonald mentions that Senate president Stephen Parry had to counsel Wong for her behaviour in the chamber.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.31pm BST

block-time published-time 11.25pm BST

Gillian Triggs tells Wong she has not been offered any other jobs since the last estimates hearing – a reference to Brandis offering her another job[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/13/brandis-asked-gillian-triggs-to-resign-before-critical-child-detention-report].

Triggs says relations with Brandis’ office have “normalised”.

Macdonald intervenes to stop questioning.

Wong says she was not surprised he intervened (given his behaviour at solicitor general Justin Gleeson’s hearing).

You are a bully, that is the reality, says Wong to Macdonald.

Macdonald threatens to suspend the committee until she plays by the rules.

That means you don‘t talk over people, especially the chairman.

Wong says the whole of Australia saw his behaviour.

Macdonald says:

I am the chairman.

Wong says she is allowed to ask these questions.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.31pm BST

block-time published-time 11.19pm BST

Come back Ewen Jones.

enltrHow about Andrew Hastie and others look for solutions to indigenous disadvantage rather than using Bill Leak as an 18C Trojan horse? #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash]

— Ewen Jones (@EwenJonesNQ) October 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/EwenJonesNQ/status/788128373667090432]block-time published-time 11.16pm BST

Wong asks about protection for the LGBTI community for offensive or insulting comments given there is for similar comments on racial grounds.

Triggs says none that she knows of apart from defamation.

block-time published-time 11.14pm BST

Penny Wong is in the building, indeed the room.

Wong asks Triggs about her comments that moves to suspend discrimination laws for the plebiscite would be a “disgraceful way of dealing with the issue”[http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/call-to-suspend-hate-laws-disgraceful-triggs-20160216-gmv5u8.html].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.14pm BST

block-time published-time 11.10pm BST

Ian Macdonald welcomes the president of the Australian Human Rights Commission, Gillian Triggs. George Brandis opens with introductions for the new appointments[https://www.humanrights.gov.au/news/stories/commission-welcomes-new-appointments].

Edward Santow replaced Tim Wilson, now Liberal MP for Goldstein, Alastair McEwin is the new disability commissioner, Kay Patterson, age discrimination commissioner.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.17pm BST

block-time published-time 11.03pm BST

Oh good. Senator Ian Macdonald is in charge of the legal and constitutional affairs estimates committee. The best thing is that I can say what I like about him because he revealed yesterday – SHOCK HORROR – that he doesn’t read the Guardian.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.10pm BST

block-time published-time 10.59pm BST

Don’t forget there is a chamber running as well.

We have the three VET bills:

\* VET Student Loans

\* VET Student Loans (Consequential Amendments and Transitional Provisions

\* VET Student Loans (Charges)

\* Then the ABCC bill

\* Then the resumption of plebiscite debate

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.10pm BST

block-time published-time 10.50pm BST

Cruel, that Wong.

enltrLate night, Wong hits Brandis with a low blow: "It’s alright, no one thinks of you as a lawyer either George." pic.twitter.com/tkGY4bvJo1[https://t.co/tkGY4bvJo1]

— Mark Di Stefano (@MarkDiStef) October 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/MarkDiStef/status/788128270281691136]block-time published-time 10.45pm BST

Of course estimates continue on, as they did until 11pm last night.

First up this morning we have the Human Rights Commission, the attorney general’s department more generally, the department of finance, the commonwealth director of public prosecutions, ABC and SBS. And the lower house. Pity me...

In 12-hour hearings, things get a bit willing. They also get more relaxed towards the later stages of the evening, as revealed in this little exchange last night with and around Margaret Stone, inspector general of intelligence and security.

Brandis:

You know, Justice Stone, it is sometimes difficult to explain to politicians how lawyers are very precise in their use of language.

Stone:

Um, so, putting that aside …

Xenophon:

Are you implying that I’m not a very good lawyer, attorney?

Brandis:

I wasn’t thinking of you Senator Xenophon. I must confess I do not think of you as a politician.

Wong:

It’s alright, no one thinks of you as a lawyer either George.

Xenophon:

That’s not very nice.

Wong:

He’s been a bit mean lately. Keeps misleading parliament.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.30pm BST

block-time published-time 10.30pm BST

Good morning people,

Seven months ago, Malcolm Turnbull declared the “times for games is over”[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/mar/21/turnbull-double-dissolution-election-will-be-called-if-abcc-bill-is-not-passed] and threatened to take the country to a double-dissolution election if his industrial relations bills were blocked. It seemed like a good idea at the time but, after the election, the government benches were whittled back to a one seat majority.

The two bills would establish a Australian Building Construction Commission and regulate registered organisations, ie unions. Today the first bill returns to the house, in a neat two-step following Bill Shorten’s endorsement of former Health Services Union official Kimberley Kitching and an outbreak of factional farnarkling.

In an interview with Fran Kelly, Turnbull has, on the one hand, attacked union thuggery in the CFMEU and, on the other, endorsed the bills as a great thing for the health of unions.

This is not anti-union. This is not union busting. If the Labor party were to support this legislation, they would build public confidence in the unions, because the unions would be run in accordance with the law.

Kelly asks, why not get the Australian Securities and Investment Commission to regulate unions as they do the banks? Why bust unions and not banks? Turnbull says the government is doing lots on the bank front and now they are doing lots on the union front. He is an equal opportunity regulator.

Right across the board, what we’re doing is addressing the issues that have been raised and that’s what we’re doing in the industrial relations field too.

Overnight, you might have seen David Leyonhjelm has raised the prospect of horse trading over the ABCC bill. He wants a ban lifted on the importation of the Adler shotgun.

The regulation of firearms is dealt with by Coag in effect, by states and territories and the commonwealth working together and so the importation ban on the lever-action Adler shotgun, over more than five rounds, was introduced and has been maintained because of a failure to date of that state and territory group to reach a resolution on it.

So it is a collaborative effort. But I want to stress to you... we have among the most, if not the most rigorous laws on the regulation of firearms in the world. It’s one of the great achievements of John Howard.

Fran: The world’s leading human rights body is accusing your government, our government, of torture. You need to respond to that, don’t you?

Well, I reject that claim totally, it is absolutely false... And I just note that the minister, Mr Dutton, offered to go onto to the Four Corners program and be interviewed live to deal with those allegations and that offer was rejected.

Fran played some audio of one of the articulate children on the program last night.

We’ve heard from this young lady and it is, it is a... It is a very sad story that she tells. But, you know, there are 1,200 people, many of them young women too, no doubt, from whom we can never hear, because they drowned at sea under the Labor party’s reckless failure to keep our borders safe.

Turnbull says the government is negotiating with other countries but he accuses “many people in Australia” of telling **refugees** to hold out in the hope of coming to Australia.

I know that’s a tough policy. I know that is hard. But the alternative is what we had under Labor – 50,000 unauthorised arrivals and 1,200 voices that were silenced, that cannot go on Four Corners, that cannot talk on Radio National because they drowned at sea.

On same-sex marriage, Turnbull says there was a still a chance the Senate could pass the bill, in spite of what “your fellow distinguished journalist, Katharine Murphy, from the Guardian said at a press conference.

Q: You think there’s still a chance it will pass?

Of course. Of course...

Arguments ensue on the merits of the plebiscite...

It is a perfectly reasonable argument to say this is not consistent with our parliamentary tradition. But the fact is it is perfectly democratic. It is a proposition that we took to the election. We won the election... Why wouldn’t we grab this opportunity and say, “Look, it may not be the perfect way of resolving the matter from your point of view but grab it, it will be carried, it will be done.” Let’s get on with it.

Right, now that we are done with the War and Peace of first posts, I am @gabriellechan on the Twits, @mpbowers has some wonderful pics from the house games this morning.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.47pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PM said to have ‘full confidence’ in Philip Hammond after cabinet members reportedly criticised chancellor’s stance

Theresa May is keen to hear the “differing views” of ministers in the run-up to Brexit negotiations, her spokeswoman has said following cabinet media briefings against the chancellor, Philip Hammond, by pro-leave cabinet colleagues.

In a sign of apparent cabinet tensions over the balance between limiting **immigration** and keeping open access to the EU , unnamed cabinet sources told two newspapers about anger towards Hammond over his concerns about plans to swiftly restrict **immigration** from the EU .

But the prime minister’s official spokeswoman told reporters: “The prime minister has full confidence in the chancellor and the work that he is doing.”

The chancellor is said to have used a meeting last week of May’s cabinet Brexit committee to urge caution about a plan to force EU workers to show they have a guaranteed skilled job before they are allowed into Britain.

One unnamed cabinet source described Hammond as “overly influenced by his Treasury officials who think it is a catastrophe that Britain voted to leave the EU ”, the Telegraph reported [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/16/philip-hammond-in-cabinet-row-over-accusations-he-is-trying-to-u/].

While playing down the scale of any dissent, the prime minister’s spokeswoman said it was vital for the cabinet to properly debate ahead of upcoming departure negotiations with the EU .

“The PM wants to prepare fully for those negotiations,” she said. “That means hearing the differing views of ministers, departments, stakeholders, and some of the conversations they have been having. Ultimately, we need to make sure that we are all working together to ensure that we make a success of Brexit.”

Asked about reports of “lively debates” in cabinet, she said: “I think this reflects the fact that the prime minister is pursuing a collective government approach, where either in cabinet or through cabinet committees, relevant cabinet ministers involved are able to discuss and debate the issues before decisions are reached.”

While the committee meeting in question, last Wednesday, was described as being to float ideas rather than commit to definite proposals, the briefings and counter-briefings – Treasury sources said the idea of a row was “nonsense” – hints at potentially significant tensions within the government over how to proceed.

Another unnamed source told the Telegraph of Hammond: “He is arguing from a very Treasury point of view. He is arguing like an accountant seeing the risk of everything rather than the opportunity.”

The migration plans, outlined to the committee by the home secretary, Amber Rudd, would mean continued free access for EU students and tourists but impose a skills-based work permit scheme for those seeking to take a job.

The Times said [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/hammond-clashes-with-brexiteers-on-migrants-n2ckghnt7] Hammond’s intervention angered some more pro-Brexit ministers, and was seen as potential foot-dragging by the chancellor who was warned before about the effect of Brexit on the economy.

May’s spokeswoman said too much should not be read into such anonymous briefings, adding: “While I said I am not going to give a running commentary on cabinet committee discussions, neither do I recognise everything I have read in the papers over the last few weekends, characterising those discussions.”

Related: Brexit will force Britain and Ireland to consider border controls | Letters [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/16/brexit-will-force-britain-and-ireland-to-consider-border-controls]

The cabinet was “focused on working together to prepare for those negotiations” and there was no danger of a major split, she added.

Earlier the health secretary, Jeremy Hunt, did not deny that there had been differences of opinion over Brexit but played down their significance, saying the cabinet was “absolutely united” on the essentials of leaving the EU .

Hunt does not sit on the Brexit committee but he told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme that the briefings did not signal a major problem.“On the contrary,” he said. “If we weren’t having lively debates in cabinet, you would be saying: ‘What’s happened to cabinet government? Why aren’t you going through, incredibly thoroughly, all the different arguments to make sure we end up with the right decision?’”

May’s Conservative party conference speech was seen as favouring tighter **immigration** controls ahead of access to the bloc’s single market.

However, Hammond has called for what he describes as a more pragmatic view. In his conference speech, the chancellor said [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/philip-hammond-pledges-economic-pragmatism-during-brexit-process] the UK needed to keep control of its borders “while protecting our economy, our jobs and our living standards”.

Hammond’s concerns are mirrored elsewhere, with Ireland’s prime minister, Enda Kenny, calling a cross-border summit [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/16/irish-pm-calls-brexit-summit-to-confront-looming-crisis] to examine the possible consequences of Brexit for his country.

Separately, May is reported to be considering plans to protect Britain’s financial services industry after Brexit by seeking special measures for banks and insurers to keep their privileged “passporting” trade rights with the rest of the EU .

The Financial Times cited unnamed senior ministers [https://www.ft.com/content/a8ec5e90-938c-11e6-a1dc-bdf38d484582] as saying May could commit Britain to still paying billions a year into the EU budget in return for keeping single market rights for certain sectors.

May’s spokeswoman on Monday described such reports as “speculation”.

Any differences between ministers are likely to surface most strongly on the Brexit committee, whose 12 permanent members are split evenly between ministers [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/14/theresa-may-brexit-committee-members-pro-leave-boris-johnson] who supported the leave and remain campaigns before the 23 June referendum.

But the briefings against Hammond indicate he is seen by staunch Brexiters as the biggest obstacle to their plans, with the anonymous sources contrasting his worries with the more “proactive” stance of Rudd, who also backed remain.

Business groups have expressed concerns about a block on unskilled labour from the EU , especially for industries such as farming that rely on flexible numbers of seasonal workers.

Rudd is believed to be proposing exceptions to the bar on unskilled workers for those seeking seasonal work if there is a shortage of UK recruits.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Reports of cabinet split over Brexit strategy sent gilt yields to their highest level since June, and kept the pound below $1.22Latest: British gilts are dropping in valuePound languishes below $1.22Politics Live: Cabinet infighting is just ‘lively debate’Introduction: Brexit fears loom over the City again

block-time published-time 5.35pm BST

A leading member of the US Federal Reserve has warned of the dangers of continuing low interest rates. Vice chairman Stanley Fischer said i n a speech in New York [https://www.federalreserve.gov/newsevents/speech/fischer20161017a.htm] there were three reasons to be concerned about low rates:

First, and most worrying, is the possibility that low long-term interest rates are a signal that the economy’s long-run growth prospects are dim...A second concern is that low interest rates make the economy more vulnerable to adverse shocks that can put it in a recession...And the third concern is that low interest rates may also threaten financial stability as some investors reach for yield and compressed net interest margins make it harder for some financial institutions to build up capital buffers...

Those are three powerful reasons to prefer interest rates that are higher than current rates. But, of course, Fed interest rates are kept very low at the moment because of the need to maintain aggregate demand at levels that will support the attainment of our dual policy goals of maximum sustainable employment and price stability, defined as the rate of inflation in the price level of personal consumption expenditures.. being at our target level of 2 percent.

He said there were a variety of factors holding down interest rates - including slow economic growth, low investment, a slowdown in the global economy - and they may continue to go so for some time.

But he added economic policy could help offset these factors, and boost the economy’s growth potential:

While there is disagreement about what the most effective policies would be, some combination of more encouragement for private investment, improved public infrastructure, better education, and more effective regulation is likely to promote faster growth of productivity and living standards--and also to reduce the probability that the economy and, particularly, the central bank will in the future have to contend with the effective lower bound.

block-time published-time 5.21pm BST

Greek protestors as inspectors arrive Over in Greece thousands of leftwing protestors are demonstrating outside the Athens parliament as pressure mounts on the government to revoke unpopular reforms demanded by the country”s creditors. Helena Smith reports from Athens:

Timed to coincide with the arrival this week of international inspectors, the rally is one of scores taking place this evening around Greece by protestors aligned with the communist-run labour group Pame.

In a sign of the disquiet measures have caused, some 436 labour groups have joined the protests seen as the first step in a campaign to send a “fierce response” to a government implementing “barbaric measures” under the guise of progressive policy.

Greek labour unions protest over wages, pension and labour agreements in Athens. Photograph: Alkis Konstantinidis/Reuters Demonstrators denounced cuts that will reduce Greeks “to further wretchedness” demanding the reinstatement of collective work agreements that the ruling two party coalition has vowed to abolish along with other labour reforms.

Meanwhile technical groups representing the EU and IMF have been poring over files in preparation of the arrival of mission chiefs. The review, projected by credit rating agency Fitch to take months, comes as government officials announced that prime minister Alexis Tsipras will meet the French and German leaders later this week to discuss the review.

Protestors in Athens. Photograph: Alkis Konstantinidis/Reuters block-time published-time 5.06pm BST

European markets end lower A combination of factors, but all revolving around the uncertainty over Brexit, have seen the UK market start the week on a negative note, falling further than its European peers. Jasper Lawler, market analyst at CMC Markets, said:

Markets have started the week on a softer note with stocks and oil lower, yields streaking higher and havens including gold and the Japanese yen in demand.

Reports of divisions between Chancellor Philip Hammond and the rest of Theresa May ’s cabinet over Brexit have caused investors to sell UK assets across the board. UK stocks, bonds and the pound were all lower on Monday.

Over the weekend Mr Hammond was rumoured as preparing to quit over the divisions, though the Treasury has since denied this is the case. In a cabinet with some hot-headed opinions on Brexit, Mr Hammond is viewed by markets as a cooler cucumber. His departure and the resulting political uncertainty would likely see another nose-dive in the pound and exacerbate the rise in gilt yields.

The EY Item Club calling the economic stability in the UK since the Brexit vote “deceptive” and Open Europe suggesting banks could shift operations to Europe in 2017 without passporting rights are doing little to remedy shaken sentiment.

The government bond sell-off has sent UK 10 year Gilt yields to the highest since the EU referendum, putting them on course for one of the biggest monthly rises in 20 years.

US markets have also edged lower although positive results from Bank of America have helped limit the damage. The final scores in Europe showed:

\* The FTSE 100 finished down 66 points or 0.94% at 6947.55

\* Germany’s Dax dropped 0.73% to 10,503.57

\* France’s Cac closed down 0.46% at 4450.23

\* Italy’s FTSE MIB added 0.23% to 16,630.34

\* Spain’s Ibex ended down 0.31% at 8740.7

\* In Greece, the Athens market fell 0.55% to 586.06

On Wall Street, the Dow Jones Industrial Average is currently down 24 points or 0.13%.

block-time published-time 4.23pm BST

Here’s our latest report on the perceived tensions in the government over Brexit which have helped weaken the pound, from Peter Walker :

Theresa May is keen to hear the “differing views” of ministers in the run-up to Brexit negotiations, her spokeswoman has said following cabinet media briefings against the chancellor, Philip Hammond [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/philip-hammond], by pro-leave cabinet colleagues.

In a sign of apparent cabinet tensions over the balance between limiting **immigration** and keeping open access to the EU , unnamed cabinet sources told two newspapers about anger towards Hammond over his concerns about plans to swiftly restrict **immigration** from the EU .

But the prime minister’s official spokeswoman told reporters: “The prime minister has full confidence in the chancellor and the work that he is doing.”

The chancellor is said to have used a meeting last week of May’s cabinet Brexit committee to urge caution about a plan to force EU workers to show they have a guaranteed skilled job before they are allowed into Britain.

The full story is here:

Related: No 10 plays down cabinet differences over Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/philip-hammonds-brexit-worries-point-to-cabinet-tensions]

block-time published-time 4.14pm BST

It’s not just against the dollar that the pound is weakening. It has slipped 0.24% against the euro to €1.1073, but this is still better than the six year low of €1.094 it reached last Tuesday.

block-time published-time 3.40pm BST

Oil prices are on the slide on renewed concerns that producer will be able to finalised a proposed deal to limit output when they meet next month in Vienna.

Iranian oil minister Bijan Zanganeh said on Monday he was optimistic about a deal but when asked if his country’s output was now high enough after its return on sanctions for it to join an agreement, he said: “We should decide in November how much each country should produce.” The amount each country can produce could well prove a new stumbling block.

At any rate, Brent crude is down 1% at $51.42 a barrel while West Texas Intermediate, the US benchmark, has fallen 1.1% to $49.79.

block-time published-time 2.48pm BST

Wall Street opens lower US markets have followed the general downward trend, ahead of a spate of important economic data later in the week, notably inflation figures.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average is currently down 30 points or 0.17%, with markets unmoved by reasonable results from the likes of Bank of America and Hasbro .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.28pm BST

block-time published-time 2.26pm BST

Paul Sirani, chief market analyst at Xtrade, said:

Today’s news that industrial production has returned to growth is the latest encouraging piece of data to come out of the US in recent weeks. It is also a very positive result considering the strength of the dollar and China’s weakening trade demands.

block-time published-time 2.19pm BST

More US data, and a recovery in industrial production.

Industrial output rose by 0.1% in September, better than the 0.5% fall seen in August but lower than the 0.3% expected. Manufacturing output rose by 0.2% in September, compared to expectations of no change and a 0.5% drop in August, revised down from the original 0.4% decline.

Manufacturing capacity utilisation edged up from 74.8% to 74.9%.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.28pm BST

block-time published-time 1.52pm BST

More on Tuesday’s UK inflation figures, and Kathleen Brooks , research director at City Index, reckons the number could be higher than the market believes:

The market is expecting prices to rise by an annual 0.9% rate last month, up from 0.6% in August. Core prices, which exclude energy and food prices, are also expected to pick up to 1.4% from 1.3%.

We believe that the risks are to the upside for September’s price data, as the impact of a weak pound continues to weigh on price pressure....

We think.. annual CPI could breach the 1% mark for September, while the market expects a reading of 0.9%. A strong inflation reading could be another reason to sell the pound tomorrow, which, ironically, could lead to even higher inflation in the coming months. If prices rise as we expect, then the Monetary Policy Committee’s 2% inflation target to be breached at some point in the first quarter of 2017.

If, against the odds, CPI does not rise by as much as expected, then we would expect the pound to rally as it could brighten the UK economic outlook and put less pressure on future consumption. However, we view this outcome as unlikely at this stage.

block-time published-time 1.41pm BST

The Empire report [https://www.newyorkfed.org/survey/empire/empiresurvey\_overview.html] says:

Business activity continued to decline in New York State, according to firms responding to the October 2016 Empire State Manufacturing Surve y. The headline general business conditions index slipped five points to -6.8. The new orders index edged up but remained negative at -5.6, indicating an ongoing drop in orders, and the shipments index increased to -0.6, suggesting that shipments were essentially flat.

Labor market conditions remained weak, with both employment levels and the average workweek reported as lower. Price indexes increased somewhat, and continued to signal moderate input price increases and a slight increase in selling prices.

But the outlook is more optimistic:

Indexes for the six-month outlook suggested that manufacturing firms expect conditions to improve in the months ahead.

Empire manufacturing index Photograph: New York Federal Reserve block-time published-time 1.35pm BST

Weak manufacturing data from US The latest snapshot of US manufacturing - in this case in New York state - has shown a shock plunge rather than the expected revival.

The New York Empire manufacturing index came in at -6.8 in October compared to -2.0 in September and forecasts of a rebound to 1.1. This is the lowest level since May.

enltrEmpire State Manufacturing Index prints -6.8 vs +1.1 expected and -2.0 in September ^FR #FX [https://twitter.com/hashtag/FX?src=hash]

— FOREX.com (@FOREXcom) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/FOREXcom/status/787994417714065408]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.37pm BST

block-time published-time 1.25pm BST

Another reason for the slide in bond prices, and subsequent rise in yields, is recent comments from central bankers on their willingness to tolerate an increase in inflation.

On Friday Bank of England governor Mark Carney said he was willing to let inflation run a bit higher than the Bank’s 2% target to help boost the economy and employment.

Janet Yellen , chair of the US Federal Reserve, said something similar a little later, saying there were plausible ways to let higher inflation lift the economy.

Higher inflation erodes the fixed payments on bonds, adding to the downbeat mood. So UK inflation figures on Tuesday will be widely watched, with consumer prices expected to rise by an annual 0.9% in September, up from 0.6% in August.

block-time published-time 12.23pm BST

It’s a thin day for data but there are some US figures out later. Ahead of that, the futures are suggesting an opening fall on Wall Street. Connor Campbell, financial analyst at Spreadex , said:

Looking to the US open and the Dow Jones seems fairly uninterested this Monday, with the futures suggesting a 40 point fall after the bell. There is a string of B-tier data for the US index to deal with this afternoon; the Empire State manufacturing index is set to bounce back to 1.1 from -2.0, while the capacity utilization rate is expected to edge up 0.1% to 75.6% and the industrial production reading is forecast to climb back to 0.3% from -0.4% last month.

block-time published-time 12.19pm BST

Sterling hits low for the day The pound continues to hover below $1.22 against the dollar, and is currently down 0.3% at $1.2144, a new low for the day as US traders begin to start work.

That is nowhere near the levels hit during the flash crash earlier this month [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/07/theories-emerge-for-pounds-flash-crash-against-dollar] , of course, when it fell as low as $1.1491, according to data from Thomson Reuters .

Reuters has just issued a report saying that sterling traded more than three times its daily average against the dollar in the 24 hours following the flash crash, showing the volatility and nervousness around the currency at the moment.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.20pm BST

block-time published-time 12.04pm BST

Newsflash from Downing Street: Theresa May ’s spokeswoman has insisted the prime minister has ‘full confidence’ in Philip Hammond, following reports of a split with other cabinet members over Brexit.

The PM also respects the Bank of England ’s independence -- which is reassuring, until you realise that this ought to go without saying....

enltrNumber 10: PM "has full confidence" in Chancellor, "respects the independence of the @bankofengland [https://twitter.com/bankofengland] " and is "clear in her support" of Carney

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/787969689070731264] ( reminder, May criticised the BoE’s stimulus programme during her party conference two weeks ago, prompting governor Mark Carney to hit back on Friday [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/14/prices-to-continue-rising-warns-bank-of-england-governor] ).

enltrUK prime minister May says she has full confidence in finance minister Hammond, respects BoE independence.

The very fact that needs said...

— Jamie McGeever (@ReutersJamie) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ReutersJamie/status/787970239023702017]Andy Sparrow’s Politics Live blog has more details from today’s briefing to Lobby journalists:

Related: Brexit cabinet infighting is just 'lively debate', says Hunt - Politics live [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/17/brexit-cabinet-infighting-is-just-lively-debate-says-hunt-politics-live]

block-time published-time 11.20am BST

Analysts: Hammond dispute hits UK assets British Finance Minister Philip Hammond. The disputes between Philip Hammond and the Brexiteers in the cabinet [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/17/pound-under-pressure-brexit-fears-economy-business-live?page=with:block-58047843e4b016012389691b#block-58047843e4b016012389691b] are hitting shares, the pound and government debt today, according to one analyst.

Jasper Lawler of CMC Markets says rumours (now denied) that the chancellor might quit are alarming investors.

Over the weekend Mr Hammond was rumoured as preparing to quit over the divisions, though the Treasury has since denied this is the case. In a cabinet with some hot-headed opinions on Brexit, Mr Hammond is viewed by markets as a cooler cucumber. His departure and the resulting political uncertainty would likely see another nose-dive in the pound and exacerbate the rise in gilt yields.

Mr Hammond is thought to prefer a plan in which migration curbs are delayed and Britain would pay into the EU budget for single market access. It’s a stance that would be welcomed by markets but he has been described as “arguing like an accountant” and “only seeing the risks” by fellow MPs.

So that’s why 10-year UK gilt prices have hit their lowest level since the referendum ( see earlier post [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/17/pound-under-pressure-brexit-fears-economy-business-live?page=with:block-58048b14e4b016012389696c#block-58048b14e4b016012389696c] ), sending yields up.

And housebuilders are also falling in value today, Lawler adds, matching the rise in gilt yields.

Barratt Developments is one of the biggest decliners on the FTSE 100. Higher interest rates lead to higher mortgages, which is typically not good for the housing market since it makes borrowing to buy a house more expensive.

So, the FTSE 100 is now down by 55 points, or 0.8%, at 6957 points, with almost every share falling.

The best (left) and worst (right) performing shares in London today Photograph: Thomson Reuters The pound still near a 31-year low against the US dollar, at $1.2167.

And 10-year gilt yields (a measure of UK borrowing costs) are hovering around 1.17%, from 1.1% on Friday.

enltrGilt yields continuing to rise, though from a very low base. https://t.co/QPYe3CWjwM [https://t.co/QPYe3CWjwM]

— (((FrancesCoppola))) (@Frances\_Coppola) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Frances\_Coppola/status/787960674165067777]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.29am BST

block-time published-time 10.49am BST

The FT published a good piece yesterday, pointing out how car parts whizz around the EU on their journey from raw materials to finished product.

In some cases, they could cross the Channel five times -- creating a serious headache for auto makers if Britain left the single market.

The piece is here [https://www.ft.com/content/c397f174-9205-11e6-a72e-b428cb934b78]. Here’s a flavour:

Bumpers for some Bentley Bentaygas, for example, are made in Europe but then sent to Crewe for inspection before then going to Germany for specialist painting. After that, they return to the UK for final assembly.

Another example of the interconnectedness of the supply chain is a fuel injector for diesel lorries manufactured by the US component maker Delphi .

This part uses steel from Europe which is machined in the UK before going to Germany for special heat treatment. The injector is then assembled at Delphi ’s UK plant in Stonehouse, Gloucestershire, before being sold on to truckmakers based in Sweden, France or Germany.

If the resulting truck is sold into the UK market, the component or materials used in it will have crossed the Channel five times before the lorry is ever driven by the customer. If tariffs are applied at each stage, the cost could be substantial.

enltrGreat FT research shows how often car parts cross the Channel, amidst fears that the Single Market was working https://t.co/7UqC27RnHo [https://t.co/7UqC27RnHo] pic.twitter.com/mj9YtolNRo [https://t.co/mj9YtolNRo]

— Giles Wilkes (@Gilesyb) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Gilesyb/status/787910551804448768]block-time published-time 10.49am BST

Britain isn’t alone. Germany’s borrowing costs have also hit their highest level since the EU referendum:

enltrGermany's bund yields jump to their highest since @Brexit [https://twitter.com/Brexit] vote https://t.co/VvTbdJppcR [https://t.co/VvTbdJppcR] vote pic.twitter.com/WYTOOABD0P [https://t.co/WYTOOABD0P] vote

— Bloomberg (@business) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/business/status/787951798833283072]block-time published-time 10.36am BST

A tiny gobbet of economic data – inflation in the euro area rose by 0.4% in September, up from 0.2% in August.

That’s the highest in nearly two years.

Higher prices at restaurants & cafés pushed living costs up, along with more expensive rent, food and tobacco. Energy prices still pulled inflation down, but by less than earlier this year.

enltr #Euro [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Euro?src=hash] area annual inflation confirmed at 0.4% in September 2016 (August 0.3%) https://t.co/mPiQ1yyVXS [https://t.co/mPiQ1yyVXS] /via @EU\_Eurostat [https://twitter.com/EU\_Eurostat] /via pic.twitter.com/5tfKX2nZxS [https://t.co/5tfKX2nZxS] /via

— Yannis Koutsomitis (@YanniKouts) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/YanniKouts/status/787946186703507456]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.54am BST

block-time published-time 10.22am BST

Deputy Governor of the Bank of England Ben Broadbent . Photograph: Neil Hall/Reuters The slump in the pound since June’s Brexit vote isn’t a bad thing, according to Ben Broadbent , deputy governor of the Bank of England.

He told BBC Radio 5 this morning that sterling has helped to cushion the shock of the referendum result.

According to Broadbent:

“Having a flexible currency is an extremely important thing, especially in an environment when your economy faces shocks that are different from your trading partners.”

“In the shape of the referendum, we’ve had exactly one of those shocks. Allowing the currency to react to that I think is a very important shock absorber.

Hurrah for floating exchange rates, eh?

However... analysts at Deutsche Bank aren’t convinced that the weak pound will give UK factories a major boost.

They argue that modern trade is simply too complicated....

International economics has evolved since the Victorian era, and world trade no longer consists of final consumption goods being bartered for raw materials. The rise of global value chains has come with huge growth in the trade of intermediate and capital goods. Any economy’s manufacturing exports today contain a significant chunk of value that is added abroad.

We find that the low domestic value added in UK manufacturing means sterling depreciation will hurt exporters as well as help them

enltrDeutsche Bank: The slump in sterling will not help the UK economy because we no longer live in the Victorian era. pic.twitter.com/VjK7vDmQJu [https://t.co/VjK7vDmQJu]

— Katie Martin (@katie\_martin\_fx) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/katie\_martin\_fx/status/787918484323860480]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.53am BST

block-time published-time 9.45am BST

UK borrowing costs hit highest since June This morning’s selloff in UK government debt is gathering pace, as the City ponders the tensions in the

Ten-year gilts (bonds that mature in a decade’s time) are dropping in value, to levels not seen since the aftermath of the Brexit vote.

This chart shows how the price of gilts has dropped back in recent weeks, and is now the lowest since late June.

enltrHappy selloff Monday for the UK Gilt market pic.twitter.com/t0IrTkSexJ [https://t.co/t0IrTkSexJ]

— Alberto Gallo (@macrocredit) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/macrocredit/status/787931740442591232]As prices fall, borrowing costs rise. And the interest rate (yield) on 10-year gilts has now jumped to 1.2%, from 1.1% on Friday night.

That indicates that it will cost the government more to issue new debt to cover the gap between tax revenues and spending.

And the pound is still under some pressure, bobbing around $1.217.

Traders said the selloff in gilts was hurting sentiment towards the currency, Reuters reports.

enltrAnother day, another big sell-off in gilts it seems - 10-year yields up 12 bps at 1.22 pct pic.twitter.com/otkGu4oR9E [https://t.co/otkGu4oR9E]

— Dhara Ranasinghe (@DharaRanasinghe) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DharaRanasinghe/status/787929291182997504]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.49am BST

block-time published-time 9.30am BST

Over in Westminster, health secretary Jeremy Hunt has done his best to calm talk of cabinet infighting. Ministers are just having a ‘lively debate’, he says.

That’s via our Politics Liveblogger, Andy Sparrow, who writes:

Theresa May ’s government has only been in office for three months but already cabinet infighting has hit peak intensity on the “ferrets in a sack” scale. Amazingly, there was even a story yesterday (which was denied) claiming that Philip Hammond, the chancellor, was on the verge of resignation because he was so fed up. [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3840142/Fears-Hammond-quit-Cabinet-Chancellor-excluded-key-meetings-pressure-mounts-PM-hard-Brexit.html]’s government has only been in office for three months but already cabinet infighting has hit peak intensity on the “ferrets in a sack” scale. Amazingly, there was even

He’ll be tracking all the latest punch-ups lively debates here:

Related: Brexit cabinet infighting is just 'lively debate', says Hunt - Politics live [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/17/brexit-cabinet-infighting-is-just-lively-debate-says-hunt-politics-live]

block-time published-time 9.22am BST

Here’s our latest news story on the cabinet split over Brexit:

Related: Philip Hammond's Brexit worries point to cabinet tensions [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/philip-hammonds-brexit-worries-point-to-cabinet-tensions]

And some snap reaction from a former Downing Street insider:

enltrWithin 100 days Theresa May has publicly fallen out with both her Chancellor & Gov of BoE. It took Gordon Brown much longer to achieve same.

— Ben Wegg-Prosser (@wpbenjamin) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/wpbenjamin/status/787918357953667072](Ben Wegg-Prosser was Tony Blair’s director of strategic communications).

block-time published-time 9.11am BST

Sterling is also weaker against the euro this morning, down 0.25% at €1.108. That’s close to a five-year low.

Again, that’s not a massive fall, but it does suggest that reports of a row between Philip Hammond and other cabinet ministers [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/17/pound-under-pressure-brexit-fears-economy-business-live?page=with:block-5804744ae4b01ffb8ffcc72e#block-5804744ae4b01ffb8ffcc72e] are weighing on the pound.

Analysts at RBC Capital Markets explain:

A number of UK newspapers’ front-pages lead this morning with reports of disagreements within the cabinet between the Chancellor and his colleagues over the terms of the UK’s EU exit.

The disagreements stem from differences over whether the UK should prioritise maintaining single market or controlling migration post-exit. The Treasury denied claims in the Telegraph newspaper that Phillip Hammond was set to resign over as Chancellor over the government’s approach to Brexit.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.31am BST

block-time published-time 8.47am BST

This chart shows how British borrowing costs have jumped this month:

enltrUK bond yields rising sharply. 10y gilt yield +43 basis points so far in Oct, on for one of the biggest monthly rises in over 20 years. pic.twitter.com/kyKXbF89A7 [https://t.co/kyKXbF89A7]

— Jamie McGeever (@ReutersJamie) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ReutersJamie/status/787921874865025024]block-time published-time 8.38am BST

London’s stock market has started the week on the back foot.

The FTSE 100 index has fallen back through the 7,000 point mark, as it sheds 36 points to hover at about 6,977.

The education group Pearson is leading the sell-off, sliding by 5% after reporting a drop in sales amid “tough conditions”.

The big fallers in London this morning. Photograph: Thomson Reuters Conner Campbell of SpredEx says:

Another day, another set of Brexit headlines, with reports of cabinet splits and City passport fears causing a gloomy start to the week.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.29am BST

block-time published-time 8.28am BST

UK gilt yields hit highest level since EU referendum British government debt is weakening in value this morning, in another sign that investors are worrying about the UK economy.

The yield (or interest rate) on 10-year government gilts has risen to 1.18%, from 1.1% on Friday night.

Yields move inversely to prices, so this means gilts are falling in value.

It’s quite a large move for a Monday morning, and pushes yields to their highest level since the referendum.

It suggests traders are anticipating a jump in UK inflation, as the weak pound drives up import prices

10-year UK gilt yields Photograph: Thomson Reuters It’s not a reason to panic -- Britain’s borrowing cost are still very low, in historical terms. But it does mean that the cost of financing the deficit is rising....

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.33am BST

block-time published-time 8.16am BST

The pound is close to its lowest levels against the US dollar since June’s referendum. Photograph: Thomson Reuters block-time published-time 8.12am BST

Kathleen Brooks of City Index confirms that those political tensions [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/17/pound-under-pressure-brexit-fears-economy-business-live?page=with:block-5804744ae4b01ffb8ffcc72e#block-5804744ae4b01ffb8ffcc72e] are weighing on the pound this morning.

She points out that sterling has had a shocking few weeks -- even against countries whose finance minister are facing criminal charges:

Although the Treasury has denied that Philip Hammond will quit his post, it doesn’t help to instil confidence in the pound.

The British pound is down more than 5% so far this month vs. the US dollar; it is also weaker against every other G10 currency. To put this month’s fall into context, the pound is weaker against the majority of emerging market currencies, including the resurgent Mexican peso, and the Malaysian ringgit. The South African rand managed to eek out a gain vs. the pound, even thought its finance minister was recently hit with charges of criminal misconduct.

In fact, the pound is starting to act like an emerging market currency, with volatile price swings, and no stabiliser to limit the selling pressure. Risks of a break up of the United Kingdom and further signs of tension in Downing Street over the Prime Minister’s handling of Brexit, are the chief concerns of the currency market right now, and until these issues go away the pound is likely to remain the market’s favourite whipping boy.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.40am BST

block-time published-time 8.05am BST

Pound languishes below $1.22 Sterling has come under renewed pressure in early trading, amid reports of tensions at the heart of the UK government .

The pound is bobbing below the $1.22 mark, hitting a low of $1.215, which is close to a 31-year low against the US dollar.

Investors are disconcerted by front-page tales of a rift between chancellor Philip Hammond and other cabinet members, over the government’s Brexit strategy.

According to the Daily Telegraph [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/16/philip-hammond-in-cabinet-row-over-accusations-he-is-trying-to-u/], Hammond has been accused of trying to undermine Brexit by pushing for delays to cabinet measures designed to control **immigration**. He’s even accused of behaving “like an accountant”, rather than seizing the opportunities of life outside the EU .

Here’s a flavour:

Members of the cabinet are said to be growing increasingly frustrated by Mr Hammond’s position on Brexit. One cabinet source said he was “overly influenced by his Treasury officials who think it is a catastrophe that Britain voted to leave the EU ”.

Another source said: “He is arguing from a very Treasury point of view. He is arguing like an accountant seeing the risk of everything rather than the opportunity.”

There are very big personalities arguing different things. It’s not easy

Another source suggested that while the Treasury is quick to criticise solutions proposed by members of the cabinet, it has been “less forthcoming” in tabling its own policies.

enltrMonday's Telegraph front page:

Hammond in Cabinet Brexit row #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/Oep3E74oZo [https://t.co/Oep3E74oZo]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/787762707441352704] The Times also report that Hammond has annoyed colleagues by pushing back against migration curbs, arguing that UK businesses will suffer:

enltrMonday's Times front page:

Hammond clashes with Brexiteers on migrants #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/WnPOVPBSvd [https://t.co/WnPOVPBSvd]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/787767310631174144]There are also reports that Hammond isn’t happy about being excluded from some key strategy meetings.

If that wasn’t enough, the City is also anxious about relations between the government and the Bank of England , after Mark Carney insisted last week he wouldn’t take orders from politicians. Lots for investors to worry about....

Related: Mark Carney: Bank of England will not take policy instructions from politicians [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/14/prices-to-continue-rising-warns-bank-of-england-governor]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.31am BST

block-time published-time 7.48am BST

Introduction: Brexit fears on the rise Good morning, and welcome to our rolling coverage of the world economy, the financial markets, the eurozone and business.

Britain’s exit from the EU looms over the City at the start of a busy week for investors.

Overnight, the Open Europe thinktank has warned that banks could shift operations out of London by the end of 2017, if they fear losing the “passporting” right to sell services across the EU .

Vincenzo Scarpetta, Open Europe’s senior policy analyst, said firms were preparing for the worst.

“There are plans in case the UK were to leave the single market without any kind of regulatory equivalence,” he said. “These plans may be set into motion early on if the uncertainty drags on for too long.”

Related: Banks could move assets out of UK by 2017 if 'EU passport' is lost [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/17/banks-could-move-assets-out-of-uk-by-2017-if-eu-passport-is-lost]

But could the government cut a deal to keep the City in the single market? The Financial Time is reporting that the government is considering paying billions into the EU budget to retain access to the single market.

That may not be what Brexit voters expected, but it might protect vital parts of the UK economy.

enltrMonday's FT front page:

Cabinet looks at paying billions to keep single-market access for City #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/UwdXJSmZSH [https://t.co/UwdXJSmZSH]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/787736416117751810]On Tuesday, we get the latest UK inflation rate, which may show that the weak pound drove prices up in September. That’s followed by unemployment figures on Wednesday.

Although Britain’s economy has coped well since the June referendum, analysts are expecting a slowdown.

The EY [https://www.theguardian.com/business/ernst-and-young] Item Club thinktank reckons growth will slow to just 0.8% in 2017, from 1.9% this year, as inflation jumps and consumers spend less.

Related: UK faces growth slowdown as Brexit challenges hit [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/17/uk-faces-growth-slowdown-as-brexit-challenges-hit]

Also coming up today.. Looking ahead, there’s no UK economic data in the diary. But we do get a final estimate of Eurozone inflation for September (at 10am), and a healthcheck on the US manufacturing sector:

enltrLooking ahead, highlights include Eurozone CPI, US Empire State Manufacturing Index, US Industrial and Manufacturing Production

— RANsquawk (@RANsquawk) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RANsquawk/status/787889780700901376]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.08am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happenNo 10 lobby briefing - Summary

block-time published-time 12.47pm BST

No 10 lobby briefing - Summary Here are the key points from the Number 10 lobby briefing.

\* Downing Street appeared to acknowledge ministers are split over Brexit by saying May wanted a proper debate in government. Asked about today’s stories (see 9.17am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/17/brexit-cabinet-infighting-is-just-lively-debate-says-hunt-politics-live?page=with:block-58047e25e4b01ffb8ffcc757#block-58047e25e4b01ffb8ffcc757] revealing that colleagues have been briefing against Philip Hammond , the chancellor, the prime minister’s spokeswoman said:

The prime minister is pursuing a collective government approach where, either at cabinet or through cabinet committees, the relevant cabinet ministers involved are able to discuss and debate issues before decisions are reached. The prime minister is focused on making sure that we prepare for the negotiations and that we get the best deal for the United Kingdom. Ultimately we need to ensure that we are all working together to ensure that we make a success of Brexit.

There is a real sense among the ministerial team that the government has a very important job to do which is delivering the will of the British people on leaving the European Union and they are focused on working together to prepare for those negotiations.

The spokeswoman also said that she did not “recognise” some of the stories about cabinet splits in the papers over the weekend then. (That is normally code for saying that they might not be entirely wrong, but that they are exaggerated.) The spokeswoman also said May has “full confidence in the chancellor and the work he is doing”.

\* Number 10 refused to deny a story in today’s Financial Times [https://www.ft.com/content/a8ec5e90-938c-11e6-a1dc-bdf38d484582] saying May is willing for the UK to carry on paying money to the EU after it leaves to secure single market access. Asked about the story, the spokeswoman said:

I have seen that speculation. It strikes me that that is what it is.

enltrMonday's FT front page:

Cabinet looks at paying billions to keep single-market access for City #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/UwdXJSmZSH [https://t.co/UwdXJSmZSH]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/787736416117751810]

\* The spokeswoman refused to deny a report that the cabinet will discuss building a third airport at Heathrow when it meets tomorrow. The decision on whether to build a new runway there is due this month. The spokesman would not say when the announcement would be made, other than “soon”, although reporters were left with the impression that it is more likely to be next week than this week.

\* Downing Street came close to rejecting the Scottish first minister Nicola Sturgeon’s call for Scotland to be given power over **immigration** as part of the UK’s Brexit settlement. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-brexit-foreign-affairs-committee-quizzed-by-mps-over-brexit-as-pound-falls-again-politics-live?page=with:block-57ff6772e4b047a4eaafc0cf#block-57ff6772e4b047a4eaafc0cf] May would “need to be convinced” of the reasons why we should abandon the current system, where **immigration** is a matter reserved for Westminster, the spokeswoman said.

\* The spokeswoman also suggested that May is not interested in any of the other proposals Sturgeon is planning to publish that would give Scotland special status in the Brexit settlement. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-58008b4ae4b01ffb8ffcb8a1#block-58008b4ae4b01ffb8ffcb8a1] Asked if May was open-minded to these ideas, the spokeswoman said Downing Street would have to look at the ideas. But she went on:

The prime minister is focused on how we can come together and work together to get the best deal for the UK.

\* Downing Street refused to support a call from a Conservative councillor for supporting EU membership to be made a treasonable offence. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/call-to-keep-uk-in-eu-should-be-treason-urges-tory-councillors-petition] Asked if May viewed support for the EUas treason, the spokeswoman said:

Different people will chose their words differently. The prime minister is very clear that the British people have made their decision.

\* May is going to Manchester this afternoon for the Olympic and Paralympic parade.

\* The spokeswoman signalled that May would raise the case of the “Chennai six”, the six British ex-servicemen who have been jailed for weapons offences they deny committing, [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3796206/Six-former-British-soldiers-jailed-crime-didn-t-commit-accused-smuggling-weapons-India-beg-UK-Government-free-mental-torture-prison.html] when she meets the Indian prime minister on her visit to the country next month.

\* The spokeswoman said that May remained a supporter of Mark Carney , governor of the Bank of England, despite Carney’s speech on Friday seen as critical of May. “The prime minister is clear in her support for Carney and the leadership he has shown in the past few months,” the spokeswoman said. Asked specifically about the speech, the spokeswoman said May “respects the independence of the Bank of England ”.

10 Downing Street. Photograph: Steve Back / Barcroft Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.50pm BST

block-time published-time 11.51am BST

I’m just back from the Number 10 lobby briefing. Downing Street is adopting a similar line on the Brexit cabinet infighting to Jeremy Hunt (see 9.17am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/17/brexit-cabinet-infighting-is-just-lively-debate-says-hunt-politics-live?page=with:block-58047e25e4b01ffb8ffcc757#block-58047e25e4b01ffb8ffcc757] ; it’s admitting that ministers have different views. I will post a summary shortly.

In the meantime this is what the Lib Dem Treasury spokesman, Susan Kramer, is saying about this story.

You don’t have to be an accountant to realise the huge risks of ‘hard Brexit’ to jobs, wages and our economy.

Just because some members of the Cabinet wish to hurl us off the economic cliff doesn’t mean everyone else is under some obligation to act like lemmings. The real problem is, even if the chancellor has correctly identified the risks, he is not being listened to by the prime minister, who is more concerned with bowing to her own hard-right flank than doing what’s best for our economy and the lives of ordinary people.

block-time published-time 10.57am BST

At the high court Lord Thomas, the Lord Chief Justice, has hit out at people who have threatened the businesswoman challenging the legality of Theresa May ’s strategy for Brexit, the Press Association reports.

At the start of the second day of the historic hearing, Lord Thomas said the court had been informed that Gina Miller, an investment fund manager and philanthropist, had received emails and “other communications”. He declared to the packed courtroom:

It is simply wholly wrong for people to be abusive of those who seek to come to the Queen’s courts.

And he warned that if “this conduct continues, those who do it must appreciate that the full vigour of the law” would be used.

I’m off to the Number 10 lobby briefing now. I will post again after 11.30am.

block-time published-time 10.47am BST

Fourteen migrant children are set to arrive in the UK as efforts to resettle youngsters from the Calais “Jungle” are stepped up before the camp is demolished, the Press Association reports.

The youngsters are understood to have left the port in Northern France this morning and will be reunited with relatives who are already in Britain.

After arriving, they will register with the Home Office in Croydon, south London.

Dozens more children are expected to arrive this week after a team of British officials were sent to Calais to help French authorities speed up the transfer of minors ahead of the dismantling of the Jungle.

The arrival of the group on Monday was welcomed by the charity Citizens UK , which said it has reunited 60 children from Calais with relatives in Britain since March.

block-time published-time 10.08am BST

Farage could remain as Ukip leader until 2017, says Ukip chaiman Ukip’s national executive committee is meeting today to discuss the timetable for its leadership election. Paul Oakden, the Ukip chairman, was on the Today programme this morning discussing the situation and here are the key points he made.

\* Oakden said Nigel Farage could remain as Ukip until 2017 because the party is no hurry to elect a successor. Farage is still currently leader because, although Diane James was elected to replace him in September, after her recent resignation it emerged that Farage was still technically registered as the party’s leader with the Electoral Commission. Oakden said the party did not want to rush the contest.

We are going to be taking our time. We are going to be doing it in a very calm and collected fashion to make sure that we get the right results. There is no need to rush. There isn’t any need to panic ourselves into getting a new leader into place quickly.

This meant the new leader might not be chosen until after Christmas, he said. The actual timetable is due to be settled later today.

\* He said Ukip’s internal investigation into the fight that led to Steven Woolfe MEP, the leadership favourite, being hospitalised in Luxembourg would conclude before nominations closed.

\* He said it was up to Woolfe to decide if he was well enough to stand.

That’s for Steven to say. We are all delighted that Steven is recovering, although, obviously, he is still feeling somewhat under the weather after what appears to have been a very serious medical incident. So, only he can say whether he is in full fitness and ready to fight a leadership campaign.

\* Oakden said there was nothing to stop Suzanne Evans, the former Ukip deputy chair, standing in the election. In the last contest Evans was not allowed to stand because she was suspended.

Steven Woolfe (left), a potential candidate for the Ukip leadership with Nigel Farage at an election event last year. Photograph: Carl Court/Getty Images block-time published-time 9.35am BST

On Twitter some journalists have leapt to Philip Hammond ’s defence.

From the Telegraph’s James Kirkup

enltrHammond's colleagues complain he has "very Treasury approach" to Brexit. 1 That's his job. 2 This won't deter him. pic.twitter.com/uH8zPvDxny [https://t.co/uH8zPvDxny]

— James Kirkup (@jameskirkup) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jameskirkup/status/787904721197694976]enltrMinisters criticise Hammond for asking abt economic impact of **immigration** curbs. I'd criticise him if he didn't. https://t.co/fcrQCxXTDj [https://t.co/fcrQCxXTDj]enltrMinisters criticise Hammond for asking abt economic impact of **immigration** curbs. I'd criticise him if he didn't.

— James Kirkup (@jameskirkup) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jameskirkup/status/787905863331766272]From the Observer’s Nick Cohen

enltrThe Mail hysterics, the attacks on Hammond are the Tory right desperately trying to avoid responsibility for the chaos they have brought

— Nick Cohen (@NickCohen4) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NickCohen4/status/787924737464868864]From the Guardian ’s Michael White ’s

enltrHammond reportedly resisting Three Brexiteers over migrant curbs. No genius required to decide which side is leaking: not Silent Phil

— MichaelWhite (@michaelwhite) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/michaelwhite/status/787931540445691904]From LBC’s James O’Brien

enltrThe fact that Philip Hammond is now being attacked for "arguing like an accountant seeing the risk of everything" seems to sum it all up.

— James O'Brien (@mrjamesob) October 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/mrjamesob/status/787932106206941184]block-time published-time 9.21am BST

The pound is still struggling this morning. My colleague Graeme Wearden has the details on his business live blog.

Related: Pound under pressure amid reports of Brexit split in cabinet – Business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/17/pound-under-pressure-brexit-fears-economy-business-live]

block-time published-time 9.17am BST

Theresa May ’s government has only been in office for three months but already cabinet infighting has hit peak intensity on the “ferrets in a sack” scale. Amazingly, there was even a story yesterday (which was denied) claiming that Philip Hammond, the chancellor, was on the verge of resignation because he was so fed up. [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3840142/Fears-Hammond-quit-Cabinet-Chancellor-excluded-key-meetings-pressure-mounts-PM-hard-Brexit.html]’s government has only been in office for three months but already cabinet infighting has hit peak intensity on the “ferrets in a sack” scale. Amazingly, there was even

The faultline is between those pushing for a hard version of Brexit (principally the so-called three Brexiteers, Boris Johnson , David Davis and Liam Fox) and the chancellor, who is urging caution. Today the Times and the Telegraph have both splashed with stories claiming Hammond has angered colleagues by expressing doubts about a plan to stop low-skilled EU migrants coming to the UK.

enltrMonday's Times front page:

Hammond clashes with Brexiteers on migrants #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/WnPOVPBSvd [https://t.co/WnPOVPBSvd]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/787767310631174144]enltrMonday's Telegraph front page:

Hammond in Cabinet Brexit row #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/Oep3E74oZo [https://t.co/Oep3E74oZo]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/787762707441352704]Here is the Guardian ’s account by Peter Walker .

Related: Philip Hammond's Brexit worries point to cabinet tensions [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/philip-hammonds-brexit-worries-point-to-cabinet-tensions]

And here is how it starts.

The chancellor, Philip Hammond [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/philip-hammond], has angered more pro-Brexit cabinet colleagues with his concerns over plans to swiftly restrict **immigration** from the EU , warning this could harm the economy, according to reports.

In a sign of apparent tensions within the cabinet over the balance between limiting **immigration** and keeping open access to the EU , unnamed cabinet sources briefed two newspapers about supposed worries over Hammond’s stance.

The chancellor is said to have used a meeting last week of Theresa May ’s cabinet Brexit committee to urge caution about a plan to force EU workers to show they have a guaranteed skilled job before they are allowed into Britain...

One unnamed cabinet source described Hammond as “overly influenced by his Treasury officials who think it is a catastrophe that Britain voted to leave the EU ”, the Telegraph reported [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/16/philip-hammond-in-cabinet-row-over-accusations-he-is-trying-to-u/].

Another source told the paper: “He is arguing from a very Treasury point of view. He is arguing like an accountant seeing the risk of everything rather than the opportunity.”

This morning Jeremy Hunt, the health secretary, was on the Today programme talking about maternity care and he got the chance. His response was ingenious (and not entirely wrong.) Cabinet ministers should be having vigorous arguments, he said. When it was put to him that this infighting was “not ideal”, Hunt replied.

On the contrary. If we weren’t having lively debates in cabinet, you would be saying “What’s happened to cabinet government, why aren’t you going through incredibly thoroughly all the different arguments to make sure we end up with the right decision?”

The British people changed the history of our country on the 23 June. The cabinet is absolutely united that we must respect that decision.

But we need to then go through, very thoroughly and carefully, all the different options because we’ve got to have a new **immigration** policy, a new trade policy, a new economic policy....

Hunt also rejected the suggestion that Hammond was trying to undermine Brexit. When this was put to him, he replied.

This isn’t the first time in the history of government where you read reports in the newspapers that may not actually reflect what’s happened. All I would say is that you would expect lively debates to be happening in government because we are going to get the right solution in terms of securing our borders, but also the right solution economically.

Hunt is right to say ministers should be arguing through the policy options behind closed doors. That happens all the time in government. But what is significant about this row is that it has spilt out onto the front pages of the newspapers. When ministers start briefing against each other to the media, it becomes harder for them to act collectively when they do reach an agreed position.

I will be covering more developments on this as the day goes on.

Here is the agenda for the day.

9.30am: Jeremy Hunt, the health secretary, gives a speech setting out plans to make maternity units safer. [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/17/maternity-wards-in-england-to-be-rated-by-safety-record]

9.45am: The court hearing about whether the government is entitled to invoke article 50 starting the EU withdrawal process without a vote in parliament resumes.

10am: Nick Clegg , the former Lib Dem leader and former deputy prime minister, gives a speech on the impact of Brexit on the food and drink industry.

11am: Number 10 lobby briefing.

2.30pm: Damian Green , the work and pensions secretary, takes questions in the Commons.

4.30pm: MPs begin a debate in Westminster Hall on Brexit.

Afternoon: Ukip’s national executive committee meets to discuss the timetable for its leadership election.

The chancellor, Philip Hammond [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/philip-hammond], has angered more pro-Brexit cabinet colleagues with his concerns over plans to swiftly restrict **immigration** from the EU , warning this could harm the economy, according to reports.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Several other cabinet ministers have aligned themselves with the chancellor in counselling against risks of ‘hard Brexit’

Several cabinet members have aligned themselves with Philip Hammond in cautioning against the risks of a “hard Brexit,” including the business secretary, Greg Clark , and the work and pensions secretary, Damian Green .

Related: No 10 plays down cabinet differences over Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/17/philip-hammonds-brexit-worries-point-to-cabinet-tensions]

The Chancellor has been accused [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/06/hammond-acts-to-reassure-city-and-wall-street-on-brexit] by ministers who supported Brexit before the referendum of attempting to undermine the process, in particular through urging a delay on migration curbs amid fears of the impact if Britain loosens its economic ties with the EU too dramatically.

But Whitehall sources have confirmed that Hammond is not a “lone voice” inside government with several other cabinet figures, who supported the remain campaign also calling on the prime minister to keep open the possibility of close economic ties with the EU .

Clark and Green are both on May’s Brexit committee but other senior colleagues, including the education secretary, Justine Greening, are also thought to be supportive of Hammond’s stance, which is focused on maintaining as much access as possible to the single market as the UK quits the EU .

Amber Rudd , the home secretary, who is drawing up proposals for **immigration** controls but was an enthusiastic supporter of the EU before the June referendum, has made arguments in cabinet discussions supporting the chancellor.

One official said that while the Cabinet ministers accepted that Britain must leave the EU and that **immigration** controls would be part of that process, they were pushing May to avoid opting for an overly hard Brexit. “There are shades of grey,” said the source, who argued that there were ways to control freedom of movement without automatically losing economic links with the EU . “Remainers are vocal behind closed doors, just not in the newspapers.”

One senior MP praised the chancellor as “incredibly courageous” for highlighting the risks of Brexit in cabinet meetings. They said a number of cabinet members and more junior ministers backed him but were nervous about speaking out publicly because of the fear of repercussions.

Backbenchers have been more vocal, with Anna Soubry arguing on Monday that new research had underlined the “serious potential perils of pulling out” of either the single market or customs union, inside which EU countries negotiate trade deals collectively.

The Conservative MP, who is supporting the Open Britain campaign for a close relationship with the EU after Brexit, commissioned research from the House of Commons library. It found continued membership of the two groupings would allow the UK to have free trade with countries that buy 90% of its exports.

She said “the onus” was on Brexit supporters to prove the economic benefits of withdrawal. “The government should bring before parliament serious cost-benefit analysis of the potential impact of leaving both the single market and the customs union. And whether their benefits can really be replicated outside. This must be done before article 50 negotiations start.”

In a sign of continued tension between leave and remain campaigners, the international development secretary, Priti Patel , said that those trying to force a debate and vote on article 50 were trying to “subvert the economic will of the British public”.

Other Brexit supporters, including David Davis and Liam Fox , have hinted at the idea of Britain accepting much looser economic ties with the EU in order to deliver a hard Brexit.

However, the issue of membership of the customs union is also still being considered, the Guardian understands, with a paper on its pros and cons presented at a meeting of May’s Brexit cabinet committee last week.

And on migration, Rudd’s suggestion of a visa-entry scheme for skilled workers is not the only option being considered. Under Rudd’s plans, which aim to significantly cut net migration, EU workers would need to have a skilled job before being allowed into Britain.

Although Brexit supporters were reported to have been angered by Hammond’s cautious approach at the meeting, with some accusing him of “arguing like an accountant seeing the risk of everything,” his approach was accepted with ministers leaving all options open.

The Brexit committee includes Hammond, Clark and Green, as well as May, Rudd and the Tory chair – who backed remain – Patrick Mcloughlin. But it also has ardent Brexit supporters, David Davis, Boris Johnson, Liam Fox , Priti Patel , Chris Grayling and Andrea Leadsom .

Although May has said that the UK must regain control of its borders and no longer be under the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice , she has left a series of other possibilities open, according to sources.

May knows that there are around 20 to 30 Conservative backbenchers who have significant concerns about the direction of the government’s Brexit policy without greater parliamentary scrutiny.

This led Gavin Williamson , the chief whip, to tell the prime minister last week that they could lose the House of Commons vote called by Labour demanding a proper debate on leaving the EU before article 50 was triggered.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Deputy first minister says Belfast and Dublin must unite to negotiate post-Brexit deal with Brussels

Northern Ireland should push the EU to grant it special associate or even membership status to avoid the “devastating” consequences of Brexit for Irish people, Martin McGuinness has said.

The deputy first minister and Sinn Féin leader told the Guardian that leaders in Belfast and Dublin needed to work together to make the case for special rules to apply to Northern Ireland. The province voted 56:44 in favour of staying in the EU in June’s referendum, but will be forced to pull out when Britain does.

“As things sit at the moment we are going to suffer big time,” McGuinness said. “Theresa May says ‘Brexit means Brexit’, but so far as we are concerned Brexit means disaster for the people of Ireland.”

He said he was encouraged that the Democratic Unionists, with whom his party shares power in Belfast, also agreed that Ireland needed to be treated as a special case by Brussels because of the importance of the potential problems – borders, trade, peace and security – presented by Brexit.

And he added that many unionists were as unhappy as republicans at the outcome of the referendum and the risk posed by the restoration of **immigration** and customs borders, as well as loss of easy access to EU markets.

The big challenge is whether the government in the north and south can come to a common position

“There is a large amount of discontent, including within the unionist community, about how this Tory-led Westminster administration is being so cavalier in disregarding the impact of what they are planning,” he said.

McGuinness warned that unionists could turn against Westminster in the way that Scots have done in recent years because of the feeling that London doesn’t care about them. “I think there are a lot of people here beginning to feel the same, and depending on how this negotiation goes that trend will accelerate over the next couple of years.

“There has to be an island of Ireland solution that we can live with, and it is critical that we have an Irish government fighting our corner, so the big challenge in the next few weeks is whether the government in the north and the south can come to a common position. We need to get our act together about what we want to see come out of these negotiations.”

The prospect of Brexit has generated a wave of anxiety in Northern Ireland and Ireland: that borders may have to be reinstated [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/09/britain-to-push-post-brexit-uk-immigration-controls-back-to-irish-border] to police **immigration** and customs; that trade may be badly affected if Britain withdraws from the European customs union; that economies may tank if sterling weakens further; and that the Troubles may reignite if uncertainty over the hard-won 1998 peace deal in the province persists.

The DUP backed Brexit in the referendum, but McGuinness said it was “an important and welcome development” that the senior DUP MP Sir Jeffrey Donaldson had said Northern Ireland was looking for a special deal for the island of Ireland that enables free movement of goods and people on the island, and preserves the institutions created under the Good Friday agreement.

McGuinness added it was yet to be explored whether an outcome could be constructed that allowed Northern Ireland in Europe, or gave it special access to EUmarkets.

He said: “Fifty-six per cent of the population voted to remain and we could not have achieved that result without a substantial section of the unionist community voting for a future in Europe. The vote was not on sectarian lines, but on how destructive it would be politically, socially and economically.

“May says she is negotiating on behalf of the United Kingdom, but there is absolutely nothing united about a so-called United Kingdom. We don’t agree. We see our future in Europe. Scotland sees its future in Europe.”

Related: Irish PM calls Brexit summit to confront looming crisis [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/16/irish-pm-calls-brexit-summit-to-confront-looming-crisis]

McGuinness said he was deeply concerned by indications from the Tory leadership that the plan was to leave the [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/government-adviser-leaving-eu-customs-union-uk-25bn] customs union [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/government-adviser-leaving-eu-customs-union-uk-25bn]. “Any removal from the customs union effectively means we are cut out of a market of 500 million people, yet half an hour down the road they will be able to trade freely with the EU . It would be a devastating blow.” Moreover, some 37% of Northern Ireland’s exports, worth £3.6bn, go to Ireland.

Britain has said its one stated red line in the talks with the EU will be to prevent the formation of a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic, and to ensure the maintenance of a common travel area. But it has not set out how this is achievable, and McGuinness is sceptical.

He said: “Whenever the government promise there will be no return to the borders of the past, they don’t make it clear there will be no borders. The borders of the past conjures up the idea of British soldiers, checkpoints, queues of cars a mile long.”

“We don’t want borders of any description – you can now drive from central Belfast to central Dublin in an hour and a half. You won’t be stopped anywhere. You won’t see a red light and you won’t be stopped by a police officer unless you are speeding.”

McGuinness said the ultimate travesty was that the referendum had ridden roughshod over the Good Friday agreement, the bedrock of the peace process in Ireland.

“One of the main arguments, and it was a big compromise for us in Sinn Féin, was the principle of consent: that there would be no change in the constitutional position of the north without a majority of the north.

“Yet leaving the EU is a massive constitutional change, especially for those that saw dual Irish citizenship, the massive EU investment in the peace process and the wider economic investment.”

The Belfast agreement means all citizens in the north are entitled to an Irish, and therefore an EU , passport. “We were all working on the basis that the maintenance of EU membership was a continuing part of the Good Friday agreement. The fatal decision to hold the referendum was made without any consideration whatsoever on its impact in the island of Ireland.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Late, slow, and obstructive to the last, the Home Office has begun to allow some children from the ‘jungle’ camp in. This must be only a beginning

Fourteen children and adolescents arrived in south London today from the camp in Calais which is to be demolished, possibly as soon as next week. As a fraction of the eligible children in the “Jungle” camp it is negligible[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/17/rowan-williams-stop-foot-dragging-over-calais-child-refugees]. There may be as many as a thousand children there who deserve to come to Britain and who are legally entitled to do so. As a fraction of the 88,000 child **refugees** adrift in Europe, 14 is infinitesimal. Yet by the standards of the British government, these 14 children represent a heroic humanitarian effort. There may ultimately be as many as 300 admitted, a figure that the home secretary, Amber Rudd, described as “a good result”.

It is a “good result” only from a perspective of remarkable smugness or meanness. The smugness would marvel at the fact that we have taken any **refugees** in at all when we have so successfully defied our moral and indeed legal obligations for so long. The meanness is both stingy and frightened. Britain is the sixth biggest economy in the world – at least for the moment – and it is absurd to suggest that we could not absorb more than 300 children. Even David Cameron promised last autumn that we could welcome as many as 20,000 over five years from Syria. And Syria is only one of the ravaged countries from which children now try to escape, carrying with them little but the hopes and prayers of the families they leave behind.

Obviously, Britain cannot on its own solve the global **refugee** crisis. Nor has the government been stingy in supporting **refugees** who are prepared to stay away from here and languish in third countries. But this does not excuse the tactics of delay and obfuscation that have characterised the reactions of both the French and British governments right up until the moment when the destruction of the Calais **refugee** camp is imminent. This imposing record of resolute inaction suggests that the authorities on both sides of the channel really just want the **refugees** to disappear, and don’t care too much about how this happens, so long as it is not embarrassing.

It is our duty, then, to shame these two governments, and to hold up the threatened humanity of these **refugees**.

Successive governments have been afraid of Ukip, and of the tabloid press, to the degree that they have attempted to define suffering out of existence through bureaucratic procedures. Months can be spent in registration and pointless inquiries. It is all deliberately and literally dehumanising. Against this, the direct actions of thousands of ordinary citizens (and some celebrities) express unmediated solidarity.

Much of the reaction has been driven by churches and Christian organisations[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/12/faith-leaders-refugee-traffickers], who deserve credit for it. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, while he has expressed sympathy for the anxiety that some people feel about **immigration**, has also housed a **refugee** family in the grounds of his own palace. One of the most effective encouragements to the government came from Citizens UK, a collection of largely faith-based community groups, which managed to sue the government. About 12,000 evangelical Christian families have offered to foster **refugee** children.

All of the children so far rescued have come in under the provisions of the Dublin III[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2013:180:0031:0059:EN:PDF] agreement, which represents the absolute bare minimum that any government can do to recognise the humanity and human rights of **refugees**: children who have close family in this country may enter to be looked after by their relatives. But the plight of the orphans, the children who have no family at all, must surely be worse. They are or ought to be covered by the Dubs amendment, sponsored by a survivor of the Kindertransport. The next step must be to pressure the government to live up to its obligations under Dubs as well as Dublin. That might rescue as many as 3,000 children: a few grains of sand from a desert of despair[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/17/world-will-not-face-up-to-refugee-crisis-un-obama], but then, as the Jewish saying has it, to rescue one life is to rescue a whole world.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In 2015 the fertility rate was 1.5 children per woman, in a sign a corner has been turned after years of declining births

The fertility rate in Germany has risen to a 33-year high in a sign the country has turned a corner after years of decline in the rate of births.

In 2015 the fertility rate in Germany was 1.5 children per woman – 56 newborns per 1,000 women more than in the previous year. The last time authorities recorded a similar rate was in 1982.

No country in the world has had as prolonged a period of fertility rates below 1.5 as Germany – a trend that dates back to 1975 in the former west of the country. In the old east, birthrates dropped off a cliff after reunification in the 1990s, leading to Germany being dubbed “ the land without children[http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/a-land-without-children-why-won-t-germans-have-more-babies-a-779741.html] ”.

Recent statistical findings show women in the country are having more children than those in Mediterranean countries such as Greece, Italy or Spain[http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=demo\_frate&lang=en].

The rate still falls short of the replacement rate of 2.1 children per woman. According to projections published last April, Germany’s population is expected to decline by about 10 million people by 2060, meaning the country would be home to between 68 and 73 million inhabitants, compared to its current 81 million.

**Immigration** was a key factor[https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2016/jan/06/refugee-influx-helps-halt-decline-in-germanys-population] in Germany’s reversal of the declining rates of the 1990s. Among women with German citizenship, birthrates rose from 1.42 to just 1.43 in the years 2014 to 2015. For women with non-German citizenship based in Germany, however, rates in the same period rose from 1.86 to 1.95.

But migration alone does not explain the current trend. Saxony, for example, has been the German state with the highest birthrate in the country since 2007, when the east of the country overtook the west in terms of children per woman, even though Saxony has one of the lowest rates of foreign-born inhabitants in the country.

Related: Europe needs many more babies to avert a population disaster[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/23/baby-crisis-europe-brink-depopulation-disaster]

In Berlin, where almost every third inhabitant has a multicultural background, the birthrate has flatlined over the last two years.

According to Martin Bujard of the Federal Institute for Population Research, the most important driver in the recent trend reversal has been a series of childcare reforms. “When it comes to childcare for the under-threes, eastern Germany always had a lot more to offer,” he said.

“Tripling the number of childcare places over the last 15 years has played a central role in allowing women to combine work and family, especially in the former west. It has guaranteed that fertility rates would have started to rise even if you factor out migration.”

Germany’s birthrate is significant because it is seen as an important factor in the rationale behind key policy decisions in Europe’s biggest economy in recent years. The irresponsibility of burdening shrinking future generations with debt is a frequently cited argument by German advocates of fiscal discipline, while concerns about demographic decline have changed the political discourse around **immigration**.

“Germany is in a better position than it was in the noughties, but only marginally so,” said the economist Olga Pötsch of the Federal Statistical Office. “But we aren’t going to magic away the baby boomers any time soon.”

In order to compensate for low birthrates in the late 90s and early noughties[https://www-destatis-de.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/bevoelkerungspyramide/#!y=2016&v=2], Pötsch argued, Germany would require a birthrate of about 2.5 to 3 in order to avert future demographic imbalances.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Former archbishop of Canterbury wants government to expedite cases of about 400 minors still at French camp before its demolition

Rowan Williams, the former archbishop of Canterbury, has warned that the safety of up to 400 unaccompanied children stranded in the Calais **refugee** camp is being put at risk by the government’s “foot-dragging”.

Speaking on the day the Home Office said 14 children from the camp arrived in Britain[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/16/uk-to-take-small-group-of-children-from-calais-refugee-camp], he said the “clock is ticking” for the remainder because of the imminent dismantling of the site.

The children arriving on Monday are among about 100 to be resettled in the UK. They come from countries including Syria, Afghanistan and Kuwait’s stateless Bidoon community.

Lord Williams was speaking in Croydon, south London, where the children’s resettlement was scheduled to be processed by the Home Office.

The department later confirmed that the young people, aged 14-17, were transferred on Monday morning. They will be assessed and screened and may be cared for in specialist accommodation before being reunited with their relatives.

Outside the Home Office processing centre in Croydon there were chaotic scenes as excited relatives were refused entry and told they could not see their relatives until Tuesday at the earliest.

Afghan chef Jan Ghazi, 39, had not seen his 16-year-old nephew, Haris, for seven years. He had travelled from his home in Wallington after receiving a call from the Red Cross on Monday morning to tell him he was one of the 14 minors taken from the camp to the UK.

“I was so excited and happy to see him and now I am disappointed. I am shocked. I do not know why we cannot see him,” he said.

A lawyer for the charity Citizens UK Safe Passage explained to him that it was legal due diligence designed to safeguard the children and ensure no bogus claims were being made for their future care.

Minutes later Ghazi ran to a minibus at the back of the imposing building waiting to take the children to overnight accommodation where they would get their first night’s sleep in a proper bed in many weeks or months.

“I saw him in the window and I shouted to him: ‘Come here I have come to take you home,’” said Ghazi. They hugged and embraced for about 30 seconds before security cards closed the window.

“He said they said to him they would let us know in 24 hours when we are going to see him.

The only thing I recognised was his eyes,” said Ghazi who fled his war-torn country with the help of the Red Cross in 2009.

He said his nephew has no living family left in Afghanistan and had started his journey being smuggled overland with an older brother who got killed when they reached Iran.

“I am very happy he is here. I want to tell him that he is safe, that there are no bombs here and I want to help him go to school and become a lawyer or an engineer or whatever he wants. He is a smart child; I will do my best for him.”

Another man, Asif Khan, who was waiting outside the Croydon **immigration** centre, said his 14-year-old brother, Aimal, was among those children. Khan, 25, is a chef who has been living in the UK for 11 years after fleeing Afghanistan.

He said: “I really appreciate this. My brother was in Calais for the last six months. It was a blessing to receive him from there – I’m really happy. His journey was so difficult, it was by walking, by bus to Calais. He gets a new life now, because there are many people who died in Calais.”

Asked what he would say to his brother when he saw him for the first time in more than a decade, Khan replied: “I will just hug him because I haven’t seen him since I left – I just miss him. I came across the same way 11 years ago; every night was hell for me, so I’m relieved he is here.”

Earlier, Williams said the **refugee** children were “extraordinarily vulnerable” in the “chaos of the camp and the chaos of the demolition”.

He called on the government to expedite the cases of up to 400 children remaining in Calais. “I’m not sure why there is such foot-dragging,” Williams said at Croydon Minster. “The clock is ticking, the likelihood is the Calais camp will be demolished in the next 10 days.”

Tina Brocklebank, a volunteer who has been conducting **refugee** counts with the charity L’Auberge des Migrants[https://www.laubergedesmigrants.fr/], said the most vulnerable children in Calais could miss out on being helped amid what she called a confusing census carried out by the charity France Terre d’Asile (FTDA).

She said: “The FTDA registered a very small number of children on Friday and then shut the gate and told everyone to come back on Monday. It’s a despicable way to build up hopes, withhold and keep changing information and confuse everybody.

“We are concerned that buses may at some point arrive for the children, and the pushy ones will get on while the most vulnerable ones will still be hiding in their shelters and tents – either because they don’t know what’s going on or will be too scared to get on a bus.”

Last week, the home secretary, Amber Rudd, indicated that the UK would accept unaccompanied children with or without relatives in the UK[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/15/syrian-refugee-children-britain-france-calais-jungle].

After a two-hour meeting last Monday with her French counterpart, Bernard Cazeneuve, she said the official effort would prioritise safeguarding children under 12. But Williams said no process had yet been put in place to accept those children without relatives in the UK.

He said there was “a moral imperative” for the UK to accept those that did not have relatives already settled in the country. “We’ve omitted to think what’s in their best interests and to consider whether we take more children,” he said.

Under EU laws, a child seeking asylum who has a parent or a sibling in another European country can be fast-tracked to join them in that country.

Earlier this year, Alf Dubs forced the government to agree to give sanctuary to some unaccompanied child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp] who have no relatives in the UK.

Lord Dubs called for a “shared enterprise” between government and charitable organisations working to secure a future home for the children, many of whom have fled wars.

Meanwhile, the actor Juliet Stevenson, who is supporting Citizens UK’s Safe Passage programme, said of Monday’s impending arrivals: “Today is a proud moment for Britain. We did the right thing.”

She added: “The arrival of hundreds of vulnerable children from Calais to the UK in the coming days is in no small part due to the tireless campaigning of community leaders, the hard work of Citizens UK’s lawyers, and the Safe Passage team in Calais who have been working to safeguard children for over a year.”

A Home Office spokesperson said: “We can confirm a group of children who left the Calais camp this morning have arrived in the UK. This is the start of the process to transfer as many eligible children as possible before the start of the clearance, as the home secretary set out in parliament.

“These vulnerable children, aged between 14 and 17, were transferred to the UK under the care of Home Office staff, with the support of volunteers from specialist NGOs and charities. They will join their families in the UK as quickly as possible over the coming days.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Trusted information is hard to come by when you’re a **refugee**. One start-up aims to connect **refugees** with essential services via Facebook and text

It is hard to know who to trust when you’re a **refugee**, explains 25-year old Mohamad Albwab from Syria. People smugglers lie. The armies close the borders. The conduct of the police varies from country to country. Aid organisations are overwhelmed. Rumour is rife and reliable information is hard to find.

In the face of such uncertainty, many **refugees** look to their smartphones to find out what’s happening. But finding information they can trust is hard.

Albwab was studying electrical engineering at university when war broke out. He has been in Stockholm for six months now, reunited with his brother after travelling through Turkey, Greece, Macedonia and Germany. He has found navigating life as a **refugee** incredibly difficult.

“I needed to know what the registration procedure was in the camps we moved through, what documents I needed to support my asylum application, which agencies can provide food, healthcare and places to stay,” he says. “There’s lots of information but nothing is trustworthy and no one knows the truth.”

The **refugee** crisis has found a number of champions in the technology sector. RefAid[http://refugeeaidapp.com/] for example, allows aid organisations to post resources by location and category, such as food, shelter, medical care or water, allowing **refugees** to search what’s nearby, and fieldworkers with the Mediterranean Rumour Tracker[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/aug/18/rumours-and-lies-the-refugee-crisis-is-an-information-crisis] visit camps in Greece to collect and dispel, via its website and Facebook pages, common rumours.

But one new approach is to automate information via a chatbot, making it easier to scale and distribute to new regions or groups, and to create a link between **refugees**, governments and charities.

t Created by three Danish Master’s students, Ciarán Duffy, Caroline Arvidsson and Kåre Solvåg, **Refugee** Text[http://www.refugeetext.org/] enables **refugees** to access information via a chatbot, via either text messaging or Facebook’s messenger service. Users can use either English and Arabic and there are plans to add Farsi and Dari. The bot asks which country they are in and which country they would like information about.

“We can make it available to any amount of people,” says Duffy. “Whether it’s one or one million people using it, [the cost and time involved] is the same.” Duffy says the aim is to reach **refugees** with technology they already have. “We don’t create any of the information, we just distribute it by linking organisations that have the expertise, with those who need it.”

**Refugee** Text has partnered with **refugee** councils in Germany, Denmark and Sweden to contribute up-to-date advice to the platform on the asylum process in those three countries and details of organisations that can provide face-to-face assistance. It is also looking for aid organisations to work with in Greece. too.

Working across the private, public and third sector has required a lot of patience and legwork, but it is essential, says Duffy.

Duffy and his co-founders have applied for a grant from the Humanitarian Innovation Fund[http://www.elrha.org/hif/home/], to assist with their work with the Danish**Refugee** Council in Jordan, and recently launched a crowdfunding campaign[https://www.generosity.com/emergencies-fundraising/free-on-demand-information-for-refugees-in-greece] to raise money for their work in Greece.

Bryn Boyce, technical coordinator at the council, says partnering with **Refugee** Text could help his organisation save money, as well as demonstrating way in which how communication could be improved. “The real challenge for us is improving the quality of word of mouth information,” says Boyce.

He adds that the process of working with a private company can be complicated. “There’s a lot of patience and legwork to be done in the early stages to set those partnerships up on a stable footing, based on mutual understanding of what the interests are on each side,” he points out. “It’s not a simple process.”

In Jordan, up to 82% of Syrian **refugees** live in host communities and urban centres, making it difficult to find and speak to them, according to Boyce. The main way of reaching them is via community centres, but these require a lot of human resources and overheads. **Refugee** Text is one useful way, he says, to reach **refugees** with new information about the centres, which have services including legal advice, counselling and emergency cash. Another benefit is the data they will receive back from the platform, such as the types of questions **refugees** are asking.

Funding challenges

The start-up has been taken on by Copenhagen Institute of Interaction Design[http://ciid.dk/] incubator programme – known as the Nest, which is co-funded by the Danish Business Authority[https://danishbusinessauthority.dk/] and supports initiatives which make a positive social impact.

“Design often stops at [having] a beautiful concept of the future,” says director of the Nest, Simona Maschi. “But real innovation requires it to be launched in the market for people to benefit from it.”

Maschi also believes the Nest has had positive consequences for the wider private sector. “It’s good for inspiring new ways of thinking,” she says. “When people from big organisations come to mentor at the Nest, they bring back something new for their own companies.”

But Duffy has met with resistance while looking elsewhere for funding. “We try to explain – it’s not about paving the way for **refugees** to come to a particular country,” he says. “It’s about providing them with information about the laws that already exist. […] It’s going to make the system more efficient.”

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As fighting begins in Iraq, experts expect little impact on US electionLack of boots on ground meets domestic concerns of divided electorate

In any other election year, a massive battle involving US force to seize a city of hundreds of thousands from the Islamic State might affect how voters choose their next president. But 2016, defense analysts and political advisers observing the mid-October campaign for Mosul point out, is no normal election year.

Two years after senior US officers described the fight for Mosul as “ decisive[http://www.cnn.com/2014/10/12/politics/isis-baghdad-martin-dempsey/] ” – something experts have become wary of predicting in Iraq – the frequently delayed [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/17/us-lloyd-austin-iraq-emphasis-airstrikes-isis-syria-kobani] battle for Iraq’s second city is under way. Should Iraqi ground forces and US warplanes prove successful, Isis will lose its final stronghold in the country.

The fight is expected to be the toughest in Iraq since Isis conquered the city in June 2014. Isis is estimated to have 6,000 fighters[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/14/last-battle-against-isis-in-iraq-forces-mass-for-mosul-assault] prepared for close urban combat. The US military’s spokesman for the war called Mosul “by far the largest challenge the [Iraqis] have undertaken to date”, far outstripping the battles to retake Ramadi and Falluah in 2015 and 2016. Already civilians are fleeing the northern Iraqi city, and the United Nations is bracing for as many as 1 million **refugees**[http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/battle-mosul-aid-agencies-warn-humanitarian-disaster-241710471].

Related: Battle for Mosul: Isis stronghold under attack from Iraqi and Kurdish forces – latest news[https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2016/oct/17/mosul-battle-iraq-isis-islamic-state-peshmerga-latest]

The American public is expected to pay minimal attention.

“Compared to domestic issues, the electorate doesn’t really care very much about this and probably is not following what’s going on in Mosul in particular,” said Steven Simon, who was mideast director for Barack Obama’s National Security Council from 2011 to 2012.

The election calendar has been a factor in previous wars, even previous wars in Iraq. Only after George W Bush secured reelection in 2004 did the second battle of Fallujah unfold. But this time, according to a former Iraq adviser to both Bush and Obama, the differences between the second and third US wars in Iraq overwhelm their similarities, as do their electoral implications.

While the US is providing a significant advisory presence for the Iraqi military, as well as a special-operations presence in the shadows, its primary combat contribution is aerial. With Iraqi forces on the ground doing the bleeding and dying, the American public does not consider the Iraq issue urgent, despite anxieties about the group known as Isis, Isil or Daesh featuring significantly in the 2016 election.

“This time, it’s not a divisive issue. There’s not a huge lobby in the US for not having the Iraqis fight Isil in Iraq,” said Doug Ollivant, a former NSC staffer and army veteran of the second Iraq war, who discloses that he has business interests in southern Iraq.

“While the two candidates would tell you they probably approach the battle of Mosul differently, I don’t think anyone takes this seriously. There are not going to be, at least, many publicly acknowledged Americans directly involved, so it’s difficult for me to see this taking a turn that has a significant impact on the presidential election.”

If Trump were arguing to do nothing, then a protracted campaign would help him. But he’s just arguing [to] kill bad guys

Kori Schake, former McCain and Romney adviser

Whatever terrain the 2016 election will be decided upon, there is little evidence to suggest Isis or Iraq – or, perhaps, any substantive issue[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/14/look-at-her-i-dont-think-so-trumps-defence-is-to-demean-his-accusers] – will be it. A Gallup poll from September ranking the issues voters consider important registered the “situation in Iraq/Isis” at 1%[http://www.gallup.com/poll/1675/most-important-problem.aspx], far below the 14% primarily concerned with the economy and the 11% dissatisfied with the government.

“More likely, we’ll be focused on [Donald Trump’s] groping,” said Tommy Vietor, a former Obama campaign aide and NSC spokesman. While Vietor said Obama wanted to bequeath “as little of this challenge as he can to his successor”, he did not consider the election a factor in the planning of the Mosul assault.

Even a grueling, prolonged battle is unlikely to redound to Trump’s benefit, said Kori Schake, a former defense adviser to John McCain and Mitt Romney.

“If Trump were arguing to do nothing, then a protracted campaign would help him,” Schake said. “But he’s just arguing [to] kill bad guys, don’t do anything to help anyone, so I don’t think a protracted campaign advantages him.

“I don’t see how it helps Trump in any direction, but a protracted campaign might make voters think, ‘Why do we want to do more?’ So it may require [Hillary] Clinton to explain more of the engagement part of it.”

Related: Mosul offensive: forces launch mass attack on Iraqi city in bid to oust Isis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/iraqi-forces-begin-assault-on-isis-stronghold-mosul]

Peter Feaver, a former Bush NSC adviser and a preeminent scholar of military-civilian relations, said military planners were “acutely aware of the electoral clock” but doubted Obama – who has had to reconcile US efforts with Baghdad’s political will and military preparation – had timed the attack for the eve of the election.

“I don’t think there is any real electoral payoff for doing Mosul before or after the election. Success is not likely to help Clinton much,” he said.

The history of US conflict in Iraq suggests that a battle beginning on the threshold of a presidential election, even a successful one, provides no guarantee of a resolution once a new president comes to office. With **refugee** flows predicted to be massive and widespread reconstruction requirements a certainty even in the unexpected event of a quick US-Iraqi success, the next president may soon face substantial and difficult decisions about Mosul in the battle’s aftermath.

Anthony Cordesman of the nonpartisan Center for Strategic and International Studies cautioned: “Tactical gains, before the election and the new administration taking over don’t mean you’re going to have stability once the new administration comes to office.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Everything you need to know about the fight for the Iraqi city that has been in the hands of Islamic State since 2014

After months of planning, a long-awaited ground assault on the northern Iraqi city of Mosul, the last urban stronghold of Islamic State in the country, has begun[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/iraqi-forces-begin-assault-on-isis-stronghold-mosul].

Why is Mosul significant to Islamic State?

Mosul is Iraq’s second biggest city and was overrun by Isis in mid-2014. Since then, the terror group’s “caliphate” has shredded state authority in the region’s heartland, led to a mass exodus of **refugees**, attempted a genocide of minorities and created grave doubts over the future of Iraq.

Related: Battle for Mosul: Isis stronghold under attack from Iraqi and Kurdish forces – latest news[https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2016/oct/17/mosul-battle-iraq-isis-islamic-state-peshmerga-latest]

The formation of a caliphate across the borders of already existing countries is essential to Isis ideology, and the terror group is the first in modern history to control its own state in such a way. Without a caliphate, Isis would find it significantly harder to call on recruits to join in its war against the rest of the world.

But the jihadis have suffered a string of territorial defeats this year in both Iraq and Syria – only on Sunday they lost the town of Dabiq to Syrian rebel fighters[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/16/turkish-opposition-fighters-syria-dabiq-islamic-state] backed by Turkey. The loss of Mosul would be one of its greatest, because the city was acquired after beating the US-backed Iraqi army. It was from Mosul’s Great Mosque that Isis leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi made a rare public speech in 2014 in which he declared himself the new global caliph and delivered a call to arms: “Do jihad in the cause of God, incite the believers, and be patient in the face of this hardship.”

Losing Mosul would also make it easier for Isis’s opponents to recapture the group’s Syrian capital of Raqqa, because major supply routes from Iraq would be cut.

For these reasons, the assault is expected to be a protracted and difficult one, with Isis thought to have between 5,000 and 8,000 fighters ready to defend Mosul. These fighters are hidden among a dwindling civilian population of approximately 600,000, most of whom are expected to flee as the battle intensifies.

Isis have had months to prepare and will seek to use hit-and-run tactics, ambushes, snipers, bombs, berms and trenches to slow down the Iraqi forces.

Who is involved in the attack? The offensive is a joint operation by more than 30,000 troops from the Iraqi army, Kurdish peshmerga and a Shia paramilitary force. Also on the ground are US, British and French special forces, which have been advising the peshmerga and will play a prominent role in calling in airstrikes against Isis targets inside the city.

The US has recently deployed an additional 600 troops to aid in the retaking of Mosul, bringing the total number of US personnel to more than 5,200, according to the Pentagon. The US said on Sunday night that it was proud to stand with its allies in the offensive, and in a statement, the defence secretary, Ash Carter, called it “a decisive moment in the campaign to deliver Isil [Isis] a lasting defeat”.

He added: “The United States and the rest of the international coalition stand ready to support Iraqi security forces, peshmerga fighters and the people of Iraq in the difficult fight ahead. We are confident our Iraqi partners will prevail against our common enemy and free Mosul and the rest of Iraq from Isil’s hatred and brutality.”

Godspeed to the heroic Iraqi forces, Kurdish #Peshmerga[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Peshmerga?src=hash], and #Ninewa[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Ninewa?src=hash] volunteers. We are proud to stand with you in this historic operation.— Brett McGurk (@brett\_mcgurk) October 16, 2016[https://twitter.com/brett\_mcgurk/status/787786384094277632]

How long is the offensive expected to take? War planners expect the fight to last weeks, if not months. Kurdish forces predict stiff resistance from Isis, which has already lost the cities of Tikrit, Ramadi, Sinjar and Falluja and a vast area of land close to Erbil.

Despite more than a year of US-led airstrikes, mortars continue to rain down on Kurdish forces. Isis is also believed to have placed thousands of improvised explosives in villages on the road to Mosul, which are likely to make the going slow.

Isis has also used mustard gas against Kurdish forces – up to 19 times in the past two years. The militants thought responsible for the group’s chemical weapons programme are believed to have all been captured, or killed, but a risk remains of further attacks.

What does the offensive mean for the people of Mosul? Militants have banned civilians from leaving Mosul, and have set up checkpoints on roads out and blown up the homes of those who do flee as punishment and to deter others. But while leaving can mean trekking through minefields, and the risk of discovery and punishment by Isis, those who stay know they face airstrikes, street battles, a potential siege by the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) and the grim possibility of being used as human shields by Isis.

Isis has used civilians for protection in other cities it lost control of in recent months, and militants have already moved into residential areas to try to blunt the impact of US airstrikes, which are now landing near ordinary homes. Those stuck in Mosul are digging makeshift bomb shelters, stockpiling food, and, as the battle draws closer, mostly staying at home to avoid bombs or provoking militants.

The United Nations and other aid organisations warned that a huge number of civilians were in immediate danger as the operation got under way. “I am extremely concerned for the safety of up to 1.5 million people,” the UN deputy secretary general for humanitarian affairs and emergency relief, Stephen O’Brien, said. “Depending on the intensity and scope of the fighting, as many as 1 million people may be forced to flee their homes in a worst-case scenario.”

Save the Children said the lives of more than half a million children “now hang in the balance”. The Norwegian **Refugee** Council said safe exits from Mosul must be provided or civilians “will be faced with the bleakest of choices: stay behind and risk their lives under attack, or risk their lives trying to flee”.

One of the pressing questions is how to cater for what will potentially be the largest single **refugee** exodus at any point since mid-2014. The new wave of **refugees** is likely to be far more difficult to manage than the war itself, and authorities and aid agencies were desperately trying to finalise plans ahead of the attack.

Why have sectarian concerns featured in the buildup to the fight? Sectarian tensions remained high in the region throughout the post-Saddam years, and peaked before Isis swept into the city in 2014. As the terror group arrived, Iraqi forces who were mostly Shia and had **alienated** the local population, quickly surrendered the city. Restoring trust with Baghdad and re-establishing basic governance therefore loom as the biggest challenge of the post-Isis period.

Iraq’s central government remains weak and has little influence in Sunni areas of the country. The US, which maintained a presence in Mosul until 2010, no longer has an occupying presence in Iraq. Obama has made clear that the 6,000 troops his administration has re-deployed are there only to fight Isis and not to provide military muscle in support of a diplomatic push to hold the country together.

As for the offensive, Shia militias and Kurdish peshmerga forces who have played vital roles in the war against Isis are not slated to enter the largely Sunni Muslim Mosul. The Iraqi military, which is largely made up of Shia soldiers and officers, will take the lead in the battle.

Iraq’s counter-terrorism forces, which performed well in the four-week battle to retake Falluja in June, are expected to lead the fight. Peshmerga units are planning to take up blocking positions to the north and east, where they will also receive and screen **refugees**. The popular mobilisation units, known in Iraq as Hashd al-Shabi, have been confined to a blocking role to the west of Mosul.

An Iraqi intelligence official said: “There is an agreement about the structure, and the order in which [forces] come in. This is the last battle in Iraq and everyone wants to be included. It was a wise move to let the Shia militia be involved but in designated areas, and under control. I don’t think after two years fighting Isis you can keep out the Shia in the last battle of Iraq.

“If we cannot reassure Sunnis they will fight to the death. There are small elements trying to assassinate [Isis], and trying to make them feel uncomfortable, but it largely depends on the tribes. We are trying to tell the Sunnis inside this is coming, and people reaching out to them and saying they have a second chance.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Taskforce spent months analysing reports published by the Guardian, despite them already being the government’s property

The Nauru files[https://www.theguardian.com/news/series/nauru-files] have dominated a bellicose Senate estimates hearing into the **immigration** department, which also revealed Australia is building a third detention facility in Papua New Guinea.

The government revealed it established a dedicated taskforce that spent several months conducting an analysis of the Nauru files, despite the fact the 2,100 incident reports contained within them were the property of the government.

Incident reports filed on Nauru are sent to no fewer than 19 @border.gov.au email addresses within the department.

Related: Nauru files: review confirms 19 police referrals over abuse claims, yet no prosecutions[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/15/nauru-files-review-confirms-19-police-referrals-over-abuse-claims-yet-no-prosecutions]

In August, the Guardian published more than 2,100 incident reports from Nauru’s detention centre, which included reports and allegations of sexual abuse on women and children, assaults of children, rape, widespread mental harm and epidemic rates of self-harm and suicide attempts, among other more prosaic complaints and reports.

The **immigration** department secretary, Mike Pezzullo, told estimates that bureaucrats spent several months, including working on weekends, cross-checking the Guardian’s redacted reports.

The government’s analysis confirmed the veracity of the incident reports: almost all were able to be cross-checked.

Pezzullo said, in response to the 304 critical and major incidents within the Nauru files, in 96% of cases, the actions taken were “immediate and appropriate”. Critical and major incidents include an act of self-harm, suicide attempt, sexual assault of a child, or serious assault, estimates heard.

Pezzullo said the majority of reports on Nauru were “minor” or “information” reports and not allegations or evidence of serious criminality.

Guardian Australia did not report that every single file related to a sexual assault or child abuse allegation. The reports range from extremely serious allegations to mundane daily reports that show the totality of life on Nauru. Guardian Australia clearly documented the full spectrum of incidents and conducted a detailed data analysis of each of the incident categories[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-the-lives-of-asylum-seekers-in-detention-detailed-in-a-unique-database-interactive].

The chairman of the committee, the Queensland senator Ian MacDonald, criticised the Guardian for publishing the files and said the reports were over-dramatised – “most of these were trifling at best” – while also telling the committee he hadn’t read them.

“It’s good to have the truth in this estimates today.”

He wanted to know if people held in offshore detention were “middle class”.

The circularity of discussion was evident in an exchange between the Greens senator Nick McKim and Pezzullo about the future of the Manus Island detention centre, which was ruled “ illegal and unconstitutional[https://uploads.guim.co.uk/2016/04/26/PNG\_SC\_judgement.pdf] ” by the PNG supreme court in April but remains in operation.

Related: Paris Aristotle says Nauru files claims 'should not be diminished'[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/paris-aristotle-says-nauru-files-claims-should-not-be-diminished]

Pezzullo: “The Manus regional processing centre is no longer required in the foreseeable future and it will close in the foreseeable future.”

McKim: “How long is the foreseeable future?”

Pezzullo: “A future that we can foresee.”

McKim: “What do you mean by that?”

Pezzullo: “The ordinary sense of the meaning.”

The government confirmed it would spend $20m building a third holding centre for detainees on Manus Island. It has already built the detention centre itself, at Lombrum, on a remote military base in Manus province, as well as the East Lorengau **Refugee** Transit Centre near Manus’s main city, Lorengau.

The third secure facility will be built at Bomana, in Port Moresby, to house up to 50 people, as a transit centre for asylum seekers who are being deported or who have chosen to go home.

The government also confirmed it remained in discussions with third countries about resettling **refugees** it has sent to PNG but would not reveal which countries it was speaking to, or the progress of any discussions.

The department denied it ordered or requested Wilson Security to hire a private investigator to “aggressively” pursue confidential sources[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/29/wilson-security-hired-investigator-to-find-sources-of-stories-about-detention-centres] who provided information to **refugee** advocates and journalists, including Guardian reporters.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Coalition prepares to bring registered organisations bill to crack down on unions while the windfarm commissioner will appear before Senate estimates. Follow the day’s news live …

block-time published-time 2.27am BST

CFA laws will be challenged in high court by unions AAP:

Laws protecting Victorian CFA volunteers engaged in a long-running dispute with the firefighters union will be challenged in the High Court.

Changes to the Fair Work Act passed federal parliament last week as the Turnbull government delivered on its election promise to intervene in the dispute.

United Firefighters Union secretary Peter Marshall has told the Australian Financial Review on Monday the union will launch a constitutional challenge against the laws.

block-time published-time 2.25am BST

What's up? We all chat on Whatsapp. Alastair MacGibbon says he communicates with several people - including the PM - on Whatsapp.

Wong goes in further but Brandis steps in.

He says having commicated with the PM and his other colleagues on Whatsapp, he has never shared anything sensitive.

Wong asks if there is a Cabinet Whatsapp group? Brandis doesn’t seem sure. He says its no biggie, not in as many words.

If it is not remarkable, can you make it public, asks Wong.

So its entirely unremarkable but you don’t want it exposed to the public

Silence from the attorney.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.26am BST

block-time published-time 2.20am BST

From AAP:

Federal police are not investigating Wyatt Roy’s unofficial visit to an Iraqi war zone.

The former Liberal MP was caught in the crossfire between the Islamic State group and Kurdish Peshmerga forces near an area Australians are legally banned from visiting.

Australian federal police commissioner Andrew Colvin said his organisation had done “due diligence” into the matter but there was no open investigation.

“Based on the public reporting we did form a conclusion that we didn’t believe any offences had been committed,” he said.

Roy’s trip was widely condemned by federal politicians including the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.25am BST

block-time published-time 2.20am BST

Alastair MacGibbon, the PM’s special advisor on cyber security has shimmied into the chair to answer the tech-head questions on secure communications.

This is all about the use of Whatsapp and other platforms. Generally the message from PMC is giving is that any technical communications should be done over the government’s secure platforms.

Wong wants to know where staff get guidance on using apps. Given we know that ministers and chief of staffs are communicating on Whatsapp, says Wong, are we doing anything to provided updated info? Do you know where the servers are? No, says PMC’s Allan McKinnon.

McKinnon says the government has to rely on security clearances being regularly updated.

block-time published-time 2.06am BST

Penny Wong is question the PMC about the prime minister and ministers use of communication apps like Whatsapp. This follows a story by James Massola in Fairfax[http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/malcolm-turnbull-and-senior-cabinet-ministers-using-whatsapp-could-pose-security-risk-experts-20161012-gs0cuj.html].

Allan McKinnon of PMC says that he did not raise any issues following the report.

Wong asks “does anyone check”? Argy bargy ensues about answers.

Brandis intervenes to help Elizabeth Kelly of PMC.

Wong fires back that he should have stopped the “disgusting bullying of a statutory officer” (solicitor general) Justin Gleeson.

Brandis says Kelly is also a statutory officer.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.09am BST

block-time published-time 1.58am BST

Lodge renovations and the cost of upholstery from supplementary answers.

The total cost of refurbishing the original Ruth Lane-Poole lounge and two matching chairs was $11,524.22 (GST inclusive).

Poole was one of the original designers[http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/publications/papers-and-podcasts/designing-canberra/designing-the-lodge.aspx].

block-time published-time 1.47am BST

Exhibit A. Heritage stairs. Precarious and valuable.

Heritage stairs in the Lodge. Photograph: Mick Tsikas/AAP MacAlister wonders if there are any pictures of said luggage lift? Nope.

No other prime minister needed this, says Wong.

Wong asks if Turnbull is the only PM to have a luggage lift?

Turnbull is the only prime minister who has lived in the Lodge, says Kelly. The luggage lift was in the original reno plans in 2010.

Not Malcolm’s lift - is the message. Over.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.47am BST

block-time published-time 1.43am BST

Penny Wong wants to know about what a luggage lift looks like. Paula Ganly says it’s a bit like a dumb waiter, certainly not for people.

block-time published-time 1.42am BST

The lift:

Senator Jenny MacAlister is asking about the luggage lift. Kelly says the luggage lift was installed to protect the staff, one of whom was injured lugging suitcases up the heritage stairs. There was also the heritage value of the stairs.

block-time published-time 1.39am BST

Senator Wong is now expressing her “disappointment at the discourtesy” shown by the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet in returning the aforementioned supplementary answers late.

Kelly says the tardiness was due to the caretaker period.

Wong says Labor does not call the secretary Martin Parkinson as a matter of courtesy but if DPMC does not lift its game, it will.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.54am BST

block-time published-time 1.34am BST

Senator Nick Xenophon puts questions to the AFP commissioner Andrew Colvin. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 1.32am BST

President of the Senate Stephen Parry outlining Eric Hutchinson’s new role. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.54am BST

block-time published-time 1.31am BST

AFP commissioner Andrew Colvin gives evidence before the senate legal and constitutional affairs committee. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.54am BST

block-time published-time 1.29am BST

Elizabeth Kelly notes staff changes in the past six months, including the appointment of former Greens senate candidate Lin Hatfield Dodds as as deputy secretary for social policy in the department of prime minister and cabinet.

Chris Uhlmann reported this fact[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-05-12/former-greens-candidate-appointed-to-department-of-pm/7407438] on the eve of the election:

Cabinet ministers, senior bureaucrats and Coalition backbenchers are outraged at the appointment of a former Greens candidate to a senior position in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet on the eve of the federal election...

A spokesman for the department told the ABC: “Ms Hatfield Dodds was appointed following a merit selection process conducted in the usual manner and consistent with the Public Service Act.”

The appointment has revived suspicions in the conservative ranks about Dr Parkinson, who was dumped as Treasury secretary in the months after Tony Abbott was elected in 2013...

block-time published-time 1.24am BST

Attorney general George Brandis is in the seat to steer the department of prime minister and cabinet.

Elizabeth Kelly is in the chair for the department. Grab your popcorn.

block-time published-time 1.19am BST

Good morning from Matt Hatter:

enltr @gabriellechan[https://twitter.com/gabriellechan] I suppose it's too late now to add 'Official Lodge

Luggage Hauler' to Eric Hutchinson's nebulous job description? #estimates[https://twitter.com/hashtag/estimates?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/KchbZlWXEt[https://t.co/KchbZlWXEt]

— The Matt Hatter (@MattGlassDarkly) October 16, 2016[https://twitter.com/MattGlassDarkly/status/787803601120866304]block-time published-time 1.16am BST

More from questions on notice.

Lucy Turnbull has asked for a sustainability assessment of the Lodge.

The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet has arranged with the ACT Environment and Planning Directorate to conduct a sustainability assessment of the Lodge at no cost.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.55am BST

block-time published-time 12.55am BST

Katharine Murphy is also trawling the additional information.

We learn more of the Lodge renovations:

\* Reoccupation: $48,598.00

\* Upholstery: $24,680.51

\* Window soft furnishings: $18,000.00

\* Whitegoods: $22,356.64

block-time published-time 12.53am BST

Nick Xenophon is questioning the Department of Parliamentary Services. He wants to know about how the email services for MPs and parliamentary staff are dealt with.

We learn that the:

\* servers are in-building

\* the servers are managed by DPS directly

\* they are not shared with any other entities

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.03am BST

block-time published-time 12.43am BST

Senator Nick McKim is using Senate estimates to quiz the Australian federal police about the department of **immigration** revealing that 19 referrals to the Nauruan police have been[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/15/nauru-files-review-confirms-19-police-referrals-over-abuse-claims-yet-no-prosecutions] made over alleged violence and sexual assault.

The AFP deputy commissioner Justine Saunders responded that 14 incidents were referred to the Nauruan police. Of those, nine were closed owing to insufficient evidence, one was withdrawn, in one instance the investigation concluded that no offence was committed and two remain open.

Saunders said of the referrals, one has resulted in the charge of a suspect with an assault offence and the matter is before the court.

Asked why **immigration** had said the number was 19 and the AFP believed it was 14, Saunders replied to ask the **immigration** department but “perhaps [they] didn’t meet the threshold to refer to the Nauruan police”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.04am BST

block-time published-time 12.40am BST

Advice for senior government officers travelling to China Back to supplementary answers:

Back in February, then senator Stephen Conroy :

What advice would you give to a high-ranking PM&C official who indicated that they were going on holiday in China? What advice would you give to that government official about their personal communications devices?

This was the answer from PM&C today:

The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (PM&C) would provide a detailed security briefing to the travelling employee. Information on device security, exploitation methods, security measures and considerations while abroad would be provided.

Whole-of-government resources are used in the development of the briefings, with particular emphasis on Information Security Manual (ISM) controls, as published by the Australian Signals Directorate.

PM&C provides the same advice for both personal and business devices. The ISM controls are amended to reflect personal electronic devices and any personal services or accounts the official may use while travelling. Department officials are reminded that the use of consumer or commercial services for the transmission of classified or sensitive official information is not permitted.

This question was getting to the assistant defence minister Stuart Roberts[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/08/stuart-roberts-china-trip-federal-police-drop-investigation].

Conroy wanted to know about Roberts’ personal devices.

The answer provided today:

The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet is not aware if there is any process in train regarding personal devices issued to the former assistant minister for defence.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.05am BST

block-time published-time 12.28am BST

In Senate estimates, the AFP assistant commissioner Ramsey Jabbour has revealed the federal police have not made any applications for a warrant to access journalists’ metadata in the past 12 months.

Nick Xenophon is annoyed that previously at estimates he was denied this information. The AFP commissioner, Andrew Colvin, concedes he is prohibited from discussing specific cases but can give general numbers.

Colvin added:

We did say it would be a very rarely used piece of legislation – we’ve been shown to be quite truthful. I won’t say we’ll never use it, of course.

In April Guardian Australia reported that[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/14/federal-police-admit-seeking-access-to-reporters-metadata-without-warrant] the AFP admitted it sought access[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/14/federal-police-admit-seeking-access-to-reporters-metadata-without-warrant] to reporter Paul Farrell’s metadata without a warrant in 2014 in an attempt to hunt down his sources.

That was before the law was changed requiring a warrant. Xenophon moved on to another line of questioning, surprised that the answer was that no warrants were sought. Perhaps he should have asked how often police accessed journalists’ metadata before the regime required a warrant.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.06am BST

block-time published-time 12.23am BST

PM's Lodge luggage lift: $83,535.75 There has been last-minute drop of additional answers to supplementary questions. Let me explain. When the departments cannot answer a question, they take it on notice and the answers are delivered at a later time.

These additional answers from estimates in February have been dropped just before these estimates – hoping that it will be swept away in the news squall that generally happens around estimates.

Around the extra committees, I will work my way through the answers.

Here is one:

The cost of the specialised luggage lift put into the Lodge during the recent renovation was $83,535.75 (excluding GST), including installation.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.07am BST

block-time published-time 12.14am BST

The treasurer, Scott Morrison, has spoken on 2GB Radio about the government’s bill to strip people involved in terrorist offences of their citizenship.

Morrison he had “no doubt” that advocates would legally challenge them in the high court, but said in the meantime they are being implemented and “tightly followed”.

He added:

They’re dual citizens as well, so it’s not like they’re left stateless under these laws. By their own actions they’d be disqualifying themselves to the values of Australia. I’m very proud we put these laws in place – it’s a signal that citizenship matters, and obligations attach to [citizenship], not just rights. Those obligations include holding to our values.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.07am BST

block-time published-time 12.11am BST

The finance committee is finished with the Parliamentary Budget Office and on to the Department of Parliamentary Services. This is the department that supports the functions of parliament and pollies. In another hour, we will be on to the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, mustered by George Brandis.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.29am BST

block-time published-time 12.06am BST

In case you are wondering what the cost might be of Hutchinson’s new special representational work for the Senate president, it could be up to $160,000 – under a special allocation from Turnbull.

Government personal employees other than senior staff, such as an adviser

\* $90,271–$133,218, plus $28,139

A handy salary guide can be found here[http://maps.finance.gov.au/docs/EA\_2012-2015\_Salaries\_Personal.pdf].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.28am BST

block-time published-time 12.00am BST

A round plug in a round hole.

Member for Lyons Eric Hutchinson giving his first speech in 2013. He lost his seat at the last election. Photograph: Stefan Postles/AAP block-time published-time 11.56pm BST

In finance committee, senators are on to the Parliamentary Budget Office.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.16am BST

block-time published-time 11.53pm BST

enltrTop 50 domain visits in PM's office since Malcolm Turnbull took over #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] #estimates[https://twitter.com/hashtag/estimates?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/F85zA69jcw[https://t.co/F85zA69jcw]

— Bevan Shields (@BevanShields) October 16, 2016[https://twitter.com/BevanShields/status/787782111843364864]block-time published-time 11.50pm BST

Senate president employs former Liberal MP for additional work So just to be straight. Eric Hutchinson, a former Liberal MP who lost his seat at the last election, has been hired as an adviser to the Senate president for his presidential role – not his party role. It was made possible by an “extra allocation” by the prime minister.

But the Senate president, Stephen Parry, confirms Hutchinson will do extra “representational work” in Tasmania.

(Which sounds like rebuilding the Liberal brand in Tassie.)

You appointed a mate to do work in your electorate, says Penny Wong.

If you were there, Senator Wong, you would equally... (Parry’s voice trails off... )

Parry says Hutchinson’s experience as an ex-parliamentarian made him suitable.

It was my fortune and his misfortune... a round plug into a round hole.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.15am BST

block-time published-time 11.29pm BST

I’m told the Parry staffer is Eric Hutchinson, former Liberal MP for Lyons.

block-time published-time 11.26pm BST

Wong notes that the crossbenchers have received extra funds from the prime minister’s office for extra staff to get across all the legislation. They receive an extra three staff – giving them seven staff in total.

Wong says, however, that the Senate department that supports the crossbenchers has received no extra budget.

The clerk of the Senate, Rosemary Laing, says she is hoping crossbenchers get more self-sufficient, such that they can:

navigate simple procedures for themselves.

But Stephen Parry, LNP senator and president, says he has received an extra staff member to deal with lots of extra work as president, including representational events in Tasmania.

The prime minister has approved an extra staff member for the extra work as Senate president.

Wong makes the point the extra staffer was for Senate work – rather than doing party work such as “representational events”. Parry counters that all his staff are Liberal members so he may attend party events but “not formally”.

Parry says the staffer is a former MP who lost his seat at the last election. (Remember there was the Liberal Tasmanian wipe-out.)

Trying to find out who …

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.44pm BST

block-time published-time 11.17pm BST

Wong’s questioning has borne some fruit. Senate department admit that a shortage of staff led to absence of an officer within one of the public galleries last week.

The deputy usher of the black rod says “staffing across the galleries were a little bit stretched”. He says there was a couple of instances where officers were only outside the door.

The security staff make sure there are no breaches of security, such as protests.

block-time published-time 11.11pm BST

The finance committee will drill down into the workings and budgets of the parliamentary building. Penny Wong is starting in the Senate department and its security checkpoints. Her presence is usually a good sign of where the interesting stuff is happening. She is Labor’s chief prosecutor in Senate estimates.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.42pm BST

block-time published-time 11.07pm BST

Hold on to your hats. The LNP senator James “Blue Poles” Paterson is chairing the finance and public admin committee which will start with the Department of the Senate. The Senate prez, Stephen Parry, is in the chair.

And that well-known conciliator LNP senator Ian Macdonald[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/15/ian-macdonald-could-do-with-a-lesson-on-the-art-of-respectful-questioning] is chairing the legal and constitutional committee with the Australian federal police up first.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.41pm BST

block-time published-time 11.01pm BST

There has been significant movement on Liberals’ attempts to open up the NSW division to plebiscites, similar to moves Labor[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/22/labor-caucus-backs-kevin-rudd-leadership-reforms] has made, though not stretching as far as a vote for the parliamentary leader.

All smoke signals suggest Turnbull is going to back a Warringah motion to offer plebiscites for all financial members.

Malcolm Turnbull is expected to support a motion to the New South Wales Liberal state council from Tony Abbott’s own Warringah branches which could open up preselections to ordinary members for all federal and NSW candidates.

If passed by the Liberal state council on 22 October, the motion from the Warringah federal electoral conference (FEC) would amend the NSW division’s constitution to allow each financial party member a vote for their local, state and federal Liberal candidates, senators and state upper house members.

The current constitution has candidates chosen by a small group of party delegates.

Senior Liberal sources said the prime minister, who has long privately supported party plebiscites, was expected to support the motion.

It is a bold move by Turnbull, given the reform campaign has been run by Abbott’s own FEC president, Walter Villatora, and championed by Abbott in recent months. The prime minister is also expected to attend the state council but it is not yet known whether he would speak to the motion.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.14pm BST

block-time published-time 10.30pm BST

Snap analysis from Paul Karp :

The Australian has reported that One Nation’s support has quadrupled[http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/newspoll/one-nation-makes-soars-postelection-newspoll-shows/news-story/c0c4d53600cc59b21a72bf30e8ae77fd] nationwide, and almost doubled to 10% in Queensland.

Drill down and the results are not nearly as impressive as they appear. The Australian has compared One Nation’s 6% support in Newspolls since the 2 July election, with their 1.3% lower house primary vote at the election.

But according to the article, One Nation only ran candidates in 12 Queensland seats and three in New South Wales, meaning only about one in 10 voters could vote for One Nation in the lower house at the election.

When you compare the Newspoll results to One Nation’s Senate vote[http://www.abc.net.au/news/federal-election-2016/results/senate/], the party’s vote has increased from 4.3% at the election to 6% in the poll averages. This is arguably a fairer comparison because voters in all states had a One Nation candidate on the ballot.

The Australian reported in Queensland One Nation has almost doubled its 5.5% lower house vote at the election to 10% in the poll averages. But its Senate vote at the election in Queensland[http://www.abc.net.au/news/federal-election-2016/results/senate/#sqld] was 9.2%, pointing again to a much more modest rise.

What it does show is that One Nation’s lower house vote would increase if it ran candidates in every lower house seat – fair enough, but not as surprising a result as a “quadrupling” of the One Nation vote nationwide.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.38pm BST

block-time published-time 10.17pm BST

Good morning, blogan family,

I am strangely calm this morning. It could be that we are in the eye of the storm. It could be that I have crossed into a parliamentary twilight zone. It is most likely to be this agenda today.

\* Parliament’s lower house sits at 10am.

\* Four Senate estimates committees, including:

\* Environment estimates committee, including the windfarm committee.

\* Legal and constitutional affairs committee, starring the attorney general, George Brandis.

\* Finance and public administration committee starring Brandis and the finance minister, Mathias Cormann, with guest appearances from the Australian Electoral Commission.

There is also lots of news.

We know from Tom McIlroy of Fairfax[http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/rupert-murdochs-editors-dine-with-malcolm-turnbull-at-the-lodge-20161016-gs3guu.html] that media bigwigs dined at the Lodge ahead of another parliamentary sitting week. It was informal, says Tom. I’m thinking open shirts, kicking back on the sofas, a few beers under the wisteria. A bit of cross-media conviviality[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/aug/29/coalition-rejects-labors-call-for-media-ownership-review-before-changing-laws].

The guestlist is understood to have included editor of the Australian , Paul Whittaker, Chris Dore from Sydney’s Daily Telegraph , the Herald Sun’s Damon Johnston , and Courier-Mail boss Lachlan Heywood.

It comes weeks after editors from Fairfax Media met with Mr Turnbull at an afternoon tea event in Sydney.

ABC and SBS chiefs are set to appear before Senate estimates hearings at Parliament House on Tuesday, while a parliamentary inquiry considering the government’s proposed media reforms is due to present its report next month.

We know from Adele Ferguson of the Fin[http://www.afr.com/business/banking-and-finance/financial-services/new-financial-adviser-standards-body-to-be-unveiled-20161016-gs3ekc?login\_token=yBOIj5XJt5rZ1X3zhnyQecXn4dbyAu34CMd\_kT68DcStAOcBFk85J3YVrs95dAdz00GpAQmczi3dQTRD5EssAw&expiry=1476645589&single\_use\_token=5JdkgIGQcXMYh9DVJr2BddEvCOMUy9U7Fhbq8sEIBrRBI78Bvv3JYbQOBtuy7q-n0daZwvHFJj9VVAg6WkJJlA] that:

Financial services minister Kelly O’Dywer will on Monday announce the government will create a new independent standards body that will be given broad powers to govern professional standards for financial advisers, including setting a code of ethics.

The big banks and AMP will bankroll the establishment of the statutory body and the minister will appoint members of the board. Once it is up and running, the government will work with the industry to develop an ongoing industry funding model.

A new set of professional standards for financial advisers to be mandated through legislation will be introduced into parliament this year.

This is yet another brick in the dam wall to hold off a bank royal commission.

Malcolm Turnbull has returned to his roots, so to speak, and penned a piece for the Oz [http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/crossbench-can-help-curb-cfmeu-by-voting-to-revive-abcc/news-story/2e763aa14baec936a1812dc164e67af3] about the importance of industrial relations reform, aka the bills that launched a thousand slips at the July election. I’m talking the Australian Building and Construction Commission and the registered organisations bill. He presents a case against the CFMEU and its “sizeable” donations to the Labor party. I’ll just give you the first and last par.

When politicians are presented with a clear problem for which there is a proven solution, they have a responsibility to act. Parliament will soon be asked to pass legislation reintroducing the Australian Building and Construction Commission. The case is overwhelming and growing …

The Senate showed it can work to fix a problem, when 10 crossbenchers supported legislation that will protect Victoria’s Country Fire Authority and its tens of thousands of volunteers from a hostile union takeover. Soon these senators will have the opportunity to stand up to another bully and fix another problem. By restoring the ABCC, we can create a better construction industry, which in turn will build a stronger Australia.

Malcolm Turnbull is the prime minister of Australia.

All about problem solving, which is the PM’s preferred narrative these days ( noted by Katharine Murphy here[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/07/once-the-storm-settles-the-real-picture-emerges-of-governments-energy-goals] ). His theme dovetails neatly with Bill Shorten’s choice of his friend and ally Kimberly Kitching to replace Stephen Conroy in the Senate[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/14/factional-fanfare-on-the-boil-again-within-labor-and-liberal-parties]. The trade union royal commission report recommending the Department of Public Prosecutions consider prosecuting Kitching over claims made in the trade union royal commission. Kitching has denied all the claims.

So the cabinet secretary, Arthur Sinodinos, was out yesterday, talking up the registered orgs bill which establishes a registered organisations commission to impose criminal penalties on wrongdoers. Segue to Kitching and we have headlines this morning: Coalition attacks Labor’s choice of senator. Breaking.

There is a Newspoll around which I will bring you shortly. The headline is that Pauline Hanson’s support has skyrocketed. The fineprint is that she is coming off a relatively low base.

Mike Bowers is in the building, stalking the halls. He is @mpbowers, I am @gabriellechan on the Twits and we best get on before estimates begin in earnest.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.36pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Eastern Europeans who work seasonally at UK farms fear for their livelihoods, while their employers fear a labour shortage

For almost two decades Jerzy Kwapniewski has regularly been making the 1,000-mile trip from his home in Poland to a tucked-away corner of Worcestershire to help gather in the apples and hops at harvest time.

“I love this place and I enjoy the job,” he said. “The money is good and I can see that the farm appreciates me coming. I feel a link with this area. I feel part of the business, part of the team. I feel a connection with the countryside here and with English people.”

Related: 'Walking into the unknown': rural England weighs up the reality of Brexit[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/oct/08/walking-into-the-unknown-rural-england-weighs-up-the-reality-of-brexit]

The worry for Kwapniewski, 50, and the other Poles, Romanians and Bulgarians who work at Stocks Farm[http://stocksfarm.net/about/] close to the Malvern hills is that Brexit may put their livelihoods at risk.

Those who employ seasonal workers are deeply concerned too, fearing that Brexit may lead to a labour shortage that could make it more difficult to harvest fruit and veg.

“I was shocked at the referendum result,” Kwapniewski told the Guardian. “I thought everyone was united. I thought England was part of Europe. I couldn’t believe the result. I am worried. I think it’s going to affect me personally next year or the following one. I don’t know how it’s going to end for me.”

Kwapniewski spends time in Worcestershire in the spring and autumn – around three months a year in all. “Sometimes when it’s necessary you stay longer, sometimes shorter. If we plant more trees, the season is longer.”

He speaks passionately about the gentleness with which the eating apples – Gala, Braeburn and Red Windsor – have to be picked. Any bruises and they will not make the supermarket shelves. He calls the drying of hops an art.

Kwapniewski’s excellent English and longevity at Stocks Farm means he acts as a supervisor. “There are others here who have been here 10 years. We go to the pubs, we are part of the community. We’re all feeling very uncertain and I think the UK will lose out too.”

Ali Capper[https://twitter.com/alicapper?lang=en-gb], who runs Stocks Farm with her husband, Richard, is concerned that Brexit may make it harder to recruit and keep loyal workers like Kwapniewski.

“We want simple flexible access to reliable competent workers,” she said. “They need to be a mix of low-skilled and high-skilled. We don’t mind where they come from. We want someone who can come in, pick seasonal fruit or veg and go home. It’s not an **immigration** issue. They come in, they go home again. We feel we need some form of visa scheme that allows us to bring in seasonal workers.”

There used to be such a system – the seasonal agricultural workers scheme[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/speeches/seasonal-agricultural-workers-scheme-and-the-food-processing-sectors-based-scheme] (Saws), which for decades allowed workers from around the globe to work in the orchards and fields – but it was scrapped by the Tory/Lib Dem coalition[http:// https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/257242/migrant-seasonal-workers.pdf] in 2013.

“Saws was abolished because **immigration** had become too hot a potato,” said Capper. “That scheme brought workers in and had a 98% return rate. It sent them home again.”

Capper argued that since 2013 the industry had become more reliant on seasonal workers coming from EU countries. “The industry has become a stepping stone for people to come, arrive and work in our industry then jump into other jobs. Arguably [scrapping Saws] exacerbated the **immigration** issue – an own goal.”

Capper, who is chair of the National Farmers’ Union (NFU) horticulture and potatoes board[https://www.nfuonline.com/sectors/horticulture-and-potatoes/hort-and-pots-news/meet-the-horticulture-and-potatoes-board/], is often asked why British people do not want to pick apples. “It’s not about pay,” she said. “A good picker may be earning £8, £9, £15 an hour.

“The reason British people don’t do this work is that they are seasonal jobs in rural locations that are hard to get to. You work in all weathers, often outside. We live in a first-world developed economy with a society that has an aspiration to have jobs that are inside, in town, that are permanent, year-round and allow them to have a mortgage, have a rental contract.

“Seasonal work means you need to move from farm to farm. Those jobs require you to live very close to or on the farm. For us to put perfect fruit on supermarket shelves, we are often picking at odd times of day.

“You have all sorts of cultural and social issues around why seasonal work doesn’t suit the people that live in first-world developed economies. This is not just a UK problem. Australia, New Zealand, the US, the rest of western Europe all rely on workers generally from poorer countries who don’t mind working outside.”

Capper said that even before Brexit it was getting more difficult to recruit from the EU because young Poles, Bulgarians and Romanians were also beginning to reject outdoor, farm jobs. The youngest picker at Stocks Farm is 21, but the average age is probably 40-something. “What the sector needs is some form of certainty quickly – before Christmas,” said Capper.

This apple season is late but the fruit is expected to be full of flavour and juice and vibrant in colour because of the late summer sun.

Steven Munday, chief executive of the trade association English Apples and Pears[http://www.englishapplesandpears.co.uk/], said he hoped Brexit might prompt people to think more about buying British. But he said the industry felt it was in limbo. “We are waiting with bated breath for what happens next.”

Related: Smashing: pumpkin grown in Essex sets new UK record[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/oct/08/pumpkin-essex-largest-uk-matthew-oliver]

According to the government there are around 70,000 seasonal and casual workers in agriculture. The UK apples and pears sector needs an estimated 12,000 seasonal workers a year, according to the trade association. “We’re not fussy where they come from – anywhere in the world,” said Munday.

In general, any shortage of seasonal workers will not affect cider producers as badly. Cider apples tends to be picked by machine rather than by hand because it does not matter if they are slightly damaged in the process.

But Julian Temperley, the owner of Somerset Cider Brandy[http://www.ciderbrandy.co.uk/index.html], has another concern. After spending years campaigning for his product to be given EU protected geographical indication[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/guidance/eu-protected-food-names-how-to-register-food-or-drink-products] (PGI) status, he is worried that Brexit will lead to him losing that safeguard. “We’re already seeing others producing what they call cider brandy. I’m worried the government won’t be interested in safeguarding our business. It’s very concerning.”

The government said it could not yet give details on what was next for apple pickers and growers.

A spokesperson said: “Supporting our farmers and protecting the environment will form an important part of our exit from the EU. At every step of these negotiations we will work to ensure the best possible outcome for the British people – not least our farming community, who play a vital role in our country. We are about to begin these negotiations and it would be wrong to set out unilateral positions in advance.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**White, male and well connected, the former public schoolboys who engineered Brexit could have ruled Britain in 1955

Mustering all the serenity and self-restraint that has made it famous, the Daily Mail published a full-page editorial [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3833496/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-Whingeing-Contemptuous-Unpatriotic-Damn-Bremoaners-plot-subvert-British-people.html] on Wednesday headlined “Whingeing. Contemptuous. Unpatriotic. Damn the Bremoaners and their plot to subvert the will of the British people.” It attacked remain voters for being “sore losers” who were “incredulous that the British people could be so disrespectful as to reject their wisdom”. One group in particular attracted the Mail’s contempt: the “metropolitan elite”, defined by the paper as “the well-heeled group of London ‘intellectuals’ which is used to having everything its own way” – and which was anxious to revenge Theresa May’s “devastating attack” on its sneering attitude to public concerns about mass **immigration**. The Mail identified the BBC as Bremoaner-in-chief.

Related: Dangerous idiots: how the liberal media elite failed working-class Americans [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/13/liberal-media-bias-working-class-americans]

The paper loves May. Not since Margaret Thatcher has it given a prime minister such unstinting admiration and support. It never much cared for David Cameron – for a time even Gordon Brown ranked higher in the Mail’s affections, perhaps because Brown replaced a flashy predecessor, just as May has done. Both leaders exemplify the hard work and modesty that you might expect from a childhood spent in a churchy household – a manse in Brown’s case and a vicarage in May’s – which are habits and virtues that the Mail likes to think its readers share. May, presumably, loves the Mail in return; who wouldn’t want the support of the most politically influential paper in England? But whether May hates the “metropolitan elite” quite as much as the Mail does is an open question.

On the morning of her big speech to the Tory conference [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/mays-conservative-party-conference-speech-key-points-analysed], the Mail’s front-page report predicted that she would condemn this elite, which it also called the “liberal elite”, “for sneering at millions of ordinary Britons over **immigration**”. But her speech, when she delivered it, wasn’t quite so straightforward. Many politicians and commentators, she told her audience, had found “your patriotism distasteful, your concerns about **immigration** parochial, your views about crime illiberal, your attachment to your job security inconvenient”. But the only mention of an elite came in an earlier passage about the many “people in positions of power” who behaved as if they had “more in common with international elites than with the people down the road, the people they employ, the people they pass in the street”. And then she added: “But if you believe you’re a citizen of the world, you’re a citizen of nowhere.”

In one or two paragraphs, she had taken aim at various kinds of elites and allegedly elitist attitudes, some antithetical to others and the most awkward of them probably invented for the sake of political balance – for which politician or commentator has ever openly complained about the “inconvenience” of a worker’s attachment to job security?

Two broad categories had been conflated and confused. First came the rich and greedy international elite, who ran businesses that didn’t pay proper taxes and treated their workers badly. Second came a social and cultural elite who peered down their noses at the illiberalism and flag-waving of the classes below.

Both groups could be smeared as citizens of nowhere – “rootless cosmopolitans” in the antisemitic jibe of Stalin’s Soviet Union – but other than that they have little or nothing in common. Ruthless billionaires on the one hand, condescending academics on the other: together, May implied, they had **alienated** the larger part of an electorate that felt wronged and ignored.

There’s nothing new in her diagnosis. Shortly before he died in 1994, the American historian and moralist Christopher Lasch [http://www.nytimes.com/1994/02/15/obituaries/christopher-lasch-is-dead-at-61-wrote-about-america-s-malaise.html] wrote an eloquent charge sheet against similar targets in his posthumously published book The Revolt of the Elites. He mainly described the United States, but his analysis illuminates many other parts of the world (including the land of Brexit) as well.

What went wrong? Lasch: “The general course of recent history no longer favours the levelling of social distinctions but runs more and more in the direction of a two-class society.” What he called the “democratisation of abundance” – the expectation that each generation would be better off than its predecessor – was giving way to a society of rising inequalities.

How did this happen? When the idea that the masses were riding the wave of history faded away. The radical movements of the 20th century have failed, and the industrial working class, once the mainstay of the socialist movement, has been weakened to the point where, in some of its former strongholds, it barely exists anymore.

Who are the elites? “Those who control the international flow of money and information, preside over philanthropic foundations and institutions of higher learning, manage the instruments of cultural production and thus set the terms of public debate.”

A Marxist could have written those last words; the Daily Mail, in its anti-Philip (“ Sir Shifty [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3784214/Still-working-hard-Sir-Shifty-Philip-Green-relaxes-shore-family-luxury-yacht-docks-Monaco.html] ”) Green and anti-metropolitan moments, could almost have written it.

As a social critic rather than an ideologue, Lasch is hard to place on the left-right spectrum. Sometimes he might be depicting the present-day dilemma of a constituency Labour party in the north of England, as when he points out that the class once regarded as the most likely to support a revolution has many members with political instincts more conservative than those of their radical would-be leaders.

Elsewhere he could be describing a way of London living that in 1994 still lay a dozen years in the future: “Ambitious people understand … that a migratory way of life is the price of getting ahead … ‘multiculturalism’ suits them to perfection, conjuring up an agreeable image of a global bazaar … Theirs is essentially a tourist’s view of the world.”

The Daily Mail’s portrayal of remainers as truculent and bitter has a few grains of truth

Reading Lasch at this time of crisis in British history is also valuable as a caution. He writes that when the common folk confront well-meaning initiatives from above, their resistance provokes an outburst of “the venomous hatred that lies not far beneath the smiling face of upper-middle-class benevolence”.

I don’t think of myself as upper-middle-class, but that might be a caricature of my emotions when, say, I watch Brexiteers on Question Time. The Daily Mail’s portrayal of remainers as truculent and bitter has a few grains of truth. Nobody can look at something they see as a catastrophe and not despair of the people who caused it.

Speaking of whom, let us count the public schools and the frequent mention of the same university. Nigel Farage (Dulwich College), Daniel Hannan [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/daniel-hannan-the-man-who-brought-you-brexit] (Marlborough and Oxford), Douglas Carswell (Charterhouse and UEA), Mark Reckless (Charterhouse and Oxford), David Cameron (Eton and Oxford), George Osborne (St Paul’s and Oxford), Boris Johnson (Eton and Oxford), Michael Gove (Robert Gordon’s College and Oxford), John Redwood (Kent College, Canterbury and Oxford), Bill Cash [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3636261/For-30-years-senior-Tory-BILL-CASH-derided-tirelessly-warning-EU-corrupt-superstate-dominated-Germany-events-prove-right-case-against-Brussels-behemoth.html] (Stonyhurst and Oxford), Matthew Elliott (Leeds Grammar and LSE), Dominic Cummings [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/20/accuracy-is-for-snake-oil-pussies-vote-leaves-campaign-director-defies-mps] (Durham School and Oxford).

That looks like an elite to me. More than that – it looks like a ruling class. In its whiteness, maleness and connectedness it could have ruled Britain in 1955. I imagine its members not as a caricature but as an old-fashioned cartoon: boys in school caps and short trousers lighting a little firework labelled “Sovereignty” next to a huge pile of tinder marked “All Our Discontents”. As Terry-Thomas [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/8638598/Terry-Thomas-played-the-cad-toperfection.html] used to exclaim in the films of those days: “What a shower! What an absolute shower!”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of the SNP conference in Glasgow, including Nicola Sturgeon ’s keynote speechBrennan-Whitefield’s speech calling for cannabis to be decriminalised for medical useSturgeon’s speech - Snap verdict and summary

block-time published-time 5.41pm BST

This is from the BBC ’s Philip Sim.

enltrNicola Sturgeon wades into crowd at the close of her #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] speech; poses for pictures with some of those young people brought up in care pic.twitter.com/3amAvrStvv [https://t.co/3amAvrStvv] speech; poses for pictures with some of those young people brought up in care

— Philip Sim (@BBCPhilipSim) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCPhilipSim/status/787308058414288896]block-time published-time 5.31pm BST

Here is the full text of Nicola Sturgeon’s speech. [http://www.snp.org/nicola\_sturgeon\_address\_to\_snp16]

block-time published-time 5.23pm BST

Here is Anas Sarwar, Labour’s health spokesman in Scotland, on Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech.

New funding is welcome, but this is the SNP reversing their own cuts to the budgets of family doctors, having slashed a massive £1.6bn in the past decade.

The test will not just be the money spent, it will be number of new GP recruited, GPs retained, saving local practices from closures and more auxiliary support services.

The SNP need to outline where this money is coming from - will it mean further cuts to acute services the SNP told us were safe?

block-time published-time 5.21pm BST

Here is Gordon Hector, head of research for the Scottish Conservatives, on Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech.

enltrWe tories are so wicked & nasty that NS has, er, copied two of our policies - expanding SDI & childcare £ following child. #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash]

— Gordon Hector (@gordoh) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/gordoh/status/787303784053637120]enltrEvil tories schtick tad undermined by adopting 4 social policies we proposed. Go for it: just don’t pretend we & our ideas are bad. #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash]enltrEvil tories schtick tad undermined by adopting 4 social policies we proposed. Go for it: just don’t pretend we & our ideas are bad.

— Gordon Hector (@gordoh) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/gordoh/status/787314033712046085]block-time published-time 4.52pm BST

And this is from Kezia Dugdale , the Scottish Labour leader.

enltrAnnouncements on Looked After Children from #snp16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/snp16?src=hash] are very welcome - here's what I said last October https://t.co/aJCoH2mXGc [https://t.co/aJCoH2mXGc] are very welcome - here's what I said last October pic.twitter.com/cWrbaNaU0c [https://t.co/cWrbaNaU0c] are very welcome - here's what I said last October

— Kezia Dugdale (@kezdugdale) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/kezdugdale/status/787311649824923649]block-time published-time 4.50pm BST

Here is Iain Gray, Labour’s education spokesman in Scotland, responding to Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech.

Labour has led the debate around improving support for looked after children for years, and a review of the entire system is one we welcome. The truth is that looked after children are Scotland’s children, the state is the parent and we pay the bills.

We would ask the first minister to go a step further and put improving outcomes for looked after children at the heart of the country’s attainment strategy. That is why Labour said it should be considered in school inspections.

Labour will await further detail on the childcare announcement. We welcome any move towards a system that is more flexible, because for too long policy has been written to fit on election leaflets rather than around the lives of working families. However for it to be delivered properly, it needs to be funded properly.

Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech ignored the huge cuts public services in Scotland are facing; cuts that will hold back ambitions and opportunities for our young people. She should work with Labour to stop the cuts.

Labour would amend the Scottish budget with a 50p top rate of tax and a penny for public services. Nicola Sturgeon faces a choice: she can work with Labour to stop the cuts and invest in public services, or she can continue to accept Tory budgets from Westminster.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.23pm BST

block-time published-time 4.35pm BST

Nicola Sturgeon 's speech - Snap verdict and summary After Thursday, that seemed like a bit of an anti-climax. Nicola Sturgeon ’s end of conference speech is supposed to be her most important of the week, but south of the border her speech on Thursday threatening a second independence referendum if Scotland gets forced out of the single market is the one that people will remember from this week. It may well be that in Scotland it is the one that resonates most too.

After more than nine years in office in Scotland it is getting harder (although by no means impossible, given the limits on the Scottish parliament ’s power) for the SNP to explain away poor public services, and there was evidence of that today, in Derek Mackay ’s Today interview (see 10.42am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-5801f112e4b0160123895fd9#block-5801f112e4b0160123895fd9] and the reception John Swinney got at an education fringe (see 1.50pm) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-58022583e4b047a4eaafcc3c#block-58022583e4b047a4eaafcc3c]. And you could detect some evidence of this too in Sturgeon’s speech, which was notably free of boasting. Instead it was pragmatic and workmanlike (and probably all the better for that).

At the heart of the speech was a series of solid, but mainstream and detail-light policies. The best passage came when Sturgeon was talking about failings in the care service, and the need for children to be loved. (‘My view is simple: every young person deserves to be loved.”) She tied this in well with her theme of “inclusion”, although a lot of her comments on children in care could have come straight from a speech by David Cameron on life chances. The announcement on NHS funding raised the question of what hospital units might have be to be cut as part of this reconfiguration. And, for someone from England, the announcement on childcare was interesting because of the tacit admission that choice at present is not a strong feature of Scottish childcare provision. Championing choice as she did sounded a bit Blairite, although of course Sturgeon would be horrified if anyone saw it like that.

Here are the main points from the speech.

\* Sturgeon announced plans to extend the small business bonus, so that from April an extra 100,000 business premises do not pay business rates. (See 3.38pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-58023f28e4b01ffb8ffcbf52#block-58023f28e4b01ffb8ffcbf52]

\* She announced a reform of the way childcare services are provided, with an emphasis on giving parents more choice. (See 3.43pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-5802402de4b047a4eaafccbf#block-5802402de4b047a4eaafccbf]

\* She announced an independent and far-reaching review of the care system. (See 3.49pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-5802418de4b047a4eaafccc8#block-5802418de4b047a4eaafccc8]

\* She announced an extra £500m for primary care by 2021. This will happen because the proportion of health spending going on primary care will be increased, up to 11%. At this point it is not clear what this might mean for hospital budgets. (See 3.53pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-5802429fe4b016012389615c#block-5802429fe4b016012389615c]

\* She announced that the SNP’s baby box initiative will start being rolled out next year, with the whole country covered by next summer. (See 3.45pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-580240cee4b047a4eaafccc5#block-580240cee4b047a4eaafccc5]

I will post some reaction soon.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.17pm BST

block-time published-time 4.19pm BST

It was this tweet, from Theo Bertram, a former adviser to Tony Blair and Gordon Brown , that I was reminded of early when Nicola Sturgeon spoke about Syria in her speech. (See 3.26pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-58023c3ae4b047a4eaafccb1#block-58023c3ae4b047a4eaafccb1] spoke about Syria in her speech. (See

enltrAll the talk of **immigration**. No mention of Aleppo or Syria in conference speeches by either May or Corbyn. Maybe I missed it.

— Theo Bertram (@theobertram) October 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theobertram/status/784284759765585921]block-time published-time 4.01pm BST

That’s it. The speech is over.

I will post a summary and snap verdict soon.

block-time published-time 4.01pm BST

Sturgeon is now on her peroration.

We have already come so far.

Our home rule journey has given us new confidence.

New self-belief.

A determination not to be taken backwards, but to finish building tomorrow’s Scotland.

Friends,

The time is coming to put Scotland’s future in Scotland’s hands.

Let’s get on with making that case.

Let’s get on with building the country we know Scotland can be.

block-time published-time 4.00pm BST

Sturgeon is now rehearsing a key argument she could use to justify a second independence referendum.

Let us be clear about this too.

If that moment does arise, it will not be because the 2014 result hasn’t been respected.

It will be because the promises made to Scotland in 2014 have been broken.

block-time published-time 3.59pm BST

Sturgeon reaffirms the case for independence.

And make no mistake - it is the opponents of independence, those on the right of the Tory party, intent on a hard Brexit, who have caused the insecurity and uncertainty.

So it falls to us, the advocates of independence, to offer solutions to the problems they have created.

Of course independence would bring its own challenges - that is true for every independent nation on earth.

But with independence, the solutions will lie in our own hands.

And she repeats the point she made in her speech on Thursday.

We will work with others across the political divide to try to save the UK as a whole from the fate of a hard Brexit.

We will propose new powers to help keep Scotland in the single market even if the UK leaves.

But if the Tory government rejects these efforts -

If it insists on taking Scotland down a path that hurts our economy, costs jobs, lowers our living standards and damages our reputation as an open, welcoming, diverse country -

Then be in no doubt.

Scotland must have the ability to choose a better future.

And I will make sure that Scotland gets that chance.

block-time published-time 3.58pm BST

Sturgeon says it is 30 years since she joined the SNP.

In all those 30 years, I have never doubted that Scotland will one day become an independent country.

And I believe it today more strongly than I ever have before.

But I’ve always known that it will happen only when a majority of our fellow citizens believe that becoming independent is the best way to build a better future, together.

So we need to understand why, in 2014, that wasn’t the case.

Some who voted No believed that staying in the UK offered greater economic security, a stronger voice in the world and a guaranteed place in the EU .

Back then it even seemed possible that there might be a Westminster Labour government at some point in the next 20 years!

But the future looks very different today.

block-time published-time 3.56pm BST

Sturgeon says the SNP should lead the way in insisting on respect for others’ views.

Let’s build on that common ground.

Let’s decide that whatever decisions we face in the years ahead, we will take them together - respecting each other every step of the way.

And let us in the SNP lead by example.

block-time published-time 3.55pm BST

Sturgeon says it is important to understand each other’s point of view.

So whatever our disagreements, let us always treat each other with respect.

And let’s work harder to understand each other’s point of view.

You know, in a strange sort of way, the events of the last few months might help us do just that.

I know how upset I was on the morning of 24 June as I came to terms with the result of the EU referendum. I felt as if part of my identity was being taken away.

And I don’t mind admitting that it gave me a new insight into how those who voted No might have felt if 2014 had gone the other way.

Likewise, there are many No voters now looking at the Brexit vote with real dismay and wondering if independence might be the best option for Scotland after all.

block-time published-time 3.54pm BST

Sturgeon says there is more that unites the Scots than divides them.

So as we prepare to take the next steps in our nation’s journey - whatever they might be - let us always remember this.

There is more - much more - that unites us as a country than will ever divide us.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.55pm BST

block-time published-time 3.53pm BST

Sturgeon promises an extra £500m for primary care by 2021 Sturgeon commits government to increasing funding for primary care.

The NHS of the future must be built on a real shift from acute care to primary and community care.

So the commitment I am announcing today is a landmark one.

By the end of this parliament, we will increase spending on primary care services to 11% of the frontline NHS budget.

That’s what doctors have said is needed.

And it is what we will deliver.

And let me be clear what that means. By 2021, an extra half billion pounds will be invested in our GP practices and health centres.

And it means, for the first time ever, that half of the health budget will be spent, not in acute hospitals, but in the community - delivering primary, community and social care.

block-time published-time 3.51pm BST

Sturgeon praises NHS staff “no matter where they were born”.

And she says the NHS must reform.

Over this parliament, we will increase health spending by almost £2 billion.

That’s a necessary commitment but it is not sufficient.

To make our NHS fit for the future we must reform as well as invest.

That will involve tough decisions - but the challenge of an ageing population demands it.

It’s why our government has integrated health and social care - a challenge ducked by every single administration before us.

And it’s why we are expanding standalone elective capacity through five new treatment centres.

block-time published-time 3.50pm BST

Sturgeon gives more details of her care review.

You know, the young people who speak to me make a simple but powerful point.

They say the system feels like it is designed only to stop things happening.

And, of course, it must have safeguards and protections.

But children don’t need a system that just stops things happening to them - they need one that makes things happen for them.

A system that supports them to become the people they can be. One that gives them a sense of family. Of belonging. Of love.

My view is simple: every young person deserves to be loved.

So let’s come together and make this commitment: to love our most vulnerable children and give them the childhood they deserve.

That’s what inclusion means in practice.

block-time published-time 3.49pm BST

Sturgeon announces thorough review of care system Sturgeon says she will review the care system.

Recently, I’ve been spending some time with young people who have grown up in care.

Some of them are here today.

We welcome them to our conference.

Their stories have moved me deeply.

These young people have challenged me to accept Who Cares? Scotland’s pledge to listen to 1000 care experienced young people over the next two years.

And then to use what they tell me to help make their lives better.

I’ve accepted that challenge...

But we can’t ignore the reality for too many children in care.

Only six per cent go to university.

Nearly half will suffer mental health issues.

Half of the adult prison population are people who lived in care when they were growing up.

And worst of all - and this breaks my heart - a young person who has been in care is twenty times - twenty times - more likely to be dead by the time they are 25 than a young person who hasn’t.

Conference,

This simply has to change.

And I am determined that it will change.

So, I am going to do what these young people have asked me to do.

I am announcing today that we will launch an independent, root and branch review of the care system.

block-time published-time 3.47pm BST

Sturgeon turns to the attainment gap. (See 1 0.42am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-5801f112e4b0160123895fd9#block-5801f112e4b0160123895fd9]

In our schools, raising the bar for all and closing the attainment gap - opening up opportunity for every child – is the number one priority of my government.

It is my personal defining mission.

That’s why we are directing more funding to areas of greatest need.

It’s why we’ve announced our intention to reform school governance - to put parents, head-teachers and classroom teachers at the centre of decisions about children’s learning.

It’s why are working with teachers to reduce workload.

And it’s why we are bringing greater transparency to school performance - so that we can measure the attainment gap accurately and set clear targets to close it.

But if we are to live up to our ambition we have a very particular duty to those most in need.

We have to get it right for every child.

block-time published-time 3.45pm BST

Sturgeon says the baby box initiative will be launched next year Sturgeon says the baby box initiative will be launched next year.

In the election, we promised a Baby Box of essential items for all newborns. It’s a policy borrowed from Finland – where it has contributed to one of the lowest levels of child mortality in the world.

So, I am delighted to give you an update on our plans to introduce it here.

Next month, we’ll launch a competition - in partnership with the V&A in Dundee - for the design of the box.

The first boxes will be delivered to babies born in pilot areas on New Year’s Day.

Now, I don’t know about you, but as a first foot offering, I think that beats a lump of coal!

And, then next summer, every new born baby across the country will receive a baby box full of clothes, nappies, bedding, books and toiletries.

Friends,

The baby box is a powerful symbol of our belief that all children should start life on a level playing field.

That’s what inclusion means in practice.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.45pm BST

block-time published-time 3.44pm BST

Sturgeon gives more details of her childcare plans.

First, we will propose that parents can choose a nursery or childminder that best suits their needs and - as long as the provider meets agreed standards - ask the local authority to fund it.

In other words, the funding will follow the child - not the other way round.

Second, as suggested by Children in Scotland’s Childcare Commission we will propose that parents can opt to receive funding in a childcare account and then use it to purchase a suitable place directly.

Quality, choice, flexibility - these will be the watchwords of a policy to transform the working lives of families and the life chances of our children.

And I’m proud that it’s an SNP government that will deliver it.

block-time published-time 3.43pm BST

Sturgeon announces plans to reform childcare provision Sturgeon announces a plan to reform childcare provision.

The most important infrastructure investment of the next few years will be different. It will be childcare.

Over this parliament, we will double the amount of state funded early years education and childcare for all 3 and 4 year olds and for the most disadvantaged 2 year olds.

Not a bridge over a river.

But a bridge to a better future for our children.

And today I can announce a new phase in this childcare revolution.

Just now it is local authorities who decide what childcare places are offered to parents.

Councils work hard to be flexible - but often the places offered to parents are not where and when they need them.

So today we are launching a national parent consultation on how to do things differently.

It proposes radical new approaches prioritising choice and flexibility.

block-time published-time 3.41pm BST

Sturgeon turns to infrastructure.

Inclusive economic growth underpins our entire economic strategy.

The Queensferry Crossing - our new bridge across the Forth - has been our country’s most important infrastructure project in a generation.

In fact, this week, it entered the Guinness Book of Records.

The central tower of the bridge is the biggest freestanding structure of its kind anywhere in the world.

What an amazing feat of engineering.

block-time published-time 3.40pm BST

Sturgeon says the number of living wage employers is being extended.

There are currently over 600 accredited living wage employers in Scotland.

By this time next year, that number will rise to at least 1000.

And she announces the measures to boost trade links abroad, briefed overnight. See 9.04am. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-5801c9dbe4b047a4eaafcaa9#block-5801c9dbe4b047a4eaafcaa9]

block-time published-time 3.38pm BST

Sturgeon announces plan to extend small business bonus Sturgeon announces plans to extend a scheme exempting some firms from business rates.

We will not just intervene to save jobs. We will also provide help and support for businesses to thrive.

I can confirm today that our small business bonus will be extended.

From April 1 next year, 100,000 business premises across Scotland will pay no business rates at all.

Absolutely none.

Our new half billion pound Growth Scheme will offer guarantees and loans to companies seeking to export, expand and create new jobs.

And we’ll make sure that the benefits of growth are shared more widely.

block-time published-time 3.36pm BST

Sturgeon says growing the economy is vital.

But more than ever before, the new Scotland Act means the growth of Scotland’s budget depends on the growth of Scotland’s economy.

Creating jobs, expanding the economy and growing tax revenues - these priorities must be at the centre of everything we do.

And they always will be.

block-time published-time 3.35pm BST

Sturgeon says her government has made good progress.

Earlier, this week a major European research study reached this conclusion.

On health, on education, on tolerance and on the environment - out of all of the four nations in the UK, Scotland is top.

block-time published-time 3.34pm BST

Sturgeon explains her line about inclusion.

Inclusion is the guiding principle for everything we do.

It encapsulates what we stand for as a party and it describes the kind of country we want Scotland to be.

An inclusive country.

A country where everyone has the opportunity to contribute to a better future and to share in the benefits of that better future.

A country which works for those who value the security they currently have and for those who yearn for change.

A country where we value people for the contribution they make.

block-time published-time 3.34pm BST

Sturgeon turns to policy.

If you remember just one word from my speech today, I want it to be this one.

It begins with an ‘I’.

No, not that one! Not yet.

The word I want you to remember is this - inclusion.

block-time published-time 3.33pm BST

Sturgeon says the SNP are providing the only real opposition at Westminster Sturgeon says the SNP are providing the only real opposition at Westminster.

At Westminster, we will continue to provide the strong opposition that Labour is failing to deliver.

In recent months, it hasn’t been Labour asking the hard questions about our place in the single market and the jobs that depend on it - it’s been our Westminster leader, our new deputy leader, Angus Robertson .

Just as it’s been Alison Thewliss making the case against the immorality of denying tax credits to women unless they can prove they’ve been raped.

And Ian Blackford , standing against the deportation of the Brain family.

Or Mhairi Black standing up for women denied the pension entitlements they saved for all their working lives.

The SNP isn’t just the real opposition to the Tories at Westminster.

The SNP is the only effective opposition to the Tories at Westminster.

block-time published-time 3.32pm BST

Sturgeon turns to Labour

And what of Labour?

Delegates laugh. She say that was not meant to be a joke.

Well, so lost have they become that they prefer the prospect of years of continuous Tory government at Westminster to self-government for Scotland.

It is inexplicable, I know - but I guess branch offices just don’t have all that much in the way of ambition.

block-time published-time 3.31pm BST

Sturgeon condemns the Tories' 'ingrained hostility to **immigration**' Sturgeon condemns the Tory approach to **immigration**.

Today’s Tories display an ingrained hostility to **immigration** and offer a stony heart to **refugees**.

They treat those with disabilities with suspicion.

People seeking support to get back into employment are humiliated and harassed.

A mother unable to find the bus fare to get to a job centre appointment is more likely to face a benefit sanction than she is to be offered a helping hand.

And those from other European countries who have chosen to make their homes here - human beings with lives, jobs and families - they are treated as no more than bargaining chips.

Conference,

The Prime Minister’s position on EU nationals shames her and it will be a stain on her government each and every day that it is allowed to continue.

The fact is, with almost every action the Tories take, somebody is excluded. Somebody loses out. Somebody is left behind.

So let us make it clear.

That is not our way.

It is not who we are.

And it is not who we aspire to be.

block-time published-time 3.29pm BST

Sturgeon says Tories are now indistinguishable from Ukip Sturgeon quotes the passaged released overnight about how the battle of ideas is now between the SNP and the hard-right Tories. (See 9.58am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-5801cb33e4b047a4eaafcaad#block-5801cb33e4b047a4eaafcaad]

The Cameroons have fallen to the Faragistas - and let’s face it, the Cameroons were never very appealing in the first place.

Conference,

The SNP’s vision for Scotland is welcoming, progressive, open, outward looking, and inclusive.

The Tory vision?

Xenophobic, closed, inward looking, discriminatory.

Let’s be frank, the Tories are no longer the Conservative and Unionist Party.

After last week, we should call them what they are:

The Conservative and Separatist Party.

Or Ukip for short.

block-time published-time 3.27pm BST

Sturgeon says Syrian **refugees** are welcome in Scotland.

Last month the 1,000th Syrian **refugee** was welcomed to Scotland.

And they are welcome.

But we can and we must do more - especially for children, alone without their parents.

So, I say to the UK Government today – stop treating this as a migration issue.

It is a humanitarian crisis.

block-time published-time 3.26pm BST

Sturgeon turns to Syria.

In the conflicts facing the world today, nuclear weapons are not the answer.

In Syria, up to 400,000 men, women and children have been killed since the conflict started.

Over a million have been wounded.

No-one can fail to be profoundly moved, and deeply angered, by the appalling scenes we are witnessing in Aleppo.

Innocent children are being killed and wounded with impunity.

The barbarism of the Assad regime and the actions of Russia are sickening.

We condemn them unreservedly.

NOTE: I’m wondering if Sturgeon read the same tweet that I did from someone saying how strange it was that neither Jeremy Corbyn nor Theresa May addressed Aleppo in their conference speeches.

block-time published-time 3.24pm BST

Sturgeon reaffirms the SNP's opposition to Trident Sturgeon says the SNP and Labour differ over Trident.

It’s not just attitude which distinguishes the SNP from Labour.

It’s policy and principle too.

When Labour held its conference in Liverpool recently its defence spokesman wanted to announce support for the renewal of Trident.

He was enraged at not being allowed to go as far as he wanted in supporting weapons of mass destruction.

Well, we’re pretty angry too.

We’re angry that with so many children still living in poverty, we have a Tory government determined to waste tens of billions of pounds on a new generation of nuclear weapons

And we’re angry at Labour for meekly falling into line behind the Tories

Friends, I promise you this -

No-one will ever have to slip a note to politicians in this party reminding us to oppose Trident

Now and always with the SNP: it is no to Trident.

block-time published-time 3.23pm BST

Sturgeon says Labour became “arrogant on power”.

So our promise - to Glasgow and to all the people of Scotland - is this:

We will never take you for granted.

We will work each and every day to earn and re-earn your trust.

block-time published-time 3.22pm BST

Sturgeon talks about how the SNP is winning power in Glasgow.

In 1985 every constituency in this city, bar one, was held by Labour.

Today, the political landscape is very different.

Last year, every Westminster constituency in this city was won by the SNP.

This year, every Holyrood constituency voted SNP as well.

And just last week, in a council by-election, a massive 19% swing to the SNP secured victory for our brilliant candidate, Chris Cunningham.

In 2017 the SNP can complete this transformation by winning the council elections in Glasgow, she says. (The council is still Labour.)

Let’s work as hard as we ever have to bring the SNP to power.

And then let’s build this city as one of the very best in Europe.

block-time published-time 3.19pm BST

Sturgeon turns to how much Scotland has changed.

The SECC - where we meet today - was first opened back in 1985.

It has witnessed quite a few changes in the 30 years since.

The biggest change of all has been in the politics of our country and of this city.

In 1985, a Scottish Parliament seemed like a pipe dream.

Today, it is the beating heart of our democracy.

We no longer question if we should have a parliament of our own.

Instead, we ask if our parliament should be independent.

We say yes.

block-time published-time 3.18pm BST

Nicola Sturgeon says the SNP is meeting five months on from the Scottish parliament election.

It won a third term.

She thanks the people of the country “from the bottom of my heart”.

block-time published-time 3.17pm BST

Nicola Sturgeon 's speech Angus Robertson , the new deputy leader (or depute leader, as the SNP call the post), is introducing Nicola Sturgeon .

He says she is a fantastic first minister.

block-time published-time 3.09pm BST

The conference is now hearing from Aamer Anwar, the lawyer who represented the family of the murdered Sikh waiter Surjit Singh Chhokar. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/05/man-found-guilty-murder-surjit-singh-chhokar-ronnie-coulter-retrial] He says SNP MSPs consistently supporter the family during their 17-year fight for justice.

enltr. @AamerAnwar [https://twitter.com/AamerAnwar] addresses #snp16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/snp16?src=hash] flanked by Chhokar family, thanks party for its 'unrelenting and unconditional support' pic.twitter.com/fpJW0ZrLnx [https://t.co/fpJW0ZrLnx] flanked by Chhokar family, thanks party for its 'unrelenting and unconditional support'

— Libby Brooks (@libby\_brooks) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/libby\_brooks/status/787293110766276609]enltr"The dead cannot cry out for justice. It is a duty of the living to do so for them." @AamerAnwar [https://twitter.com/AamerAnwar]enltr"The dead cannot cry out for justice. It is a duty of the living to do so for them." #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash]enltr"The dead cannot cry out for justice. It is a duty of the living to do so for them."

— Michael Gray (@GrayInGlasgow) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GrayInGlasgow/status/787293590825406464]enltrChhokar Family & @AamerAnwar [https://twitter.com/AamerAnwar] receive standing ovation @theSNP [https://twitter.com/theSNP] for their indefatigability in pursuing justice for Surjit Singh Chhokar #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] for their indefatigability in pursuing justice for Surjit Singh Chhokar pic.twitter.com/4PVbI3PRn8 [https://t.co/4PVbI3PRn8] for their indefatigability in pursuing justice for Surjit Singh Chhokar

— Humza Yousaf (@HumzaYousaf) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/HumzaYousaf/status/787293935823687680]block-time published-time 3.03pm BST

This is from Michael Matheson, the Scottish justice secretary.

enltrView from the stage at #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/xHXCCILKnX [https://t.co/xHXCCILKnX]

— Michael Matheson MSP (@MathesonMichael) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MathesonMichael/status/787290999416614912]block-time published-time 2.59pm BST

Nicola Sturgeon will be starting her speech in about 15 minutes.

block-time published-time 2.59pm BST

The results of a set of internal elections have just been announced. Mhairi Black, the 22-year-old SNP, has been elected to the party’s national executive committee.

block-time published-time 2.55pm BST

This is from the New Statesman’s Stephen Bush.

enltrWas just chatting about how the odd thing about SNP conference is how normal everyone looks compared to other party's delegates.

— Stephen Bush (@stephenkb) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/stephenkb/status/787274345752174592]block-time published-time 2.54pm BST

This is from the BBC ’s Philip Sim.

enltr #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] conference hall packed out ahead of @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] 's keynote speech pic.twitter.com/z5tXNNttfT [https://t.co/z5tXNNttfT] 's keynote speech

— Philip Sim (@BBCPhilipSim) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCPhilipSim/status/787283733153976320]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.55pm BST

block-time published-time 2.51pm BST

SNP delegates have passed a resolution says the current rule saying gay men have to abstain from sex for a year before they can give blood. It said the rule should be replaced with one based on individual assessments of risk.

block-time published-time 2.50pm BST

An independence supporter at the conference bedecked with pro-independence badges. Photograph: Murdo Macleod for the Guardian block-time published-time 2.34pm BST

The SNP conference has just passed a resolution saying that the EU ’s common fisheries policy is “deeply flawed and does not support a sustainable fishing industry in Scotland”.

block-time published-time 2.28pm BST

Outside the conference centre independence supporters have been holding a rally. Here are some pictures.

Independence supporters hold a rally outside the Scottish National party conference. Photograph: Jeff J Mitchell/Getty Images Independence supporters outside the conference centre. Photograph: Jeff J Mitchell/Getty Images Independence supporters outside the conference centre. Photograph: Andy Buchanan/AFP/Getty Images Independence supporters outside the conference centre. Photograph: Andy Buchanan/AFP/Getty Images An independence supporter at the rally outside the conference centre. Photograph: Andy Buchanan/AFP/Getty Images An independence supporter. Photograph: Andy Buchanan/AFP/Getty Images Independence campaigners outside the conference centre. Photograph: Jane Barlow/PA block-time published-time 2.12pm BST

Memorabilia is on sale at a stand at the Scottish National party conference in Glasgow. Photograph: Andy Buchanan/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 2.11pm BST

The commentator James McEnaney has written an interesting blog on the charitable status for state schools proposal. [https://medium.com/@MrMcEnaney/charitable-status-for-state-schools-some-thoughts-on-snp16-motion-19-eb2fdba8a0ed#.nud6ap6bt] (See 11.26am [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-58020244e4b01ffb8ffcbe45#block-58020244e4b01ffb8ffcbe45] and 2.02pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-58022748e4b047a4eaafcc40#block-58022748e4b047a4eaafcc40] He thinks it’s a flawed idea. Here’s an excerpt.

First of all, the taxation burden referred to in the motion is a matter for local authorities, not individual schools, with councils paying business rates on all schools under their control. Charitable status would therefore represent a significant saving for local authorities which could certainly free up more money for education spending. So far so good.

The trouble is that business rates are paid to the Scottish Government which also provides the vast majority of councils’ cash. Charitable status for around 100 private schools costs the Scottish government about £10m a year, so imagine the figure for 2500 state schools.

If the government could promise not to claw back this money by reducing education funding then that would be one thing, but the money will surely have to come from somewhere.

Furthermore, if the government is indeed willing to finance a significant increase in education spending — such as would be achieved by non-domestic rates exemptions — then why not simply hand over the money right now?

block-time published-time 2.02pm BST

Here is more on the debate earlier on the vote to give charitable status to state schools in Scotland. (See 11.26am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-58020244e4b01ffb8ffcbe45#block-58020244e4b01ffb8ffcbe45]

Speaking in favour of the resolution Graham Sutherland, a delegate, said:

Many of the wealthiest people in society decide to opt out of state education. By educating their children at private schools they benefit from about £90m of tax breaks annually.

Effectively we have a situation just now where the state subsidises educational segregation and class privilege. The system as it stands also perpetuates educational inequality and that has a knock on effect on child poverty.

He highlighted the case of Fettes College, where fees are around £24,000 a year, which he said benefited from an 80% reduction in non-domestic rates while providing bursaries for 2% of pupils.

The system at the moment means that elitist private schools which serve the rich, the privileged and those that are already advantaged in life’s race enjoy charitable status while state schools serving the wider population, which undoubtedly provide a public benefit, do not.

It is time for state schools to be treated equally with private schools. It is time for our hard-pressed state schools to have this glaring anomaly removed, it’s time for a level playing field for Scotland’s children.

Several delegates said it would be better just to remove charitable status from schools. One of them, Peter Henderson, said:

We’re going about this the wrong way round. Remove charitable status for private schools to level the playing field. It’s as simple as that.

But Sutherland revealed that his branch of Newington and Southside had twice put forward a draft resolution calling for the removal of charitable status for private schools but it had not got through the SNP’s standing orders and agenda committee.

Sutherland also said the Scottish government has rejected removing charitable status from private schools. He said:

A couple of years ago a young lady through the petitions mechanisms through the Scottish parliament lobbied the Scottish government and the Scottish parliamentto have charitable status removed.

It was rejected because our Scottish government said there was insufficient evidence for a review of the charitable legislation relating to private schools. I think that’s a disgrace.

I’ve taken the quotes from the Press Association .

block-time published-time 1.50pm BST

Fascinating snapshot at a fringe event with Scotland’s largest teaching union The Educational Institute of Scotland and the new (since May) education secretary John Swinney .

Swinney takes the role fresh from his much-praised role negotiating the Scotland Act’s fiscal framework with the UK Treasury.

But he was brought up short by a nursery headteacher from Glasgow’s south side, who challenged him on the shocking lack of early years teachers and lack of funding to improve the situation.

Swinney reacted unnaturally nippily, saying that these decisions were the fault of local authorities and the reason he was undertaking his current governance review was because he was sick of being challenged about decisions by local government that he didn’t feel able to defend.

Then why did you change the legislation? asked the nursery head. It wasn’t us, it was the last Labour government! Swinney replied. Then why haven’t you reinstated it, you’ve had nearly ten years! Swinney blustered.

It was a perfect example of the struggle Swinney faces in this role and also an object lesson in not rushing to blame local authorities, whose budgets are currently being slashed by the Scottish government (again, they’d argue, as a result of Westminster austerity).

John Swinney . Photograph: Jeff J Mitchell/Getty Images block-time published-time 1.38pm BST

John Swinney , the deputy first minister and education secretary, has been speaking at a fringe meeting, my colleague Libby Brooks reports. He set himself this goal.

enltrJohn Swinney says he wants to use his next 5 years as ed sec to 'interrupt a pattern' of school failure for poorest children #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash]

— Libby Brooks (@libby\_brooks) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/libby\_brooks/status/787260705527435265]block-time published-time 1.06pm BST

An SNP conference reading list Here are some blogs and columns on the SNP conference that are particularly worth reading.

\* Kevin McKenna in the Herald (subscription) says it is a mistake to think Nicola Sturgeon will not press ahead with a second independence referendum. [http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14803845.The\_stars\_are\_aligning\_for\_a\_second\_independence\_poll/]

The first minister’s speech was not designed to mollify 3,000 gullible delegates; rather it was a clear message to Theresa May and the country at large: we’ll do all we can to help you achieve a soft Brexit with Europe that respects Scotland’s position, so don’t blame us if it doesn’t happen.

Certainly, no one I spoke to in Glasgow over the last three days thinks the prime minister, in thrall to her party’s scarecrow wing, will come anywhere near meeting Ms Sturgeon’s measure of the worth of any Brexit deal.

Rather, the prevailing mood among delegates and activists was that the first minister is preparing the ground for a second referendum before Brexit occurs...

That the opportunity to hold this has come about significantly earlier than many of us had expected is not because of hard-line SNP fundamentalism, but because of hard-line and reactionary Toryism.

\* But Tom Clark at Prospect says independence might remain a dream for the SNP. [http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/politics/scottish-independence-remains-a-dream-but-that-could-be-best-for-the-snp]

The whole party wants Indyref2 to happen— if it is sure it can win. But that is an almighty if. Britain’s leading psephologist, John Curtice [http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/politics/boundary-changes-which-mps-stand-to-lose-their-seats], kicked off the discussion [at a Prospect fringe at the conference] by summarising the polling on independence since the Brexit vote, which many nationalists had hoped would steel Scots—who voted to stay in Europe, and now face being dragged out by English votes—to make the split with the UK that they had ducked from making two years ago. Curtice, however, had dispiriting news. Few Scots, he said, cared all that much about Europe, and in fact a significant chunk of SNP voters had actually voted “Leave.” Yes, some people—perhaps one in 10 of all “No” voters in 2014—were now more inclined to vote for independence next time around, but a rather similarly-sized proportion of 2014 “Yes” voters had gone the other way. Either they preferred to be part of a Britain that was out of the EU , or they were increasingly nervous about the economics in the uncertain post-Brexit environment. Put it all together, and Scotland has barely swung at all.

The SNP MP Kirsty Blackman was frank in admitting that here the party faces phenomenal challenges with the sequencing of the referendum, in particular. If it rushed now—to exploit the full shock of the Brexit vote moment and the cross-border division that it revealed—London would be able to pretend that it would deliver all sorts of things from its negotiations with the EU . It might be impossible to secure both border control and single market access at the same time, but London could—for the moment—continue to bluff its way through and insist that it can have the best of all possible worlds, spinning its way through Indyref2 just as the Leavers did in the Brexit campaign. But if Scotland waits until the UK truly knows where it stands before deciding its future, then the UK will actually be out. The SNP would then have to explain how it would negotiate an independent Scotland’s place back in Europe, and would—without special treatment—have to accept both the euro and membership of the Schengen passport-free zone. All of which would greatly complicate the “Yes” side’s pitch.

\* Peter MacMahon, the ITV Border political editor, assesses on his blog the chances of Nicola Sturgeon pushing ahead with her second independence referendum threat. [http://www.itv.com/news/border/2016-10-14/nicola-sturgeon-marches-her-snp-troops-towards-the-top-of-the-indyref2-hill/]

If the UK government makes an offer to the Scottish government, who will judge whether this is enough to protect Scotland’s interest.

It looks like the final arbiter of that will be the First Minister. Now THAT is a decision.

What if it is not enough to satisfy the majority of the SNP demands?

Given how much the First Minister has upped the rhetoric, would she be able to look her party in the eye and say ‘No’ to a second independence referendum?

With her authority in the party Ms Sturgeon would probably be able to do so, but at what cost?

It might look rather like she has marched the troops towards the top of the hill but, just when they can see independence ahead, marched them down again.

\* Magnus Linklater in the Times (paywall) speaks to SNP members at the conference to try to assess if they would be willing to postpone the next independence referendum if Sturgeon were to secure a good Brexit deal for Scotland. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/party-faithful-trust-in-stepping-stones-2kmwd00n7]

Trust was a word that ran through every conversation. No one, it seems, trusts Westminster. Everyone trusts Nicola. If, then, she comes back in two years’ time to tell party members she has pulled off a spectacular deal that would allow Scotland to keep their European links but stay in the United Kingdom, they may well have to accept it. But that will not be the end of the story.

block-time published-time 12.22pm BST

A short walk across the river Clyde from the main conference hall, the IdeaSpace alternative fringe is still going on.

Despite comparisons to Momentum’s festival at Labour conference, I think it’s fair to say that this fringe is far more complementary rather counter to the main event.

On Saturday morning, the author and academic Gerry Hassan is talking about his new book on SNP leaders, which inevitably takes in the history and psychology of the party as well.

He describes how success for the party in the early days ‘just meant keeping the show on the road’, before the SNP found its foothold in by-elections in the 70s and scooped up Labour votes with the campaign against Polaris being housed on the Clyde.

He also notes that the SNP’s political personality has always been as the party of outsiders: in the past it was a psychological leap to identify yourself with the party, and the party was in a strong position to critique institutional Scotland.

So what does that mean now that the party has experienced such a surge in popularity, Hassan asks. Given that the SNP will have been in government for 10 years next year, it’s impossible for the incumbents to remain the insurgents forever.

enltrOver the Clyde from #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] at #IdeaSpace [https://twitter.com/hashtag/IdeaSpace?src=hash] at @GerryHassan [https://twitter.com/GerryHassan] is taking us through the venerable history of SNP leaders pic.twitter.com/gjlqaeXuQJ [https://t.co/gjlqaeXuQJ] is taking us through the venerable history of SNP leaders

— Libby Brooks (@libby\_brooks) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/libby\_brooks/status/787240799478177793]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.00pm BST

block-time published-time 12.19pm BST

The resolution on cannabis (see 11.43am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/15/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-speech-scots-cant-trust-boris-johnson-and-liam-fox-to-represent-them-says-sturgeon-politics-live?page=with:block-58020854e4b0160123896045#block-58020854e4b0160123896045] was proposed by Laura Brennan-Whitefield, a party from Ayr North who suffers from multiple sclerosis. Here are extracts from her speech.

My name is Laura and I have been living with multiple sclerosis for nine years. And the fact that I am standing here conference giving a speech means that I am one of the lucky ones.

It has become clear to me that many people living with MS have been using cannabis to help with the symptoms of that condition. In fact, it’s one of the worst kept secrets at the hospital. All of these people risk a criminal record, unlike in Australia, Chile, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Romania and some US states.

We as a developed Western nation are fast becoming behind the times.

In fact, a report publishd on 13 September this year by a cross-party group of MPs and peers has called on the government to introduce a system giving patients access to cannabis for medical reasons and to decriminalise the growing of small amounts at home for the same purposes.

However the law as it stands in the UK means that cannabis is a class b drug, and the current penalty for possession is up to five years in prison, an unlimited fine, or both, and for supply and production up to 14 years in prison, an unlimited fine, or both.

Now, I don’t think someone in pain should be criminalised for trying to ease that pain.

Brennan-Whitefield said that MS sufferers could now get a drug called Sativex which contains cannabinoids (cannabis ingredients). But it was not widely available and a private prescription cost £4,250, she said. “Does that sound fair to you?” she asked.

She said she was only proposing to decriminalise cannabis for medical use, and that it was not just MS sufferers who might benefit. Cannabis could help with arthritis, cancer, Chron’s disease, epilepsy, and palliative care, she said.

Given that these people who are suffering pain - and I can assure you, those who are willing to use cannabis have in most cases exhausted every other option - is it not unreasonable to criminalise them? I am talking about some of the most vulnerable people in society who may have had the added misfortune of going through the DWP’s inhumane assessment procedure for disability benefits. To be then branded criminals, for trying to have a quality of life?

I know what it is to suffer pain. And, be in no doubt, if it came to it, I would not hesitate to ease that pain in any way I could because that is a natural instinct.

But if my condition were to deteriorate to that stage I would be reliant on other people to help me: my friends, my family, and most of all my partner Stephen who I really don’t thank enough for the care that he gives me.

A drug conviction has very real consequences, serious consequences for your future prospects and your employment prospects. I think that now is the time to show that we are the party of compassion and common sense and it is now that we should be sending out a message to those people that we hear you and we are not shying away from this issue as Westminster is.

Here is Brennan-Whitefield making her speech.

enltrBRILLIANT work by Laura Brennan-Whitefield @laurapoppet [https://twitter.com/laurapoppet] at SNP Conference #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] on medicinal #cannabis [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cannabis?src=hash] on medicinal #EndOurPain [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EndOurPain?src=hash] on medicinal pic.twitter.com/rNHKSBTqZw [https://t.co/rNHKSBTqZw] on medicinal

— Cannabis Law Reform (@CLEARUK) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/CLEARUK/status/787250463355863040]block-time published-time 11.43am BST

SNP delegates call for cannabis to be decriminalised for medical use Delegates have overwhelmingly backed the resolution saying cannabis should be decriminalised for medical use.

This does not mean this will happen in Scotland because this is a matter for the UK government . The resolution also calls for responsibility for this to be devolved to Edinburgh.

block-time published-time 11.35am BST

You can read all the Guardian ’s SNP conference coverage here. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/snp]’s SNP conference coverage

And here are four stories from the Scottish papers today about the conference worth noting.

\* Tom Gordon in the Herald (subscription) says Nicola Sturgeon and Theresa May are on a collision course over independence after taking up seemingly irreconcilable positions on a second referendum. [http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14803793.Nicola\_Sturgeon\_and\_Theresa\_May\_in\_bitter\_independence\_stand\_off/]

After Ms Sturgeon said it was “inconceivable” that Westminster would block a vote, Downing Street said the 2014 result was “decisive” and it was “vital” it was respected for a generation.

Former SNP justice secretary Kenny MacAskill warned Mrs May might block a referendum, saying she could simply tell the First Minister: “No, you’re not getting it.”

The Herald has splashed on this story, with the headline: “Sturgeon and May in bitter stand-off on independence.” The Scotsman and the Scottish edition of the Times have also splashed on versions of this story.

\* The Herald (subscription) says a former aide to Alex Salmond has urged Sturgeon to hold a second independence referendum before the SNP’s popularity wanes. [http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14803794.Alex\_Salmond\_s\_former\_top\_aide\_tells\_Nicola\_Sturgeon\_to\_go\_for\_new\_indy\_ref\_poll/?ref=mr&lp=3]

Geoff Aberdein told a fringe event at the SNP conference yesterday that the “laws of political gravity” meant “what goes up must come down”.

A special adviser to the former first minister for four years, then his chief of staff for three, Mr Aberdein is now head of European Public Affairs at Aberdeen Asset Management .

He told delegates: ‘The SNP has done tremendously well in elongating their popularity and the Scottish referendum in 2014 engaged people like never before.”

However he added: ‘The SNP will be struggling, in my opinion, to have a majority at the next election. They didn’t get one this year and they only command a majority with the Greens.

“So that does point to it being quite difficult in 2021 to get another parliamentary majority in favour of independence, whether with the Greens or not.”

\* Chris Musson in the Scottish Sun says Michael Matheson, the Scottish justice secretary was ambushed at the conference by the Scottish Police Federation leader who confronted him with the evidence of the shabby state of police stations. [http://www.thescottishsun.co.uk/scotsol/homepage/news/7248241/Look-at-the-nick-of-this-Mike-Police-union-ambushes-justice-secretary-over-squalidcop-shops.html]

Bobbies’ leader Calum Steele confronted the top Nat with pics from grotty nicks including a grim room for quizzing rape victims.

Mr Steele said: “This should anger us all.”

\* Daniel Sanderson in the Herald (subscription) says the SNP MP Pete Wishart has said he regrets calling independence No voters “nawbags” on Twitter as he admitted to at times getting things “disastrously wrong” on social media. [http://www.heraldscotland.com/politics/14803837.Pete\_Wishart\_admits\_to\_Twitter\_\_\_39\_disasters\_\_39\_\_but\_says\_criticism\_\_\_39\_too\_harsh\_\_39\_/]

Wishart, who is chair of the Scottish affairs committee, said he tried to “push boundaries” online in a bid to engage with voters but issued a direct appeal to journalists not to criticise politicians for their posts.

He has previously been praised for his use of his social media site Twitter , which he described as a “crazy, anarchic, no-rules space”, winning last year’s Parliamentary Tweeter of the Year Award. However, he has regularly been criticised for his outspoken social media persona, most recently when he was forced to apologise after comparing Blairites to an “incontinent old relatives”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.22pm BST

block-time published-time 11.30am BST

Delegates are now debating a resolution calling upon the UK government to decriminalise cannabis for medical use.

An increasing number of countries now allow this. There is a list of them here. [http://metro.co.uk/2016/05/06/these-are-the-countries-where-you-can-smoke-cannabis-legally-5864271/]

block-time published-time 11.26am BST

SNP delegates back giving charitable status to state schools Delegates have passed the resolution saying state schools should get the same charitable status for tax purposes as private schools. But it was close, and the chair had to call a card vote. The motion was passed by 464 votes to 455.

Those opposing the resolution were doing so on the grounds that it would be better just to stop private schools having charitable status in the first place. This benefit saved private schools in Scotland from having to pay £10m in business rates [http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/13066294.Revealed\_\_the\_\_\_10m\_private\_schools\_save\_on\_rates\_\_\_\_\_because\_they\_are\_\_charities\_/], one speaker said.

But those in favour of the motion said the Scottish government had in the past rejected proposals to remove charitable status from private schools, and that that was why an alternative approach was necessary.

block-time published-time 10.54am BST

In the conference hall delegates have passed a resolution urging the Scottish government to pass a Child Poverty Act. Currently they are debating one saying state schools should get the same charitable status as private schools.

block-time published-time 10.42am BST

Derek Mackay 's Today interview - Summary Derek Mackay , the Scottish finance secretary, was on the Today programme earlier, in the main 8.10 slot being interviewed by Sarah Montague. Before the interview the programme broadcast a package focusing on problems with the Scottish government’s record on education, and in particular on the attainment gap (the difference between what poor pupils achieve and what wealthy pupils achieve). In Scotland pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds are four times less likely to go to university. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-36392857] In England they are 2.4 times less likely to go to university.

\* Mackay said that he accepted that the attainment gap was a problem in Scotland, but he said the Scottish government was taking steps to address it. [http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Education/Schools/Raisingeducationalattainment] The government would generate more money for education, he said. And he said Nicola Sturgeon had identified education as her number one priority.

\* He dismissed claims that Scotland’s policy of proving students with free university tuition disproportionately advantaged the middle classes. When this was put to him, he replied:

We believe that free education is part of the social contract in Scotland and that has encouraged students who would not otherwise have gone to university, who might have been frightened by debt to go. I was from a poorer background. I went to university. And if there were tuition fees in place it would have been very difficult for me to go.

\* He dismissed claims that the SNP was not using the new tax powers it has been given. Scottish tax policy was different from the UK’s, he said.

There will be divergence. We are not simply following what the Tory UK government is doing around income tax, for example.

There are details of the differences here. [http://www.snp.org/our\_income\_tax\_plans\_explained]

\* He dismissed claims that he is not allowing the Scottish parliament enough time to scrutinise his budget. [http://stv.tv/news/politics/1368957-finance-secretary-accused-of-showing-contempt-to-msps/] He said he was publising the draft budget in December, not September as usual, because it would be pointless publishing it before the autumn statement.

If I produce a budget earlier than the chancellor’s autumn statement, it would be a fantasy budget. It would not be credible.

And here is Mackay being interviewed.

enltrMorning #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] my day began with an interview with @Sarah\_Montague [https://twitter.com/Sarah\_Montague] in the BBC camper van, (sorry 'mobile studio) ?? pic.twitter.com/WyBtGwOPdG [https://t.co/WyBtGwOPdG] camper van, (sorry 'mobile studio) ??

— Derek Mackay MSP (@DerekMackaySNP) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DerekMackaySNP/status/787197104343158784] MSP (@DerekMackaySNP) Derek MacKay and Nicola Sturgeon . Photograph: Russell Cheyne/Reuters block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.51pm BST

block-time published-time 10.17am BST

The press room at the SECC is still relatively quiet this morning. In a tweet yesterday Common Space’s Michael Gray said the hall set aside for the journalists here is the one that the entire SNP conference was held in four years ago, before its referendum-inspired membership surge.

enltrMedia room at #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] conference. 4 years ago it hosted the full SNP conference. pic.twitter.com/DfOyHqU15w [https://t.co/DfOyHqU15w] conference. 4 years ago it hosted the full SNP conference.

— Michael Gray (@GrayInGlasgow) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GrayInGlasgow/status/787015340802859008]block-time published-time 9.58am BST

Here is another extract from Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech released overnight. She says the main battle of ideas in Scottish politics now is between the SNP and the “hard-right Tories”.

It may just be five months since we won the Holyrood election, but in many ways it feels like a political lifetime.

We are in a completely new era:

A new political era and a new battle of ideas.

A new era for our parliament, with new powers and responsibilities

And a new era for our relationship with Europe and the wider world.

There are challenges aplenty.

And as the world around us changes, we must ensure that Scotland remains the progressive, internationalist, communitarian country that the majority of us living here want it be.

That is exactly what we intend to do.

Make no mistake - today, we face a choice of two futures.

After last week in Birmingham, there can be no doubt – the choice we face has never been so stark.

The primary contest of ideas in our country is now between the SNP and the hard-right Tories.

block-time published-time 9.47am BST

You can always tell you’re at the conference of a governing party by the fact that there are protesters outside. People don’t protest against parties on opposition.

On my way into the conference I went past campaigners from the Trade Union and Socialist Coalition protesting against austerity, from Global Justice protesting against Ceta (the EU-Canada free trade deal), from the RMT union protesting against wages paid to non-British seafarers and from NO2NP, the campaign against the Scottish government’s named person scheme. There were only about 20 of them in all, but they were hard to miss.

UPDATE: This is from the BBC ’s Philip Sim.

enltrFew different protests outside #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] today, including a group offering a "ghetto tour" of Govanhill pic.twitter.com/qHsrLjODyg [https://t.co/qHsrLjODyg] today, including a group offering a "ghetto tour" of Govanhill

— Philip Sim (@BBCPhilipSim) October 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCPhilipSim/status/787221547085860868]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.50pm BST

block-time published-time 9.04am BST

Nicola Sturgeon has already delivered her first speech to the Scottish National party’s conference in Glasgow - the one announcing the publication of draft legislation for a second independence referendum [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/nicola-sturgeon-challenges-may-with-second-referendum-bill-scottish-independence-snp-conference] - but her main address coming this afternoon. According to the SNP’s overnight briefing, it will contain a “heavy focus on domestic policy initiatives”.

But Brexit is going to feature too. As Severin Carrell and Libby Brooks report in their preview story, Sturgeon is going to announce plans to beef up Scotland’s trade links with the EU - on the grounds that Scotland cannot trust Conservative ministers like Boris Johnson and Liam Fox to represent it. Here is the story.

Related: Nicola Sturgeon plans to strengthen Scotland’s trade links with EU [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/15/nicola-sturgeon-scotland-trade-eu-scottish-national-party]

And here is the key quote from Sturgeon’s speech, from extracts released in advance overnight. Sturgeon will say:

Make no mistake, the growth of our economy right now is threatened not just by the prospect of losing our place in the single market – disastrous though that would be.

It is also the deeply damaging – and utterly shameful – message that the Tories’ rhetoric about foreign workers is sending.

And the uncertainty that message brings to our public services and Scottish employers.

More than ever, we need to tell our European friends that Scotland is open for business.

So, today I can announce a four-point plan to boost trade and exports.

First, we will establish a new Board of Trade drawing on the best business expertise.

Second, we will set up a new trade envoy scheme. It will ask prominent and successful Scots to help us, boost our national export effort.

Third, we will create permanent trade representation for Scotland with a Scottish Innovation and Investment Hub in Berlin.

Fourth, we will double the number of Scottish Development International staff working across Europe.

And let me be crystal clear about this – Scotland cannot trust the likes of Boris Johnson and Liam Fox to represent us.

They are retreating to the fringes of Europe, we intend to stay at its very heart where Scotland belongs.

To our European friends, we say: Scotland is open for business.

Here is the agenda for the day.

10.30am: Debates on the Child Poverty Act, charitable status for Scotland’s state schools and decriminalising cannabis for medical use.

12.15pm: Fraternal address from Bethan Jenkins, a Plaid Cyrmu member of the Welsh assembly.

2pm: Debates on fishing, blood transfusion and gay men and the devolution of driving tests.

3.15pm: Nicola Sturgeon delivers her speech.

And here is my blog covering yesterday’s events at the SNP conference. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live]

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.06am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The film escapes the net of the evil European/noble savage dialectic by focusing on a driven lead character played by Charlie Hunnam

Star Rating: 4 stars

How does one make an a strapping adventure about colonial pursuits without either coming across as an imperialist or going overboard with “virtue signaling”?

Earlier this year Colombian director Ciro Guerra released one of the best films of the year, Embrace of the Serpent[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/feb/17/embrace-of-the-serpent-review-ciro-guerra-colombian-amazon], which told a tale of early 20 th century European explorers in the Amazon, from their guide’s point of view. James Gray’s The Lost City of Z, which shares a similar setting, isn’t quite so revolutionary, but escapes the net of the evil European/noble savage dialectic by focusing on a driven lead character drawn to a higher, nobler purpose than fame and fortune.

It doesn’t start out that way. When we meet Major Percy Fawcett (Charlie Hunnam), a British officer billeted in Cork, Ireland, he is respected, but only to a degree. One one upper crust man fumphers to another “he’s been rather unfortunate in his choice of ancestors.” He looks dashing in a dress uniform, but still feels naked due to his lack of medals.

Opportunity to restore his family name comes in 1906, when the Royal Geographical Society decides to send someone to make a definitive border map between Bolivia and Brazil. The two nations are involved in a skirmish, which has the potential to cause havoc with the price of rubber. A neutral party could maybe calm things down. Oh, and it would also be for the betterment of science and all mankind, let’s not forget that.

Fawcett accepts, and leaves behind his wife Nina (Sienna Miller) and young son. Were this an older film Nina wouldn’t be given a second thought, but as Fawcett makes his three trips over two decades, the sacrifices the adventurer’s family makes for the cause of exploration becomes, almost without warning, the central theme of the film.

There are three trips because, during that first one, Fawcett stumbles upon some physical evidence (and some native hearsay) of a civilization lost to time in the “green desert” of Amazonia. This predates the western discovery of Machu Picchu, so the thought of a lost city is swatted away like a child’s talk of El Dorado, but once Fawcett is convinced, he’s found his life’s purpose. His presentation to his peers at the RGS is a raucous barrage of old men tut-tutting (the best this Yank’s seen since they used to show Prime Minister’s Questions on late night television) but it gets him patronage from a benefactor with delusions of glory named James Murray (Angus Macfadyen).

Naturally, he’s the member of the second expedition who’s first to crack under harsh conditions, nearly sending everyone (including a quite amusing Robert Pattinson as Fawcett’s explorer bro) to their deaths.

Much will be said about Gray’s cinematic craft (as is often the case when a director works with cinematographer Darius Khondji) but beneath the slow roll down the river pierced by arrows from unseen, defensive natives, there’s a fascinating, mercurial screenplay that offers just enough to keep you journeying for more insight. Gray’s script (based on a nonfiction book by David Grann) swerves away from the expected tropes of determined madness in the jungle.

This is not Apocalypse Now or Aguirre, The Wrath of God. The tone is more like Robert Bolt, who followed men in compelling natural settings with the screenplays for Lawrence of Arabia, The Mission and The Bounty. (Indeed, an early match cut may be a deliberate nod to Lawrence.) This is an exploration into the morality of a driven individual, and how setbacks (like, I don’t know, the First World War) shouldn’t get you down.

With The **Immigrant** James Gray evolved into a type of film-maker determined the claim that “they don’t make ‘em like that anymore.” Even with a relatively modest budget (there aren’t any sweeping vistas with hundreds of extras) his intimate portraits have a wider scope than most blockbusters. Its final shot, which one-ups Gray’s punch-to-the-heart ending from The **Immigrant**, is a rich statement about wonder, beauty and loss; a small bit of perfection that all who regularly attend the cinema are on a seemingly fruitless quest to find.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Niger government confirms abduction of American resident since 1992 as governor in neighbouring Mali puts out alert for vehicle

Gunmen stormed the house of a longtime American aid worker in Niger, killing two people before fleeing with the man toward the border with Mali, authorities have said.

It is believed to be the first time a US citizen has been abducted in the vast Sahel region, where al-Qaida and criminal gangs have targeted French nationals and other Europeans for more than a decade, demanding millions of dollars for their release.

No group has claimed responsibility for the kidnapping.

Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) is one militant group that has pledged to attack European and American targets in northwest Africa.

Related: Isis and al-Qaida turf wars in Africa may push fragile states to breaking point[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/06/isis-al-qaida-turf-wars-africa-may-push-fragile-states-to-breaking-point]

In the past decade, the organisation is estimated to have raised more than $50m (£41m) from such kidnaps. Al-Qaida-linked militants have abducted foreigners in Niger and brought them to northern Mali.

“We are aware of reports of the kidnapping of a US citizen in Niger,” a US State Department official said after the abduction late on Friday. “The US Department of State has no higher priority than the safety and security of US citizens overseas.”

The government of Niger said in a news release on Saturday that the American had lived in the country since 1992. “These criminals are currently en route toward Mali and our forces are pursuing them,” the interior ministry said.

“The president of the republic is personally following the situation and our forces are fully mobilised to capture them and put an end to this disastrous affair.”

Related: African al-Qaida group claims kidnapping of Swiss woman in Mali[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/27/african-al-qaida-group-claims-kidnapping-of-swiss-woman-in-mali]

Daouda Maiga, governor of Mali’s Ménaka region bordering Niger, said authorities were alerted to be on the lookout for a white Toyota Hilux. The abduction took place in Abalak, in the Tahoua region of Niger.

About a week ago, 22 people were killed in a **refugee** camp some 155 miles (250km) away from the site. The camp shelters Malian **refugees** who have fled into Niger from the violent unrest in their country, which is still riven by fighting between French-led forces and Al-Qaida-linked militants.

The Sahel region of northwest Africa, an umbrella term for parts of countries including Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Algeria and Niger, has been the site of a series of kidnappings and targeted attacks on westerners.

A number of foreigners remain hostage in the Sahel region, including a Swiss woman and a South African-British dual national, both seized in separate attacks in Timbuktu, Mali. In Burkina Faso, an Australian doctor and a Romanian man are being held captive.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Last month 14-year-old Raheemullah Oryakhel died trying to reach the UK. As the Calais camp where he lived is dispersed, where will children like him go?

The death of Raheemullah Oryakhel, a 14-year-boy from Afghanistan, was marked last month with just a couple of paragraphs in the French press, under the headline “One migrant dead on the port ring road”. There was nothing much to excite further interest; the boy was the 12th **refugee** to die in Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/world/calais] this year. The news item added that Raheemullah’s body had been found on the N216, on a stretch of motorway where a number of migrants had previously been run over. Police said he had probably been hit by a car. Whoever was behind the wheel had not bothered to stop.

Nor are the details of Raheemullah’s death particularly shocking to the handful of relatives and acquaintances he left behind in the Calais camp, a fetid, cramped cluster of sagging donated tents and roughly built wooden shacks, now home to an estimated 9,000 asylum seekers. The idea that vulnerable children, some as young as eight, who have mostly fled conflict zones, should spend night after night trying to leap on to moving vehicles, in a desperate (and mostly futile) attempt to reach the UK, surprises no one. It’s a risky business. Sometimes people get suffocated in the trucks, or frozen in refrigerated containers; sometimes they choose a different route and drown trying to swim to England or get electrocuted on the railway. And sometimes they just get run over.

But there is sadness and some bitterness at the driver’s failure to stop, and at the apparently cursory nature of the police investigation. Abdul Wali, an older camp resident who helped raise more than €4,000 (£3,516) to send Raheemullah’s body back to his parents, says, “Even in Afghanistan, if someone is hit by a car, at least the driver will take him to a police station or hospital and say sorry. Here, people are dying and no one cares.”

Raheemullah is probably the youngest asylum seeker to die yet, but his death[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/afghan-boy-killed-in-calais-in-attempt-to-climb-on-to-lorry-to-uk] epitomises the risks that hundreds are taking every night on the roads outside Calais. As the French government prepares to dismantle the camp[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/02/france-vows-to-dismantle-jungle-refugee-camp-calais] next week, aiming to disperse its residents around the country instead, the sense of urgency surrounding the mission to get to the UK has intensified. It is an intolerable situation for everyone involved: the lorry drivers, Calais residents, local police (who are exhausted by nightly patrols) and, most of all, for the camp’s population.

The last person to see Raheemullah alive was almost certainly his friend Karim, also 14, who was trying to pull him on to the top of a moving lorry shortly before dawn on Friday 16 September. “I was saying, ‘Give me your hand’ but he didn’t,” Karim says. “He didn’t listen.” It was a terrifying few minutes, in total darkness. One second his friend was there, the next he was gone.

Until recently, Karim (an assumed name to avoid anything that might complicate his asylum claim, should he ever be in a position to make one) was showing anyone he met a photograph of his dead friend, taken in the Lille morgue, looking as bad as you might expect after a fatal road accident. Volunteers who have stepped in to help with the hundreds of children at the camp have since persuaded him to delete the image from his phone. They know Karim is devastated, but have little at their disposal to cheer him up. One volunteer took him out of the camp for an ice-cream; another took him to the donations warehouse and got him a new pair of socks.

Because the French authorities are unwilling to recognise the camp, there is no UN presence here, and no mainstream children’s charity on site; the 800 or so parentless children (a third of them from Afghanistan) are left largely to look after themselves. Volunteers with groups such as Help **Refugees**[http://www.helprefugees.org.uk] do their best, but are dismayed at the hopeless inadequacy of what they can offer. “We have a severely traumatised child,” one says, “and what can we do? We say: ‘Your friend’s dead, he’s been squashed, have an ice-cream.’ It’s awful.”

Two weeks after the accident, Karim sits on a wooden pallet at the edge of the camp and explains how he and Raheemullah came to be on the motorway before dawn that night. The two boys had walked for an hour along the high barbed-wire fencing that separates the camp from the road, to a spot where other asylum seekers had dragged some wooden logs into the centre of the road, forcing lorries to slow down.

Sometimes there are 100 people by the road, trying to get into the lorries. Someone is going to fall over and get hit

Both had made frequent night-time attempts to get to England together. Karim has been in the camp since January, trying most nights to make his way across the Channel. Raheemullah, who came from the same part of Afghanistan, arrived in July, and the two became friends. Most evenings they played cricket and volleyball on the wasteland beside the motorway. “He was a good friend,” Karim says. “I liked him very much.”

They found a crowd of people hoping to push their way on to the stream of heavy goods vehicles as they slowed to navigate the obstacles. Karim and Raheemullah followed two older men, climbing on to the axle between the driver’s cab and the container section of the lorry. Karim managed to get on to the top of the container, but Raheemullah was still on the ledge between the cab and the rest of the truck when it began to gather speed. Karim says the lorry started swerving abruptly, as if trying to shake off the uninvited passengers. He leaned over the edge, offering his friend his hand. “Why didn’t he take it?” he asks.

No one knows quite what happened next. One of the older men cut a small hole in the roof of the truck (a black vehicle with an enormous red logo on the side, Karim says). Karim lowered himself through it into the container, which held a consignment of swivelling office chairs, and hid there as the truck continued to the port. Some time later, he was discovered by port officials before the truck drove on to the ferry. When he returned to the camp, he discovered his friend was missing.

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Raheemullah lived in the camp in a windowless chipboard hut with his first cousin, Wahid, 23, and two other men. No one has moved his belongings, a few clothes stored in plastic bags. The grubby brown blanket and mattress where he slept for the last two and a half months of his life are still there.

Wahid is better able to articulate the loss and anger he feels about his cousin’s death. He speaks good English, having spent three years at secondary school in Norwich, after fleeing the Taliban when he was 14. He was taken in by a foster family, made friends, studied hard, took a part-time job in a Chinese takeaway – and then, at 17 and a half, his case was reconsidered and he was told he would be deported back to Afghanistan, which the Home Office categorises as a safe destination. He spent some time trying to appeal, but left for Europe rather than be sent back. There are many young Afghan men, with fluent English, in a similar situation in Calais.

Wahid’s friend Abdul went to school in Birmingham (also after being threatened by the Taliban), before being told at 17 that he was no longer eligible to remain in England. Both hope to return to the UK, which is the place they consider home, to appeal for leave to stay.

Wahid was shocked to see his cousin, whom he had not seen since he was a child, arrive in the camp. While ambivalent about Raheemullah’s determination to get to England, given his own mixed experiences, Wahid didn’t try to dissuade him. “It was not my job to tell him how to decide his life.” Instead, he invited him to come and share his hut. Raheemullah had travelled alone from Afghanistan, and been badly beaten by Bulgarian police; he was relieved to find someone to protect him. For a month, they went out together five nights a week, to try to jump on a lorry.

“In the beginning he was happy,” Wahid says. “He said it was good fun. Slowly he realised it was not easy, that it was risky. Sometimes I’d say, let’s go tonight, and he’d say, ‘No, tomorrow.’ I knew he didn’t want to go. He was very scared. It’s a one-hour walk in the dark. You feel scared of the French people. You worry that if they see you alone, maybe they will beat you. Sometimes there are 100 people by the road, trying to get into the lorries. People are pushing. Of course someone is going to fall over and get hit.”

I said, ‘The sooner you can go from here, the better.’ There is fighting. It is not a good place for a child

Wahid was also aware the camp wasn’t a safe place for Raheemullah. “That’s why I said, ‘The sooner you can go from here, the better.’ There is fighting between the Sudanese and the Afghans, between the Afghans and the Afghans – for no reason, just because of the tension here. It gets boring. You sleep, wake up, sleep, wake up. You can’t shower for a week. People are desperate. It is not a good place for anyone, especially not a child.”

He feels anger at how slow the British response has been. Raheemullah had an older brother in Manchester, and was in theory eligible to join him in the UK; but the process for organising reunification is very slow, bureaucratic and hard to understand. It is not clear how much his brother was able to help with the application, or if the papers had even been lodged. Charities estimate there are 300 to 400 unaccompanied children in Calais with relatives in the UK; but even in straightforward cases, the legal process takes between five and 10 months, during which time the children often give up waiting and start making the nightly journey to the motorway instead.

Security has been increased around the port, so that finding a way in has become harder and much more dangerous. Work has recently begun on a £1.9m, 1km-long wall to block off the dual carriageway[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/20/work-calais-wall-refugees-lorries-uk], half-funded by the UK. Although French president François Hollande has committed to clearing the camp by the end of the year[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/02/france-vows-to-dismantle-jungle-refugee-camp-calais], there is scepticism about how easy it will be to find homes for everyone. Officials believe that people will stay on, and the barriers will still be needed. “Why are you spending the money on building a wall?” Abdul wonders, sitting with Wahid in a caravan that serves as a clothes distribution point, donated tracksuits piled up on the surfaces. “You are wasting money. If they hadn’t built these fences, people wouldn’t risk their lives.”

Wahid and Raheemullah managed to get on lorries together three times, but each time were pulled off at the border by officials with sniffer dogs. “The police were nice with him. And, because of him, they were nice with me as well. They take you to the front of the port and say, ‘Go back to the jungle.’” Early last month, Wahid hurt his back badly after his friends put a heavy box over him to hide him inside a lorry. “I was under it for eight hours. I couldn’t stand [it] any more, so I left.”

When Raheemullah suggested he come with him early on the morning of 16 September, Wahid said no: his back was too painful. “I told him to be careful. He knew it was very dangerous.” The next morning, when it became obvious Raheemullah was missing, a youth worker from the camp visited local hospitals and police stations to look for him. Later, Wahid went to the morgue to identify the body. Raheemullah’s face was so badly damaged, he was unrecognisable, except for his clothes and a distinctive mark on his arm. Wahid thinks his cousin wasn’t strong enough to pull himself up on to the roof. “He was young, he had no muscles.”

Wahid spoke to his uncle, Raheemullah’s father, in Afghanistan, but found himself unable to break the news. “They asked what happened, and I said, ‘He is injured.’ I told them a lie. His parents are quite old. I didn’t want to hurt them.” He assumes their older son called later, from Manchester, to tell them. Since the body arrived back in Afghanistan, accompanied by another relative who came from Norway to travel with the coffin, Raheemullah’s parents have called again to ask how their son died. The calls are distressing: “They keep ringing me. I say, ‘You don’t need to know. He is dead.’ Why make them more upset?”

It is still unclear why Raheemullah’s parents sent their son 4,000 miles across Europe to try to start a new life in England. Wahid isn’t forthcoming; his own experiences of hostile questioning by the Home Office have made him wary of the question and he will say only that “it wasn’t an economic problem. There was a danger for him.” But Karim thinks the absence of work in postwar Afghanistan was a factor. “He was going to send money to his family. His father was an old man – he couldn’t work. No one wants to go to England, but if they have problems at home, that’s why they go.”

Whatever the reason, the decision to send a child away is never taken lightly, Wahid says. “Of course they will be wishing with their hearts now that they hadn’t. They didn’t know he was going to die.” His own advice to other parents now is not to send their children to Europe, but there is often a reluctance to listen. On the whole, children do not tell their parents about the difficulties they have encountered, so an unrealistic perception prevails. “Life [in Afghanistan] is very hard. There’s Isis and the Taliban, and no security. They don’t know anything about the situation in Calais. The parents don’t know about the risks.” Abdul has become equally firm. “I have five brothers. They call me and ask, shall we come? I say, if you come, you will sleep in the street. Please don’t waste your time.”

Volunteers attempt to persuade **refugees** to claim asylum in France, rather than wasting months and risking their lives trying to get to the UK. They point out that – particularly for young people from Afghanistan – it makes more sense to remain in France, because there is less risk of being deported when they approach 18. But it is hard to persuade children whose parents have paid large sums of money to dispatch them across Europe. People smugglers operating in the camp also have a vested interest in encouraging others to get to the UK, otherwise their business model disappears.

Increasing numbers of camp residents have applied for asylum in France[http://www.africanews.com/2016/09/07/more-calais-migrants-give-up-british-dream-seek-asylum-in-france/] ; it is now largely those with relatives in the UK who persist in their attempts to join them. But many of those children who decide to stay in France are told there is no room for them in the nearby emergency shelter, which is turning away between 15 and 35 children a day, so they remain in a dangerous limbo. No one knows where the children will be sent once the camp is shut down.

Wahid believes any investigation into his cousin’s death has already been closed. No one has come to look for witnesses in the camp. He made one visit to the police station when he was searching for Raheemullah, where he says the police officer was rude; he is reluctant to go again because of his illegal status in France. “They don’t care who has died. To them, we’re just illegal migrants, ‘jungly people’.” The prosecutor’s office of Boulogne-sur-Mer did not respond to emailed requests for details of the police investigation.

Meanwhile, a minute’s silence was held for Raheemullah in the camp at the end of September. Friends who spent time with him in the Kids’ Cafe[https://www.change.org/p/save-the-kids-cafe-sauvons-le-caf%C3%A9-des-enfants], a wooden hut serving free food to unaccompanied children, say he was shyer than most. Mary Jones, an English volunteer who runs the cafe, describes him as “very quiet and polite”. He attended some of the English lessons given by volunteers, who remember him as “reserved, in a well-brought up way” and “very determined in everything he did, especially learning English”.

If Raheemullah’s death failed to register more widely in France, it has had a quiet but significant impact in the UK – both positive and negative. Some of the news reporting prompted delight among the more extreme anti-**immigration** voices on Twitter (even to hardened eyes, to respond to this death by typing tweets such as “Can’t they show it happening I would enjoy watching it one less to worry about” goes beyond the normal parameters of nastiness).

As the demolition date approaches, concern about the fate of unaccompanied children is rising

More constructive was the decision by a group of Conservative MPs to write to home secretary Amber Rudd, calling on her to do more to help reunite children such as Raheemullah with their families[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/03/tory-mps-urge-amber-rudd-do-more-help-child-refugees-calais]. The letter, signed by former education secretary Nicky Morgan and nine others, told Rudd that Raheemullah had “a legal right to be with his brother” but that, “having waited for months in wretched conditions”, he “took fate into his own hands with devastating consequences”.

It was discussed at last month’s Labour party conference, too, by Alf Dubs, the kindertransport child **refugee** and Labour peer[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp], who in May forced the government to accept an amendment to the **Immigration** Act[http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-minors-idUKKCN0XT15M], agreeing to give homes to some of the estimated 88,000 unaccompanied asylum seekers in Europe. Since his amendment was passed, none of the qualifying children[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/04/britain-failing-child-refugees-europe-help-them-fast] has arrived in the UK. At a conference fringe meeting, Dubs dropped his determination to be politely cooperative with the government, describing them as “bloody liars” for failing to act.

As the demolition date approaches, concern about the fate of unaccompanied children is rising, but a solution has yet to be found. Last time French police attempted to demolish the camp, 129 children went missing, according to Help **Refugees**. Karim has promised volunteers that he won’t try climbing on lorries again, but they suspect he is still going every night anyway.

On Monday, Rudd told parliament[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/10/uk-close-to-deal-for-transfer-of-child-refugees-from-calais-amber-rudd] that she wanted to speed up the transfer of those children with family in the UK, and that Britain would help to fund a shelter in France for children whose cases needed longer consideration. She promised to cut the bureaucracy involved, but there were no details of how many children would be given sanctuary here, and when they could arrive.

Meanwhile, the bald list of “registered migrant deaths” compiled by the local police grows longer, with a 13th death in late September and a 14th death last Sunday. This year’s toll includes: “a migrant whose sex could not be identified at the time of the discovery of the body, found drowned in Calais port”; “an Afghan migrant, 22 years, hit by an HGV on the A16 just before 6am”; “body of a migrant found dead around 7am near the port bypass – injuries suggest this migrant was hit by a vehicle”; “a Sudanese migrant, 30 years, hit by a freight train on the railway, close to the port bypass”; “a migrant of unknown nationality on the A16 at the A47 interchange. No witness.” Raheemullah’s death is there, recorded succinctly: “Around 5:30am, the lifeless body of a migrant found on the port ring road.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**From Hillary’s resurgence to centrist fightbacks in Europe, there are signs that xenophobic populism is on the wane

Could national populism have reached its high-water mark in western politics. Perhaps globally? It may be too early to say, but some signs point to a pushback against rampant xenophobia, bigotry and the ruinous fascination with strongmen. The indications are fragile, but without doubt they are there.

Take the US, Germany and France. Donald Trump has had a more successful bid for the presidency than anyone could have imagined a year ago, but his campaign now seems on the wane, damaged by Republican defections and his ramblings on women. The political death of Angela Merkel has been pronounced many times since the 2015 **refugee** crisis but the chancellor, arguably Europe’s most forceful voice on inclusiveness, simply has no obvious challenger ahead of Germany’s 2017 election. As France heads towards primaries next month, it’s a centrist figure, Alain Juppé[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/14/alain-juppe-france-prophet-happiness-presidential-wows-rally-crowd] (not Nicolas Sarkozy, who has embraced far-right themes) who leads the polls. This makes it more likely that Marine Le Pen will be soundly beaten in the second round of next year’s presidential election (which she is all but guaranteed to reach).

It might be that populists have over-reached, or that memories of a dark past have come to the fore

Such signals have global significance. The US remains the single most powerful democracy in the world. A Hillary Clinton victory in November would mean an entirely different global environment to the one that would emerge if the US were to end up with a presidency of the type imagined in the 2004 Philip Roth novel, The Plot Against America, in which the pilot Charles Lindbergh defeats Roosevelt in the 1940 election.

Germany and France might form an unbalanced couple, but they stand at the heart of European politics: what happens in their elections will largely define what can be salvaged of the EU project – arguably much more than Brexit negotiations will do. Britain’s current political travails are a seen as a side show in Europe at the moment.

Elsewhere on the continent, there are yet more signs of pushback. In central Europe, often described as a hotbed of parochialism and intolerance, illiberal politicians aren’t entirely having their way. This month Poland’s nationalist, ultraconservative government had to backtrack on plans to curtail abortion rights[https://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2016/oct/05/poland-signals-u-turn-total-abortion-ban-protests-video-report] after thousands of women protested on the streets. And Hungary’s authoritarian prime minister, Viktor Orbán[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/13/hungary-future-europe-far-right-viktor-orban], suffered a serious setback when his referendum on EU migrant quotas failed because of low voter turnout. The electorate snubbed him[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-vote-on-refugees-will-not-take-place-suggest-first-poll-results].

This may be dubbed the era of post-truth politics[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/13/boris-johnson-donald-trump-post-truth-politician] and cynical autocrats, but new forms of resistance to bigotry are also emerging. It may be that national populists have overreached (Trump’s racist and misogynist antics); or that memories of a dark past and the need to avert political catastrophe have come to the fore (Germans wanting to counter the far-right Alternative for Germany, French citizens worried about Le Pen). It may be that groups are rekindling the spirit of democratic mobilisation (Polish women and the anti-Jaroslaw Kaczynski grassroots, who are such keen demonstrators). It may be that voter apathy also sends a message about policies that stigmatise outsiders (Hungary).

Related: 'The question was stupid': Hungarians on the **refugee** referendum[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/04/the-question-was-stupid-hungarians-on-the-refugee-referendum]

Does this sound too optimistic? Precisely because there haven’t been many reasons for optimism recently, it’s important not to ignore what is potentially promising. Likewise, it’s important to see how the connections between international affairs and domestic politics may not all play out in the populists’ favour. Authoritarianism has thrown its weight around in recent years, but right now it’s going through a bad patch.

Take Russia. Whatever allowances some in the west might have sought to make for Putin in the past, the Syrian tragedy has made this much more difficult. To claim that Russia’s air assault on Aleppo’s population is no different from western interventions against Isis not only flies in the face of documented facts, it smacks of intellectual and moral disorientation.

Geopolitics feeds into politics. Which means there is cautious hope to be drawn from the fact that Putin’s Russia currently finds itself more isolated than it ever has been (only Venezuela’s autocratic regime voted alongside Russia in the UN recently). Russia has been an active backer of populists in Europe and in the US. Putin sympathisers now find themselves having to keep awkwardly silent over the scandal unfolding in Syria, or having to repeat a propaganda line that many citizens may find hard to swallow.

This is not to say that national populists or their authoritarian backers are about to be defeated or disempowered. The fuel that powers the far right has yet to be exhausted. But from Clinton’s lead to the surprising strength of Europe’s political centre-ground, and with the novelty of Russia being discredited on many fronts, the picture is not just doom and gloom for the democratically minded. If this is an interconnected world, then the pushback against national populism may be stronger than we think.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**I speak the language, pay my tax, know who Phillip Schofield is – and yet I am a foreigner working for a British company

About a thousand years ago, when I was a kid at summer camp in Maine, my fellow cabinmates announced a game in which everyone had to ignore someone whose name began with an H and ended with a Y. Naturally I was quite hurt by this, and a little confused. Hadn’t we all been friends yesterday? Two of them had already said they wanted to be my pen pals for life! I couldn’t understand it. It turned out they didn’t mean me, they meant a different 11-year-old girl, one called Holly. (I can’t remember why they didn’t like Holly.) I was still bruised, and never really felt the same way about my cabinmates again. The following week, I switched cabins.

Which brings me to what it’s like being a foreigner in Brexit Britain or, to put it more accurately, if less alliteratively, Brexit England. Now, when politicians bang on about **immigrants** stealing British jobs, and suggest all foreign workers should be on some kind of list – maybe not a “name and shame” list, but at least a private list (because this is somehow better) – I know they’re not thinking of me, exactly. I am a white Jewish American lady who speaks the language, pays her taxes, understands the cultural significance of Phillip Schofield, and manages to do all those other things foreigners allegedly don’t.

But I also know they’re not not thinking of me, either. After all, I am a foreigner who works for a British company, so I am in the general neighbourhood. (But could a native Brit make as many jokes as I have done over the years about Karl Lagerfeld[https://www.theguardian.com/fashion/karl-lagerfeld] on this newspaper’s fashion pages? I don’t think so. Don’t forsake us skilled **immigrants**, Britain!)

At least we all now know for certain what “Brexit means Brexit” really means: it means blaming everything on **immigration**. I’d like to talk a little about this idea of putting foreigners on lists. Of late, I’ve been researching my father’s family, who were all in Paris during the war. Don’t worry, I’m not going to go full Nazi analogy on you: I don’t actually think Theresa May is Hitler. (Although whether Donald Trump might be is still very much TBD, in my opinion.)

But let me tell you a not especially heartwarming story. My grandmother lived in the Marais[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Le\_Marais], the Jewish ghetto, with her three brothers, Henri, Alex and Jacques, having fled Poland during the pogroms. A few years after they arrived, my great-uncle Alex sensed the way the political wind was going, and convinced an American tourist he’d met at most twice to marry my grandmother, which might at least get her out of the country. This is how my grandmother met my grandfather.

Soon after, in September 1940, Jews in France’s occupied zone were ordered to register at their local police station. To go on a list, you see. Of the three brothers, only trusting Jacques obeyed. In May 1941, thousands of foreign male Jews, including Jacques, were arrested and shipped off to internment camps and eventually, concentration camps, where Jacques was killed.

Alex, by contrast, never trusted lists. He didn’t even keep his money in a bank. Instead, he joined the underground and spent part of the war in France and part of it in Britain, which he loved. He spoke fondly of BBC radio for the rest of his life, until he died in 1999, because he associated it with the one European country where he, a foreigner, had felt welcome.

Related: Brad and Angelina proved there's no such thing as the perfect marriage: so why do we pretend?[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/oct/01/brad-pitt-angelina-jolie-no-such-thing-perfect-marriage-why-pretend]

As politicians love to say, we can talk about **immigration** without being racist (unfortunately, they usually say this right before saying something pretty racist). But using slogans[https://www.neweurope.eu/article/britain-u-turns-british-jobs-british-people-policy/] (“British jobs for British people!”) the BNP was bandying about[https://www.bnp.org.uk/news/british-jobs-must-be-british-workers] a decade ago is just not a good look for a government. Obviously Brexit England is not Vichy France (as if England would take orders from Germany, those EU bastards), and the grossed-out reaction to the stupid list idea, even among some Tories, reinforces this. But that it was even pitched in the first place certainly gives a flavour of how this government pictures post-referendum England.

So if Brexit means a Britain in which politicians vilify all the foreigners all the time, well, you can understand some of us might start looking towards other cabins, which I guess is their point anyway. No one wants to be somewhere they’re not wanted, and I never really believed that my cabinmates meant just Holly and not me, too. Unfortunately, the threat of a hard Brexit has so devalued sterling that none of us foreigners can actually afford to go back to where we came from. How about that for irony, Brexiteers?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Two Sri Lankan men and a Syrian man were offered $15,000 to make the move, says **refugee** activist

Three **refugees** held in detention on Nauru have volunteered to be resettled in Cambodia and could arrive as early as next week, as part of the Coalition’s $55m deal with the country.

General Sok Phal, the director of the Interior Ministry’s **immigration** department, told Guardian Australia on Saturday a delegation had just returned from Nauru, and that the transfer paperwork was likely to be approved by the Interior Ministry on Monday.

“If they approve, we will talk to the Australian embassy and we think [they will arrive] next week … we hope so,” he said.

Related: $55m Cambodia deal that resettled two **refugees** a 'good outcome', says Dutton[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/mar/09/55m-cambodia-deal-that-resettled-two-refugees-a-good-outcome-says-dutton]

Ian Rintoul of the **Refugee** Action Coalition said the volunteers were two Sri Lankan men and a man from Syria and that they would be leaving Nauru this week. He said the three had been offered $15,000 to make the move to Cambodia.

The rest of the Syrian man’s family live in a Jordanian **refugee** camp, and his transfer arrangement includes the chance of being reunited with his family in Cambodia. Rintoul said those family members were also set to be paid “thousands”.

“There’s a massive amount of money to coerce people to go from Nauru to Cambodia, but people don’t see it as a reliable solution,” he said. “They’ve also now been offered loans if they do resettle. But the reality is they have three out of nearly 1,000 people, and for the vast majority, there is no real interest.”

The deal was signed in September 2014 by then **immigration** minister Scott Morrison and Cambodian interior minister Sar Kheng, who refused to acknowledge questions about the $40m cost of the resettlement deal.

An additional $15.5m was tacked on to facilitate the movement of the original four – three Iranians and a Rohingya man – who made the journey to Phnom Penh in June 2015. They were later joined by another Rohingya **refugee**. Sequestered in a secluded villa, a team from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) was assigned to help the new arrivals learn Khmer, familiarise themselves with their new surroundings and look for work. But the original four all ultimately returned[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/may/28/last-refugee-among-group-australia-sent-to-cambodia-returns-to-home-country] to the countries from where they had once fled, and the lone Rohingya who remains has since spoken of his misery here.

The so-called Cambodia Solution has been criticised by Labor, human rights groups, and international law experts as a costly failure.

In August, the Phnom Penh Post reported that Connect Settlement Services was also brought on board to facilitate the resettlement of **refugees** from Nauru to Cambodia. That same month, Guardian Australia published the Nauru Files[http://(https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention], a trove of leaked documents that laid bare the abuses being suffered by detainees on Nauru.

Rintoul said on Saturday: “Everyone says the same thing; they just get worn down.

“There’s no outcome and no durable solution on Nauru. The mental strain just builds up. We’re still waiting for the Australian government to recognise that there are no third countries that are going to provide durable protection from the people of Nauru.”

Earlier this week, IOM and Connect referred questions to the Department of **Immigration** and Border Protection. On Friday, the department told Guardian Australia it would “not comment on individuals’ circumstances”, and that “the department continues to work with the Cambodian government to ensure the successful implementation of the settlement arrangement”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Readers’ favourite photographs, songs and recipes

Snapshot: My father with other Kindertransport boys These boys were photographed in 1939 in the garden of 47 Lytton Grove, Putney, in south London. At the centre of the group with a cheeky grin, side-parting and spotty tie is my father, Hans, and second from left, back row, with penny specs, is his elder brother, Wolfgang.

They had recently arrived in London, shortly after Hans’s ninth birthday, part of the Kindertransport – the evacuation of **refugee** Jewish children from Nazi Europe. The house, which had been rented and staffed by Lord Sainsbury and Lord Rothschild, offered a home to some of those for whom no foster families were available. There, the children would be schooled, taught English, fed English delicacies that took some getting used to (kippers, stews, custard) and cared for by Matron Sabakin with her helpers, Ms Turner and Ms Griffith.

Most of the boys would never see their families again. Hans and Wolfgang would learn that, during the night of 12 February 1940, the Jews of Stettin, their home town in Germany, had been woken by the Nazis, transported to Poland and then marched 30km in deep snow to an enclosed ghetto in Lublin. Many would die en route and others soon after: by November 1941, Hans and Wolfgang’s mother, father and baby brother, Raphael, had all died.

With the coming of the blitz, the Lytton Grove children were evacuated to Reading, and Hans and Wolfgang eventually became John and Wilf.

I later asked an elderly relative, my great-uncle Kurt, what he remembered of John in those years – surely he must have been a desolate child, parentless in a strange country, not speaking the language, bullied as an “enemy” German? He replied with incredulity: John had always had a cheeky sparkle in his eye and everyone always knew he would be OK. This sparkle would later serve John well, when he began a flirtation with Marlene, an Auschwitz survivor, also from northern Germany, on his daily commute from Belsize Park tube station. They would marry, have two children and seven grandchildren.

To me, this photograph encapsulates the resilience and optimism of childhood. Now 86 and a little frail, John still retains that sparkle. Perhaps the photo may offer some resonance with the current **refugee** crisis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2016/may/19/kindertransport-survivors-todays-child-refugees-nicholas-winton] in terms of the hope and rewards offered by doing the right thing.

Danny Altmann

Playlist: Singing in the supermarket at three There’s a Kind of Hush by Herman’s Hermits

“So listen very carefully / Closer now and you will see what I mean / It isn’t a dream”

My mother has a different version of this story. In her tale, I’m Rosemary’s Baby. A force of nature. The Duracell child who cannot be stopped.

We are in a supermarket, and there is something about the aisles of goods, the shiny chrome trolley and the bright lights that sets me off. My song – my show tune – has just reached the top 10. It’s 1967. Herman’s Hermits are looking a bit 60s with their pudding-basin hair, but stand stiffly as they sing, not quite ready to let it all hang out. I wouldn’t know about all that. I’m three.

But boy, can I sing. “There’s a kind of hush, all over the world, tonight …” With me in the toddler seat, there was certainly no hush. People there knew my mother. She was young, pretty and single. But definitely not showy.

“And I’m feelin’ good, just holding you tight …”

Everyone is staring at us. My mother doesn’t know whether to smile, slap me, or run from the shop. Her urge is to give the trolley one good thrust and send me serenading towards the meat counter. Crush the hush.

I have no memory of her embarrassment. I don’t quite believe it. For me, this is one of my earliest musical memories. A feeling of pure, unadulterated joy. I am the song, and there’s no stopping me.

Ross Marshall

We love to eat: My mother’s Raspberry Splodge Ingredients

85g each of butter and flour

145g sugar, plus 1 tbsp to sprinkle

½ pint milk

2 eggs, separated

340g frozen raspberries, thawed

Melt the butter in a saucepan, then blend in the flour and 85g sugar. Gradually stir in the milk, egg yolks and juice from the thawed raspberries, and bring gently to the boil. Place the raspberries in an ovenproof dish, pour the “splodge” over them, and cool until the top is firm. Beat the egg whites with 60g sugar to make meringue, sprinkle with 1 tbsp sugar and bake at a low heat until golden brown. We prefer to eat it warm (with cream), but I think the original recommended eating it cold. The original used tinned raspberries (hence the splodgy colour), but frozen ones look and taste better.

My mother was a good, plain cook: the only reference book I remember was the cookery book that came with her New World gas cooker in the late 1940s. But by the 1950s, she had progressed to Woman magazine, which plopped on to the doormat every Thursday morning with the Manchester Guardian. From time to time, a recipe was added from this source. Raspberry Splodge was one of these. We were a great family for silly names for things.

In 1964, I was newly wed, out in Australia. Among my pleas home to mother – such as, how much material for curtains? – was a request for the Raspberry Splodge recipe. It came written on Basildon Bond notepaper, the slip I have copied it from now. It was always a firm favourite, and my daughter (born 1964) in due course requested a copy.

Last Mothering Sunday, I was asked to contribute Raspberry Splodge to a family meal. As we sat round the table relishing the tasty pudding, I realised we included three of my mother’s great-grandchildren. How surprised and heartwarmed she would be.

Catherine Pratt

We’d love to hear your stories We will pay £25 for every Letter to, Playlist, Snapshot or We Love to Eat we publish. Write to Family Life, The Guardian, Kings Place, 90 York Way, London N1 9GU or email family@theguardian.com [mailto:family@theguardian.com] . Please include your address and phone number.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HEREImmigration** department’s analysis of thousands of leaked incident reports reveals more than a dozen referrals to Nauru police. There have been no convictions

Nineteen cases of violence and sexual assault – including eight against children – were referred to Nauru police during the 18 months covered by the Nauru files, an official review has found, but there have been no prosecutions or convictions.

The Department of **Immigration** and Border Protection released analyses of the Nauru files[https://www.theguardian.com/news/series/nauru-files] at the weekend, which confirmed the referrals to police. The Nauru police have not charged any person with an offence against an asylum seeker or **refugee** in the three years of offshore processing on the island.

This is despite a series of alleged assaults on asylum seekers and **refugees**, including reports of gang rapes that were reported to police[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/oct/07/nauru-mother-of-alleged-gang-rape-victim-attempts-suicide], physical[https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/12/nauru-guard-hit-five-year-old-girl-so-hard-it-lifted-her-off-her-feet] and sexual assaults[https://interactive.guim.co.uk/2016/08/nu-files/pdf/sca150051.pdf] on children, and repeated attacks on unaccompanied minors[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2014/oct/28/child-refugees-australia-sent-to-nauru-report-beatings-and-death-threats] outside the fences of the detention centre. Many of the assault claims are supported by video[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ssHwpmJJlio] and photographic evidence[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2014/oct/28/child-refugees-australia-sent-to-nauru-report-beatings-and-death-threats].

Related: Datablog: analysis of Nauru files highlights heavy toll on children[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/datablog/2016/aug/10/datablog-analysis-of-nauru-files-highlights-heavy-toll-on-children]

The department says 11 allegations of sexual assault or violence against adults were referred to Nauru police. There were also eight investigations that related to offences against children – two alleged sexual assaults, four assaults and two unspecified investigations.

It is unclear if there are some investigations still continuing. Calls to the Nauru police by the Guardian have not been returned.

The department has spent months since the release of the Nauru files analysing the document: in effect a review of itself.

The government already had the Nauru files in its possession. The files comprised 2,123 incident reports logged by detention centre staff from Save the Children, Transfield, and Wilson Security between May 2013 and October 2015 – and were filed to the department.

It has released the figures in an apparent attempt to dampen the criticism of its offshore processing regime which followed release of The Nauru Files.

A spokesman for the department told the Australian newspaper[http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/immigration/immigration-rejects-mass-abuse-violence-on-nauru/news-story/aeabc005a4f3fbe5493af22c9b436514] “any allegation of sexual assault or other serious violence is of concern”.

But it said its analysis showed that “it is clear the contention that the Nauru files represent thousands of cases of abuse of transferees and **refugees** cannot be supported by a review of the documents”.

Related: Fact check: **immigration** minister Peter Dutton's claims against Nauru files[https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/12/fact-check-immigration-minister-peter-duttons-claims-against-nauru-files]

Guardian Australia did not report that every single file related to a sexual assault or child abuse allegation. The reports range from extremely serious allegations to mundane daily reports that show the totality of life on Nauru.

Guardian Australia clearly documented the full spectrum of incidents and conducted a detailed data analysis of each of the incident categories[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-the-lives-of-asylum-seekers-in-detention-detailed-in-a-unique-database-interactive].

The department said 23 of the 2,123 reports detailed “critical” incidents, where life or serious injury was at risk, or serious violence, sexual assault or criminal activity had occurred.

A further 281 were classified as major – where serious injury was at risk. The remainder were minor or “unclassified”.

However, one of the consistent concerns raised in the Nauru files – and corroborated by whistleblowers before and subsequently – has been the practice of “downgrading” incident reports[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/12/nauru-files-show-wilson-security-staff-regularly-downgraded-reports-of-abuse], where incidents in detention that should be classified as “critical” or “major” were downgraded to “minor” or “information”. Welfare staff were regularly pressured by Wilson Security guards to downgrade reports because of concern over missing reporting deadlines.

At other times, incidents were downgraded by the word “critical” being crudely crossed out in favour of a lower classification, or left uncategorised.

Related: Nauru files 'an extraordinary trove of short stories', says Richard Flanagan[https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/sep/01/nauru-files-an-extraordinary-trove-of-short-stories-says-richard-flanagan]

The issue of downgrading has been the subject of several submissions to Senate inquiries and was admitted by Wilsons in a widely-circulated internal email reported by the Guardian.[https://interactive.guim.co.uk/2016/08/nu-files/pdf/scadowngrade-2.pdf]

“In recent months Wilsons have been downgrading SCA Incident Reports when they are submitted to them at Command. They are usually downgraded without any clear justification,” a staff email circulated on the island said.

Several of the downgraded reports related to the violent or sexual assault of children. [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/12/nauru-files-show-wilson-security-staff-regularly-downgraded-reports-of-abuse]

The department has said previously that “a mechanism for reclassification is completely appropriate”.

“Reclassification of incident reports shows that we take each claim very seriously and act upon these with all due diligence.”

Ian Rintoul, from the **Refugee** Action Coalition, told the Guardian that “even the government’s own figures are a shocking indictment”.

“Even if you take this government response at face value, you still have more than two serious incidents every week since 2013, and to suggest that the scale of the abuse and self-harm is not common is just patently ridiculous.”

Rintoul said the government was attempting to “paper over” the climate of abuse and desperation on Nauru.

Related: Nauru files show Wilson Security staff regularly downgraded reports of abuse[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/12/nauru-files-show-wilson-security-staff-regularly-downgraded-reports-of-abuse]

“These incidents are clearly a common occurrence. This level of abuse and mental distress is normalised on Nauru and the government’s figures and spin don’t do anything to diminish that. It’s a disgrace they are trying to play this down.”

The Nauru files incident reports related only to incidents that occurred inside detention, Rintoul said. “It doesn’t reflect anything about what’s going on in the community, where the situation is magnified again.”

The community on Nauru is made up of 755 **refugees**, of which 396 asylum seekers and **refugees** live in the processing centre.

Australia’s department of **immigration** and border protection declined to release the internal review it has conducted into the Nauru files incident reports.

When The Nauru Files was first published, the department said[http://newsroom.border.gov.au/releases/the-nauru-files] “the Australian Government continues to support the Nauruan Government to provide for the health, welfare and safety of all transferees and **refugees** in Nauru”.

“The documents published today are evidence of the rigorous reporting procedures that are in place in the regional processing centre - procedures under which any alleged incident must be recorded, reported and where necessary investigated.”

**Immigration** minister Peter Dutton said some of the incident reports as “hype”[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-08-11/dutton-says-refugees-'self-harming'-to-get-to-australia/7719450].

The department of **immigration** has delayed for several months the public release of a key child protection review of Nauru[https://www.border.gov.au/about/reports-publications/reviews-inquiries/child-protection-panel-terms-of-reference], which was delivered to the department secretary Mike Pezzullo in July.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of the SNP conference in GlasgowSturgeon’s Today interview - SummaryAfternoon summary

block-time published-time 6.06pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* Nicola Sturgeon , Scotland’s first minister, has said that she wants to explore “creative” solutions that might allow Scotland to stay in the single market. In interviews at the SNP conference in Glasgow, she stressed that she was not “rushing” towards a second independence referendum. She said that she would be publishing plans that could enable Scotland to remain in the single market, even if the rest of the UK takes a different approach to Brexit. At one point she mentioned Iceland as a potential model. (See 9.18am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-58008b4ae4b01ffb8ffcb8a1#block-58008b4ae4b01ffb8ffcb8a1] At another she suggested a solution could involve the Scots keeping EU passports. (See 3.19pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-5800e6b3e4b047a4eaafc748#block-5800e6b3e4b047a4eaafc748] passports. (See

\* Number 10 has suggested that Theresa May would oppose an attempt by the Scottish government to hold a second independence referendum. (See 1.06pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-5800c652e4b01ffb8ffcb992#block-5800c652e4b01ffb8ffcb992] Earlier Sturgeon said it was “inconceivable” that London would try to block a second poll.

\* The SNP conference has overwhelmingly backed a resolution saying that “if no viable solution to safeguard our membership as part of the UK exists, Scotland should prepare for a second independence referendum and seek to remain in Europe as an independent country”. Speaking in support of it, Mike Russell, the Scottish Brexit minister, said:

We have to speak as a nation, we have to discuss as a nation, we have to act as a nation. And that is what we will do at every stage of the negotiations. We will not accept the arrogant assumption that we can sit in the corner while somebody else speaks on behalf of the vital interests of Scotland. That will never happen, never ever.

\* Alex Salmond , the former Scottish first minister, has condemned Theresa May ’s “depressing little England” while welcoming the Austraian Brain family, who successfully fought deportation, to the conference. Salmond criticised the way the Home Office treated the Brian and he contrasted Scotland’s approach to **immigrants** with the Conservative government’s. He said:

They say that people who choose to live and work in our country are a problem and need to be kicked out, we say they are an asset and must stay with us.

They say that other Europeans among us are cards to be played or bargaining chips to be staked, we say they are our fellow citizens, the workers at our side, the nurses in our hospitals, people with rights which must be respected.

They want lists of foreign workers so they can name and shame companies who employ them, but let me tell you the shame is not with the companies - the shame is with a government who proposed this repellent notion. We want a country living and growing with no fear in celebrating our diversity.

We should be grateful to the Tory party. In their Birmingham conference they lifted the lid on the true intent and the emptiness of their programme.

If we stick to London rule then we know exactly what lies in store. Boiled down to its essence a closed, intolerant, backward-looking society. Theresa May ’s little England - has there ever been a more miserable, depressing, backward-looking notion ever offered to the people of this nation?

Contrasting Scotland’s pro-**immigration** approach with the London government’s more negative approach to **immigration** has been one of the dominant themes of speeches and debates all afternoon.

Alex Salmond speaking at the conference. Photograph: Jane Barlow/PA

\* John Swinney , the Scottish deputy first minster and education secretary, has said EU citizens who come to Scotland to study at university next year will not have to pay tuition fees despite the Brexit vote. He said EU students from outside the UK starting courses in 2017-18 will still receive a free university education. The UK government has announced EU citizens starting at English universities in 2017-18 will continue to be eligible for student loans and grants.

\* Swinney has described May as “in office but not in power”, claiming her government’s priorities are being decided not by her but by rightwing, pro-leave Tories. In a separate speech Angus Robertson, the party’s leader at Westminster and its newly elected deputy leader, said May’s days were “numbered” if she ignored Scotland’s desire to stay in the EU . He said:

Theresa May says that options for keeping Scotland in the EU are impractical, that we’ve had our referendum and that there will be a UK approach to Brexit.

She refuses to accept that for Scotland, for us, remain means remain.

My message to the prime minister is this: if you continue to ignore the express will of the people of Scotland, if you refuse to even consider how we might protect Scotland’s place in the EU , then be in no doubt, your days as prime minister of a United Kingdom are numbered.

That’s all from me for today.

I will be blogging again from the conference tomorrow, when Sturgeon will deliver her keynote address.

block-time published-time 5.32pm BST

Here’s a video of Gregg Brain ’s speech.

enltrWATCH: Gregg Brain's emotional speech to #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] about his family's 'horrific' experience with the UK **immigration** system. #WeAreScotland [https://twitter.com/hashtag/WeAreScotland?src=hash] about his family's 'horrific' experience with the UK **immigration**system. pic.twitter.com/GEXKpVc6gP [https://t.co/GEXKpVc6gP] about his family's 'horrific' experience with the UK **immigration** system.

— The SNP (@theSNP) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theSNP/status/786963293004980224]block-time published-time 5.29pm BST

Here is more from Sky ’s Faisal Islam on the SNP conference.

enltrAt @theSNP [https://twitter.com/theSNP] Europe debate opened up by Italian-Scot re proud EU migrant history..impossible not to notice political/cultural schism in Union

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786945348421951488]block-time published-time 5.07pm BST

I’m afraid an analysis of John Swinney ’s local government reform plans will have to wait, but the Scottish commentator Lesley Riddoch has written a short blog about them. [http://www.lesleyriddoch.co.uk/2016/10/will-snp-deliver-real-local-democracy.html] Here’s an excerpt.

Creating a new tier of muscular town, island and village councils is radical. Creating more talking shops is not. We need real local councils not more centralisation or top-slicing existing council budgets to hand cash to un-elected head teachers. If SNP leadership doesnt realise it is seriously behind the curve on genuinely local democracy - and wastes the opportunity to do difficult structural reform at the start of a 5 year parliament - that failure will come back to bite the SNP just as “radical” land reform did last year.

block-time published-time 4.59pm BST

The conference finished its proceedings for the day passing a resolution saying that current tax treaties with developing countries “operate to the severe disadvantage of many of the poorest countries in the world” and that they should be replaced with fair treaties.

block-time published-time 4.57pm BST

Here is a picture of the Brain family on stage earlier. (See 3.06pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-5800e50be4b01ffb8ffcba30#block-5800e50be4b01ffb8ffcba30]

Kathryn and Gregg Brain with their son Lachlan on stage at the SNP conference in Glasgow. Photograph: Jane Barlow/PA And here is Lachlan Brain with Nicola Sturgeon .

Lachlan Brain with Nicola Sturgeon . Photograph: Jane Barlow/PA block-time published-time 4.52pm BST

The independence and Brexit motion (see 4.22pm) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-5800f5b2e4b0160123895c31#block-5800f5b2e4b0160123895c31] has been passed overwhelming. The attempt to shelve it (“remit back”) failed.

block-time published-time 4.48pm BST

Sadly, this seems to be the best-read SNP conference story on our website at the moment.

Related: BBC sorry for showing footage of gorilla instead of Nicola Sturgeon [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/14/bbc-sorry-footage-gorilla-nicola-sturgeon]

But don’t worry, I won’t be deterred. I’ll be doing my best to sent the blog shooting up the ‘most read chart’ with an analysis of John Swinney ’s local government reform plans...

block-time published-time 4.40pm BST

The SNP is strongly pro-EU, but one speaker has just admitted to voting leave. He says that he is available for BuzzFeed ’s Jamie Ross, who has been on the quest for a Nat outer.

enltrHoly shit. Someone on stage just said "Jamie Ross from BuzzFeed was looking for a Leave voter. Jamie, your search is over". Here we go!

— Jamie Ross (@JamieRoss7) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JamieRoss7/status/786954085681471488]block-time published-time 4.35pm BST

A speaker is now complaining that the wording of the motion is too tame. The motion says taking Scotland out of the EU against its will would be “unacceptable”. That is wrong, the speaker says; it would be “bloody outrageous”.

At another point the motion says conference expresses its “disappointment” about the Brexit vote. “God help us,” says the speaker.

He says the motion should be sent back for a re-write so some proper outrage gets included.

block-time published-time 4.31pm BST

Tasmina Ahmed-Sheikh, the SNP MP, is speaking now.

We don’t trust the Tory government to get the best deal [for Scotland on Brexit.] They don’t even trust each other.

block-time published-time 4.29pm BST

The debate is not being interrupted by points of order. Two people who say they oppose the motion have complained about not being called.

As my colleague Libby Brooks points out, members take the proceedings here seriously.

enltrWorth noting again: #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] delegates are impressively engaged in the daily business of conference. Yet to see the hall look even half empty

— Libby Brooks (@libby\_brooks) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/libby\_brooks/status/786934765794516992]block-time published-time 4.25pm BST

Mike Russell, the Scottish government’s Brexit minister, is speaking now. He says Scotland will enter the Brexit talks as a nation. Scotland is a rational nation, and it will adopt a rational approach, he says.

He says Scotland will never accept the right of other people to speak on Scotland’s behalf.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.06pm BST

block-time published-time 4.22pm BST

Debate on independence and Brexit SNP members are now debating a lengthy motion on independence and Brexit. It says that it would be “democratically unacceptable if Scotland were to be dragged out of Europe against its will” and that although “every avenue” must be explored to keep Scotland in the EU , ‘if no viable solution to safeguard our membership as part of the UK exists, Scotland should prepare for a second independence referendum and seek to remain in Europe as an independent country.”

The motion is being backed by SNP MPs and ministers in the Scottish parliament , but some speakers are opposing it on the grounds that it would remove the discretion Nicola Sturgeon has to pursue independence as she sees best. One member also pointed out that, although the motion talks about staying in the EU as a priority, Sturgeon redefined her goal yesterday, saying remaining in the single market is now the priority. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-brexit-foreign-affairs-committee-quizzed-by-mps-over-brexit-as-pound-falls-again-politics-live?page=with:block-57ff6772e4b047a4eaafc0cf#block-57ff6772e4b047a4eaafc0cf] as a priority, Sturgeon redefined her goal yesterday,

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.27pm BST

block-time published-time 4.02pm BST

Swinney then moved on to the passage about devolving power. (See 1.44pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-5800c6f4e4b047a4eaafc6a1#block-5800c6f4e4b047a4eaafc6a1]

And he finished by saying he would give improving education his “relentless focus”.

I believe the single best route out of poverty is education.

I believe the single most powerful weapon we have to fight poverty is education.

We will bring the whole education system together behind our purpose. The expansion of childcare to 30 hours per week. The focus of school education unreservedly on learning and teaching. The widening of access to university. The strengthening of apprenticeships. The linking of college to the world of work. All comes together in the same National Mission. To free every single child from the burden of poverty.

I will give it my relentless focus. I will not rest until we have delivered the best possible future for every young person in Scotland.

block-time published-time 3.59pm BST

Swinney turns to Labour.

When Amber Rudd announced her sinister list of foreign workers,

Labour didn’t stand up in defiance.

Instead their press office said the Tories had not gone far enough.

Shame. Shame. Shame on the pathetic Labour Party.

Now, there will be a few in Labour as horrified as we are at their collective moral failure.

Kezia Dugdale tweeted “not in my name”.

But let’s be clear.

For as long as Kezia Dugdale insists on powers over **immigration**, Europe and all the rest remaining in London, Kezia shares the blame.

Swinney is referring to a press statement Labour put out criticising the fact that the government had not met the **immigration** targets it set itself.

Labour tweeted this.

enltrThe Tories have broken their own promise on **immigration** #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/kxZ5a0IPDR [https://t.co/kxZ5a0IPDR]

— Labour Press Team (@labourpress) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/labourpress/status/783266273266429952] Nicola Sturgeon tweeted this comment in response.

enltrIs this really Labour's response to the Tories' increasingly intolerant language about 'foreigners'? https://t.co/iVws3Yuyim [https://t.co/iVws3Yuyim]

— Nicola Sturgeon (@NicolaSturgeon) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon/status/783572987488395264]And Kezia Dugdale , the Scottish Labour leader, tweeted this.

enltrNot in my name. https://t.co/d81LCGgX31 [https://t.co/d81LCGgX31]

— Kezia Dugdale (@kezdugdale) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/kezdugdale/status/783585486778560512]block-time published-time 3.51pm BST

Swinney announced a guarantee of student funding.

We have already confirmed tuition fee funding to support EU students studying here, or preparing to start this year.

Now, we will extend that guarantee to those starting next year in 2017/18.

And, unlike Labour and the Tories, that’s tuition-free education we are guaranteeing – not the massive fees they impose on students wherever they come from.

But let me go further.

We will guarantee their funding. But what I demand is that the Tory-Brexit government guarantee their right to stay here during the studies and work here after their studies.

They are not “cards” to be played.

They are human beings.

To use them as negotiating chips is obscene and we will have no part of it.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.09pm BST

block-time published-time 3.50pm BST

Swinney says May is 'in office but not in power' Swinney says Theresa May is “in office but not in power”.

Theresa May is in office but it is already obvious that she is not in power.

A Remain voter – apparently – she is being driven by the Tory hard-right to a hard-Brexit just as David Cameron was driven to a referendum by those self-same hard-right Brexiteers in the first place.

The consequences can barely be contemplated.

He is echoing the phrase Norman Lamont used when he delivered a withering attack on the then prime minister, John Major, following his resignation as chancellor in 1993.

block-time published-time 3.48pm BST

And he praises Nicola Sturgeon for her conduct on the morning after the EU referendum.

While Boris and Gove panicked, Cameron resigned and Corbyn went missing, it was Nicola Sturgeon who rejected the xenophobia of Farage, reassured our EUfriends here in Scotland and defended our relationship with Europe.

In that moment, there was a crisis of leadership in London. Here in Scotland, leadership had its finest hour.

block-time published-time 3.47pm BST

Swinney turns to Derek Mackay , his successor as finance secretary.

I have, of course, done that job. It’s not easy. It gets tougher as the times get tougher. But I know, Derek will do a fantastic job as finance secretary.

But I do have a word of warning for him.

I too was once a young looking finance minister, with a full head of hair.

So be warned. This is your future.

block-time published-time 3.46pm BST

Swinney says for SNP ministers country comes before party. Country always comes first, he says.

block-time published-time 3.44pm BST

This is from my colleague Libby Brooks.

enltrRight for Swinney to praise #WeAreScotland [https://twitter.com/hashtag/WeAreScotland?src=hash] but he misses out crucial point that it was Sturgeon herself who set off the global trend #snp16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/snp16?src=hash] but he misses out crucial point that it was Sturgeon herself who set off the global trend

— Libby Brooks (@libby\_brooks) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/libby\_brooks/status/786940417803714561]block-time published-time 3.43pm BST

Swinney says, while the Conservative conference was going on, and foreigners were being criticised, the Scots responded by taking to Twitter to celebrate the things they loved.

He says everyone who chooses to live in Scotland is part of Scotland.

block-time published-time 3.40pm BST

John Swinney 's speech John Swinney , the deputy first minister, education secretary and former finance minister, is speaking now.

He says the party’s greatest strength is its roots.

We are not a branch office of a UK party. We are neither apologists for a UK government .

The SNP is rooted in all the communities of Scotland, he says.

block-time published-time 3.35pm BST

One could be forgiven for feeling a wee bit uncertain about where exactly the SNP leadership stands vis-a-vis a second referendum after this morning’s round of interviews and fringe events suggesting that it is variously “highly likely”, “not inevitable” and not to be rushed.

Thankfully, the pro-independence think tank Business for Scotland is experiencing no such uncertainty, having just announced it’s move to a “referendum footing” following Sturgeon’s announcement yesterday of a draft Referendum Bill next week.

BfS announces that it has moved to larger premises in Glasgow (presumably not within the last 24 hours) and has already started hiring additional staff. Will keep you posted on who else has decided they’re on a referendum footing, as and when they declare themselves...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.35pm BST

block-time published-time 3.32pm BST

Roseanna Cunningham, the cabinet secretary for the environment, climate change and land reform, has announced in her speech that the headquarters of the new Scottish Land Commission will be in Inverness.

The Scotsman has more on this. [http://www.scotsman.com/news/new-scottish-land-commission-to-be-based-in-inverness-1-4258534]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.38pm BST

block-time published-time 3.30pm BST

Angela Constance , the Scottish social security secretary, announced in her speech that she would consult a panel of 2,000 welfare claimants about the operation of the welfare system in Scotland.

block-time published-time 3.28pm BST

Michael Matheson, the Scottish justice secretary, announced a £665,000 grant for a service tackling violence against women and girls in his short conference speech.

block-time published-time 3.23pm BST

At the conference a succession of Scottish ministers are now speaking.

Shona Robison , the health secretary, started by saying foreigner staff were very welcome in the NHS in Scotland.

She also announced £30m in funding over five years for Chas (Children’s Hospice Association Scotland ).

enltrWe welcome Shona Robison and @scotgov [https://twitter.com/scotgov] 's funding commitment of £30 million over the next five years to support our vital work #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] 's funding commitment of £30 million over the next five years to support our vital work

— CHAS (@SupportCHAS) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SupportCHAS/status/786935091821961216]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.28pm BST

block-time published-time 3.19pm BST

Sturgeon floats prospect of Scots keeping EU citizenship under one possible Brexit compromise proposal Sky ’s Faisal Islam interviewed Nicola Sturgeon earlier. He has tweeted the key points.

enltr"Every chance" Scotland will have #indyref2 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/indyref2?src=hash] before March 2019 FM @nicolasturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] tells me as PM "hasn't yet kept her promises" to Scotland

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786908817380536320]enltr... "you're bluffing" I suggested to @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] re polling/ econ backdrop to independence "No, I'm serious" she says in @skynews [https://twitter.com/SkyNews] iv

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786909435092430848]enltrSNP leader says she will "work with other parties to keep UK in single market... there is no majority in the HoC to take Britain out of SM

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786910115173728256]enltr& @nicolasturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] says new proposals soon to keep Scotland in S Mkt. I ask could Scots retain EU citizenship? "These things are possible"

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786911543632007169]

\* Sturgeon floats prospect of Scots keeping EU citizenship under one possible compromise proposal to keep Scotland in single market.

enltrI ask Sturgeon why @theSNP [https://twitter.com/theSNP] wants supremacy of ECJ law over Scots law: "you accept if you also accept interdependent countries work together"

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786912232143749121]enltrInterestingly @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] point to @daviddavisMP [https://twitter.com/DavidDavisMP] in Dublin saying Ireland doesn't have to choose btwn EU and UK links. Same for Scotland

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786913447246237696]This is true - although Ireland has been independent of the UK for almost a century.

enltr.. @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] : @daviddavismp [https://twitter.com/DavidDavisMP] "cant go to Ireland and say these things, and then come to Scotland and say the exact opposite"

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786913743498248192]enltrAlso @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] pointed to "Channel Islands" and "reverse Greenland" not as a model, but as illustrations of mixed approaches to EU/SM

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786914255605997568]enltr\* NB eager followers of this account will note Channel Islands does have two different types of passport for those eligible for EU FoM & not

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786914718896316416]enltrAlso FM tells me "it is inconceivable that the Scottish Parliament would give its consent to the removal from the EU .. didnt vote for it"

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786915087068127232]enltrOn mandate, Sturgeon says "I vividly remember @borisjohnson [https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson] during referendum saying voting to come out of EU does not mean out of SM"

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786916069504155648]block-time published-time 3.06pm BST

Gregg Brain is speaking now. He is wearing a label with the letter F on it. He says it is his response to Amber Rudd , he says.

He says that he was not born in Scotland. But he got here as quickly as he could.

He thanks those who fought to help the Brain family get permission to stay, including Ian Blackford and Alex Salmond .

He says they invested £150,000 to come to Scotland. They lost about a year’s income because of the deportation threat, and they are in debt. He says they have a visa for a year now, but they don’t have long-term certainty. They don’t know what will happen after 2017. And they cannot get their son a pet because they don’t know if they will be allowed to stay permanently.

At the end he brings his wife and son onto the stage to be welcomed by Nicola Sturgeon .

block-time published-time 2.59pm BST

Alex Salmond , the former Scottish first minister, is now speaking about the Brains. The Brains are at the conference and he says the SNP are happy to have them here. But they are happy to have them as part of their society too.

He says he felt a personal responsibility to the Brains because they came to Scotland attracted by the Highland Homecoming initiative that he launched as first minster.

He says this is a tale of two governments.

The UK government says people who come to the country are a problem. We say they are an assets, he says.

They say foreign workers are a card to be played. We say they are people, he says.

They say firms who hire foreigners should be named and shamed. We say the shame is with people who want to treat foreigners like this, Salmond says.

He says the Tories want a “closed, intolerant backward-looking society.” Has their ever been a more intolerant vision offered to the people of this country.

He says Scottish heroes had foreign heritage. William Wallace was Welsh, he says. Robert the Bruce was Norman.

Salmond ends by saying this difference between Scotland and London underlines the case for independence.

An effigy of Alex Salmond at the SNP conference. Photograph: Murdo Macleod for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.00pm BST

block-time published-time 2.52pm BST

The SNP conference is now debating the treatment of the Brain family, the Australian family who were threatened with deportation when the UK government retrospectively changed visa rules. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-highlands-islands-37421599]

Ian Blackford , the SNP MP for Ross, Skye and Lochaber, says what happened to the Blacks should shame everyone in the country. He says at one point the Home Office wrote to him asking if he would help arrange their deportation. Anyone who understood Highland history would have realised that would never happen, he says. He says he told the Home Office to get lost.

He says that, after the Home Office withdrew the post-study work visa scheme (which meant the Brains faced deportation) and while the Brains were fighting their case, the Home Office brought it back for elite English universities.

He says this shows why Scotland needs control of **immigration** policy.

Gregg and Kathryn Brain with their son Lachlan at their home in Dingwall in the Highlands of Scotland. Photograph: Andrew Milligan/PA block-time published-time 2.32pm BST

The rural education motion went through. The attempt to shelve it (“remit back”) because of the line about staff shortages contributing to poor pupil attainment (see 2.24pm) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-5800dafce4b01ffb8ffcba01#block-5800dafce4b01ffb8ffcba01] failed.

block-time published-time 2.24pm BST

In Glasgow the SNP conference is currently debating a motion on rural education. It says rural schools deserve extra support, although one speaker has objected to a line in the motion saying staff shortages in rural areas contribute to poor attainment levels on the grounds that this devalues the work of teachers who cope well with staff shortages.

This morning the conference pass a motion welcoming the introduction of a new Scottish government social security bill which will capitalise on the fact that power over 11 benefits - and 15% of the welfare budget - has now been devolved to Scotland. Sandra White MSP, convenor of the Scottish parliament ’s social security committee, said:

The new social security powers that the Scottish government will get, allows us to build a much fairer, more dignified and respectful system and move away from the callous and demeaning service imposed by the Tories at Westminster.

block-time published-time 2.15pm BST

Robertson says composition of cabinet's Brexit committee shows Scotland being sidelined Politico Europe has published a story about the composition of the government’s Brexit cabinet committee. [http://www.politico.eu/article/theresa-mays-brexit-war-cabinet/] It says that half the posts have gone to what it describes as “hardline Eurosceptics” and that the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland secretaries do not have permanent seats on the committee. But they will attend “as required” by the prime minister.

Angus Robertson, the SNP’s leader at Westminster and the party’s newly-elected deputy leader, has put out a statement describing this as evidence that Scotland is being sidelined in the Brexit process. He said:

The revelation that the Scottish secretary is not a full member of Theresa May ’s Brexit cabinet committee is deeply embarrassing for David Mundell [the Scottish secretary] – but more importantly it also seriously undermines Theresa May ’s claim that Scotland will be fully involved in the Brexit negotiations.

The UK government is treating Scotland with contempt – but make no mistake, the SNP will ensure that Scotland’s voice is heard loudly and clearly in the Brexit process.

Angus Robertson. Photograph: Jeff J Mitchell/Getty Images block-time published-time 1.53pm BST

At a fringe meeting at the SNP conference this morning Professor Anton Muscatelli, chair of first minister Nicola Sturgeon ’s council of experts on Brexit, said that the UK could end up with a “hard” Brexit by accident.

Article 50 was not drawn up for it ever to be used. Now it’s being used, the UK government has to play an extraordinary weak hand, which doesn’t help.

You are seeing this in some of the discussions from the EU coming back saying ‘well you can’t access the single market without having the free movement of people’, and so on.

My concern is that the whole process could be not only complex but could actually lead to a really sub-optimal outcome. So hard Brexit might result almost by accident as well as by design, even if there might be the possibility of negotiations to be done.

He also said some of the current optimism around Brexit was misplaced.

I do think that some of the optimism around that the sky hasn’t fallen in is really misplaced and this is actually a really serious situation, and the problem is that given the nature of article 50 and the negotiations it’s actually going to be very difficult to pick our way through that.

block-time published-time 1.44pm BST

Swinney to announce plans to devolve power John Swinney , Scotland’s deputy first minister and education secretary, is addressing the SNP conference this afternoon. In his speech, he is going to announce plans to transfer power to local communities.

Here is an extract from the speech released in advance.

The principle of local control, not on behalf of a community but by a community, is key. That is at the heart of our programme.

We have already launched the review of how the school education system is governed, setting ourselves the task of making parents and teachers the key decision makers in the life of our schools. Over the coming parliament we will go further. We will review the roles and responsibilities of local authorities. And we will look again at the relationships between local authorities and health boards.

We aim to achieve nothing less than to transform our democratic landscape, protect and renew public services and refresh the relationship between citizens, communities and councils.

We do this not because it is radical - and it is - but because we believe it is right. We do it not because it is easy - it’s not - but because it is in the national interest. We believe that national interest lies in placing power in the people of this country’s hands. It’s why I believe in independence.

Just as we believe the best people to decide the future of our country are the people who live in our country, so we believe the best people to decide the future of our communities are the people who live in those communities. We will trust the people to make the big decisions about their future. That is our creed. And that is the truly radical path.

block-time published-time 1.06pm BST

No 10 suggests May would oppose a second independence referendum I’m in Glasgow now at the SECC where the SNP conference is being held and will be up and running for the rest of the day. Apologies for the patchy coverage this morning.

Earlier Nicola Sturgeon said she thought it was “inconceivable” that Westminster would try to stop Scotland holding a second independence referendum. (See 9.18am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-58008b4ae4b01ffb8ffcb8a1#block-58008b4ae4b01ffb8ffcb8a1] said she thought it was “inconceivable” that Westminster would try to stop Scotland holding a second independence referendum. (See

Downing Street has now made it clear that Theresa May actually views this as very conceivable. This is what the prime minister’s spokeswoman told journalists at the lobby briefing about the prospect of a second referendum.

There was a referendum in 2014 that addressed this issue that was legal and fair. The result was decisive and both parties agreed at the time to respect it.

It was a referendum with a clear question on the ballot paper and we should respect the democratic decision that was made, just as we respect the democratic decision that was made on the referendum on the EU .

[Scottish people] wanted to remain part of the United Kingdom. We think we should respect that decision and work constructively on how all four nations of the UK can come together and work out the best deal for the United Kingdom when we leave the European Union .

It was a referendum that was once in a generation and it’s vital it should be respected.

May has also made clear in her own words (see 9.42am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-5800997fe4b0160123895a2c#block-5800997fe4b0160123895a2c] her opposition to a second referendum. But she has not said explicitly that she would never allow a second referendum, and her spokeswoman did not say that this morning either.

block-time published-time 10.39am BST

Echoing Nicola Sturgeon ’s caution on Today, where she insisted that she was “not rushing straight to a second referendum”, her cabinet secretary for the economy, Keith Brown, has just told a Brexit fringe meeting that “it is not the case that it is inevitable there will be another referendum, or inevitable that there will be independence”, adding that the Scottish government will “continue to look at what other options are available”.

The meeting was organised by Charlotte Street Partners, whose founding partner Andrew Wilson Sturgeon has just appointed to chair a new party growth commission, which will examine the prospects for Scotland’s finances as an independent country, and consider policies to both boost growth and reduce the deficit to a sustainable level.

Brown also told the meeting that he knew that some businesses which had been vehemently against independence in 2014 were now planning for a scenario where an independent Scotland had maintained some level of relationship with the EU . “That’s not to say that they are now pro-independence, but they are considering their business interests.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.47pm BST

block-time published-time 9.52am BST

Here is the Conservative MEP Daniel Hannan on Nicola Sturgeon ’s Today interview.

enltrListening to @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] this morning, you'd never guess that 2 in 5 Scots voted Leave.

— Daniel Hannan (@DanielJHannan) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DanielJHannan/status/786832272293060608]I’m now getting on a plane, and so this blog will be on hold until lunchtime, I’m afraid. But I will be blogging from the conference this afternoon, and covering the debate about independence, among other things.

block-time published-time 9.42am BST

In her Today interview (see 9.18am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/14/snp-conference-nicola-sturgeon-says-tory-conference-rhetoric-was-xenophobic-politics-live?page=with:block-58008b4ae4b01ffb8ffcb8a1#block-58008b4ae4b01ffb8ffcb8a1] Nicola Sturgeon said it was “inconceivable” that Westminster would stop Scotland holding a second independence referendum and that she had not heard Theresa May say she would block such a referendum. (Whether to hold a legal referendum is a matter for London, not Edinburgh. David Cameron passed special legislation to allow the 2014 referendum to take place.)

But May has hinted that she would oppose a second referendum. This is what she told the Conservative conference in Birmingham.

I will never allow divisive nationalists to undermine the precious Union between the four nations of our United Kingdom.

block-time published-time 9.18am BST

Sturgeon's Today interview - Summary Here are the key points from Nicola Sturgeon ’s Today interview. She wants Scotland to stay in the single market, even if the rest of the UK leaves as a result of Brexit, and although she reaffirmed that she believes this might result in Scotland having to hold a second independence referendum, she also spoke at some length about alternative options.

\* Sturgeon said she wanted to explore “creative” solutions that might allow Scotland to stay in the single market, even if the rest of the UK leaves. She said she would be publishing detailed proposals soon. There were various options, she suggested.

The point I would make, and it’s quite a fundamental point, is we are in unchartered territory here. Article 50 is the only rule that exists for what happens now. No country was every expected to ever want to leave the EU . So to some extent the UK as a whole is sitting with a blank sheet of paper. There is an ability to be creative, and to look at different options that respect how different parts of the UK voted. I think there are ways in which that can be done.

I don’t pretend, and I have never since the referendum pretended, that it will be straightforward or without challenges. And maybe we will find that none of these ways are possible, and that independence is the only option for Scotland to pursue. But we will try very hard to put other options on the table.

Sturgeon did not give details about what these options might be. But she played down the suggestion that she might want to see a customs border go up between England and Scotland. She said the UK government was opposed to having a hard border between Ireland and Northern Ireland, and so she did not see the case for erecting one between England and Scotland. She also hinted that Iceland might be a possible model.

There are options - for example the kind of option that Norway has. I was in Iceland at the weekend - [the option] that Iceland has of being in the single market but not in the European Union .

Is that as good as full EU membership? In my view, no it’s not. One of the downsides of it is that you have to abide by the rules without influencing the rules - but is it better than being outside the single market completely. Emphatically yes.

\* She said she wanted to keep Scotland in the single market. If it was not in the single market, there would be barriers to trade, she said, and that would be bad for the economy.

\* She said the debate about independence had changed since 2014 because Brexit had changed the balance of economic risk.

The UK we voted to stay part of in 2014 is not the UK we now face the prospect of.

Sturgeon said she accepted that the fall in the oil price created difficult questions for those backing Scottish independence. But she went on:

I absolutely accept that if Scotland is in another independence debate then there will be hard economic questions that will be asked that I and those advocating independence have a responsibility to answer.

But this debate has changed since 2014. In 2014 those who argued against independence said it was about the economic certainty and stabililty of the UK versus the uncertainty of independence.

What we have now in the UK, particularly if it comes out of the single market, is instability and uncertainty and lost economic growth. So this would be a debate about what gives Scotland the best prospect, not of having a magic wand about its economy, but of building the best economic future.

\* She said the UK’s budget deficit was likely to get worse because of Brexit.

I think it is very likely that the UK deficit is going to deteriorate because of the economic implications of Brexit.

\* She played down the fact that polls indicate a majority of Scots oppose independence. She said that when the last independence campaign started only 30% of Scots favoured independence, but the yes side eventually got 45% of the vote, she said.

\* She claimed it was “inconceivable” that Westminster would try to stop Scotland holding a second independence referendum if it wanted to have one. She said she had not heard Theresa May or anyone else in Westminster say they would stop Edinburgh holding a second independence referendum.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.25pm BST

block-time published-time 8.30am BST

I will post a summary of Sturgeon’s Today interview soon.

Here are some of the lines from some of the other interviews she has given this morning. These are from Peter Murrell, the SNP chief executive, Fergus Mutch, an SNP communications chief and Elizabeth Lloyd, Sturgeon’s chief of staff.

enltr"We'll work with other parties to try and avoid a hard Brexit and stay in the single market": @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] tells @BBCBreakfast [https://twitter.com/BBCBreakfast] tells #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] tells

— Peter Murrell (@PeterMurrell) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PeterMurrell/status/786821669969166336]enltr"The Prime Minister does not have a mandate to remove the UK from the single market": @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] tells @BBCBreakfast [https://twitter.com/BBCBreakfast] tells #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] tells

— Peter Murrell (@PeterMurrell) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PeterMurrell/status/786821991558946816]enltr"I want to protect Scotland from a hard Tory Brexit - if that can't work, Scotland has to have option of a different path" - @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon]enltr"I want to protect Scotland from a hard Tory Brexit - if that can't work, Scotland has to have option of a different path" -

— Fergus Mutch (@Fergoodness) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Fergoodness/status/786818191809019905]enltr"Brexit a real risk to our economy. I don't pretend independence without challenges but as FM I can't stand back from that" @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon]enltr"Brexit a real risk to our economy. I don't pretend independence without challenges but as FM I can't stand back from that"

— Fergus Mutch (@Fergoodness) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Fergoodness/status/786819457423400960]enltr"Ultimately if the PM doesn't listen, is intent on ignoring Scotland's voice, we should have option of independence" @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon]enltr"Ultimately if the PM doesn't listen, is intent on ignoring Scotland's voice, we should have option of independence" #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash]enltr"Ultimately if the PM doesn't listen, is intent on ignoring Scotland's voice, we should have option of independence"

— Fergus Mutch (@Fergoodness) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Fergoodness/status/786822309046784000]enltrNS: I'm not going to stand here as someone who thinks diversity is important and not call out the language we heard last week #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash]enltrNS: I'm not going to stand here as someone who thinks diversity is important and not call out the language we heard last week

— Elizabeth Lloyd (@eliz\_lloyd) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/eliz\_lloyd/status/786822981641265152]block-time published-time 8.25am BST

Sturgeon says the Scottish health service is performing better in Scotland than in the rest of the UK.

And she says her speech tomorrow will spell out what the Scottish government will do to improve education.

She challenges the BBC to report her domestic policies in full. Sarah Montague, who is presenting, says the Today programme will be broadcast from Glasgow tomorrow.

block-time published-time 8.23am BST

Q: You would need Westminster approval to hold another referendum.

Sturgeon says she has not heard anyone say Scotland would not be able to hold a referendum. She finds it “inconceivable” that Westminster would try to stop Scotland holding a referendum.

Q: You are making a threat.

Sturgeon says she does not see it like that. Threat is a pejorative word. She is being straight.

Q: How could Scotland stay in the single market if the rest of the UK left. Wouldn’t you have to have customs checks at the border.

Sturgeon says, since the government does not want a hard border in Ireland, it would be odd if it wanted one between Scotland and England.

She is going to publish a range of options. She wants to be “creative”.

But it may be necessary to move to independence if those other options do not work, she says.

block-time published-time 8.20am BST

Q: Hasn’t the collapse in the oil price made independence much harder?

Sturgeon says she accepts there will be hard questions to answer.

But the debate has changed, she says.

In 2014 people argued staying in the UK offered economic stability and certainty.

Now, with Brexit, that is not the case.

Q: Scotland would have a bigger deficit than Greece.

Sturgeon says this is about deciding how Scotland can best tackle its deficit.

And Brexit could increase the size of the UK deficit, she says.

block-time published-time 8.18am BST

Nicola Sturgeon is on the Today programme now.

She says she wants Scotland to stay in the single market, and in the EU .

Theresa May has no mandate to take the UK out of the single market, she says.

Q: What if there were a deal with a considerable amount of trade, but some limitations.

Sturgeon says she wants Scotland to stay in the single market. If it is not in the single market, there will be barriers to trade, she says.

She says she will put forward proposals.

But if all that fails, Scotland has the right to ask people again if they want to leave the EU .

The UK that Scotland voted to stay in has changed.

Q: Polls suggest that people would still vote to stay in the UK.

Sturgeon says a poll yesterday showed 55% of Scots would want a second referendum if there were a hard Brexit.

Q: But the polls still show there is not a majority for independence.

Sturgeon says at the start of the last campaign only 30% of people wanted independence. That went up.

block-time published-time 8.02am BST

Nicola Sturgeon , the Scottish first minister and SNP leader, is doing a round of interviews this morning. The SNP conference is taking place in Glasgow and Sturgeon has been answering questions about the speech she gave yesterday. Her main speech to the conference will take place tomorrow afternoon but, just as Theresa May chose to give two speeches to her party conference, a Brexit one at the start and a domestic policy one at the end, Sturgeon opened the conference yesterday with a speech about Brexit and Scottish independence.

Here is the Guardian ’s story about it by Severin Carrell.

Related: Nicola Sturgeon challenges May with second referendum bill [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/nicola-sturgeon-challenges-may-with-second-referendum-bill-scottish-independence-snp-conference]

And here is how it starts.

Nicola Sturgeon warned that she was prepared to stage a second Scottish independence [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/scottish-independence] referendum before the UK quits the European Union as she attacked the Tories for their “xenophobic” rhetoric on the EU .

In a clear challenge to Theresa May ’s government in London, the first minister told the Scottish National party conference in Glasgow she would unveil draft legislation next week to prepare for a rerun of the 2014 referendum within the next two years.

Sturgeon said the UK government ’s recent rhetoric on capping **immigration** and on quitting the EU single market made it clear that the Tory party had been taken over by its “rampant and xenophobic” right wing. To applause from delegates, Sturgeon singled out the prime minister and declared: “Hear this: if you think for one single second that I’m not serious about doing what it takes to protect Scotland’s interests, then think again.”

Her official spokesman cautioned that this was designed to give the Scottish government the full range of options. Sturgeon had a dual-track strategy and her immediate goal was to get the strongest powers possible for Holyrood in the Brexit deal.

Sturgeon will be on the Today programme at 8.10, and I will be covering her interview live.

Sturgeon has already been on BBC Breakfast. She told the programme that the rhetoric from the Conservative conference was “xenophobic”. This is from Peter Murrell, the SNP’s chief executive (and Sturgeon’s husband).

enltr"The rhetoric from the Tory conference was xenophobic, all about borders and blue passports": @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] tells @BBCBreakfast [https://twitter.com/BBCBreakfast] tells #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] tells

— Peter Murrell (@PeterMurrell) October 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PeterMurrell/status/786822317699698688]Later I will be reporting from the conference in Glasgow. But there is a slight hitch. I missed a flight and so I’m still stuck at Gatwick airport. I will be covering the conference proceedings in full this afternoon, when members will debate a resolution about whether Scotland should prepare for a second independence referendum “if no viable solution to safeguard our membership [of the EU ] as part of the UK exists”, and I will be covering more conference news for the next hour or so, but the blog may have to hibernate mid-morning.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Attack on group’s last urban stronghold in Iraq is most critical challenge yet to its ‘caliphate’ which led to exodus of **refugees**

Iraqi and Kurdish forces are finalising plans to attack the last urban stronghold of Islamic State in Iraq, the northern city of Mosul, which after a month-long buildup is now largely surrounded by a 60,000-strong force.

The assault could begin as early as this weekend and is the most critical challenge yet to Isis’s two-year-old “caliphate”, which had shredded state authority in the region’s heartland, led to a mass exodus of **refugees**, attempted a genocide of minorities and led to grave doubts over Iraq’s viability.

Related: In the shadow of Isis: a photo essay on northern Iraq[https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2016/oct/14/in-the-shadow-of-isis-a-photo-essay-on-northern-iraq]

Iraqi forces, which have driven hundreds of miles for what Baghdad has hailed as a last battle against the terror group, moved into their final positions on Friday, joining Kurdish Peshmerga soldiers ahead of an expected advance from the south. Also on the ground are US, British and French special forces, who have been advising Peshmerga troops. They will play a prominent role in calling in airstrikes against Isis targets inside the city.

Isis is thought to have around 6,000 fighters ready to defend Mosul, hidden among an estimated civilian population of 600,000, most of whom are expected to flee as the battle intensifies.

The new wave of **refugees** is likely to be far more difficult to manage than the war itself, with authorities and aid agencies desperately trying to finalise plans ahead of the attack. Save the Children, one of numerous NGOs near Mosul, said some **refugees** had died on arduous trip to a holding camp south of the city.

Aram Shakaram, Save the Children’s deputycountry director in Iraq, said: “Children are arriving from Hawija on the verge of death. Food in the area is running out and they are hungry, thirsty and absolutely exhausted, having walked barefoot through mountains full of landmines and Isis patrols.

“Our team heard of a woman and her 17-year-old nephew who collapsed and died just a few kilometres away from help.”

Kurdish forces are expecting stiff resistance from the terror group, which has already lost the cities of Tikrit, Ramadi, Sinjar and Fallujah and a vast area of land close to Erbil.

Despite more than a year of US-led airstrikes, mortars continue to rain down on Kurdish forces. Isis is also believed to have placed thousands of improvised explosives in villages on the road to Mosul. The mines and improvised bombs are likely to make the going slow, and and war planners are expecting the campaign to last at least one month.

Isis has also used mustard gas against Kurdish forces – up to 19 times in the past two years. The militants thought responsible for the group’s chemical weapons programme are believed to have all been captured, or killed, but a risk remains of further attacks.

The UN estimates that as many as 700,000 of Mosul’s residents will be in desperate need as the attack gets under way. At least another 600,000 residents and residents of the Nineveh plains are already receiving aid after fleeing the city after the Isis invasion.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Bank of England governor has told an audience in Nottingham he will tolerate an overshoot of the Bank’s 2% inflation targetEC council president Tusk says it’s hard Brexit or no Brexit at allGeorge Osborne decisively backs Heathrow expansionUK construction output in surprise slumpInvestors welcome China inflation riseFTSE climbs back above 7,000;pound hovers at $1.22Tesco shares come out on top following Marmite-gate

block-time published-time 2.57pm BST

US markets open higher Wall Street has opened higher, with better-than-expected results from Citigroup and JP Morgan lifting financial stocks.

\* Dow Jones: +0.8% at 18,238

\* S&P 500: +0.6% at 2,144

\* Nasdaq: +0.6% at 4,830

block-time published-time 2.52pm BST

Over in Greece today a conversation that allegedly took place at the height of the euro debt crisis between prime minister Alexis Tsipras and Russian president Vladimir Putin is causing ructions.

Did he or didn’t he? That is the question on the lips of many today as the fallout from revelations of a book about French president Francois Hollande reverberate in Athens. In the tome, entitled “A president shouldn’t say that,” the French head of state is cited as saying Putin had confided that in the summer of 2015, Tsipras asked him if Russia would consider printing drachma in the event of Athens being ejected from the eurozone.

Putin is claimed to have said: “Greece has asked us to print drachma in Russia since it no longer has a printing press to do it. I wanted to tell you so you understand that we don’t want something like that.”

But did Tsipras actually ever utter such words? Sources close to him swear not – even if it is now well known that his request for a €10bn loan from Russia was refused at the time. Earlier today, the deputy defense minister Dimitris Vitsas, a close confidant, fiercely denied the claim calling in “nonsense.”

Officials in Moscow have also rejected the allegation.

With Tsipras and his Syriza party now enthusiastically embracing the eurozone – despite the immense price Athens is now paying in terms of bailout-induced austerity - the spat is overshadowing a much-anticipated congress of his once radical left Syriza party.

In a speech opening the three day- event last night, Tsipras insisted that leaving the euro would have destroyed Greece and was not an alternative the progressive left could ever have adopted.

block-time published-time 2.42pm BST

Theresa May holds Brexit meeting with Nissan boss The Prime Minister has met the chief executive of Nissan, Carlos Ghosn[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/30/nissan-hard-brexit-compensation-new-uk-investment-tariffs], to discuss the impact of Brexit.

Carlos Ghosn arrives at Number 10 It follows a warning from the Japanese car maker that it could pull further investment at its Sunderland plant unless the UK government guaranteed compensation for any Brexit-related tariffs it might face in the future.

A Nissan spokesman said:

The purpose of this meeting between Mr Ghosn and Mrs May is to ensure both Nissan[https://www.theguardian.com/business/nissan] and the UK governmenthave an aligned way forward that meets the needs of both the company and the country.

We do not expect any specific agreement to be communicated followin g this initial introductory meeting of the chief executive and the prime minister.

Related: Nissan chief executive meets Theresa May for Brexit talks[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/14/nissan-chief-executive-carlos-ghosn-meets-theresa-may-brexit-talks]

block-time published-time 2.30pm BST

Chris Williamson at IHS Markit, says the headline rebound in US retail sales in September masks a weaker picture for “core” sales, which strip out food, fuel and cars.

While the September upturn is good news, take a step backwards and it’s clear that the picture is not so bright. The September upturn leaves total sales 0.7% higher in the third quarter, less than half of the 1.5% expansion seen in the second quarter.

The data on core sales are even more worrying. Over the third quarter as a whole, core sales were up a mere 0.1% (or 0.4% annualised), which is the worst performance since the second quarter of 2013.

It’s core sales which tend to be a better guide to wider measures of consumer spending, so this weakening trend is a big concern and will likely lead to some downward revisions to third quarter GDP forecasts.

enltrUS core retail sales up just 0.1% in Q3 v Q2 = worst performance since 2013 Q2 and one of worst this side of global financial crisis pic.twitter.com/VHj6sfzcHR[https://t.co/VHj6sfzcHR]

— Chris Williamson (@WilliamsonChris) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/WilliamsonChris/status/786912927282593792]block-time published-time 2.01pm BST

US retail sales rebound in September Retail sales in the US rose by 0.6% in September, following a 0.2% drop in August.

The increase was in line with economists’ expectations, and will support expectations that the Fed could raise rates in December.

US data for factory gate inflation also suggested price pressures are starting to build, which is likely to further fuel expectations of a hike.

James Knightley, senior economist for the UK and US at ING :

Overall, the reasonably firm retail sales number and slightly higher inflation data support the idea of a Federal Reserve rate hike in December – Fed funds futures currently pricing a 66.7% probability of this happening.

The only things that can really stop momentum building for such a move would be a market unfriendly election outcome and softness in the two payrolls reports between now and the December Fed meeting.

block-time published-time 1.43pm BST

European new car sales rose 7.2% in September, figures published earlier showed.

It was slower than the 9.8% growth in the same month last year, held back by weaker sales in the UK.

A total of 1.45m new cars were registered last month according to European Automobile Manufacturers Association (ACEA), the highest September total on record.

Sales in Italy were up 17.4% over the month at the top end of the table, but rose by just 1.6% in the UK.

Carlos DaSilva at IHS Markit said there was no sign of a Brexit impact in the data.

After a bumpy ride through the summer months, with a disappointing July followed by a surprisingly strong August, the European passenger car market came back to a more normal pattern in September - one of solid but not outstanding growth.

By and large, September was broadly in line with expectations with still no evidence of any impact from the UK’s vote to leave the European Union.

block-time published-time 12.47pm BST

PM's spokeswoman brushes off Tusk's Brexit comments Britain is committed to leaving the European Union, a spokeswoman for Theresa May said, brushing off a suggestion by the European Council President Donald Tusk that the country might change its mind.

Tusk said on Thursday that Britain was facing a choice between hard Brexit, or no Brexit.[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/its-hard-brexit-or-no-brexit-at-all-says-eu-council-president]

She said:

The Prime Minister has been very clear... that the British people have made their decision and we are now going to get on with that, with taking the UK out of the EU and on making the most of the opportunities ahead.

The spokeswoman pointed out that Tusk had also said Brexit talks should be approached in good faith:

That is the sort of spirit the Prime Minister wants to encourage and foster with other European partners, that we approach this constructively.

There are opportunities both for the UK and for the EU with the decision to leave and so we now need to come together, work together effectively to agree on a new arrangement, a new relationship that can work in the interests of all of us.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.49pm BST

block-time published-time 12.18pm BST

Weak UK construction data for August shows that the government needs to invest more in infrastructure, according to the TUC.

Frances O’Grady, the TUC general secretary, says:

Today’s construction figures are a timely reminder for the chancellor. We are not building enough homes, roads and railways.

Philip Hammond must use next month’s autumn statement to green light investment in housebuilding, high-speed rail and a new runway at Heathrow.

With investors twitchy after Brexit, the government needs to step up.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.30pm BST

block-time published-time 11.38am BST

Mark Carney: Bank of England will tolerate inflation overshoot Mark Carney has said he is willing to tolerate an overshoot of the Bank of England’s 2% inflation target.

Mark Carney was speaking at an event in Nottingham. The governor’s comments suggest that the Bank’s policymakers will focus on supporting economic growth through low interest rates following the Brexit vote, rather than acting to bring inflation down.

Speaking at an event in Nottingham, Carney said:

Our judgment in the summer was that we could have seen another 400,000-500,000 people unemployed over the course of the next few years. So we’re willing to tolerate a bit of overshoot in inflation over the course of the next few years in order to avoid that situation, to cushion the blow.

UK inflation was 0.6% in August, well below the 2% target. But the Bank and other commentators have warned that inflation will soon start to rise, as the sharp fall in the pound[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/12/pound-drops-further-after-davis-hints-uk-could-leave-single-market] since the Brexit vote starts to feed through to higher import prices.

Carney also conceded that it’s “going to get difficult” for people on lower incomes as prices start to rise at a faster pace.

enltrCarney says inflation is going to rise. Food first, goods and services over the next "few years". "It will show up."

— Kamal Ahmed (@bbckamal) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/bbckamal/status/786872125688844288]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.33pm BST

block-time published-time 11.10am BST

George Osborne decisively backs Heathrow expansion Heathrow with the London skyline in the background. The former chancellor George Osborne has made it very clear that he is not ready for a quiet life on the backbenches.

In a series of tweets on the controversial and long running subject of UK airport expansion, Osborne decisively backed Heathrow.

A formal decision is expected next Tuesday...

enltrTime for a decision on airports & go for Heathrow. Economic case overwhelming;connects Northern Powerhouse;ensures Britain is open to world.

— George Osborne (@George\_Osborne) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/George\_Osborne/status/786864501169717248]enltrIf we want Britain to be outward-looking,free-trading & global, we must expand the great airport that connects us to that world & that trade

— George Osborne (@George\_Osborne) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/George\_Osborne/status/786865504363356160]enltrWe can consider Gatwick expansion. But not at the expense of Heathrow - and not in parallel or else, in practice, nothing will get built.

— George Osborne (@George\_Osborne) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/George\_Osborne/status/786865618591092736]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.34pm BST

block-time published-time 10.53am BST

The former chancellor George Osborne has said Britain must work hard to retain its status as the world’s financial centre.

Comments this morning from Michel Sapin[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/14/us-banks-planning-exodus-from-brexit-britain-michel-sapin-french-minister], the French finance minister, show that London’s rival European cities for finance[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/10/france-helps-banks-consider-moving-to-paris-after-brexit-vote] are prepared for a fight to win business in the post-Brexit vote world.

enltrJust opened the huge new @UBS[https://twitter.com/UBS] office in City. I broke the ground here in 2012. We must work hard to keep UK the global centre of finance

— George Osborne (@George\_Osborne) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/George\_Osborne/status/786526941084000257]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.36pm BST

block-time published-time 10.47am BST

Samuel Tombs, the chief UK economist at Pantheon Macroeconomics, says the weak construction data suggests that the sector has relapsed into recession.

He adds:

The construction sector’s outlook will brighten if the chancellor cancels planned cuts to public sector investment in next month’s autumn statement.

But with firms’ investment intentions still depressed by the Brexit vote, commercial construction work looks set to fall sharply. Meanwhile, the recent flat trend in housing starts and skilled labour shortages suggest that housebuilding will continue to track sideways for now.

enltrConstruction output down 1.5% m/m in August; decline broad-based. Barring a surge in Sept, construction sector relapsed into recession in Q3 pic.twitter.com/YCTaokwFhN[https://t.co/YCTaokwFhN]

— Samuel Tombs (@samueltombs) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/samueltombs/status/786855017441525760]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.45pm BST

block-time published-time 10.40am BST

Supplementary point on Marmite-gate...

enltrUnforeseen Brexit benefits #1: Iceland giving away free big jars of Marmite (with voucher). Have a slice of toast on me @hwallop[https://twitter.com/hwallop]. #deflation[https://twitter.com/hashtag/deflation?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/DbEuh6rPMQ[https://t.co/DbEuh6rPMQ]

— James Hall (@JamesFHall) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/JamesFHall/status/786848825432498176]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.45pm BST

block-time published-time 10.35am BST

The detail of the UK construction output data shows the biggest drag in August came from a 5.1% monthly drop in infrastructure building. It followed a 6.1% increase in July.

The ONS said infrastructure is particularly volatile because of “the range of products that are included within this type of work”. That sub-sector of the construction industry covers a range of big projects such as windfarms, roads, railways and nuclear plants.

New house building meanwhile fell by 1.3% over the month.

How the UK construction sector has fared block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.43am BST

block-time published-time 10.07am BST

Tesco wins Marmite-gate as FTSE's top riser As far as investors are concerned, Tesco came out on top following its spat with product supplier Unilever over prices[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/13/tesco-unilever-resolve-marmite-dispute-price-supermarket].

Tesco is the FTSE 100’s best performer this morning, with shares up 3.9%. Unilever on the other hand is near the bottom of the pack, with shares down 0.4%.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.08am BST

block-time published-time 9.47am BST

Surprise fall in UK construction output in August Construction output fell 1.5% in August, surprisings economists who had forecast a 0.2% rise.

The slightly better news was that the Office for National Statistics revised up the figure for July from zero to 0.5% growth.

Kate Davies, a statistician with the ONS, said the fall didn’t appear to be related to the Brexit vote:

Construction output has fallen back quite sharply in recent months and contracted by 1.5% in August. As the fall this month is led by infrastructure, it seems unlikely that post-referendum uncertainties are having an impact.

Monthly construction data can be quite erratic, though, so we would warn against trying to read too much into one set of figures.

The annual rate of growth in construction output was 0.2% in August, better than July’s -1% but much weaker than the 1.5% predicted by economists.

block-time published-time 9.25am BST

Berenberg’s “chart of the week” is entitled migration to Germany: beyond the big surge.

The German bank says the number of new arrivals has fallen sharply this year for a number of reasons, including the German government’s decision to tighten its policies since early 2016. It follows a huge surge in 2015, when about 890,000 asylum seekers went to Germany, adding 1.1% to the resident population.

The equivalent annual number for 2016 is about 160,000-170,000, which the bank says should be manageable in “economic, fiscal and political terms”.

Here is the chart:

Holger Schmieding, chief economist, says:

Providing for the migrants and **refugees** is adding to German government spending. Partly as a result of this, the growth rate of government consumption in Germany has risen from an average of 2.5% year on year in the first half of 2015 to 4.1% in the first half of 2016.

This amounts to a fiscal stimulus worth 0.3% of GDP. The mostly state-financed consumer spending of migrants and **refugees** and the impact on housing construction add to that.

block-time published-time 8.58am BST

The pound has fallen below $1.22, currently down 0.6% at $1.2176.

Connor Campbell, financial analyst at Spreadex, says the Brexit comments from French finance minister Michel Sapin[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/14/us-banks-planning-exodus-from-brexit-britain-michel-sapin-french-minister], and those from Donald Tusk on Thursday (“it’s hard Brexit or no Brexit”) are weighing on the pound:

The President of the European Council (Donald Tusk) poured cold water on the idea, propounded by Boris Johnson, that Britain could potentially strike a better deal with the EU post-Brexit, claiming that a hard exit is the only offer on the table. Sapin, the French finance minister, then stated this morning that some US banks are already looking to move their operations out of London in favour of the continent.

Unsurprisingly this kind of rhetoric hasn’t been welcomed by the pound, which has fallen half a percent against the dollar and 0.1% against the euro. While this keeps sterling above the week’s (and, indeed, decades’) lows, that fact will provide mere crumbs of comfort for the currency.

The FTSE 100 is faring better, as Campbell points out:

As for the FTSE, the abrupt end to Marmite-gate last night, with Tesco and Unilever coming to a price agreement, and a rebound from its mining stocks has allowed the UK index to climb back above the 7000 mark.

Related: EU council president: it's hard Brexit or no Brexit at all[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/its-hard-brexit-or-no-brexit-at-all-says-eu-council-president]

block-time published-time 8.50am BST

China: inflation rises more than expected Higher food prices pushed official inflation in China to 1.9% in September, from 1.3% in August.

Temple Street night market in Hong Kong, China, It was higher than the 1.6% predicted by economists, and helped to ease investor fears about the health of the world’s second largest economy after disappointing trade data on Thursday unnerved global markets.

Producer prices (or factory gate prices) also rose unexpectedly in September for the first time in almost five years because of higher commodity prices.

Michael Hewson, chief market analyst at CMC Markets UK, said it was good news:

In an encouraging sign this morning’s Chinese consumer prices inflation data does appear to show that inflation is gaining traction, with CPI coming in at 1.9%, above expectations.

Factory gate prices still remain sluggish, though they have finally made it into positive territory at 0.1%, the first time that has happened since February 2012. Chinese PPi prices have been slowly improving for several months now so this return to positive territory is welcome news, especially so when prices were -5.9% at the beginning of this year.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.50am BST

block-time published-time 8.27am BST

FTSE 100 climbs back above 7,000 After hitting an record intraday high on Tuesday, the FTSE 100 slipped back below 7,000 on Thursday when disappointing trade data from China hit mining stocks.

It’s a different story this morning, with European markets up across the board:

\* FTSE 100: +0.6% at 7,021

\* FTSE 250: +0.4% at 17,956

\* Germany’s DAX: +0.6% at 10,476

\* France’s CAC: +0.7% at 4,438

\* Italy’s FTSE MIB: +0.5% at 16,353

\* Spain’s IBEX: +0.9% at 8,683

\* Europe’s STOXX 600: +0.7% at 338

block-time published-time 8.16am BST

Ratings agency Standard & Poor’s says the pound could lose its status as a save haven currency following the Brexit vote.

Ravi Bhatia, S&P’s director of sovereign ratings for Britain, told the Telegraph:

To be a reserve currency means that the world has trust in you and is happy to hold its savings in your currency. It creates a pool of available capital. If you lose this and sterling becomes just another currency, a key advantage is lost.

He also suggested some complacency on the part of the UK government as it prepares to negotiate its way out of the EU:

There seems to be this view that ‘we’re a big important economy, the Europeans export a lot to us, so they have got to give us what we want’, but is that really true?

block-time published-time 8.04am BST

Pound hovers around $1.22 The pound is down slightly against the dollar this morning, by 0.4%, but is just about managing to stay above the $1.22 level. It is currently at $1.2206.

It is also holding steady against the euro, down -0.1% at €1.1075.

European markets have opened higher. Full details to follow.

block-time published-time 7.58am BST

Introduction: France says London will lose US banks Good morning, and welcome to our rolling coverage of the world economy, the financial markets, the eurozone and business.

Marmite-gate might have been settled for now (read here[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/13/pound-sterling-brexit-price-row-tesco-unilever-live?page=with:block-57ff2a0ce4b01d9dd2c9071c#liveblog-navigation] how yesterday’s dramatic events unfolded), but there are other tales this morning of how Brexit might negatively affect Britain.

Michel Sapin The French finance minister Michel Sapin has told a press conference in Paris that US banks are definitely pressing ahead with plans to move some operations out of the UK in favour of other European countries.

Sapin was in Washington last week for the IMF meetings and he says that now that Britain’s exit form the EU seems certain, US banks are busy making plans to leave the UK.

Paris, of course, would welcome the banks with open arms, but it will undoubtedly encounter stiff competition from other cities such as Frankfurt.

Of course we’ve heard it all before that banks will consider moving out of London, but Sapin suggests the plans have moved up a gear.

Here is what he had to say about US banks:

For them, until now, the question was ‘will Brexit take place? Will it really be implemented? You talk about two years but maybe it will last three or four years?’.

That’s over now, there’s no more of that. It’s no longer ‘will there be’ or ‘if’ there’s a Brexit. It’s ‘there will be a Brexit in two years and after two years we will have to take decisions.

Sapin said some banks had already decided that activities will be transferred to the continent.

Those are their words, not mine. [It is an] inevitable outcome, whatever the result of the Brexit negotiations.

Related: US banks planning exodus from Brexit Britain, says French minister[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/14/us-banks-planning-exodus-from-brexit-britain-michel-sapin-french-minister]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.00am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**This is an amiable show, but its bunch of magical losers will have you wanting to leave their parallel universe and head home. Plus: History’s Greatest Hoaxes asks if footage of an **alien** autopsy is real

Brian Weaver is an ordinary loser – an office temp facing the sack. Actually, that makes him a rather extraordinary loser – I used to be a temp, and it was near impossible to get sacked. Brian (Inbetweener James Buckley) doesn’t even know what’s coming, because he is too busy arguing with a help desk about an undelivered phone charger – he received a bracelet by mistake. When he tries the bracelet on, his wrist starts to smoke and he disappears. When he reappears, he is in a parallel universe policed by fairies and populated by wizards and chicken-headed humanoids.

That, in a nutshell, is the premise of Zapped (Dave)[http://dave.uktv.co.uk/shows/zapped/]. Brian has rocked up in a pretty low-rent, part-fantasy world, just outside a pub called The Jug and the Other Jug, whose regulars are the magical equivalent of losers: a useless soothsayer, a drunken wizard and a half-giant, half-dwarf. The good news is, they have his phone charger. The bad news is, they don’t have anywhere to plug it in, and he is trapped.

You may have surmised that Zapped is a comedy, although you would be hard-pressed to find evidence of it. The jokes are pretty thin, and some (the one about the chicken-headed man supplying eggs, for example) were pressed into service more than once. A quality cast do brave battle with the material: Sharon Rooney[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/sharon-rooney] is the soothsayer, who thinks she may have predicted Brian, and Paul Kaye[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2008/apr/13/women.familyandrelationships1] brings a certain demented verve to the wizard Howell. Sally Phillips[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2012/jun/15/sally-phillips-actor] does a nice turn as evil psychopath Slasher Morgan, although the joke is mostly that Slasher Morgan is played by Sally Phillips.

Zapped isn’t dire, exactly. It is gentle, amiable and silly. There are a few good laughs and faint rumblings of a plot beneath all the nonsense. But the magical realm of Munty – for so it is called – is sketchily imagined. It looks as if the whole thing was filmed in a dusty corner of a decommissioned Harry Potter set. Characters speak in a jumbled mix of sword-and-sorcery tropes and modern-day phrases (eg, “my dating history”), and very little of consequence occurs. The Mighty Boosh[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/the-mighty-boosh] could make a virtue of this kind of surreal slapdashery, but here it just seems unconsidered.

Even Brian, blasted from our world into this one by a bracelet, seemed to lack interest in his new surroundings. He just wanted to go back home, and I quite wanted to go with him.

Twenty-four years ago, mysterious black-and-white footage emerged[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pukbzCC3cfQ] of what was supposed to be an **alien**autopsy secretly performed in Roswell, New Mexico in 1947. History’s Greatest Hoaxes (Yesterday)[http://yesterday.uktv.co.uk/shows/historys-greatest-hoaxes/] explored this film’s unlikely provenance. “Where did the footage come from, and was it real?” asked the narrator, perhaps forgetting the name of the programme.

The film itself doesn’t hold up very well – it looks like two men in paper suits trying to defuse a piñata – but in 1995, it was enough to prompt a Fox Network special and much speculation. What remains impressive all these years later is the audacity behind the stunt.

The **aliens** were made by special-effects expert John Humphreys, and the operating theatre was mocked up in a flat in north London. The **alien**’s innards came from Smithfield market. Spyros Melaris, who filmed proceedings on a 16mm camera, spent weeks sourcing period medical instruments and 1940s American bakelite sockets for his set. Sceptics said the curly flex on the wall phone in the background was an anachronism, but they were wrong. When the filming was complete, the hoaxers had to chop up the bodies like murderers and dispose of the parts in various bins around Camden.

The fake backstory surrounding the film is just as elaborate. Ray Santilli, a record promoter, said he got the footage from a military cameraman. “The whole idea, really, was to put it out there and let people make up their own minds,” he says now. When pressed, he claimed the footage he released was actually a reconstruction – he likened it to art restoration – of the original film, which had degraded, and that only a few authentic frames ended up in the final version. Weirdly, he still stands by that story. “I still have the original footage,” he said, “and that footage at some later stage, when we decide it’s right, will be made available to the public to see.”

To take part as a talking head in this programme risked a certain culpability, or at least gullibility. Psychologist Dr Linda Papadopoulos suggested public credulousness was based on the fear that “there is something out there, in the same way that cavemen feared big bad dinosaurs”. Marcus Brigstocke[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/marcusbrigstocke] said he was persuaded when the film first emerged. It is easy to think we are all smarter now, until you remember that Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] is running for president.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Although I have a UK PhD and married a Brit, I no longer plan to stay here – but moving back home isn’t so simple either

Shortly after the referendum result in June, I both graduated with my UK doctorate and married my British partner. I also started putting together my first applications for post-docs back in Finland, my home country.

Ironically it may be difficult for me to get a job there too now – I’m finding that because I have done my entire higher education in Britain, and the model is different, I may not be a competitive candidate. Because of Brexit, I’m stuck. Like many researchers from the European Union in Britain, I’m faced with tough decisions about my future.

I’m worried leaving it any longer to move back will only make things more complicated, and mean my husband is forced to pay for an expensive visa. Staying, I fear, isn’t an option: I worry that I simply won’t be able to secure work here.

Related: For the first time in 18 years, I don't feel welcome in Britain[https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2016/jun/21/for-the-first-time-in-18-years-i-dont-feel-welcome-in-britain]

The atmosphere was very different when I moved to the UK nine years ago to start my undergraduate degree. I loved how friendly and helpful local people were, and my university was so much more international and multicultural than suburban Finland.

I was attracted to study in the UK because I could do a bachelor’s and a master’s degree in four years, while at home it could take considerably longer. I felt welcomed and secure, and I knew I had options because both countries were part of the EU.

Happy with my supervisor, I stayed to do a PhD in the city that now felt like my second home. But things were starting to change. I ran into Ukip rallies in town, heard complaints about NHS tourism and read news about restrictions to EU benefits. After the referendum was announced, acquaintances started to forget where I was from, and spoke negatively about “**immigrants**” in front of me.

My husband and I used to imagine our futures as flexible... but now that seems virtually impossible.

When I pointed out that I too am foreign, I would be brushed off with an “oh no – not you!” It was as though because I’m blond, white, and speak fluent English they didn’t think of me as an **immigrant**.

People didn’t see that leaving the EU would affect me, and that I would never have been able to come here without it – neither would many of my peers.

In this atmosphere I feel lucky to be relatively sheltered, working within a university where most people are strongly pro-EU, though the region leaned heavily towards Brexit. Some of my EU friends have faced vitriol at their workplaces and their co-workers have been calling for a closure of all borders.

My family moved around internationally when I was growing up and the cultural awareness that gave me has been invaluable. My husband and I used to imagine our futures would be as flexible too, moving between Finland, the UK, and elsewhere depending on the opportunities that came along. Perhaps that was always a naïve ideal – but certainly now it seems virtually impossible.

My international peers at my university already face incredible difficulty trying to gain visas to stay in the UK, whether they have a British partner or not. Frankly, with this shift in atmosphere I feel would rather leave than face the same.

Related: Brexit exposed deep rifts in Britain. Universities can help heal them[https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2016/jul/27/brexit-exposed-deep-rifts-in-britain-universities-can-help-heal-them]

Then there is the academic job market to think about. It’s tough everywhere, but – it seems – especially so in the UK. I have applied for dozens of post-docs and temporary lectureships in the past six months. I feel relieved whenever I secure just a few hours of teaching or a small research grant. I don’t think the rejections are linked to my EU status – for now at at least, there are just a large number of applications for each post.

So this combination of an impending Brexit and the tough job market means it’s no wonder an EU early career researcher might want to get out. But, leaving isn’t that simple either.

British higher education is a unique kind of system in which doctoral candidates are still treated as students rather than researchers. But in Finland – where a doctorate often takes around eight years to complete – PhD graduates usually emerge with multiple publications and a strong network of colleagues.

In some EU countries, it’s not uncommon for PhD researchers to teach full modules and participate in all aspects of departmental life. Of course PhD students in Britain do some teaching, but a British doctorate rarely prepares you for competing in these other job markets, where expectations for teaching experience and research outputs for early career researchers can be much higher.

I’m not trying to paint myself as a victim, I have had it easy in many ways. I am lucky that EU structures made it possible for me to come here in the first place and I haven’t had to deal with racism.

Nevertheless, EU early-career-researchers based in Britain now face a new pressure to either navigate an impending Brexit or to fit their PhDs and experiences of UK higher education in to completely different academic career trajectories elsewhere. It’s hard to know what to do. For me, I would like to leave Britain, and return home with my English husband in tow, but I’m not sure if that will happen in the near future.

Join the higher education network[http://preview.gutools.co.uk/higher-education-network#https://register.theguardian.com/higher-education/?CMP=dis\_57] for more comment, analysis and job opportunities, direct to your inbox. Follow us on Twitter @gdnhighered[https://twitter.com/GdnHigherEd]. And if you have an idea for a story, please read our guidelines[https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2015/oct/16/share-your-ideas-how-to-write-for-the-higher-education-network] and email your pitch to us at highereducationnetwork@theguardian.[mailto:highereducationnetwork@theguardian.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Gay **refugees** from Syria tell their stories; the ITV thriller continues at breakneck speed – and a look at the most provocative subculture in modern history

Unreported World

7.30pm, Channel 4 Tonight’s edition comes from Berlin, a haven for those fleeing war and also a bastion of liberal tolerance. However, gay **refugees** from Syria and Iraq face violence from bigoted fellow migrants. We meet one young man who was a promising pop star in Iraq but was forced to leave after questions arose about his sexuality and his friends braved deadly attacks. He himself faces an attack on his shelter, with homophobic migrants the main suspects. David Stubbs

The Level

9pm, ITV If last week’s rug-pull made you uprate this thriller from “adequate” to “addictive”, then episode three certainly won’t give you cause to regret it. There are chases around pretty Brighton locations and another batch of revelations to complicate a plot where nobody knows what anyone else knows, as impetuous cop Nancy (Karla Crome) investigates a murder without telling her colleagues she’s a key witness. The many large implausibles are easily ignored. Jack Seale

The Story of Skinhead with Don Letts

9pm, BBC4 It is one of the strangest contradictions in the history of pop culture that a movement so in thrall to Jamaican music became so affiliated in the public’s mind with racism. But that is certainly not the whole picture – and neither did it start out that way – as Don Letts explores in this fascinating look at the multicultural roots, fashions and legacy of a fiercely proud, urban working-class subculture. Ali Catterall

Still Game

9.30pm, BBC1 The revival of this comedy continues with Jack and Victor dealing with booze-related problems. Not only has Boabby decided to quit The Clansman, to be replaced by a fearsome new barman, but grog prices are up and Craiglang’s residents have turned to bootleg “hoochie-coochie”, which is having unwanted side effects.

A comedy that should, by rights, be past its sell-by date but still reliably delivers laughs, this episode is dedicated to the late Jake D’Arcy (Pete the Jakey). Jonathan Wright

Gogglebox

9pm, Channel 4 Why watch TV all week when you can get someone else to do it for you? While charming new additions to the sofa-bound cast Mary and Marina are settling in well, posh new family the Delaney-Elwoods divide opinion among Gogglebox’s more devoted viewers. Established favourites such as rent-a-daft-quote Scarlett Moffatt and the effervescent Sandy and Sandra are old hands at providing more entertainment than the shows on which they’re commenting. Hannah Verdier

American Horror Story: Roanoke

10pm, Fox Cutting between a lurid, nominally true-life documentary focused on a child abduction in North Carolina and bloodthirsty flashbacks to 1590, season six of AHS has been a bumpy ride so far. A juicy twist is apparently imminent but, in the meantime, it’s fun to see The People v OJ Simpson co-stars Sarah Paulson and Cuba Gooding Jr properly screaming at each other rather than just exchanging frosty glances across a courtroom. Graeme Virtue

Film choice In the Heart of the Sea (Ron Howard, 2015), 1.45pm, 8pm, Sky Cinema Premiere

Based on Nathaniel Philbrick’s book of the same title, Howard’s admirable seagoing yarn tells the story of the real events that inspired Herman Melville’s classic, Moby-Dick. In 1820, a handful of survivors from the Nantucket whaler Essex were picked up, having been sunk by an enormous sperm whale. This is a great, storm-tossed adventure, with Chris Hemsworth as the gritty first mate, Owen Chase, who wrote an account of the fateful encounter, and Ben Whishaw as Melville himself. Paul Howlett

Sport choice Football: Cardiff City v Bristol City Coverage of the Championship clash (kick-off 7.45pm). 7pm, Sky Sports 1

Scottish Football: Inverness Caledonian Thistle v Rangers SPL encounter at the Caledonian Stadium (kick-off 7.45pm). 7pm, BT Sport 1

European Champions Cup Rugby: Glasgow Warriors v Leicester Tigers Coverage from the Scotstoun Stadium (kick-off 7.45pm).7pm, BT Sport 2

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The view from Middletown: voters seem embarrassed – not angrySexual misconduct: Trump campaign rocked by new wave of allegationsDangerous idiots: how the liberal media failed working-class AmericansVideo: Michelle Obama’s powerful rebuke to Trump’s ‘predatory behavior’

block-time published-time 4.54am BST

Today in Campaign 2016 Donald Trump Photograph: Mike Segar/Reuters

\* Donald Trump scrambled to dig himself out from an avalanche of fresh abuse allegations today, after a series of women came forward to dispute his claim that his comments about sexual assault were only empty boasts. “There is nothing the political establishment will not do, no lie they won’t tell to hold their prestige and power at your expense and that’s what’s happening,” he told a rally in Florida[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/donald-trump-sexual-assault-hillary-clinton-new-york-times]. “The establishment has trillions of dollars at stake in this election.” After a series of initial denials in capital letters on Twitter and more than an hour after his speech was due to start, Trump launched into an hour-long attack on the media and female accusers he called “horrible, horrible liars”. “Take a look. Look at her. Look at her words. And you tell me what you think. I don’t think so,” Trump said of Natasha Stoynoff, a People magazine reporter who alleged he had “forced his tongue down my throat”[http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-attacked-people-writer/].

Trump denies ‘vicious’ sexual misconduct allegations[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/13/donald-trump-sexual-allegations-hillary-clinton-video]

\* First lady Michelle Obama delivered a devastating rebuke[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/michelle-obama-donald-trump-misconduct-frightening] to Trump, calling past comments and alleged misconduct by the Republican nominee[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/12/donald-trump-women-new-sexual-harassment-stories] “cruel”, “frightening” and beyond the “basic standards of human decency.”

This is not normal, this is not politics as usual. This is disgraceful, it is intolerable, and it doesn’t matter what party you belong to... No woman deserves to be treated this way – none of us deserves this kind of abuse.

Michelle Obama’s powerful rebuke to Trump’s ‘predatory behavior’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/13/michelle-obama-speech-donald-trump-sexual-assault-video]

\* To get to the facts of the matter, here is a timeline[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/list-of-donald-trump-sexual-misconduct-allegations] of the allegations by more than a dozen women, many of which have only been made public in recent days.

\* New Jersey governor Chris Christie[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/chris-christie] is facing an official misconduct complaint stemming from the closure of lanes leading to the George Washington Bridge in 2013. A judge signed the summons today, sending the case to the Bergen County prosecutor’s office, which will decide whether the case will lead to an indictment. The Republican governor appointed the prosecutor.

\* Hillary Clinton hinted at a possible landslide in the 8 November election, exhorting several thousand supporters at a San Francisco fundraiser today to help her “have the kind of victory we need” to serve as a “rebuke” to Donald Trump. On a day when Trump went on the attack – calling women who have accused him[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/12/donald-trump-women-new-sexual-harassment-stories] of inappropriate touching and kissing “ horrible, horrible liars[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/donald-trump-sexual-assault-hillary-clinton-new-york-times] ” – an increasingly confident Clinton encouraged her backers to double down on their efforts during the final weeks of the fractious 2016 campaign.

\* “Everything we care about is at risk,” she said. “If you can help me to have the kind of victory we need, that stands as a rebuke of all the bigotry and bullying we’ve seen, then together, together we will build the future that all of us, particularly the children of our country, deserve to have.”

block-time published-time 4.43am BST

Speaking to a Linda Ross, a friend of Jessica Leeds, a woman who has accused Donald Trump of physically assaulting her onboard an airline flight in 1979, CNN’s Don Lemon revealed tonight the moment when Leeds decided to come forward with her allegations.

“We were sitting together on her couch, and I looked right at her and I said, ‘Oh, my God, Jessica, he just flat out lied right to our faces,’” Ross said, regarding the moment in the second presidential debate in which Trump pledged that he had never sexually assaulted a woman.

“I mean, that’s how personal it felt,” Ross continued. “He just flat out lied to our faces, and we were both shaking. We were so angry... She said, ‘I’ll think about it,’ and I went home at the end of the debate. I live two floors below her and the next morning, I got an e-mail from her telling me that she had sent a letter or an e-mail to the New York Times on Monday.”

block-time published-time 4.27am BST

Even the right-tilting New York Post seems to be going bearish on Donald Trump in its woodcut for tomorrow:

enltrTomorrow's Cover: Donald Trump launches an all-out attack after multiple women accuse him of sexual assault https://t.co/juq3rYptyK[https://t.co/juq3rYptyK] pic.twitter.com/3i2NuvINkK[https://t.co/3i2NuvINkK]

— New York Post (@nypost) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/nypost/status/786770024182808576]block-time published-time 4.18am BST

Poll: Donald Trump's lead in Texas falls to margin of error A new poll in the Lone Star State has Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump’s lead over Democratic rival Hillary Clinton slipping to a mere four percentage points, within the margin of error in a state that hasn’t voted for a Democratic presidential nominee in four decades.

The WFAA-TV and Texas TEGNA television stations poll[http://www.wfaa.com/news/local/texas-news/new-poll-trump-lead-shrinks-in-texas-within-margin-of-error/335896258] shows Trump holding a four-point lead over Clinton, 47% to Clinton’s 43% in a survey with a four-point margin of error.

“I think to put these numbers in context - it shows that Trump’s position has eroded a little bit,” political science professor Matthew Wilson told WFAA. “His lead is down to four percentage points according to this poll, but even in the wake of some really terrible news for him, he still leads in Texas, which shows what a tough nut Texas is to crack for Democratic candidates right now.”

Historically, Texas is one of the most blood-red states in the Union: Mitt Romney won Texas by 16% in 2012.

block-time published-time 4.05am BST

After a day of extraordinary statements – attacking women who have accused him of sexual assault, and invoking shocking antisemitic tropes – Donald Trump exercised what might be seen as a rare degree of restraint.

Speaking to a Cincinnati arena filled with roughly 15,000 people tonight, he merely insulted the state’s Republican governor, mocked Hillary Clinton’s health and watched as his supporters treated the press with the same affection that lions in the Coliseum treated Christians.

Donald Trump. Photograph: Bryan Woolston/Reuters In the first full day after Trump faced a barrage of accusations of groping and sexual misconduct from nearly a dozen women, the Republican nominee went on the offensive. In a rally in West Palm Beach, Florida, Trump insisted that he would never have sexually assaulted one woman who came forward – because she was unattractive.

“Take a look. Look at her. Look at her words. And you tell me what you think. I don’t think so,” Trump said of Natasha Stoynoff, a People magazine reporter who alleged[http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-attacked-people-writer/] he had “forced his tongue down my throat”. The Republican nominee also attacked the New York Times – which reported the statements of two women who alleged Trump groped them.

He threatened to sue the paper and insisted he had eyewitnesses who could disprove the New York Times’ reporting. He described the women who alleged sexual assault against him as “horrible people, they’re horrible horrible liars”. Trump insisted that the press as a whole was “false and slanderous in every respect” and said “the depths of their immorality is absolutely unlimited”.

The allegations came less than a week after a leaked tape was revealed[https://viewer.gutools.co.uk/us-news/2016/oct/08/donald-trump-forced-into-apology-as-sex-boast-tape-horrifies-republicans] of Trump bragging about groping women and insisting: “When you are a star they let you do anything.”

At the same rally Trump also warned darkly about Clinton meeting “in secret with international banks to plot the destruction of US sovereignty in order to enrich these global financial powers”.

Jonathan Greenblatt, the head of the Anti Defamation League, promptly denounced the statement, which harkened back to antisemitic tropes like the Protocols of the Elders of Zion[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\_Protocols\_of\_the\_Elders\_of\_Zion] :

enltr. @TeamTrump[https://twitter.com/TeamTrump] should avoid rhetoric&tropes that historically have been used ag. Jews & still spur #antisemitism[https://twitter.com/hashtag/antisemitism?src=hash]. Lets keep hate out of cmpgn https://t.co/9LMnurQ3Xg[https://t.co/9LMnurQ3Xg]

— Jonathan Greenblatt (@JGreenblattADL) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/JGreenblattADL/status/786672319452291074]block-time published-time 3.57am BST

A good reminder that, for those of you lucky enough to not have to watch Sean Hannity’s television show as part of your job, he’s a little soft on the facts.

enltrKathleen Willey tells Sean Hannity the mainstream media hasn't reached out to her. I contacted her repeatedly for a year. No response.

— Olivia Nuzzi (@Olivianuzzi) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/Olivianuzzi/status/786751648114810881]block-time published-time 3.51am BST

Tony Abbott defends Trump’s policies as ‘reasonable enough’ and ‘classic conservatism’ Tony Abbott[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/tony-abbott] has described some of Donald Trump’s policies as “classic conservatism” while calling others “over the top” after garnering criticism for seemingly giving support to the Republican presidential candidate.

The former Australian prime minister urged “Trump haters” not to get “too excited” over his comments after he told Paul Murray on Sky News that the vast majority of Trump supporters were not deplorables[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/10/hillary-clinton-trump-supporters--bigoted-deplorables].

“[They are] decent people who want to see change inside their country and that’s fair enough,” he said on Thursday night.

“Many of the Trump positions are reasonable enough, and there will be tens if not hundreds of millions of Americans who will continue to support some of those positions.”

Since tapes surfaced of Trump bragging about sexually assaulting women, which he later denied, several alleged victims have come forward[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/donald-trump-sexual-assault-hillary-clinton-new-york-times]. The accusations include claims from beauty pageant contestants[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/12/donald-trump-miss-usa-dressing-room-2001-rehearsal] that Trump burst into their dressing rooms while they were naked.

Taking to Twitter on Friday morning, Abbott sought to head off the inevitable reaction to his comments, but instead prompted further rebuke.

“Before the Trump haters get too excited, some of his views are OTT but cutting tax and boosting defence are classic conservatism,” he wrote.

enltrBefore the Trump haters get too excited, some of his views are OTT but cutting tax and boosting defence are classic conservatism

— Tony Abbott (@TonyAbbottMHR) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/TonyAbbottMHR/status/786726224588439553] Related: Tony Abbott defends Trump’s policies as ‘reasonable enough’ and ‘classic conservatism’[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/14/tony-abbott-defends-trumps-policies-as-reasonable-enough-and-classic-conservatism]

block-time published-time 3.45am BST

Idaho Statesman endorses Hillary Clinton A famously right-leaning Idaho newspaper has endorsed Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton, acknowledging that while there was “low to medium enthusiasm for Clinton” on the paper’s editorial board, none of its members could bring themselves to endorse Donald Trump.

Citing issues relevant to Idaho voters ranging from education, **immigration** and rural issues to gun control and health care, the Idaho Statesman[http://www.idahostatesman.com/opinion/editorials/article108108882.html], the state’s most widely circulated newspaper, criticized Trump as insufficiently reliable on conservative issues, or unreliable, period.

On health care, for example, “We are confused by Trump’s approach - one day he is going to repeal it, the next he proposes single-payer alternative - but we believe Clinton will work to make the improvements that are absolutely needed.”

On more lofty qualifications like communication style and positivity, the Statesman’s editorial board compared Trump to a “spoiled child.”

“We live in the real world, with real problems that need real solutions,” the board concludes. “We need someone with pragmatic approaches that include patience and compassion. We need Hillary Clinton to be the next president.”

block-time published-time 3.32am BST

Sean Hannity, in his interview with three women who have accused former president Bill Clinton of sexual harassment, sexual assault and rape, inferred from their anecdotes on his show that they might fear for their lives if Hillary Clinton were to be elected president.

“There’s been so many things happen to so many people connected to the Clintons,” Paula Jones said. “She’s gonna rule the world.”

block-time published-time 3.24am BST

Fox News personality Sean Hannity, who has functioned as an arm of the Trump campaign’s communications strategy since the Republican primaries, held a special on his show tonight in which he interviewed a trio of women who have accused former president Bill Clinton, husband of Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton, of sexual impropriety.

Paula Jones, Kathy Shelton, and Juanita Broaddrick sit in the gallery before at the start of the presidential debate. Photograph: UPI / Barcroft Images Donald Trump was originally scheduled to appear on the show, but pulled out of the appearance after more than a dozen accusations of sexual harassment, assault and inappropriate behavior were reported in various media outlets, including the Guardian US[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/12/donald-trump-miss-usa-dressing-room-2001-rehearsal], surfaced on Wednesday night.

The women - Juanita Broaddrick, Paula Jones and Kathleen Willey - have long alleged that Bill Clinton committed acts of sexual impropriety toward them, ranging from sexual harassment to sexual assault to rape, and have made a similar appearance on Hannity’s eponymous show in the past.

“Back in 1978, when I was working for BC’s campaign for governor, I was raped by Bill Clinton. I was viciously raped,” Broaddrick told Hannity. “And three weeks later, at a fundraiser for him... Hillary personally threatened me.”

Clinton has long denied Broaddrick’s claims, and Broaddrick herself submitted an affidavit in 1997 denying that Clinton had made “any sexual advances” towards her.

Regarding the alleged threat, Broaddrick said that at a fundraiser for her husband’s gubernatorial campaign, Hillary Clinton “comes straight to me and says to me, big smile, very pleasant voice, says to me, ‘I’m Hillary, it’s so nice to meet you. I just want to thank you for everything you do for Bill’s campaign.’”

Clinton then allegedly grabbed her arm and pulled her closer, saying in “a very angry voice, a very low voice, and she pulls me close to her and she says, ‘Do you understand everything you do?’”

“I don’t know what she’s capable of.”

Jones, a former Arkansas state employee whose lawsuit over allegations of sexual harassment eventually lead to Bill Clinton’s impeachment by the House of Representatives, told Hannity that after she was invited to his room at an Arkansas hotel, Clinton propositioned her and exposed himself to her.

“And I said, ‘I’m not that kind of girl, and I need to walk by to my desk,’” Jones said. Clinton then allegedly told her: “You’re a smart girl - let’s keep this between us.’”

Clinton settled Jones’ lawsuit out of court for $850,000 without admission of guilt.

Kathleen Willey, a former White House volunteer aide, has alleged since 1998 that Bill Clinton had sexually assaulted her in the Oval Office in 1993.

“I headed back out the hall to go back to the door that led into the Oval Office, and he took my coffee cup from me and put it on a desk or table, and next thing I knew, he had me backed into a corner,” Willey told Hannity. “My mind was racing, and I thought, ‘should I slap him, or kick him, or knee him?’”

Willey then says that when Clinton was distracted, she then fled the Oval Office.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.30am BST

block-time published-time 3.09am BST

Report: Donald Trump called deaf Celebrity Apprentice 'retarded,' according to staffers Citing three staffers from the hit reality show The Apprentice that turned Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump into a star, The Daily Beast reports[http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/13/donald-trump-called-deaf-apprentice-marlee-matlin-retarded.html?via=desktop&source=twitter] that Trump “had a habit of insulting, mimicking, and demeaning” Oscar-winning actress Marlee Matlin, who is deaf.

“[Trump] would often equate that she was mentally retarded,” one staffer, who like the others was bound by an ironclad nondisclosure agreement, told The Daily Beast.

“[Trump] would make fun of her voice. It actually sounded a lot like what he did [to] the New York Times guy,” another staffer told The Daily Beast, in reference to an incident in which Trump mocked a disabled reporter[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2015/nov/26/donald-trump-appears-to-mock-disabled-reporter-video] during a rally. “Like, to make it seem like she was mentally not there? [It] sounded like he got a real kick out of it. It was really upsetting.”

“In the boardroom, he would talk to her like she was ‘special,’” another source said. “He took her deafness as a some kind of [mental] handicap.”

Matlin eventually placed second in the 2011 season of Celebrity Apprentice.

block-time published-time 3.00am BST

Indian governor and Republican vice presidential nominee Mike Pence was asked about self-image by a journalist quoting an 11-year-old girl, who said that when she heard words used by Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump, “they make me feel bad about myself.”

Pence’s response:

Well, I would say to any one of my kids and any children in this country that Donald trump and I are committed to a safer and more prosperous future for their family. The weak and feckless foreign policy that Hillary Clinton promises to continue has literally caused wider areas of the world to spin apart. The rise of terrorist threats that have inspired violence here at home, and we’ve seen an erosion of law and order in our streets. And we’ve seen opportunities and jobs evaporate and even leave Ohio and leave this country. I would say to any of our kids that if Donald Trump and I have the chance to serve in the White House that we’re going to work every day for a stronger, safer and more prosperous America.

So, in response to a young woman’s questions about Trump’s attitudes toward women, Pence responded with foreign policy, law and order, and lost manufacturing jobs.

What’re your thoughts?

block-time published-time 2.55am BST

Report: Donald Trump may have lied about donating to 9/11 charities A review of hundreds of pages of sealed records into charities aimed at benefitting those affected by the September 11 terrorist attacks by the New York City controller show that Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump may not have fulfilled a self-made obligation to donate $10,000 to a major 9/11 charity, according to the New York Daily News[http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/donald-trump-lied-donating-9-11-charities-article-1.2829908?cid=bitly].

“For the periods covered by the audits, we did not find any record of a donation from Trump himself or a Trump entity to either the Twin Towers Fund or the New York City Public/Private Initiative,” said New York City controller Scott Stringer in a statement to the Daily News.

According to the city’s records, there is no evidence that Trump gave to either the Twin Towers Fund or the New York City Public/Private Initiative through at least mid-2002, although the limits of the audit mean that the controller’s office is “unable to conclude definitively that Trump never gave to either of these two funds.”

Trump pledged $10,000 to the Twin Towers Fund as part of a donation initiative sparked by radio personality Howard Stern, according to the New York Daily News. A review of records from the Donald J. Trump Foundation, Trump’s personal charitable arm, shows that between 2001 and 2014, there was no donation listed to either the Twin Towers Fund or the NYC Public/Private Initiative.

block-time published-time 2.37am BST

Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/hillary-clinton] hinted at a possible landslide in the 8 November election, exhorting several thousand supporters at a San Francisco fundraiser on Thursday to help her “have the kind of victory we need” to serve as a “rebuke” to Donald Trump.

Hillary Clinton. Photograph: Andrew Harnik/AP On a day when Trump went on the attack – calling women who have accused him[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/12/donald-trump-women-new-sexual-harassment-stories] of inappropriate touching and kissing “ horrible, horrible liars[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/donald-trump-sexual-assault-hillary-clinton-new-york-times] ” – an increasingly confident Clinton encouraged her backers to double down on their efforts during the final weeks of the fractious 2016 campaign.

“Everything we care about is at risk,” she said. “If you can help me to have the kind of victory we need, that stands as a rebuke of all the bigotry and bullying we’ve seen, then together, together we will build the future that all of us, particularly the children of our country, deserve to have.”

Just one day earlier, the floodgates began to open up on Trump, as women accused him of putting his hands up a woman’s skirt[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/13/us/politics/donald-trump-women.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news] on an airplane, shoving his tongue down a reporter’s throat[http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-attacked-people-writer/] at his Mar-a-Lago property in Florida, bursting into[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/12/donald-trump-miss-usa-dressing-room-2001-rehearsal] beauty pageant dressing rooms and ogling the semi-clad contestants.

Not one but two incidents from 1992 surfaced in which the Republican standard bearer – then 46 – told young girls that he would be dating them[http://www.cbsnews.com/news/more-unearthed-footage-trump-says-of-10-year-old-i-am-going-to-be-dating-her-in-10-years/] in the not-too-distant future.

During the San Francisco[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/san-francisco] fundraiser, Clinton rued that “the disturbing stories just keep coming”.

“The whole world has heard Trump brag about how he mistreats women,” Clinton said. “But it’s more than just the way he degrades women, as horrible as that is. He has attacked **immigrants**, African Americans, Latinos, people with disabilities, POWs, Muslims and our military, which he’s called a disaster.

“There’s hardly any part of America that he has not targeted,” she continued. “Now, it makes you want to turn off the news. It makes you want to unplug the internet. Or just look at cat gifs. Believe me, I get it. In the last few weeks, I’ve watched a lot of cats do a lot of weird and interesting things.”

Related: Clinton: landslide victory would be a rebuke to Trump's 'bigotry and bullying'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/clinton-california-calls-landslide-victory-trump-bigotry-bullying]

block-time published-time 2.28am BST

This sounds familiar: after yesterday’s tape[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/13/trump-makes-inappropriate-remarks-about-10-year-old-girl-video] of a then 46-year-old Donald Trump saying of a young girl “I am going to be dating her in 10 years”, here’s a report from the same year (1992) in which Trump reportedly told two 14-year-olds: “In a couple of years, I’ll be dating you.”

enltrDonald Trump once told 14-year-old girls, 'In a couple of years, I'll be dating you' https://t.co/nslYeqp8dg[https://t.co/nslYeqp8dg] pic.twitter.com/ayDeW6nGNz[https://t.co/ayDeW6nGNz]

— L.A. Times Politics (@latimespolitics) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/latimespolitics/status/786686078417764352]block-time published-time 2.22am BST

Pence: I believe Trump And what of Mike Pence? Trump’s VP candidate was interviewed on Thursday evening and was pressed directly by WBNS’ Scott Light on the claims that have been made against his running mate.

Light: But governor, can you say with certainty that he has never done this: assaulted a woman. Yes or no?

Pence: I can say with certainty that Donald Trump has denied that any of those actions that have been alleged have ever occurred. And I believe him.

block-time published-time 1.59am BST

People magazine is standing by its reporter Natasha Stoynoff and her allegations that Donald Trump forcibly kissed her against her will, despite receiving a letter from Melania Trump’s lawyers[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/oct/13/trump-sexual-misconduct-allegations-election-clinton-obama?page=with:block-58001af2e4b01ffb8ffcb764#block-58001af2e4b01ffb8ffcb764], according to CNN:

enltrPeople Magazine spox confirms they received the letter from Melania Trump’s lawyer, and says they stand by their story.

— Dylan Byers (@DylanByers) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/DylanByers/status/786723878412226560]Jess Cagle, People’s editor-in-chief, earlier published a defence of the story, which you can read in full here[http://people.com/politics/people-editor-in-chief-why-we-printed-natasha-stoynoffs-story-of-being-assaulted-by-donald-trump/] :

We are grateful to Natasha Stoynoff for telling her story. Ms Stoynoff is a remarkable, ethical, honest and patriotic woman, and she has shared her story of being physically attacked by Donald Trump in 2005 because she felt it was her duty to make the public aware.

To assign any other motive is a disgusting, pathetic attempt to victimize her again. We stand steadfastly by her, and are proud to publish her clear, credible account of what happened.

block-time published-time 1.55am BST

Australia’s former prime minister Tony Abbott – he’s a Liberal, but not in the sense that Trump supporters might use the word – has praised the Republican nominee for his “classic conservative” policies, while conceding that “some of his views” might go a bit far:

enltrBefore the Trump haters get too excited, some of his views are OTT but cutting tax and boosting defence are classic conservatism

— Tony Abbott (@TonyAbbottMHR) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/TonyAbbottMHR/status/786726224588439553]Abbott’s successor, current PM Malcolm Turnbull, said today he wouldn’t get involved in the US elections. But on Monday he called Trump’s comments on grabbing women’s genitals “loathsome”:

They deserve the absolutely universal condemnation that they’ve received.

block-time published-time 1.44am BST

If the slew of Trump allegations and his responses are getting a bit much, Hillary Clinton shares your pain, she told a rally in San Francisco earlier on Thursday:

It makes you want to unplug the internet or just look at cat gifs.

Believe me, in the last few weeks, I have watched a lot of cats do a lot of weird and interesting things.

Clinton on Trump: ‘It makes you want to unplug the internet or just look at cat gifs’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/14/clinton-on-trump-it-makes-you-want-to-unplug-the-internet-or-just-look-at-cat-gifs-video]block-time published-time 1.38am BST

And back in Cincinnati, where Trump has just said there is no better or safer place to be than a Trump rally:

enltrNot fans of political correctness pic.twitter.com/0BnkwIGm2I[https://t.co/0BnkwIGm2I]

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/786695531389186048]block-time published-time 1.33am BST

Meanwhile:

enltrBarack Obama is LIGHTING INTO Republicans who just now figured out Trump is unacceptable. "You don't get points for that."

— Josh Barro (@jbarro) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/jbarro/status/786724358047817730]enltr"People who know better stood silently by." Can't argue with that.

— Josh Barro (@jbarro) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/jbarro/status/786724904687239171]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.45am BST

block-time published-time 1.28am BST

enltrTrump says if Clinton goes to China "if she goes down in Tiananmen Square, they'll just leave her there."

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/786724572598902784]block-time published-time 1.23am BST

Trump says “multi-generational terrorism … is embedded in our communities … all over our country”:

I am going to keep radical Islamic terrorists the hell out of our country!

To be strong, the US needs to be a rich country, Trump adds. Current trade deals are “terrible, horrible”, he says.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.46am BST

block-time published-time 1.18am BST

Donald Trump is speaking now in Cincinnati. He’s on to his favoured topics: Hillary Clinton should be locked up; he’ll appoint a special prosecutor to investigate her. He’s going to build a wall. And who is going to pay for it, he muses.

Mexico, the crowd helpfully supplies.

Apparently that is indeed the correct answer, Trump confirms.

enltrTrump: The Clintons are the past but we are all going to be together a very bright future

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) October 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/786722029512818693]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.46am BST

block-time published-time 1.08am BST

A lawyer for Billy Bush – caught on tape laughing along with Trump’s comments about groping women[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-leaked-recording-women] – has said Bush would have been fired if he had stood up to Trump, Associated Press reports:

An attorney for Billy Bush is defending the TV personality’s part in a lewd 2005 exchange with Donald Trump.

Marshall Grossman told the Hollywood Reporter[http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/billy-bush-lawyers-up-goes-938219] that Bush would have been fired from his then job with Access Hollywood if he’d been passive or told Trump to shut up.

Grossman noted Bush was a NBC Universal employee talking with NBC’s The Apprentice star.

The attorney, who was quoted by the trade paper online Thursday, declined comment when reached by phone.

Bush, who joined NBC News’ Today as a co-host in recent months, was suspended after the tape became public last week. NBC is said to be privately negotiating his exit.

Both NBC and Access Hollywood declined to comment on the report. A publicist for Bush didn’t immediately respond when asked for comment.

More on one of the previously lesser-known Bushes here:

Related: Who is Billy Bush: the man egging on Trump in tape about groping women[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/billy-bush-donald-trump-lewd-comments-tape-arianne-zucker]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.45am BST

block-time published-time 12.53am BST

Let’s hope People magazine is checking its Twitter notifications: it looks as if Melania Trump’s lawyers have sent that letter to the wrong postal address.

Mathew Katz, news editor at Time magazine (People is part of Time Inc), says the company moved almost a year ago:

enltrThis was mailed to the wrong address - we (Time Inc.) moved downtown in November https://t.co/yhXkx3mLPt[https://t.co/yhXkx3mLPt]

— Mathew Katz (@MathewKatz) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/MathewKatz/status/786709704017936384]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.46am BST

block-time published-time 12.41am BST

Melania Trump demands retraction from People magazine Melania Trump has now weighed in on the flurry of accusations that have hit her husband in recent days, posting to Twitter a letter apparently sent by her lawyers to People magazine, which published an account[http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-attacked-people-writer/] by reporter Natasha Stoynoff who said Donald Trump had kissed her against her will at his Mar-A-Lago estate a decade ago.

The letter – tweeted with only a “!” for comment – demands that People magazine remove and apologise for statements in the article that describe a meeting between Stoynoff and Melania Trump after the alleged groping took place:

Mrs Trump did not encounter Ms Stoynoff on the street, nor have any conversation with her. The two are not friends and were never friends or even friendly.

At the time in question, Mrs Trump would not have even recognized Ms Stoynoff if they had encountered one another on the street.

Your publication of the false statements is actionable and gives rise to claims of damages.

The letter gives the publisher 24 hours to respond:

Failure to do so will require Mrs Trump to consider her legal options.

undltr! @people[https://twitter.com/people] #NatashaStoynoff[https://twitter.com/hashtag/NatashaStoynoff?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/zXNm6boveP[https://t.co/zXNm6boveP]

— MELANIA TRUMP (@MELANIATRUMP) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/MELANIATRUMP/status/786707074096963585]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.45am BST

block-time published-time 11.38pm BST

Watch in full: Michelle Obama's speech in Manchester, New Hampshire Only hours old, this speech is being lauded as one of the most important addresses of this presidential campaign.

Give it a watch.

block-time published-time 11.28pm BST

Comedian Rob Delaney has raised tens of thousands of dollars in a bid to oust Republicans who tried to distance themselves from Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] following his recent scandals.

Rob Delaney. Photograph: Alecsandra Raluca Dragoi/Commissioned for The Guardian Delaney, star of the TV show Catastrophe, established a fund on ActBlue[https://secure.actblue.com/contribute/page/oct7fund], a fundraising site for the Democratic party, to raise money for opponents of Republicans who retracted their endorsement from Donald Trump in the past week after a recording of Trump making lewd remarks[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-leaked-recording-women] during an Access Hollywood appearance about groping women surfaced.

The fund has raised $68,294 from 1,176 donors in the four days since its launch.

“That’s what it took for you to disavow him?” Delaney said in a blogpost announcing the fund titled No Getting Off the Train[http://robdelaney.tumblr.com/post/151577393553/no-getting-off-the-train]. “Since I’m not a total moron, I know that what really happened is that it finally became clear to anyone who knows how elections work that Trump was definitely going to lose.

“So the same drive for self-preservation that led these turd balls to endorse him in the first place,” he continued, “has compelled them to pull the ripcord when Access Hollywood revealed their pussy tape and gave them the opportunity to pretend they care about women or something.”

Related: Rob Delaney raises almost $70,000 against former pro-Trump Republicans[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/rob-delaney-fundraising-donald-trump-republicans]

block-time published-time 11.07pm BST

Bill Clinton, responding to questions about allegations against Donald Trump: I think my job is to tell people why Hillary should be president. I think Michelle Obama just gave the best speech of the campaign. I have nothing else to say.

block-time published-time 11.03pm BST

Donald Trump in 1998: My 'record' with 'the women' is too 'controversial' to be president During a 1998 appearance on CNBC with host Chris Matthews, current Republican presidential nominee and then simple tycoon Donald Trump declared that if Bill Clinton’s personal pecadillos were enough to prompt impeachment proceedings, his own history with women was more than sufficient to keep him out of the White House.

“Can you imagine how controversial I’d be?” Trump said at the time.[http://www.nbcnews.com/nightly-news/video/decades-old-video-shows-trump-predict-his-campaign-problems-with-women-783048771685] “You think about him with the women. How about me with the women? Can you imagine?”

Trump was still confident that “his women” would be better received by the American public.

“Yeah. They might like my women better, too, you know?”

block-time published-time 10.37pm BST

Speaking in Columbus, Ohio, at Columbus Middle School in an address putatively geared towards millennial voters, beleaguered Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump told a raucous crowd

“Our government has been taken hostage by global special interests,” Trump said, reiterating a conspiratorial tone from earlier today that has many observers cautioning against dog-whistling.

Hillary Clinton, Trump said, is the apex of that corrupt enterprise.

“She is a criminal - she is a criminal,” Trump said.

block-time published-time 10.27pm BST

Speaking with CNN’s Anderson Cooper, Jessica Leeds, one of the dozen women who have come forward with allegations that Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump behaved sexually inappropriately towards them, detailed the incident on-air for the first time.

Leeds told the New York Times in a blockbuster story published last night that Trump fondled her and kissed her while they were seated next to each other in the first-class section of a plane in 1979, an allegation Trump has denied.

“The guy in the seat across the aisle could see,” Leeds told Cooper, but she held out hope for a stewardess to come to stop Trump’s advances. “But she never came.”

Asked where Trump kissed her, Leeds responded: “Wherever he could find a landing spot.”

block-time published-time 10.22pm BST

Donald Trump campaigns in Columbus, Ohio Watch it live here:

block-time published-time 10.03pm BST

Here’s the full text of comments Hillary Clinton gave the press regarding Donald Trump and cats:

“The whole world has heard Trump brag about how he mistreats women,” Clinton said. “And the disturbing stories just keep coming, but it’s more than just the way he degrades women, as horrible as that is. He has attacked **immigrants**, African Americans, Latinos, people with disabilities, POWs, Muslims, and our military, which he’s called a disaster. There’s hardly any part of America that he’s not targeted.”

“Now, it makes you want to turn off the news,” Clinton continued. “It makes you want to unplug the internet. Or just look at cat Gifs. I get it… I’ve watched a lot of cats do a lot of weird and interesting things. But we have a job to do and it’ll be good for people and for cats.”

block-time published-time 9.52pm BST

Hillary Clinton, on Donald Trump’s comments today: It makes you want to unplug the internet or just look at cat gifs.

block-time published-time 9.36pm BST

In other news relating to inappropriate sexual conduct by Republican politicians, a married Louisiana lawmaker has released a bizarre video in which he obliquely apologizes for sending explicit text messages to an underage teenage boy.

Mike Yenni, the president of Jefferson Parish, Louisiana - the state is organized by parishes, rather than counties - admitted to sending “improper texts” to a 17-year-old boy, promising voters that he was “smart enough to never repeat the past.”

“Last summer, I was old enough to know better, but I guess I was still young enough to do something stupid,” the 40-year-old politician said. “I chose to send improper texts to a young man. I made a bad decision. I regret my actions.”

“I apologize to the families involved and anyone I embarrassed, especially my own family,” Yenni continued.

block-time published-time 9.19pm BST

New accusation: Donald Trump allegedly looked up models' skirts Another woman has joined the chorus of people alleging that Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump has engaged in inappropriate sexual behavior towards women, after wave of claims about Trump’s alleged sexual transgressions emerged late last night.

According to a report from the Huffington Post[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/donald-trump-models-skirts-underwear\_us\_57ffd172e4b0162c043ac07f?a8zlrf6r], Lisa Boyne, Trump “paraded women in front of their table, looked under women’s skirts, and commented on whether they were wearing underwear” during a dinner in the mid-1990s:

According to Boyne, the group was seated at a semi-circular table, with the women in the middle and Trump and Casablancas flanking either end. The women couldn’t get out of their seats without one of the men getting up - which they refused to do. Instead, Boyne said, Trump insisted that the women walk across the table, allowing him to peer up their skirts while they did so. Trump ‘stuck his head right underneath their skirts,’ Boyne said, and commented on whether they were wearing underwear and what their genitalia looked like.

“It was the most offensive scene I’ve ever been a part of,” Boyne said. “I wanted to get the heck out of there.”

The Trump campaign denied the allegations in a statement to the Huffington Post, as it has denied all the allegations that have surfaced over the past 24 hours.

“Mr. Trump never heard of this woman and would never do that,” spokesperson Hope Hicks said.

block-time published-time 9.11pm BST

A new set of polls from NBC News[http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/first-read/poll-clinton-ahead-north-carolina-virtual-tie-ohio-n665981], the Wall Street Journal and Marist College show a neck-and-neck race for president in Ohio, and a narrow gap in North Carolina, with Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton trailing Republican rival Donald Trump by a single point in Ohio among likely voters, and leading him by four points in North Carolina.

In North Carolina, leads 45% to Trump’s 41%, with Libertarian nominee Gary Johnson trailing at 9%. In Ohio, Trump leads by one point, 42% to Clinton’s 41%, with Johnson at 9% and Green nominee Jill Stein at 4%.

block-time published-time 9.03pm BST

Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton is hyping Michelle Obama’s widely lauded speech to a group of supporter in New Hampshire earlier today:

enltrEvery minute of Michelle Obama’s 30 minute speech today is worth watching. https://t.co/ZlEX3YaU6a[https://t.co/ZlEX3YaU6a]

— Hillary Clinton (@HillaryClinton) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/786658289555832834]block-time published-time 8.52pm BST

Trump assault allegations aren't new. Why are we only listening now? When I first reported the story of Jill Harth’s sexual assault accusation[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/20/donald-trump-sexual-assault-allegations-jill-harth-interview] back in July, I didn’t get a single interview request to talk about it. The radio show I’d already been booked to go on engaged me only briefly, during an hour-long interview, on the matter of a woman accusing the Republican nominee of grabbing her crotch in a child’s bedroom at his Mar-a-Lago estate, before changing the subject.

Woman who sued Trump over alleged sexual assault speaks out[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/jul/20/jill-harth-donald-trump-sexual-assault-lawsuit-video]Even Democratic opposition organizations had made a calculation early in the campaign that it wasn’t strategic to get into personal matters with Trump. Because he had said so many damning things out in the open, it hardly seemed necessary to skewer his personal life.

Harth’s story is a complicated one and her character, like the characters of most living, breathing women, is also complex. But her accusation against Trump was always plausible. She has stood by it for 20 years. Now, finally, Harth’s account and those of women like her are not just gaining traction. They have been placed center stage in the campaign.

Trump addressed crowds on Thursday calling the most recent allegations “slander and libels... part of a concerted, coordinated, and vicious attack”, while Michelle Obama made a powerful speech[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/10/flotus-speech-229741] on what’s at stake this election. If we don’t vote against Trump, she said at a campaign event in Manchester, New Hampshire, “We’re telling our sons that it’s OK to humiliate women”. It’s not just the sexual assault allegations, she explained, though they cannot be marginalized. It’s about Trump’s entire world view. “What’s more, strong men,” Obama said, “men who are truly role models, don’t need to put down women to make themselves feel powerful”.

Women know this. Americans know this. Why then did it take Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] bragging about sexual assault on video for the country to take the claims seriously?

This is an issue that’s come up before this year, and not just on the presidential campaign trail. We didn’t need one woman to come forward against Bill Cosby in order to get society’s attention – we didn’t even need 10 of them to. We needed male comedian Hannibal Buress to make a joke about it. For a lone woman to be heard she seems to require special status. Numerous women[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/aug/08/roger-ailes-sexual-harassment-accusations-fox-tv-producer] have now come out to accuse Roger Ailes, former Fox boss – and current Trump surrogate – of sexual harassment. But they were only empowered to do so after one of the country’s most famous female anchors filed a lawsuit[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/06/fox-news-gretchen-carlson-roger-ailes-sexual-harassment].

Related: Trump assault allegations aren't new. Why are we only listening now? | Lucia Graves[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/13/donald-trump-assault-allegations-women-jill-harth]

block-time published-time 8.43pm BST

Republican National Committee chair Reince Priebus is living up to his promise to continue supporting Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump in the face of a tsunami of crises that threatens to drown every down-ballot Republican in the country.

In an email under the subject line “Attention required:”, Priebus writes to supporters of the Republican Party that “the future of our great country... is at stake in this election. The party that wins the White House, and controls the Senate and the House will determine the course of our nation, from our National Security, to the balance of the Supreme Court, to the future our kids and grandkids will live – it is all on the line just 26 days from now.”

Without naming Trump, Priebus encourages voters to sign up for the Republican National Committee’s “Voter Target Survey” to ensure that the party is “targeting the right people.”

The fact that Priebus is sending out an email asking for survey responses to ensure adequate voter targeting less than four weeks before the general election is a story in and of itself, considering that the RNC held a presser with reporters last fall in which Priebus described the party’s data-gathering and voter-turnout operations as the most sophisticated in Republican history.

No moment like the last moment!

block-time published-time 8.27pm BST

Bernie Sanders has set the bar low, and implies that Donald Trump still can’t clear it:

enltrWhen you run for president there has got to be at least a threshold of decency.

— Bernie Sanders (@BernieSanders) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/BernieSanders/status/786639976155021312]block-time published-time 8.26pm BST

People Magazine has reiterated its support for a writer who penned a disturbing story[http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-attacked-people-writer/] in which she accused Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump of forcing her against a wall and “forc[ed] his tongue down my throat,” dismissing Trump’s attacks against the report.

“Donald Trump on Thursday spoke out against claims that he has assaulted women by defiantly attacking his accusers and the media outlets who printed their stories,” People editor in chief Jess Cagle wrote in a piece titled Why We Printed Natasha Stoynoff’s Story of Being Assaulted by Donald Trump.

“At a raucous rally in Florida, the GOP nominee denied all of the allegations, saying: ‘These vicious claims of inappropriate conduct about me with women are totally and absolutely false,’” Cagle continued. “He also attacked media reports of the alleged abuse, including one by People writer Natasha Stoynoff, as ‘lies.’ But People stands by Stoynoff’s story of being assaulted by Trump in 2005 while on assignment for the magazine.”

Earlier today, Cagle issued a statement underscoring her faith in the veracity of Stoynoff’s story, calling her “a remarkable, ethical, honest and patriotic woman.”

block-time published-time 8.20pm BST

Trump blames sexual assault claims on collusion between Clinton and media But with allegations to the contrary casting an ever-growing shadow over the campaign, Trump instead sought to dismiss the accusations as a vast establishment conspiracy, orchestrated by his opponent Hillary Clinton “as part of a concerted, coordinated and vicious attack”.

“There is nothing the political establishment will not do, no lie they won’t tell to hold their prestige and power at your expense and that’s what’s happening,” he told a rally in Florida. “The establishment has trillions of dollars at stake in this election.”

Trump denies ‘vicious’ sexual misconduct allegations[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/13/donald-trump-sexual-allegations-hillary-clinton-video]Read further:

Related: Trump blames sexual assault claims on collusion between Clinton and media[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/donald-trump-sexual-assault-hillary-clinton-new-york-times]

block-time published-time 7.53pm BST

Trump camp: Serbia story a hoax The Trump campaign knocks down reports that he opposed the 1990s Nato bombing of Serbian forces, saying Trump never spoke to the Serbian weekly where the remarks were said to appear. A Trump aide says she was not a go-between for Trump:

“Mr. Trump never gave an interview to the Serbian weekly magazine Nedeljnikas as falsely reported by the discredited Newsweek, nor was such an interview conducted through our Indiana State Director. This was a hoax and we look forward to receiving a formal retraction and apology from all involved.”– Jason Miller, Senior Communications Advisor

”Regarding the article about a media interview with a Serbian politician and Mr. Trump via my email, this is completely false. I have never served as a conduit to interview Mr. Trump for anyone.” - Suzie Jaworowski, Indiana State Director

block-time published-time 7.39pm BST

Here’s video of Michelle Obama’s powerful rebuke to Donald Trump’s “sexually predatory behavior,” in her phrase:

Michelle Obama’s powerful rebuke to Trump’s ‘predatory behavior’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/13/michelle-obama-speech-donald-trump-sexual-assault-video]enltr. @FLOTUS[https://twitter.com/FLOTUS], I'm in awe. Thanks for putting into words what's in so many of our hearts. -H

— Hillary Clinton (@HillaryClinton) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/786638992741638144]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.50pm BST

block-time published-time 7.31pm BST

Trump Jr on sex assault claims: 'I've never heard anything dumber' Donald Trump Jr. reacted on a North Carolina radio station to new sex assault claims against his father described in the New York Times and elsewhere, CNN[http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/13/politics/trump-jr-on-new-york-times-report/index.html] reports:

“Come on guys, it’s so ridiculous, I’ve never heard anything dumber in my life. All of sudden, two, three weeks before election, someone comes out — it’s not like he hasn’t been in the public eye for 30 years,” Trump Jr. said on Charlotte Morning News on WBT[http://wbt.com/] radio. “I think it’s probably a typical New York Times smear campaign. “

enltrDonald Jr on hot mic tape: "I've had conversations like that with plenty of people. two guys, amongst themselves. makes him a normal person"

— John Harwood (@JohnJHarwood) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/JohnJHarwood/status/786628572450525185]enltrTo Michelle Obama's point about how all this is also bad for boys https://t.co/UYSVqZDMRx[https://t.co/UYSVqZDMRx]

— EricaGrieder (@EricaGrieder) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/EricaGrieder/status/786636530689323008]enltrWhy ONLY NOW is Donald Trump Jr. deleting this 5 year old tweet? pic.twitter.com/j9GnR8NEYZ[https://t.co/j9GnR8NEYZ]

— southpaw (@nycsouthpaw) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/nycsouthpaw/status/786632011121209344]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.37pm BST

block-time published-time 7.22pm BST

Bill Clinton has a Bob Dylan sculpture. Or the foundation does, or something.

enltrCongrats @bobdylan[https://twitter.com/bobdylan] on a well-deserved Nobel for wise, powerful lyrics that touched minds & hearts. And TY for this amazing orig. sculpture! pic.twitter.com/YdhpIMHiDh[https://t.co/YdhpIMHiDh]

— Bill Clinton (@billclinton) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/billclinton/status/786632730553544704]block-time published-time 7.02pm BST

A Canadian colleague has characterized this as “the most Canadian thing ever,” and we can’t say we disagree. In our time of need, it’s a video of Canadians telling USA people they love us:

You’re next, Britain? We’re waiting.

(h/t @ruths[https://twitter.com/ruths?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] )

block-time published-time 6.58pm BST

“Take a look, you look at her, look at her words, you tell me what you think. I don’t think so,” Trump said of Natasha Stoynoff, who wrote the “ attacked by Trump[http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-attacked-people-writer/] ” story for People.

enltrTrump implies that a woman is not worthy of his unwanted sexual advances because of her looks, minutes after @FLOTUS[https://twitter.com/FLOTUS] delivered this: pic.twitter.com/K4wDyUnOm5[https://t.co/K4wDyUnOm5]

— Jacqueline Alemany (@JaxAlemany) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/JaxAlemany/status/786625219377045504]enltr"Our Independence Day is at hand, and it arrives finally on November 8th," Trump says, finishing a blistering speech here in FL.

— Ali Vitali (@alivitali) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/alivitali/status/786626329982672896]block-time published-time 6.51pm BST

Trump and his family did the Howard Stern show some years ago. Here’s Trump sitting next to daughter Ivanka and copping to being a sexual predator at which everyone laughs:

enltrThe full interview is here: https://t.co/IkSyQNg4sJ[https://t.co/IkSyQNg4sJ]

— Sid Verma (@\_SidVerma) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/\_SidVerma/status/786618022232399872]block-time published-time 6.47pm BST

Trump: 'I take all these slings and arrows gladly for you' Trump:

They knew they would stop at nothing to try to stop me. But I never knew that it would be this vile... Nevertheless, I take all these slings and arrows gladly for you. I take them for our movement.

Trump then elaborates on his conspiracy theory that Bill Clinton planned to meet with attorney general Loretta Lynch on her airplane on an Arizona tarmac.

“He was never there to play golf, folks. Don’t be foolish,” Trump says.

(If Clinton wanted a secret meeting with Lynch, would he have done it in public?)

I believe they talked about her remaining in her position under a crooked Hillary Clinton administration. That’s what I believe. That’s what I believe folks. And I think that’s what most people in this room believe.

Trump said he had a nice life and he could have kept living it “instead of going through this absolute horror show of lies.”

Now I’m being punished for leaving the special club and revealing to you the terrible things that are going on with this country. Because I used to be part of the club, I’m the only one that can fix it.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.49pm BST

block-time published-time 6.39pm BST

Times to Trump: You can't sue us for printing stuff you brag about Trump has just said he’s preparing a lawsuit against the New York Times for its reporting on women who have accused him of unwanted touching. Trump’s lawyer sent the Times a letter telling them to take the story down.

Here’s a letter from the New York Times’ lawyer replying to Trump’s lawyer.

“We decline to do so,” the letter says. “Nothing in our article has had the slightest effect on the reputation that Mr Trump, through his own words and actions, has already created for himself.”

The letter also says, “It would have been a disservice not just to our readers but to democracy itself to silence their voices.”

enltrDavid McCraw, NYT lawyer, responds to Trump’s letter. pic.twitter.com/ziPBCIjkvP[https://t.co/ziPBCIjkvP]

— Sydney Ember (@melbournecoal) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/melbournecoal/status/786620067370991616](thx @bencjacobs)

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.44pm BST

block-time published-time 6.32pm BST

Trump says he’s the victim of “the single biggest pile-on in history”.

The great editors of the past... ladies and gentlemen, are spinning in their graves.

“I will not allow the Clinton team to turn our campaign into a discussion of their lies,” Trump says, after like a half hour of talking about it.

These attacks are orchestrated by the Clintons and their media allies. The only thing Hillary Clinton has going for herself is the press... what they say is false and slanderous in virtually every respect.

Trump says he has polls showing him in a dead heat with Clinton. Then quotes Rasmussen[http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\_content/politics/elections/election\_2016/white\_house\_watch\_oct13] (he is two points ahead in that poll).

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.37pm BST

block-time published-time 6.28pm BST

Trump calls alleged victims 'horrible, horrible liars' Trump’s now talking about the People magazine writer’s account[http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-attacked-people-writer/] :

Why wasn’t it part of the story that appeared 12 years ago? Why wasn’t it part of the story... it would’ve been one of the biggest stories of the year... Think of it, [she’s doing this story] and she said I made inappropriate advances. And by the way, the area is a public, people...

Of the author:

Take a look, you look at her, look at her words, you tell me what you think. I don’t think so.

These people are horrible people. They’re horrible, horrible liars.

“Why wasn’t in the piece? Biggest story of the year,” Trump says.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.31pm BST

block-time published-time 6.24pm BST

Trump calls assault claims 'totally and absolutely false' Trump now says he’s the victim of a concerted, coordinated and vicious attack.

“It’s not coincidence that these attacks come at the exact same moment... as Wikileaks exposes documents” he says.

“These vicious claims about me of inappropriate conduct with women are totally and absolutely false, and the Clintons know it. These claims are all fabricated, they’re pure fiction and they’re outright lies.”

Trump then attacks his alleged victims:

You take a look at these people, you study these people and you’ll understand.

He also calls the claims “preposterous” and “ludicrous.”

He says he has “substantial evidence” that he will reveal in the future to disprove the claims. “Even a simple investigation would have shown that these were nothing more than false smears.”

Trump says he’s preparing a lawsuit against the New York Times.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.25pm BST

block-time published-time 6.21pm BST

Trump says nation will not survive if he loses This is a struggle for the survival of our nation, believe me, and this will be our last chance to save it.

Trump says the election will reveal whether the country is a democracy or whether the levers of power “are in fact controlled by a small band of global interests rigging the system. This is reality, you know it, I know it...”

Trump sounds distant in this speech. He’s talking about the invisible global network of elites and what they will do if you take them on.

“They will attack you, they will slander you, they will seek to destroy... everything about you including your reputation. They will lie, lie, lie... the Clintons are criminals, remember that. They’re criminals.

block-time published-time 6.16pm BST

Trump says the global economy will explode unless he’s elected president. Then he makes a newish claim about Clinton, that she operates in secret “in order to enrich these global financial powers.” Trump says he read it in Wikileaks.

Lock her up! chants the crowd.

“Honestly, she should be locked up,” Trump says.

Each day he seems to go farther into Infowars territory.

block-time published-time 6.12pm BST

What did you think of Michelle Obama’s speech? Watch it here:

enltrIf you missed FLOTUS speech just now, you can watch replay here. https://t.co/JSJwvLLHgA[https://t.co/JSJwvLLHgA]

— Jesse Ferguson (@JesseFFerguson) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/JesseFFerguson/status/786615214376706048]enltrBest speech of FLOTUS’s career, equal to her 2016 convention speech.

— laura olin (@lauraolin) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/lauraolin/status/786612806095364096]enltrTruly honored Michelle Obama is our First Lady.

Now listen to her & get involved. https://t.co/Lr7sJEQ2lG[https://t.co/Lr7sJEQ2lG]

— Lily Adams (@adamslily) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/adamslily/status/786612730061058049]enltr. @FLOTUS[https://twitter.com/FLOTUS] : Trump's comments about women have "shaken me to my core in a way that I couldn't have predicted." https://t.co/ir3KrSplho[https://t.co/ir3KrSplho]

— Kyle Griffin (@kylegriffin1) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/kylegriffin1/status/786609030399754240]enltr. @FLOTUS[https://twitter.com/FLOTUS] on Trump: "This is not normal. This is not politics as usual. This is disgraceful. It is intolerable." https://t.co/NiL6b68w2T[https://t.co/NiL6b68w2T]

— Kyle Griffin (@kylegriffin1) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/kylegriffin1/status/786611804126445569]enltrMichelle Obama: If Trump is elected "We're telling our sons it's ok to humiliate women." https://t.co/8YTDI3Gswr[https://t.co/8YTDI3Gswr] https://t.co/23YSJOmk2f[https://t.co/23YSJOmk2f]

— CNN Newsroom (@CNNnewsroom) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/CNNnewsroom/status/786611803434418176]block-time published-time 6.08pm BST

Here now is Trump. This will be... different.

block-time published-time 6.01pm BST

The first lady is winding toward her finish. A very powerful advancement of the message that Trump treats women despicably, is hurting people and the country by doing so and must not be elected:

enltrBREAKING: First Lady on Trump: This was a powerful individual speaking openly about "sexually predatory behavior." https://t.co/UHJcVKRNiY[https://t.co/UHJcVKRNiY]

— NBC Nightly News (@NBCNightlyNews) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/NBCNightlyNews/status/786610600268791809]block-time published-time 5.58pm BST

Meanwhile, in Trumpland:

enltrReporter kicked out of Trump meeting ahead of speech.

REPORTER: "Mr. Trump, can you deny, have you ever touched...?"

TRUMP: "Sleazebag." pic.twitter.com/j3TC2HN1oU[https://t.co/j3TC2HN1oU]

— JM Rieger (@RiegerReport) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/RiegerReport/status/786609704306737152]block-time published-time 5.57pm BST

Michelle Obama: electing Trump would set bad example 'for entire world' Obama:

If any of us raised a daughter like Hillary Clinton, we would be so proud... in this election, if we turn away from her, if we just stand by and let her opponent be elected, then what are we telling our children about what values they should hold.

If “we” elect Trump, Obama tells the crowd, “we would be telling our children that “everything they’re seeing and hearing is perfectly OK. We are validating it.... we’re telling our sons that it’s OK to humiliate women. We’re telling our daughters that this is how they’re treated.”

She says “we won’t just be setting a bad example for our kids, but for the entire world.”

Obama says that Trump “routinely degrades women, brags about sexually assaulting women.”

Obama says it’s time to show that “enough is enough and we do not tolerate this kind of behavior in this country.”

Then she tells New Hampshire women to vote:

In 2012 women’s votes were the difference between Barack winning and losing... back in 2012 Barack won New Hampshire by about 40,000 votes, which sounds like a lot, but... the difference was just 66 votes per precinct.

block-time published-time 5.51pm BST

The first lady is not stopping. She says that Hillary Clinton is the most qualified presidential nominee ever “and yes, she happens to be a woman.”

“Hillary Clinton has never quit on anything in her life.”

block-time published-time 5.47pm BST

Michelle Obama: Trump's comments 'disgraceful, intolerable' Michelle Obama is delivering an extraordinary critique of Trump’s attack on women.

Maybe we just don’t want to believe that there are still people out there who think so little of us as women.

New Hampshire, be clear. This is not normal. This is not politics as usual. This is disgraceful. It is intolerable....

This is not about politics. This is about right and wrong.

We simply can’t expose our children to this, not for another minute, and not for four years....

Enough is enough. This has got to stop right now.

What messages are our little girls hearing?

block-time published-time 5.43pm BST

Michelle Obama: Trump engaged in 'sexually predatorial behavior' Michelle Obama says “we have heard a candidate talking about sexually assaulting women.”

She says she thinks about Trump’s comments all the time, and that they make her shake.

This was not just a lewd conversation... this was a powerful individual speaking freely about sexually predatorial behavior...

It’s one of countless examples of how he has treated women his whole life...

I feel it so personally, and I’m sure that many of you do too, particularly women...

The belief that you can do anything you want to a woman? It’s cruel, it’s frightening, and the truth is it hurts. It hurts.

block-time published-time 5.37pm BST

Here now is Michelle Obama in Manchester, New Hampshire, speaking for Clinton:

block-time published-time 5.32pm BST

The People editor has released a statement defending journalist Natasha Stoynoff, the author of Physically Attacked by Donald Trump – a PEOPLE Writer’s Own Harrowing Story[http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-attacked-people-writer/] :

enltrStatement from Jess Cagle, Editor in Chief of PEOPLE (via @jdisis[https://twitter.com/jdisis] ) pic.twitter.com/DQfPOCfaxv[https://t.co/DQfPOCfaxv]

— Dylan Byers (@DylanByers) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/DylanByers/status/786601829719154688]block-time published-time 5.19pm BST

Comments: we’ve now turned them on. Sorry for their having been off. And thanks very much to reader Alex C for pointing it out.

block-time published-time 5.18pm BST

Trump employees don't donate much to campaign Reuters has analysed the donation records of tens of thousands of Trump employees and determined “only a dozen” donated more than $200:

Kerry Woolard, the 37-year-old manager of Trump Winery in Charlottesville, Virginia, went online in June and made her first political contribution: A $250 donation to the campaign of her boss, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump.

Woolard’s donation was unusual.

Only a dozen of an estimated 22,450 people employed at Trump’s companies have donated more than $200 to the celebrity businessman’s bid for the U.S. presidency, a Reuters review of federal campaign finance records through August shows. Those who gave less to either Trump’s campaign or his joint fundraising committees would not have shown up in the review.

The contributors, including an office cleaner, a golf course groundskeeper, a bartender and an attorney, have given $5,298 to Trump’s campaign, a fraction of the $112 million Trump’s political operation has received from donors and joint fundraisers.

An employee at Trump enterprises gave $275 to the campaign of her employer’s Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton. A 13th Trump employee, a lawyer at the Trump Organization, contributed to a Trump Super PAC, giving $1,000.

“Honestly, I wish I could do more,” said Woolard, who addressed the Republican national convention in July and has attended private dinners with Trump, his wife Melania, and their son, Barron. “He is an amazing boss, has been a great leader and I believe would do a great job for our country.”

block-time published-time 4.57pm BST

Besweatered undecided Ken Bone is cashing in on his debate fame, per his Twitter feed:

enltrEveryone wants to know if I've decided... and I have. uberSELECT helps you ride in style like me https://t.co/HyOS8z9SRd[https://t.co/HyOS8z9SRd]

— Ken Bone (@kenbone18) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/kenbone18/status/786594567999066112]block-time published-time 4.54pm BST

This is strange? But campaigning presents many scheduling conflicts.

enltr. @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] just canceled his interview with Sean Hannity, scheduled to air tonight, per @FoxNews[https://twitter.com/FoxNews] executive.

— Peter Alexander (@PeterAlexander) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/PeterAlexander/status/786593402687152129]CNN’s Brian Stelter reports:

On Thursday morning, he canceled on his friend Sean Hannity, a Fox News spokeswoman said. He had been scheduled to appear on Hannity’s Fox News show Thursday night. He backed out around 11:30 a.m. ET.

Hannity is still set to interview the four Clinton critics who appeared with Trump at a pre-debate photo op on Sunday: Kathy Shelton, Paula Jones, Kathleen Willey, and Juanita Broaddrick.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.55pm BST

block-time published-time 4.50pm BST

Donald Trump’s media pool reports that he’s en route to his midday West Palm Beach rally. Here’s a live video stream in case you want to watch the warmup acts, which sound terrible:

enltrOne of Trump's warm up acts just knocked Clinton for using private email "and blaming it on a black guy, Colin Powell?"

— Jose A. DelReal (@jdelreal) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/jdelreal/status/786593650788610048] block-time published-time 4.41pm BST

Only 46 days till the election!

enltrThe best of last night's late-night TV: Go out and vote on Nov. 28 https://t.co/6s69SayzBB[https://t.co/6s69SayzBB] pic.twitter.com/pBApCKCch7[https://t.co/pBApCKCch7]

— POLITICO (@politico) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/politico/status/786591201013145600]block-time published-time 4.36pm BST

Notice : An earlier block incorrectly attributed opposition to the 1990s Nato bombing of Serbian forces to Donald Trump, when in fact it was a Trump adviser who registered that view with a Serbian magazine, and not the candidate. The story was originally reported by Newsweek[http://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-apologises-serbia-yugoslavia-bombing-509417?rx=us]. The previous block in this blog has been updated.

The Trump campaign has not replied to a request for comment.

Update: Trump campaign says Syria story a hoax[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/oct/13/trump-sexual-misconduct-allegations-election-clinton-obama?page=with:block-57ffd780e4b01601238957e2#block-57ffd780e4b01601238957e2].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.54pm BST

block-time published-time 4.27pm BST

And here’s the latest Politics for Humans podcast, in which the Guardian’s Sabrina Siddiqui puts political topics in people terms:

enltrNEW Politics for Humans: @FareedZakaria[https://twitter.com/FareedZakaria] & Amb. Ronald Neumann join me to discuss the global view on this election https://t.co/Ror6vlsKOH[https://t.co/Ror6vlsKOH]

— Sabrina Siddiqui (@SabrinaSiddiqui) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/SabrinaSiddiqui/status/786588048595320832]block-time published-time 4.23pm BST

Here’s Barack Obama on when Dylan was awarded a medal of honor:

enltrOn Bob Dylan

by Barack Obama pic.twitter.com/o0lC4V5Bsv[https://t.co/o0lC4V5Bsv]

— Edward Tufte (@EdwardTufte) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/EdwardTufte/status/786542194874212352]block-time published-time 4.12pm BST

Trump campaign chair on Bill Clinton: 'we're going to turn him into Bill Cosby' A senior Trump adviser tells Bloomberg the campaign will soon bring forward new accusers: “Women are coming to us who have been groped or sexually abused by Bill Clinton.” Bloomberg reports[http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-10-12/trump-takes-a-back-to-the-future-focus-on-bill-clinton-s-women] :

Trump is considering featuring these women at campaign rallies to “give witness to what Hillary Clinton actually did.”...

On Thursday night, the Trump campaign will begin a new media blitz, his advisers say, with Broaddrick, Willey, and Jones appearing together on a one-hour Fox News special hosted by Sean Hannity. Additional interviews will follow.

The move to further amplify the campaign’s focus on Bill Clinton’s past relationships with women comes amid fresh allegations of Trump’s misbehavior...

“She’s led a program of victim intimidation,” [Trump campaign CEO Stephen] Bannon told Trump staffers, according to two advisers who were present. “This has nothing to do with consensual sexual affairs and infidelities. This is Bill. We’re going to turn him into Bill Cosby.”

Stephen Bannon in August. Photograph: Carlo Allegri/Reuters block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.20pm BST

block-time published-time 4.09pm BST

Here’s the latest edition of Anywhere but Washington, in which Paul Lewis explores the power of the Republican presidential nominee’s message in the poorest county of West Virginia:

Why the poorest county in West Virginia has faith in Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/12/west-virginia-donald-trump-supporters-mcdowell-county-poverty-video]block-time published-time 4.04pm BST

Conservative radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh warned his listeners against the “rape police” on Wednesday, and mocked the concept of sexual consent.

Limbaugh said Trump’s critics on the left were being hypocritical:

“You can do anything, the left will promote and understand and tolerate anything, as long as there is one element. Do you know what it is? Consent,” Limbaugh said, in a clip published by Media Matters[http://mediamatters.org/video/2016/05/13/rush-limbaugh-jokes-about-legalizing-rape/210421]. “If there is consent on both or all three or all four, however many are involved in the sex act, it’s perfectly fine. Whatever it is. But if the left ever senses and smells that there’s no consent in part of the equation then here come the rape police.”

Many took to social media to explain to Limbaugh that the rape police were in fact just the police.

enltrInfluential US radio host rants against consent in sex (ie, for rape). Watch out for "rape police" (ie, police) https://t.co/x5RMSkGPLu[https://t.co/x5RMSkGPLu] pic.twitter.com/zxF4TjwBl9[https://t.co/zxF4TjwBl9]

— Andrew Stroehlein (@astroehlein) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/astroehlein/status/786463594498158592]enltrSomeone should explain to Rush Limbaugh that "the rape police" are just, you know, the police. https://t.co/2EeTiKEMoq[https://t.co/2EeTiKEMoq]

— The Rude Pundit (@rudepundit) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/rudepundit/status/786415234768441344]Limbaugh hosts one of the country’s most popular talk radio shows and draws millions of listeners daily.

He has a history of flippant comments about rape including saying, “no means yes if you know how to spot it”[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/09/15/rush-limbaugh-consent\_n\_5824582.html] and that women on college campuses were imagining they were being raped[http://mediamatters.org/video/2016/10/10/limbaugh-gender-relations-are-so-politicized-college-women-write-fake-stories-about-being-raped/213715].

block-time published-time 4.00pm BST

NJ.com has further[http://www.nj.com/bergen/index.ssf/2016/10/judge\_rules\_christie\_could\_be\_charged\_with\_officia.html] on the official misconduct complaint against Christie:

A judge in Bergen County ruled Thursday morning that there is enough probable cause for an official misconduct complaint against Gov. Chris Christie to move forward in connection with the governor’s alleged role in the Bridgegate scandal.

Bill Brennan, a retired Teaneck firefighter and citizen activist, filed the complaint against Christie. The September 2013 incident that became known as Bridgegate caused significant traffic issues over a four-day span[http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2016/09/on\_the\_road\_to\_bridgegate\_mileposts\_of\_the\_investi.html] in the Fort Lee area. The closures sparked a 16-month federal investigation.

Bergen County Superior Court Judge Roy McGeady ruled that there was probable cause for Brennan’s complaint to move forward....

McGeady said the case would now go to the Bergen County Prosecutor’s Office. The prosecutor, Gurbir S. Grewal, a Christie appointee, would probably recuse himself, McGeady said.

The audience in his court room, mostly there for minor criminal violations, applauded after he ruled.

block-time published-time 3.42pm BST

Trump, one year ago: bombing Serbs was 'OK' One year ago today, the Guardian’s Ben Jacobs interviewed Trump about foreign policy.

Trump staked out the exact opposite position on the Kosovo intervention from the one his campaign advisor took in an interview revealed today. Ben wrote at the time:

The US needs to focus on fixing itself rather than on “nation-building” abroad, Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] told the Guardianin an exclusive interview. The Republican presidential frontrunner then gave two examples of exceptions to his philosophy: in Kosovo in the 1990s, and in the conflict against Isis today. [...]

Asked about Bill Clinton’s support for intervention in Kosovo in order to prevent ethnic cleansing in the 1990s, however, Trump allowed: “It’s OK, sure.”

Donald Trump talks to the Guardian about Syria and his worldview[https://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2015/oct/13/donald-trump-putin-assad-humanitarian-foreign-policy-video] Related: The Donald Trump doctrine: 'Assad is bad' but US must stop 'nation-building'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/oct/13/donald-trump-foreign-policy-doctrine-nation-building]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.33pm BST

block-time published-time 3.31pm BST

Carson: allegations against Trump 'a bunch of crap' Asked on Fox and Friends about the numerous new allegations against Donald Trump of unwanted touching, former presidential candidate and stalwart if unpredictable Trump defender Ben Carson says the story is “a bunch of crap” cooked up by the media:

There’s an atmosphere that’s been created by the New York Times and others that says look, if you’re willing to come out and say something, we’ll give you fame, we’ll give you whatever you need… what a bunch of crap. The people have to see through this because again the train is going off the cliff. Our country is going off the cliff financially and so many other ways. If we don’t deal with this stuff now, our children are completely going to be disadvantaged and destroyed, their future will be destroyed.”

Onstage at the Republican national convention. Photograph: ddp USA/REX/Shutterstock block-time published-time 3.26pm BST

Judge summons Christie Last month, a witness in a criminal case concerning the closure of traffic lanes on the George Washington Bridge as an act of political retribution testified that New Jersey governor Chris Christie’s office had been informed of the plan, despite Christie’s denials of any knowledge of the plot.

Christie now faces a new inquiry for official misconduct in the incident:

enltrURGENT BREAKING: NJ judge issues Probable Cause criminal summons vs. @GovChristie[https://twitter.com/GovChristie] for official misconduct in office #Bridgegate[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Bridgegate?src=hash] @NBCNewYork[https://twitter.com/NBCNewYork] pic.twitter.com/VuqJursEfx[https://t.co/VuqJursEfx]

— Brian Thompson (@brian4NY) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/brian4NY/status/786567420861419520]block-time published-time 3.22pm BST

Correction : Comments attributed to Trump in an earlier version of this block were not made by Trump but by Trump campaign senior adviser Suzanne Ryder Jaworowski, Newsweek reports.

Jaworowski told a Serbian magazine that the US participation in the 1995 and 1999 Nato bombing of Serbian forces was “a big mistake,” in comments originally attributed to Trump. Newsweek has the story[http://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-apologises-serbia-yugoslavia-bombing-509417?rx=us].

Update: Trump campaign says Syria story a hoax[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/oct/13/trump-sexual-misconduct-allegations-election-clinton-obama?page=with:block-57ffd780e4b01601238957e2#block-57ffd780e4b01601238957e2].

“The bombing of Serbs, who were our allies in both world wars, was a big mistake,” the Serbian weekly magazine Nedeljnik[http://www.nedeljnik.rs/nedeljnik/portalnews/donald-tramp-ekskluzivno-za-nedeljnik-izvinjavam-se-srbiji-1/]quoted the Trump campaign as saying. “Serbians are very good people. Unfortunately, the Clinton administration caused them a lot of harm, but also throughout the Balkans, which they made a mess out of.”

The 1995 bombing followed the massacre of Bosnian Muslims at Srebenica and the Markale market massacres.

It’s estimated that more than 8,000 Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) were rounded up by soldiers from the Republika Srpska and killed in and around the town of Srebrenica[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/04/how-britain-and-us-abandoned-srebrenica-massacre-1995]. Deemed an act of genocide, it was a war crime that came to symbolise the ugliness of the ethnic disputes that set the Balkans aflame in the 1990s.

You can read more about Srebenica here[https://www.theguardian.com/world/srebrenica-massacre].

Related: The Bosnian war baby still searching for answers, 20 years on[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/12/alen-muhic-bosnia-war-baby]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.55pm BST

block-time published-time 3.01pm BST

Where the candidates are today Michelle Obama will participate in a campaign organizing event in New Hampshire today for Hillary Clinton, who has a fundraiser in San Francisco. Bill Clinton has two Iowa stops on his schedule, and Chelsea Clinton has a Maine organizing event.

Donald Trump has a noon event scheduled in West Palm Beach, Florida, and an evening event in Cincinnati, Ohio.

His campaign has also announced a late add: a speech in Columbus to focus on millennials.

enltrPer pool note from @hollybdc[https://twitter.com/hollybdc], Trump is giving a surprise speech focused on millennials today in Columbus

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/786561039840251905]block-time published-time 2.51pm BST

#TBT

Ivanka Trump: my father is not a ‘groper’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/may/18/ivanka-trump-donald-women-new-york-times-video] Crossing the Line: How Donald Trump Behaved With Women in Private[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/15/us/politics/donald-trump-women.html?smid=pl-share&\_r=0]

Donald was having a pool party at Mar-a-Lago. There were about 50 models and 30 men. There were girls in the pools, splashing around. For some reason Donald seemed a little smitten with me. He just started talking to me and nobody else.

He suddenly took me by the hand, and he started to show me around the mansion. He asked me if I had a swimsuit with me. I said no. I hadn’t intended to swim. He took me into a room and opened drawers and asked me to put on a swimsuit.

(h/t @bencjacobs[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] )

block-time published-time 2.48pm BST

On the night of the second debate, as Trump staged a media event with three women who have accused Bill Clinton of sexual assault and rape, Trump’s campaign manager called for every survivor of sexual assault to be heard:

enltrRT if you agree. "Every" the operative word here. https://t.co/hqvij2DPjA[https://t.co/hqvij2DPjA]

— Kellyanne Conway (@KellyannePolls) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/KellyannePolls/status/785269953700171776]block-time published-time 2.42pm BST

Impeach Jeb Bush!

enltrOn Earth B, Jeb gaffes today by telling reporters in his daily gaggle that his favorite Dylan song is "The Weight." His lead slips to 4 pts.

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/786543530751602688]Bob Dylan has been awarded the Nobel prize for literature. The Weight of course is a The Band song with songwriting credit going to Robbie Robertson.

block-time published-time 2.37pm BST

Trump: allegations 'a total fabrication' Trump is swiping left and right at publications this morning carrying stories about him making unwanted physical contact with women.

To this New York Times story, Two Women Say Donald Trump Touched Them Inappropriately[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/13/us/politics/donald-trump-women.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&\_r=0], Trump says:

enltrThe phony story in the failing @nytimes[https://twitter.com/nytimes] is a TOTAL FABRICATION. Written by same people as last discredited story on women. WATCH!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/786560925113266176]To this People magazine story, Physically Attacked by Donald Trump – a PEOPLE Writer’s Own Harrowing Story[http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-attacked-people-writer/], Trump says:

enltrWhy didn't the writer of the twelve year old article in People Magazine mention the "incident" in her story. Because it did not happen!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/786554517680693248]This is from the People story:

When we took a break for the then-very-pregnant Melania to go upstairs and change wardrobe for more photos, Donald wanted to show me around the mansion. There was one “tremendous” room in particular, he said, that I just had to see.

“I just start kissing them,” he said to Bush. “It’s like a magnet. Just kiss. I don’t even wait. And when you’re a star, they let you do it. You can do anything.”

We walked into that room alone, and Trump shut the door behind us. I turned around, and within seconds he was pushing me against the wall and forcing his tongue down my throat.

Now, I’m a tall, strapping girl who grew up wrestling two giant brothers. I even once sparred with Mike Tyson. It takes a lot to push me. But Trump is much bigger — a looming figure — and he was fast, taking me by surprise and throwing me off balance. I was stunned. And I was grateful when Trump’s longtime butler burst into the room a minute later, as I tried to unpin myself.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.54pm BST

block-time published-time 1.52pm BST

Hello and welcome to our live-wire coverage of the 2016 race for the White House. A wave of claims about Donald Trump’s alleged sexual transgressions and inappropriate behaviour – in one case involving comments about a young girl – has emerged, threatening the Republican presidential nominee’s already fragile campaign less than a month before election day.

Ever since video[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-leaked-recording-women] of the real estate mogul surfaced on Friday showing him bragging about how he could grab women’s genitals with impunity, more and more women have come forward to claim they were demeaned and touched inappropriately.

By late Wednesday evening the list of new allegations against Trump included:

\* Two Miss USA contestants who claimed Trump deliberately walked in on them[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/12/donald-trump-miss-usa-dressing-room-2001-rehearsal] when they were naked in a dressing room.

\* Two women who allege Trump groped or kissed them without consent – one in the first-class seat of an aircraft.

\* A claim by a woman that she was groped at a Trump event at his Mar-A-Lago estate in Florida.

\* A People magazine reporter who says Trump forced himself on her shortly before she was due to interview him and his wife in 2005.

\* An incident in which Trump appears to sexualize a young girl[http://www.cbsnews.com/news/more-unearthed-footage-trump-says-of-10-year-old-i-am-going-to-be-dating-her-in-10-years/?ftag=CNM-00-10aab7e&linkId=29868172].

Trump makes inappropriate remarks about 10-year-old girl[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/13/trump-makes-inappropriate-remarks-about-10-year-old-girl-video]Read further:

Related: Trump campaign rocked by new wave of sexual harassment allegations[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/12/donald-trump-women-new-sexual-harassment-stories]

A Trump lawyer sent the New York Times a letter asking them to retract a story:

enltrHere it is: Trump campaign lawyer sends letter to @nytimes[https://twitter.com/nytimes] demanding "full and immediate retraction and apology" of article==> pic.twitter.com/yQpk5lgGOB[https://t.co/yQpk5lgGOB]

— Frank Thorp V (@frankthorp) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/frankthorp/status/786421991997902848]enltrThis isn't a lawsuit. This is what a lawyer writes to pretend to his client that's he's doing something beyond filing a suit that can't win. https://t.co/VaJCIxcHsv[https://t.co/VaJCIxcHsv]

— Jake Tapper (@jaketapper) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/jaketapper/status/786534023908716544]The national field director for the Democrats circulates a video of Trump supporters abusing African Americans and scenes from the civil rights era:

enltrAbsolutely devastating. pic.twitter.com/n6Y6NOZvCe[https://t.co/n6Y6NOZvCe]

— Adam Parkhomenko (@AdamParkhomenko) October 13, 2016[https://twitter.com/AdamParkhomenko/status/786472154661527552] Obama back on trail Barack Obama will try to rev up Democrats in Ohio during a two-day visit, as the number of states that could swing to either Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump narrows to just a handful, the AP reports:

Obama heads to Columbus on Thursday to be the featured speaker at an annual dinner benefiting Ohio Democrats and Gov. Ted Strickland, who is running to oust incumbent Republican Sen. Rob Portman. On Friday, Obama will hold a rally in Cleveland for Clinton emphasizing early voting, a major focus for Democrats across the U.S. this year.

Before flying to Ohio, Obama planned to speak in Pittsburgh at the “White House Frontiers Conference,” where aides said he’d announce new funding for technology and research and tout innovations like self-driving cars and artificial intelligence. Obama, in an op-ed in the magazine Wired, said the U.S. needed to adapt its skills to address emerging threats like antibiotic-resistant “superbugs,” cybersecurity and climate change.

Thank you for reading and please join us in the comments.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.45pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments, including Boris Johnson being questioned by the Commons foreign affairs committeeSturgeon challenges May with second independence referendum billSturgeon’s speech - Summary and analysisLunchtime summaryAfternoon summary

block-time published-time 4.08pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* Alex Salmond , the former Scottish first minister, has encouraged Nicola Sturgeon to hold another independence referendum even if the polls are just 50/50. In an interview with the House magazine [https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/uk-regions/scotland/house/79821/alex-salmond-i-hit-button-referendum-why-would-nicola] he said:

There have been six opinion polls since the European vote. Three of which have shown a majority for independence and the other three have all shown an increase from 45%.

Will Nicola Sturgeon push the button on a referendum if support for independence is, say, 50:50 or at that level? Well, I hit the button for a referendum when support was 27%. Why would she be reluctant on a much larger level than that?

\* Russia’s foreign minister Sergey Lavrov has accused Boris Johnson of “politicking” over his condemnations of Moscow’s involvement in the bombardment of the Syrian city of Aleppo. In an interview with CNN Lavrov said:

What my friend and new colleague Boris Johnson is saying is absolute politicking, in the usual arrogant way. Boris is the Jack of all trades, as you know. Having served as mayor, he said he was a very good friend of Russia and was very famous at the Russian festivals in London.

Now I think he is getting ready to become maybe an internationally-recognised prosecutor-general at The Hague, especially after our British colleagues decided that the slogan ‘Yes, we can’ should be additioned by a ‘You can’t’ - when they decided to remove their military from the jurisdiction of the European Human Rights Convention.

Some kind of clarity must be introduced in these discussions. We are open to these discussions. We never cut connections. We want to discuss things and arrive at some truth, instead of accusing each other without any justification.

Sergey Lavrov (left) and Boris Johnson during a meeting at the UN . Photograph: Alexander Shcherbak/TASS

\* Downing Street has refused to rule out the possibility of the UK continuing to pay budget contributions to the EU after Britain’s departure from the bloc, as analysis suggested the country could face a €20bn (£18bn) “Brexit divorce” bill in shared payment liabilities. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/18bn-brexit-divorce-bill-eu-payment-boris-johnson]

\* A heartbreaking speech by a Labour MP moved several members of the House of Commons to tears during a debate on stillbirths, as Vicky Foxcroft described being pregnant at 16 and losing her baby after just five days. [https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/oct/13/mp-vicky-foxcroft-moving-speech-losing-baby-labour]

\* The BBC has hit back against a renewed attack on what the Daily Mail has called its “Brexit bias” by pointing out that its EU coverage has been criticised by both sides of the debate. [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/13/bbc-hits-back-against-daily-mail-accusation-of-brexit-bias]

That’s all from me for today.

Tomorrow I will be blogging from the SNP conference in Glasgow.

Delegates at the SNP conference in Glasgow. Photograph: Russell Cheyne/Reuters block-time published-time 3.40pm BST

Boris Johnson is facing criticism for his comments to the foreign affairs committee earlier about how the Britain could get an even better trade deal with the EUwhen it leaves than it has at the moment. (See 2.33pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-brexit-foreign-affairs-committee-quizzed-by-mps-over-brexit-as-pound-falls-again-politics-live?page=with:block-57ff7fb1e4b01ffb8ffcb48d#block-57ff7fb1e4b01ffb8ffcb48d] This is from the Conservative MP Anna Soubry , a campaigner for Open Britain, which wants the UK to stay in the single market.

If there’s a deal of ‘greater value’ out there than single market membership, then businesses and economists have not come across it. The government needs to provide concrete evidence before it pulls us out of our home market of 500 million customers.

And this is from the Lib Dem leader Tim Farron .

After his bungling performance today, it’s clear the only thing which is becoming ‘increasingly useless’ is Boris Johnson himself. His glib dismissal of the single market shows the Conservatives have given up any claim to be the party of business and are putting jobs, prosperity and lower prices at risk.

block-time published-time 3.29pm BST

The SNP conference has passed a resolution saying that the UK government should abandon the policy of having lower minimum wage rates for the young and that workers aged 16 to 24 should get the same as over-25s, who are currently the only group who get the more generous “national living wage”. The SNP MP Chris Stephens said:

Conference has been resounding in its condemnation of the UK government and their discriminatory policy on wages. To pay workers less than their colleagues based purely on age is unacceptable and today the SNP has made that clear.

block-time published-time 3.13pm BST

Simon Wolfson , the Next chief executive and prominent leave campaigner, has warned that the British economy is “finished” if the government pursues an isolationist Brexit course. The Tory peer told the Press Association that the referendum vote was about UK independence, not isolation, adding that Britain is setting itself up for economic failure if it closes itself off from the rest of the world.

I think the hard, soft Brexit language is unhelpful, and what we should be talking about is whether we have an ‘open’ or ‘closed’ Brexit.

Britain voted for independence, it didn’t vote for isolation and so we have a choice: are we going to choose to build an open, global-facing economy, or one that’s closed and isolated?

If we choose the latter, then our economy is finished. If we choose the former, we stand a chance of flourishing greatly.

block-time published-time 2.43pm BST

Here is the Labour MSP Anas Sarwar on Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech.

enltrNicola Sturgeon has got the David Cameron problem. She needs to talk up a referendum to fix her party not to fix the country. #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] problem. She needs to talk up a referendum to fix her party not to fix the country.

— AnasSarwar (@AnasSarwar) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AnasSarwar/status/786561828251901953]block-time published-time 2.41pm BST

Theresa May ’s cabinet committee on Brexit met yesterday and considered three new papers, I’ve heard. A draft of one was reported to include that controversial £66bn cost of reverting WTO rules.

But there were two others as well, on free movement and interestingly the customs union, which was discussed.

Liam Fox has suggested Britain will leave the customs union, and Raoul Ruparel - the new adviser to David Davis who was the co-director at Open Europe- has said Britain will have to leave, arguing “that ship has sailed”. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/government-adviser-leaving-eu-customs-union-uk-25bn] has suggested Britain will leave the customs union, and

But Treasury ministers are pushing back internally saying there has to be a conversation about cost of an exit, and clearly the issue remains on the table.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.04pm BST

block-time published-time 2.33pm BST

Lunchtime summary

\* Nicola Sturgeon is to publish a draft bill next week calling for a second Scottish independence referendum in a direct challenge to Theresa May’s hardline stance on Britain leaving the EU. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/nicola-sturgeon-challenges-may-with-second-referendum-bill-scottish-independence-snp-conference]

\* Boris Johnson has given his first hint that the west is willing to step up military activity against the Syrian government of Bashar al-Assad, saying a meeting of foreign ministers on Sunday will look at new options [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-military-options-against-syrian-regime-being-considered]. As Patrick Wintour reports, Johnson stressed in evidence to the foreign affairs committee that he did not want to give false hope to the Syrian opposition, and said it might be a long day’s march, but “more kinetic options, the military options” were being considered. He said as a result of the bombardment of Aleppo [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/12/ground-down-by-savagery-the-agony-of-aleppo] public opinion was changing, but it remained to be seen if a coalition for a military option could be constructed. “It is vital we consider them and we will do that now,” he said.

\* Johnson has said that Britain could get a trade deal with the EU when it leaves that will be even better than the status quo. Giving evidence to the foreign affairs committee, he also said he found the term single market “increasingly useless”. He told the MPs:

I think the term single market is increasingly useless. We are going to get a deal that will be of huge value, and possibly greater value - if you at what is still unachieved in services, for instance - in goods and services for our friends on the continent and for business investing in the UK.

He said he thought those who predicted “doom” if Britain voted to leave the EU had been proved wrong, but that the full benefits of Brexit would take time to emerge.

I think those who prophesied doom before the referendum have been proved wrong and I think they will continue to be proved wrong. Obviously it will take time before the full benefits of Brexit appear.

He said that leaving the EU could take longer than the two years laid down in article 50. If that happened, there were “mechanisms” for extending the talks, he said.

I think there will be a deal, I think it will be a great deal. If it can’t be done in two years then there are mechanisms for extending the period of discussion. I don’t think that will be necessary, I think we can do it.

And he also said that the vote for Brexit was not a mandate to “haul up the drawbridge” and that “people of talent” from abroad would still be welcome after the UK left the EU .

\* He said the UK would maintain “a completely implacable, marmoreal and rocklike resistance” to Spanish claims for any change in the status of Gibraltar as a result of Brexit. And he compared himself to movie mafia boss Don Vito Corleone dismissing a proposal from a fellow-mobster when he described how he rejected a Spanish attempt to raise the issue.

I remember the Spanish foreign minister raised it with me and... you remember Marlon Brando in The Godfather when he said: ‘Mr Barzini, I must tell you my answer is No’.

\* He said Britain should be prepared to be “supportive” of any moves by the European Union to create its own defence capability.

If our friends want to go ahead with a new security architecture, as they have pledged to do many times over the past four decades, I don’t think, post-Brexit, we can reasonably stand in their way.

\* He said that wealthy philanthropists could fund a new Royal Yacht for the Queen but that replacing Britannia was “not a government priority”. He was replying to a question prompted by a Daily Telegraph campaign for a new Royal Yacht.

\* He admitted that he did not know what the Commonwealth flag looked like. This emerged when the Tory Andrew Rosindell asked if it would be flown over British embassies instead of the EU flag. Johnson replied:

You are testing my vexillography. I’m going to have to own up, I am unaware of the exact configuration of the Commonwealth flag. What does it look like?

When told what it looked like, he refused to give a commitment to fly it over embassies.

\* The government does not have legal authority to use royal prerogative powers to trigger Brexit without parliamentary approval, the high court has been told. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/government-cannot-trigger-brexit-without-mps-backing-court-told-article-50] As Owen Bowcott reports, in opening arguments over who should initiate the UK’s departure from the EU , Lord Pannick QC, who represents the lead challenger in the claim, Gina Miller, said formal notification by ministers alone would undermine parliament and “deprive people of their statutory rights”. Three of the most senior judges – the lord chief justice, Lord Thomas of Cwmgiedd, the master of the rolls, Sir Terence Etherton , and Lord Justice Sales – are hearing the challenge, which could have far-reaching political and constitutional effects.

\* Two of the largest German trade associations have come out in support of Angela Merkel taking a firm stance during negotiations over Britain’s exit from the EU, even if it comes at a short-term cost. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/13/german-trade-bodies-back-angela-merkels-tough-stance-over-brexit]

\* The number of hate crimes leaped by 41% in the month after the vote to leave the European Union, new Home Office statistics confirm. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/hate-crimes-eu-referendum-home-office-figures-confirm]

block-time published-time 2.09pm BST

Alex Massie at the Spectator [http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2016/10/nicola-sturgeons-cherished-brexit-grievance/] says, in the light of Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech, that it’s a mistake to write off the chances of Scotland voting for independence. Here’s an excerpt.

In any event, these are still the opening exchanges in a long game. Sturgeon might have announced a crowd-pleasing consultation on a draft referendum bill – sometimes a piece of paper makes a convincing rabbit – but we are still in the wait and see stages. She may need to keep her troops happy but past experience, and the evidence of our present circumstances, suggests the promise of jam tomorrow is always enough to maintain their morale.

Again, the sage and serious people will tell us it’s all a ruse and we can calm down because, come on, sage and serious people in London know the Jocks aren’t stupid enough to vote for independence. They are, instead, trapped in a Brexit box and that’s worth a chortle or two. Maybe that is so, but many of these sage and serious people are also the idiots who thought, for reasons best explained by their own ignorance and complacency, that only one in three Scots would vote for independence in 2014. They were warned not to be fools then but chose not to listen until it was almost too late but I suppose it’s too late – and probably pointless anyway – to warn them not to be fools again.

block-time published-time 1.52pm BST

A canine attendee at the SNP conference in Glasgow. Photograph: Murdo Macleod for the Guardian block-time published-time 1.47pm BST

SNP members at the conference in Glasgow have passed a motion condemning xenophobia and prejudice and saying foreigners are welcome in Scotland. Christian Allard, a former SNP MSP and a French citizen, said:

The difference between the SNP conference and last week’s Tory conference could not be starker. Here in Glasgow, we are promoting a message of inclusivity and diversity - a million miles away from the Tory message of xenophobia and division.

block-time published-time 1.33pm BST

Labour would not try to stop the Scottish government holding a second independence referendum, PoliticsHome’s Kevin Schofield reports.

enltrUK Labour spokesman says party is opposed to #indyref2 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/indyref2?src=hash], but "Westminster should not stand in the way" if Holyrood votes for it.

— Kevin Schofield (@PolhomeEditor) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PolhomeEditor/status/786544765424709632]block-time published-time 1.33pm BST

Here is some more comment from journalists on Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech.

From the Guardian ’s Martin Kettle

enltrNicola Sturgeon's speech in Glasgow today was not, repeat not, the speech of a woman who intends an indyref2 any time soon. Brinkwomanship

— Martin Kettle (@martinkettle) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/martinkettle/status/786519823245205504]From the Times ’ Kenny Farquharson

enltrSturgeon's speech this morning is the best I've seen her make. Boldly puts Scottish national interest before desires of her party. #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash]

— Kenny Farquharson (@KennyFarq) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/KennyFarq/status/786518929959256064]From the Guardian ’s Libby Brooks

enltrWorth recalling Sturgeon laid ground for this option in her Programme for Government....turning up the gas now, right enough, but no u-turn https://t.co/aQ3E02g9eQ [https://t.co/aQ3E02g9eQ]

— Libby Brooks (@libby\_brooks) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/libby\_brooks/status/786525922618859520]From the Sun’s Steve Hawkes

enltrBig year for Nicola Sturgeon , will she really be bold enough to call a second Indy referendum knowing she'll be finished if she loses?

— steve hawkes (@steve\_hawkes) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/steve\_hawkes/status/786518029291126784]block-time published-time 1.24pm BST

Kezia Dugdale, the Scottish Labour leader, has also accused Nicola Sturgeon of dividing Scotland.

enltrScottish Labour leader @kezdugdale [https://twitter.com/kezdugdale] 's response to Nicola Sturgeon 's #snp16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/snp16?src=hash] speech. pic.twitter.com/N7yqSxPilU [https://t.co/N7yqSxPilU] speech.

— Alan Roden (@AlanRoden) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AlanRoden/status/786524688457478144]She says:

Nicola Sturgeon ’s top priority is to divide our country once again. But our country is already divided following the Tories’ reckless Brexit gamble and we should not be seeking further divisions.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.27pm BST

block-time published-time 1.20pm BST

Davidson says Sturgeon is an 'SNP fundamentalist' who is creating division Here is Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Conservative leader, responding to Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech.

enltrJust left a meeting with David Davis on how to get best Brexit deal for Scotland, to read Nicola Sturgeon threaten to breakup the UK. Again.

— Ruth Davidson (@RuthDavidsonMSP) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RuthDavidsonMSP/status/786527986044506112]enltrShe really has given up any pretence of being a First Minister for all of Scotland, in order to play to SNP gallery. Yet more division.

— Ruth Davidson (@RuthDavidsonMSP) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RuthDavidsonMSP/status/786528336302444544]Here is the full statement Davidson has released about Sturgeon’s speech. [http://www.scottishconservatives.com/2016/10/sturgeon-an-snp-fundamentalist-who-puts-independence-first-last-and-always/] And here is an extract.

Nicola Sturgeon could today have set out a positive, constructive vision for how the country progresses together.

Instead she has made it clear she wants to take Scotland back to yet more uncertainty, more division and more constitutional upheaval.

Her comments show she has given up on speaking for Scotland and is now solely playing to the SNP gallery.

This isn’t the action of a first minister of Scotland but an SNP fundamentalist who puts independence first, last and always.

block-time published-time 1.16pm BST

Earlier I posted a tweet suggesting that Andrew Rosindell may have asked Boris Johnson a question about Norfolk Island because he had been there on a freebie. Actually, there was a bit more to it than that. I have posted an update at 10.17am. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-brexit-foreign-affairs-committee-quizzed-by-mps-over-brexit-as-pound-falls-again-politics-live?page=with:block-57ff50d9e4b05d915e424786#block-57ff50d9e4b05d915e424786] a question about Norfolk Island because he had been there on a freebie. Actually, there was a bit more to it than that. I have posted an update at

block-time published-time 12.44pm BST

Nicola Sturgeon 's speech - Summary and analysis Here are the key points from Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech.

\* Sturgeon indicated that she would call a second referendum on independence if the UK opts for a hard Brexit. Addressing the prime minister, she said:

If you think for one single second that I’m not serious about doing what it takes to protect Scotland’s interests, then think again.

If you can’t - or won’t - allow us to protect our interests within the UK, then Scotland will have the right to decide, afresh, if it wants to take a different path.

A hard Brexit will change the UK fundamentally.

A UK out of the single market - isolated, inward looking, haemorrhaging jobs, investment and opportunities - will not be the same country that Scotland voted to stay part of in 2014.

If that’s the insecure, unstable prospect we face as part of the UK, then no one will have the right to deny Scotland the chance to choose a better future.

She said the Scottish government would publish an independence referendum bill next week. (See 11.33am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-brexit-foreign-affairs-committee-quizzed-by-mps-over-brexit-as-pound-falls-again-politics-live?page=with:block-57ff6255e4b01ffb8ffcb3da#block-57ff6255e4b01ffb8ffcb3da] In some respects, this sounded more like a negotiating gambit than a statement of intent. As my colleague Severin Carrell points out (see 12.12pm), [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-brexit-foreign-affairs-committee-quizzed-by-mps-over-brexit-as-pound-falls-again-politics-live?page=with:block-57ff6ae1e4b047a4eaafc0e3#block-57ff6ae1e4b047a4eaafc0e3] there are still considerable obstacles to winning a second independence referendum. Sturgeon does not have the power to call a legally-binding independence referendum, and Theresa May has hinted that, unlike David Cameron in 2014, she would not facilitate such a poll. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f11d1ce4b015be63833667#block-57f11d1ce4b015be63833667] Sturgeon also seems to be ignoring the promise she made last year, which was that she would not call a second independence referendum unless there was “strong evidence that a significant number of those who voted No have changed their minds”. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2015/oct/15/snp-conference-politics-live?page=with:block-561f77d9e4b0a565784b9ab1#block-561f77d9e4b0a565784b9ab1] At the moment that evidence does not exist.

\* She made remaining in the single market Scotland’s key priority.

The prime minister may have a mandate to take England and Wales out of the EU but she has no mandate whatsoever to remove any part of the UK from the single market.

\* She said she wanted Scotland to acquire extensive new powers. She explained that she would be developing a Brexit plan for Scotland and that, if Scotland were not to become independent, it needed to acquire new powers to ensure that it did not lose out from Brexit.

The Scottish government will set out a plan for Scotland.

We will seek to make this plan a key element of the UK’s Article 50 negotiation.

It will require substantial additional powers for the Scottish Parliament .

All the powers in our areas of responsibility that currently lie with the EU - and significant new powers too.

Powers to strike international deals.

And greater powers over **immigration**. Powers not just to protect our economy, but also our values.

UK ministers might believe it acceptable to order businesses to create lists of foreign workers.

We do not.

This passage suggests that, as an alternative to a second independence referendum, Sturgeon is demanding a new version of independence-lite.

\* She said a second independence referendum would not be a re-run of the last one.

There is one final point I want to make. And it’s an important one.

When Scotland does come to take this decision again - whenever that might be - we must not take for granted how anyone will vote.

It will be a new debate - not a rerun of 2014.

We must not assume that people’s views - yes or no - are the same today as they were two years ago.

Instead we must engage the arguments with a fresh eye and an open mind.

The case for independence will have to be made and won.

\* She said the SNP would vote against the proposed “great repeal bill” - the bill planned for the next session of parliament to repeal the European Communities Act 1972.

I can confirm today that SNP MPs will vote against the Brexit bill when it come before the House of Commons next year.

That Bill will repeal the legislation that enacted our EU membership. Scotland didn’t vote for that and so neither will our MPs.

But we will also work to persuade others - Labour, Liberals and moderate Tories - to join us in a coalition against a hard Brexit: not just for Scotland, but for the whole UK.

In practice this is unlikely to make much difference because Labour is unlikely to vote against the bill at second reading. Many Labour MPs are opposed to a “hard” Brexit, but most of them do not intend to right against the principle of the UK leaving the EU .

\* She said the Conservatives were pushing for a hard Brexit for which they had no mandate.

They are using the [referendum] result as cover for a hard Brexit for which they have no mandate - but which they are determined to impose, regardless of the ruinous consequences.

\* She accused the Conservatives of embracing Ukip-style xenophobia and said their views had “no place in a civilised society”.

Last week, in Birmingham, we heard an intolerance towards those from other countries that has no place in a modern, multicultural, civilised society.

You know, on the day of the prime minister’s speech to the Tory conference, the new leader of UKIP resigned.

Perhaps she realized that her job and her party are now redundant.

Last week, we saw the Tories adopt UKIP policy and Farage-style rhetoric - lock, stock and beer-barrel.

It was a disgrace. It shames the Tory party and all who speak for it.

But make no mistake - the right wing of the Tory party is now in the ascendancy and it is seeking to hijack the referendum result.

Brexit has become Tory Brexit.

The rampant right wing of the party are using it as license for the xenophobia that has long lain under the surface - but which is now in full, unlovely view.

\* She compared Theresa May to Margaret Thatcher . This was noteworthy because of Thatcher’s continuing unpopularity in Scotland.

\* Sturgeon said that even though 1m Scots voted for Brexit, they did not vote for the hard Brexit now on offer from the Tories.

Of course, I know that one million of our fellow citizens voted to Leave. They did so for a range of legitimate reasons and as first minister, I have a duty to listen to, to understand and to respond to these reasons.

But I suspect that many of those who voted to Leave, look now at the actions and rhetoric of the Tories and think ‘that’s not what I voted for’.

They may have voted to take back control.

But I can’t imagine many of them voted to hand control to the unholy trinity of Boris Johnson , David Davis and Liam Fox ...

They didn’t vote to throw economic rationality out of the window.

They didn’t vote to lower their own living standards or to sacrifice jobs and investment.

They didn’t vote for our businesses to face tariffs or for holiday-makers to need visas.

They didn’t vote for the scapegoating of foreigners.

Sturgeon’s language at this point in the speech is similar to what has been said by Philip Hammond , the chancellor, who has also been arguing that the referendum vote was not a vote for “hard” Brexit. (The problem for Hammond and Sturgeon is that there is ample evidence that people were voting for this, because the UK government warned very clearly about the economic consequences of Brexit, and Ukip’s Nigel Farage even said explicitly that lower living standards would be a price worth paying for independence from Brussels.)

Nicola Sturgeon addressing her conference today. Photograph: Murdo Macleod for the Guardian block-time published-time 12.12pm BST

Speeding up the referendum bill process opens up a deepening and increasingly significant political divide between the Scottish and UK governments, signalling Nicola Sturgeon ’s increasing confidence that the Tories shift to a harder line stance on Brexit has strengthened her hand.

But she made clear that was to protect her government’s longer term position. Sturgeon faces clear short-term obstacles to staging a second vote on leaving the UK: Scottish voters are still not convinced of the case for a fast second referendum and Holyrood requires Westminster’s legal authority to stage one.

The latest poll, published on Thursday by the Herald from BMG, [http://www.heraldscotland.com/politics/14798246.Hard\_Brexit\_is\_not\_a\_game\_changer\_for\_SNP\_\_new\_poll\_suggests/?commentSort=score] found that only 12% of voters would switch to back leaving the UK if there was a hard Brexit.

The economics of Scottish independence are still extremely difficult: the latest GDP data showed Scotland’s economy is still growing at a third of the pace of the UK’s as a whole and government data showed a £15bn Scottish spending deficit last year – 21% of overall government spending in Scotland.

The SNP leader told delegates her first objective was to win far more power for the Scottish parliament – a proposal many senior SNP figures including former health secretary Alex Neil now back.

Sturgeon made clear for the first time she will press May to strengthen Holyrood’s autonomy over policies currently overseen by the EU but devolved within the UK to Scotland, such as fisheries and agriculture.

But Sturgeon expanded that list of demands to include the right for Scotland to have special access to the single market, the freedom to have distinctive **immigration** policies, and the right to strike separate foreign deals, without specifying what those deals might be.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.54pm BST

block-time published-time 12.03pm BST

Here is my colleague Severin Carrell’s story on the Nicola Sturgeon speech.

Related: Nicola Sturgeon challenges May with second referendum bill [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/nicola-sturgeon-challenges-may-with-second-referendum-bill-scottish-independence-snp-conference]

block-time published-time 11.51am BST

No 10 tells Sturgeon that Scotland settled the independence issue two years ago Here is PoliticsHome’s Kevin Schofield with the Number 10 reaction to Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech.

enltrDowning Street on Nicola Sturgeon 's #indyref2 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/indyref2?src=hash] call: "This issue was addressed in 2014. We should be focusing on working together as the UK."

— Kevin Schofield (@PolhomeEditor) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PolhomeEditor/status/786519188227534848]block-time published-time 11.40am BST

Here are more lines from Nicola Sturgeon ’ s speech from my colleague Severin Carrell.

enltr @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] accuses Theresa May 's Tories of adopting " #UKIP [https://twitter.com/hashtag/UKIP?src=hash] policy and Farage-style rhetoric - lock, stock and beer-barrel." #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] policy and Farage-style rhetoric - lock, stock and beer-barrel."

— Severin Carrell (@severincarrell) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/severincarrell/status/786505655347707904]enltr @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] ; "rampant right wing" of UK Tories using #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] as "licence for the xenophobia that has long lain under the surface" #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] as "licence for the xenophobia that has long lain under the surface"

— Severin Carrell (@severincarrell) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/severincarrell/status/786506298619752448]enltr @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] will demand "substantial" new #Holyrood [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Holyrood?src=hash] powers incl foreign deals in UK #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] deal as price for backing #Article50 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Article50?src=hash] deal as price for backing #SNP15 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP15?src=hash] deal as price for backing

— Severin Carrell (@severincarrell) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/severincarrell/status/786507653749039104]enltr @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] wins cheers, applause warning May she will seek #indyref2 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/indyref2?src=hash] if hard #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] is UK policy #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] is UK policy

— Severin Carrell (@severincarrell) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/severincarrell/status/786508213139144704]block-time published-time 11.36am BST

Angus Robertson , the SNP’s leader at Westminster, has been elected deputy leader of the party with a pledge to empower all members to begin campaigning for a second independence referendum immediately.

Describing himself as “bowled over” by the result, Robertson told over 3000 delegates gathered in Glasgow for the first day of party’s autumn conference: “We are very close to independence and we must start campaigning right now”.

Robertson, who emerged as an early favourite in the contest, was considered the establishment candidate. On the gradualist wing of the party, he has enjoyed a significantly raised profile over the past year thanks to his confident performances at PMQs, often in the face of lacklustre efforts by the main opposition.

Robertson’s closest challenger, fellow MP Tommy Sheppard , is a former Labour council leader who is one of the many thousands who joined the party after the 2014 referendum. Sheppard’s campaign focused on the membership needs of the radically expanded cohort of SNP members.

The contest was triggered in May after Dundee East MP Stewart Hosie stood down from the position following the revelation of his extra-marital affair.

The result, which was decided in a ballot of the SNP’s 116,000 members, gave 52.5% of first preferences to Robertson, with Sheppard taking 25.53%, MEP Alyn Smith gaining 18.6% and Inverclyde councillor Chris McEleny with 3.38%.

Speaking of the need to “empower every one of our members” to “reach out to the 55% who voted no [in 2014]”, Robertson said: ““The SNP is the most effective political party in the country. Our strength comes from our members, branches, local grassroots campaigning and partnership with councillors and parliamentarians.”

He described his election as a “tremendous honour” and praised the other candidates for contributing to a “model election campaign”.

Angus Robertson addressing the SNP conference. Photograph: Russell Cheyne/Reuters block-time published-time 11.33am BST

Here is the key quote from Nicola Sturgeon ’s speech about publishing an independence referendum bill.

I am determined that Scotland will have the ability to reconsider the question of independence - and to do so before the UK leaves the EU - if that is necessary to protect our country’s interests.

So I can confirm today that the independence referendum bill will be published for consultation next week.

You know, there’s not a day that passes just now without someone advising me to hurry up with a referendum.

And there’s not a day that passes without someone advising me to slow down.

Welcome to my world.

But the responsibility of leadership is to act in the best interests of our country as a whole.

The morning after the EU referendum, I said that I’d be guided at all times by a simple, clear test.

What is best for the people of Scotland?

That’s the principle that I will continue to be guided by - and I know I can on your support every step of the way.

Nicola Sturgeon speaking to the SNP conference. Photograph: Russell Cheyne/Reuters block-time published-time 11.27am BST

Here is the full text of Nicola Sturgeon’s speech to the SNP conference this morning. [http://www.snp.org/nicola\_sturgeon\_opening\_address\_2016]

block-time published-time 11.19am BST

Sturgeon says Scottish government to publish new independence referendum bill And, at the SNP conference in Glasgow, Nicola Sturgeon , the Scottish first minister, has just announced that her government will publish a bill for a new independence referendum next week.

This is from my colleague Severin Carrell.

enltrBREAKING: @NicolaSturgeon [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon] announces #indyref2 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/indyref2?src=hash] bill to be published for consultation next week - wins cheers standing ovation #SNP16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SNP16?src=hash] bill to be published for consultation next week - wins cheers standing ovation

— Severin Carrell (@severincarrell) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/severincarrell/status/786508498695778304]block-time published-time 11.14am BST

Angus Robertson elected SNP deputy leader While Boris Johnson has been giving evidence to the Commons foreign affairs committee, the SNP announced their new deputy leader. Or “depute leader”, as the SNP call the post, using Scots.

Angus Robertson , the SNP’s leader at Westminter, was elected, with 52.5% of the vote.

He beat fellow MP Tommy Sheppard (25.5%), MEP Alyn Smith (18.6%), and Inverclyde councillor Chris McEleny (3.4%).

block-time published-time 11.05am BST

Andrew Rosindell asks about Cyprus.

Johnson says we are on the verge of great progress in Cyprus.

And that’s it. The hearing is over.

I will post a summary soon.

block-time published-time 11.03am BST

Labour’s Ann Clywd goes next.

Q: Should we suspend arms sales to Saudi Arabia until we are sure they are not being used against civilians in Yemen?

Johnson says the UK has one of the most robust regimes for arms exports in the world. It is keeping this matter under constant review.

Crispin Blunt says the committee does not agree with the Foreign Office on this.

block-time published-time 10.59am BST

Johnson says Brexit talks with EU could take longer than two years Q: You say we will get the best possible deal for trade and services on Brexit. But it is not in our gift. We need the 27 countries to agree. And the European parliament could veto a deal too.

Johnson says that is why he would like to see Brexit as a development in the history of the EU .

It will not be an acrimonious divorce. It should be beneficial to both sides, he says.

Q: What will happen if there is no deal after two years? How bad would that be? This committee was very critical of the last government for not planning for Brexit. In your response to that report, you did not try to defend the government on that point.

Johnson says he is not to blame for the last government not preparing for Brexit.

He thinks there will be a deal, a “great deal”. If it cannot be done in two years, there are mechanisms for extending the period of discussion. But he does not think that will be necessary, he says.

\* Johnson says Brexit talks with EU could take longer than two years. He says there are “mechanisms” for extending the process. This could mean extending the two-year withdrawal timetable set out in article 50, or it could mean having a transitional trade deal with the EU (maintaining the status quo, or something similar) to cover the period between the UK leaving after two years and a new trade deal being finalised.

UPDATE: This is from BuzzFeed ’s Matthew Champion.

enltrBoris goes all Trump on Brexit trade talks: "I think there will be a deal... it will be a great deal."

— Matthew Champion (@matthewchampion) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/matthewchampion/status/786506126049312768]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.01am BST

block-time published-time 10.52am BST

Q: What measures could we take in Syria, short of “kinetic” (ie, military) action?

Johnson says much of Western Europe still buys “huge amounts of Russian gas”. Some countries think sanctions should be imposed on gas. But that would be damaging to countries reliant on Russian gas.

block-time published-time 10.51am BST

Crispin Blunt is asking questions now.

Q: Can you tell us more about the Syria meeting on Sunday?

Johnson says he is bringing together like-minded country. There are 25 countries in the Syria support group, which is chaired by Russia and America. But that has not worked. The last session was very acrimonious. Speaker after speaker denounced Russia, but the Iranians came to Russia’s aid.

On Sunday John Kerry and others - he cannot reveal the exact cast list now - will meet to “canvass all the options”.

Those options include “more kinetic action”. But there are grave difficulties involved, for the reasons Theresa May set out at PMQs yesterday.

Q: Will the US position change if there is a new president?

Johnson says it is too early to say. But Hillary Clinton has taken a tougher line on Syria than the White House.

Q: How close are Syria and Russia to achieving their goals?

Johnson says President Assad will never be able to be a legitimate rule of Syria.

block-time published-time 10.43am BST

Johnson says he is a Russophile Q: How do we get Russia out of the cul-de-sac it has placed itself in?

Johnson says both sides need to make an effort for progress to happen in Ukraine.

He says Russia is a great country. “I’m a Russophile,” he says. He went there when he was 16, he says.

\* Johnson says he is a Russophile.

He does not want to get into the logic of a new cold war.

But Russia needs to cease its “barbaric acts” in Syria and Aleppo.

It needs to do the right thing. That means doing a deal in Syria, and doing a deal in Ukraine.

Britain has to engage with Russia, he says.

block-time published-time 10.38am BST

Johnson says UK does not want “endless confrontation” with Russia. Q: Given what Russia has done in Ukraine, Georgia and its own country, shouldn’t we fundamentally reassess our relationship with it.

Johnson says many people will agree with Gapes in terms of his opposition to what Russia has done. He says Russia is doing “many, many terrible things”, but he does not think it can be compared to the Soviet Union. It is not as much of a threat to the world as the Soviet Union was. It is wrong to talk about a new cold war.

But there is a serious problem, he says.

He says sanctions are biting. It is tough for people in Russia. But the regime is determined to remain on its present course.

We must remain “very, very tough”, he says. He says the UK is at the forefront of pushing for action against Russia at the UN . It is pushing for an international criminal court investigation. It is keeping the pressure up on sanctions.

But the UK must engage with Russia, he says. It must persuade President Putin that there is an alternative path. If Russia continues on its path, it will become a “rogue nation”. That would be a tragedy, he says.

He says he does not want “endless confrontation” with Russia.

There are things the UK and Russia must do together, like fighting terrorism.

\* Johnson says that it’s “wrong” to talk of a new cold war and that Russia is not as much of a threat as the Soviet Union was.

\* He says UK does not want “endless confrontation” with Russia.

block-time published-time 10.31am BST

Q: In 2012 William Hague said the government recognised the national coalition of Syrian opposition forces as the sole representatives of the Syrian people. Is that still the case?

Johnson says the national coalition is still recognised, but there might be other groups that legitimately represent the Syrian people.

block-time published-time 10.28am BST

Johnson says LSE was wrong to say Foreign Office rules on foreigners advising the government have changed Labour’s Mike Gapes goes next.

Q: You were born in America. Are you what Theresa May described as a citizen of the world.

In part, says Johnson. He recalls what it used to say on pots of honey - produce of more than one country.

Q: Were you offended by Theresa May ’s speech that criticised people who saw themselves as citizens of the world?

Johnson says he is a citizen of the UK. But we are also members of one great species.

Q: So why are foreigners being excluded from giving advice to the Foreign Office?

Johnson says this story about foreign academics at the LSE being excluded from Foreign Office consultancy work [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/07/lse-brexit-non-uk-experts-foreign-academics] was wrong. He says it has always been the case that people working for the Foreign Office need security clearance. This was presented to someone at the LSE . The LSE misrepresented this in an internal email, and then someone - possibly a “remoaner” - took it to the press. It was wrong

Q: So the position has not changed?

No, says Johnson.

\* Johnson says LSE was wrong to say Foreign Office rules on foreigners advising the government have changed.

block-time published-time 10.22am BST

Johnson says he will host meeting of foreign ministers on Sunday to consider new options for Syria Johnson says on Sunday he will be hosting a meeting of fellow foreign ministers, including the US secretary of state John Kerry , to consider how to proceed in Syria and Iraq.

They feel talks with Russia have “run out of road”, he says.

He says they want to look at all the options.

People have changed their mind on this, he says. He says the Commons debate on Tuesday implied that there was an appetite for action. They will look at “kinetic” options. But whether this leads to action, he cannot prophesy.

\* Johnson says he will host meeting of foreign ministers on Sunday to consider new options for Syria.

\* He claims that the public mood has changed and there is now more support for intervention.

Boris Johnson: public mood over Syria intervention has changed [https://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-public-mood-over-syria-intervention-changed-video]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.23am BST

block-time published-time 10.18am BST

enltrBoris Johnson says time to look again at economic sanctions against some of the key players in the Assad regime and the Russians

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/786495898125729792]enltrBoris Johnson says "a long day's march" from taking up more kinetic/military options in Syria, and all dependent on the US.

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/786496245384740864]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.18am BST

block-time published-time 10.17am BST

BuzzFeed ’s Jim Waterson has dug out this, which helps to explain Andrew Rosindell ’s interest in Norfolk Island. (See 10.09am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-brexit-foreign-affairs-committee-quizzed-by-mps-over-brexit-as-pound-falls-again-politics-live?page=with:block-57ff4ec7e4b03b22b4fb2df6#block-57ff4ec7e4b03b22b4fb2df6]’s Jim Waterson has dug out this, which helps to explain Andrew Rosindell ’s interest in Norfolk Island. (See

enltrTory MP Andrew Rosindell strangely questioning Boris on Norfolk Island. Helps he got a £2k freebie trip last month. pic.twitter.com/x4bqsvZo7M [https://t.co/x4bqsvZo7M] strangely questioning Boris on Norfolk Island. Helps he got a £2k freebie trip last month.

— Jim Waterson (@jimwaterson) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jimwaterson/status/786495271865688064]UPDATE: Rosindell’s trip was not a jolly - or at least not just a jolly. There was a serious point to it, because the island has had its autonomy revoked by Australia. Here is the story that Guardian Australia published about the trip that Rosindell made with fellow MPs in the summer.

Related: British MPs visit Norfolk Island to hear protests at Australian 'takeover' [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/30/british-mps-visit-norfolk-island-to-hear-protests-at-australian-takeover]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.13pm BST

block-time published-time 10.15am BST

Johnson is now talking about Syria.

enltrWhat is happening in Aleppo is a "gross, gross crime against humanity", Boris Johnson tells FASC.

— Theo Usherwood (@theousherwood) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theousherwood/status/786494573660999680]enltrThe Assad regime is being backed up by the Russians and Iranians, says Mr Johnson. We only re-opened our embassy in Tehran last year.

— Theo Usherwood (@theousherwood) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theousherwood/status/786495107210043392]He says the government is looking at more military options.

block-time published-time 10.12am BST

Q: Do you want to build another Royal Yacht?

(This is something the Daily Telegraph is campaigning for.)

Johnson says building a new Royal Yacht is “not a government priority”. He says the old Royal Yacht is in such a poor state that restoring it is not feasible. But if a group of philanthropists want to fund a new one, that would be fine, he says.

\* Johnson signals that government will not fund a new Royal Yacht.

block-time published-time 10.09am BST

Rosindell has just asked about Gibraltar and the Falklands.

enltrBoris Johnson promises "rock-like" resistance to any Spanish claim on Gibraltar... says no grounds whatever for any change in sovereignty

— Carole Walker (@carolewalkercw) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/carolewalkercw/status/786493045650763776]He is now asking Johnson about Norfolk Island, and its right to self-determination.

(That means another trip to Google [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norfolk\_Island] for me.)

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.13am BST

block-time published-time 10.05am BST

Andrew Rosindell , a Conservative, goes next.

Q: You have not mentioned the Commonwealth. William Hague promised to put the C back in FCO, but nothing happened. What are you going to do to improve relations with Commonwealth countries.

Johnson says the Commonwealth is very important. Many Commonwealth countries are high growth countries. They are bounding ahead. But, because the UK has been in the EU , it has not been able to sign trade deals with these countries.

Q: So should the Commonwealth flag fly from British embassies as the EU flag comes down?

Johnson says Rosindell is testing his vexillology (study of flags). He admits he is not familiar with the Commonwealth flag, and will not make commitments now.

Here’s what the Commonwealth flag looks like.

Commonwealth flag. Photograph: FCO Boris Johnson ‘unfamiliar’ with Commonwealth flag [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-admits-unfamiliar-commonwealth-flag-video]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.53am BST

block-time published-time 9.57am BST

Q: Is there any mapping of political divisions in Syria?

Johnson says the UK wants to get the ceasefire restored.

The opposition groups have a great deal of credibility, he says. It is possible to see a future for Syria without President Assad.

He says he will write to the committee about mapping.

block-time published-time 9.56am BST

enltrJohnson: "Certain amount of hocum" to suggest govt has pre-agreed EU negotiating posiitons with parliament let alone devolved admins.

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/786490662019559424]block-time published-time 9.52am BST

Johnson claims UK could end up with even better trade deal from EU than current one Stephen Gethins , the SNP MP (and his party’s Europe spokesman), goes next.

Q: Should we retain membership of the single market?

Johnson says the term single market is “increasingly useless”. We will get a deal of equal value, “or possible greater value”, he claims.

For example, look at services, he says. (It is an area where the single market can be extended.)

We drink champagne, and buy more German cars than any other EU country, he says.

He says any attempt to punish the UK does not make economic sense for Europe.

\* Johnson says the term single market is “increasingly useless”.

\* He claims UK could end up with an even better trade deal from the EU .

Q: Is it your objective to retain membership of the single market?

Johnson says the UK wants the best possible deal. The term single market is one that “not many people understand”. He wants the best possible deal for trade in goods and services.

Gethins says no one has a “scooby” [scooby doo - clue] what will happen.

Q: Is it your objective to stay in the single market?

Johnson says Gethins is treating the single market “like the Groucho Club”. He says we are leaving the EU .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.57pm BST

block-time published-time 9.46am BST

Johnson says the UK does not want to be part of a federalist construct.

That has led to UK relations with the rest of the EU always being tense.

Q: Many of us think the FCO is under-resourced. How forceful will you be in lobbying for more funds?

Johnson says he is grateful for the committee for backing the case for more money for the FCO

block-time published-time 9.43am BST

Johnson says there is a fascinating article in the FT today by the French prime minister setting out his federalist aspirations for the EU. [https://www.ft.com/content/0c3b396c-8fb9-11e6-a72e-b428cb934b78]

block-time published-time 9.41am BST

Q: Would we be prepared to fall back on WTO tariffs. David Davis says that holds no fears.

Johnson says Baron is trying to get him into a “running commentary” on Brexit. He thinks the UK can get a great deal.

Q: Would you say the WTO option holds no fears?

Johnson says he does not want to get into the minutiae of the negotiations.

block-time published-time 9.39am BST

Johnson says “people of talent” from abroad will still be welcome after Brexit Q: Other EU countries say the UK cannot remain in the single market and take back control of **immigration**.

Johnson says he recalls the Belgian interior minister trying to deport him when he went to work in Brussels. So the idea that free movement always applies is “nonsense”. Britain will be able to take back control of is borders.

But that does not mean being hostile to “people of talent”, he says.

\* Johnson says “people of talent” from abroad will still be welcome after Brexit.

block-time published-time 9.37am BST

John Baron , a Conservative, goes next. Baron voted to leave the EU .

Q: What would you say to those called the “remoaners”?

Johnson says those who prophesied doom have been proved wrong, and will continue to be proved wrong.

But it will take time for the full benefits of leaving to emerge, he says.

\* Johnson says it will take time for full benefits of Brexit to emerge.

He says EU countries have an interest in doing a deal that will suit both partners.

But there might by some sturm und drang (storm and stress) along the way.

block-time published-time 9.34am BST

Crisipin Blunt has a question.

Q: Who will you achieve this with a constrained budget?

Johnson says the Foreign Office does more than its French equivalent with only 70% of the budget.

But its budget is going up from £1.1bn to £1.24bn in 2019-20, he says.

And the Department for International Development has a considerable budget, he says. He says Priti Patel , the international development secretary, wants to ensure that the money is spent in a way that meshes with the Foreign Office’s aims.

Q: But DfID only spends money in developing countries.

Johnson says his predecessor, Philip Hammond , said the Foreign Office needed more money. Since he is now chancellor, Johnson thinks he has a good chance of getting a higher budget from him.

block-time published-time 9.29am BST

Johnson says UK is a 'soft power superpower' Johnson ends by praising the Foreign Office staff.

They are young and brilliant, he says.

He says they take real pride in working for a “soft power superpower”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.37am BST

block-time published-time 9.29am BST

Johnson covers non-Brexit foreign policy.

enltrThere is no inconsistency between control of our borders and remaining open to the world - @BorisJohnson [https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson]

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/786482755706163200]enltrWith large parts of the Middle East in chaos, the demand is for more Britain, not less, Boris Johnson tells FASC.

— Theo Usherwood (@theousherwood) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theousherwood/status/786482797208702976]enltr. @BorisJohnson [https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson] No inconsistency between taking back control AND being open to skills from around the world >Special visa system for London?

— Beth Rigby (@BethRigby) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BethRigby/status/786482946802757633]enltrIf there is more we can reasonably and practically do with allies (in Middle East), we shd consider it. That work is being done, Boris adds.

— Theo Usherwood (@theousherwood) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theousherwood/status/786483178294775808]enltrBoris Johnson" We must not give false hope" in Syria but work is going on about whether allies could do more, including a no fly zone.

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) October 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/786483290488340480]block-time published-time 9.25am BST

Johnson says Brexit is not a mandate to “haul up the drawbridge” Blunt invites Johnson to make an opening statement.

Johnson starts by saying he visited a Gulf state a few years ago. And a sheikh said to him: “What happened to you guys.” He meant, what had happened to British power? Britain used to be the colonial power in living memory, he says.

He says that neglect is being reversed. Trade with the Gulf is booming, he says.

He says Labour neglected this region. But Theresa May will this year become the first female guest of honour at the Gulf cooperation summit.

He says the Foreign Office is “more energetic and outward looking and more engaged with the world than at any time in decades”.

\* Johnson claims Foreign Office is “more energetic and outward looking and more engaged with the world than at any time in decades”.

He says this will intensify under Brexit.

Brexit is not a mandate for this country to turn in on itself, “haul up the drawbridge” or detach itself from the international community.

\* Johnson says Brexit is not a mandate to “haul up the drawbridge”.

He says he is struck by how little he is asked about Brexit when he travels abroad.

NOTE: Presumably the committee will ask Johnson how this stance squares with Amber Rudd ’s Conservative party conference speech, which proposed significant curbs on **immigration**.

block-time published-time 9.19am BST

Boris Johnson 's evidence to the foreign affairs committee Crispin Blunt , the committee chair, is opening the session. Blunt is a Conservative.

He says they only have limited time available this morning.

block-time published-time 9.17am BST

Boris Johnson was seen as a successful campaigner during the EU referendum and some involved with Vote Leave think that, if it had not been for him, leave would have lost.

But the foreign policy establishment, so far, seems less impressed by him. Here is an extract from a withering column about him that Philip Stephens published in the Financial Times (subscription) recently. [https://www.ft.com/content/6a4e6bd4-84ae-11e6-8897-2359a58ac7a5]

Word in Westminster has it that Boris Johnson would like to apologise personally to Barack Obama for raising his “part-Kenyan” ancestry when the US president backed the pro-Europeans during the EU referendum [https://www.ft.com/topics/themes/Brexit]. Word in Washington is that the UK foreign secretary would do as well not to bother. Such slights are not easily forgotten by the first African-American president.

Mr Johnson seems to have something of a problem with, well, foreigners. Fellow Europeans have not forgiven the mendacity of the EU “out” campaign. Some in Africa may recall his allusions, albeit some while ago, to “piccaninnies” and “watermelon smiles”. He says such remarks have been taken out of context. Visiting Ankara this week [https://www.ft.com/content/2e356f76-84bd-11e6-a29c-6e7d9515ad15] he presumably told his hosts something similar about the Leave campaign’s scaremongering about Turkish migrants.

Foreign policy is a serious business, the more so in an age of global upheaval and rising disorder. Mr Johnson looks more comfortable in the role of court jester than thoughtful policymaker. He prefers the broad brush to irksome detail. His Italian opposite number Paolo Gentiloni was left baffled when Mr Johnson proposed a post-Brexit grand bargain: Italy would back open access to the EU for London’s financial industry and Britain would continue to drink lots of Italian prosecco.

Word in Berlin is that Frank-Walter Steinmeier, the intensely serious German foreign minister, can scarcely abide being in the same room as Mr Johnson. Wolfgang Schäuble [https://www.ft.com/content/3b1a3c3e-81b7-11e6-8e50-8ec15fb462f4], Germany’s finance minister, has mocked the foreign secretary’s shallow grasp of the way the union works by offering to send him the Lisbon treaty. Finance ministers, he remarked waspishly, were “accustomed to having a high degree of respect for foreign ministers”. It might be added that Theresa May , the prime minister, is banking on Berlin’s support to secure a good deal in the Brexit negotiations.

Allies say that Mr Johnson is “a quick read” — when paying attention, he absorbs information easily. Whitehall no doubt has laid on crash seminars on the workings of the world. The foreign secretary does not help himself, though, by addressing fellow ministers in the manner of Bertie Wooster, the twittish toff from the pages of English humorist PG Wodehouse. The other day Mr Johnson sat down with the hard-bitten Russian foreign minister Sergei Lavrov. An unkind observer might have imagined Wodehouse’s Wooster meeting Machiavelli’s Prince.

block-time published-time 9.03am BST

Who’d have guessed that Brexit would trigger a national Marmite shortage? Or, to be accurate, a national Marmite shortage for people who get their shopping from the Tesco website. The Brexit repercussions continue to surprise and there is detailed coverage of this (plus the pound falling, again) on my colleague Graeme Wearden’s business live blog.

Related: Pound falls below $1.22 as Brexit sparks Marmite price row – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/13/pound-sterling-brexit-price-row-tesco-unilever-live]

It is a good day to be hearing from the leading Brexiteers. And luckily the most senior of them, Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary, is giving evidence to the Commons foreign affairs committee. It’s a wide-ranging session [http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/foreign-affairs-committee/news-parliament-2015/sos-foreign-evidence-16-17/], covering foreign policy developments generally, but the committee says it wants to focus in particular on Brexit, Syria and relations with Russia. The last time Johnson attended a hearing like this was in March, when he gave evidence to the Treasury committee in his capacity as a leading Vote Leave campaigners. His appearance on that occasion wasn’t exactly a triumph [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/mar/23/boris-johnson-eu-referendum-pmqs-treasury-committee-about-eu-referendum-politics-live?page=with:block-56f27f9de4b0d8d383385bf0#block-56f27f9de4b0d8d383385bf0] and at the end Andrew Tyrie, the chairman, accused him of delivering “grains of truth with mountains of nonsense”. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/mar/23/boris-johnson-eu-referendum-pmqs-treasury-committee-about-eu-referendum-politics-live?page=with:block-56f2b836e4b00281a9d2d5a0#block-56f2b836e4b00281a9d2d5a0] Whether he can make a better impression on the foreign affairs committee we’ll soon find out.

Here is the agenda for the day.

9.15am: Boris Johnson gives evidence to the Commons foreign affairs committee.

9.30am: The legal challenge to the government’s decision not to let parliament decide when to invoke article 50, triggering EU withdrawal, will start. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/court-case-battle-looms-over-brexit-legality-article-50]

9.30am: Statistics on hate crime are published.

9.30am: Waiting time and other health statistics from NHS England are published.

10.30am: The SNP announces the winner of the election for its new deputy leader at its conference in Glasgow.

10.45am: Nicola Sturgeon , Scotland’s first minister and the SNP leader, gives a speech to the conference. As Libby Brooks reports, she will give a commitment to seek common cause with Westminster opposition parties and moderate Conservatives in order to defeat hard Brexit. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/nicola-sturgeon-to-reach-out-to-other-parties-to-fight-hard-brexit], Scotland’s first minister and the SNP leader, gives a speech to the conference. As Libby Brooks reports,

2.15pm: Lord Bridges, a Brexit minister, and Lord Price, a trade minister, give evidence to a Lord committee looking at Brexit.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Scottish first minister to publish draft bill for independence poll, saying she has mandate to defend Scotland’s remain vote

Nicola Sturgeon is to publish a draft bill next week calling for a second Scottish independence referendum in a direct challenge to Theresa May ’s hardline stance on Britain leaving the EU .

Related: Nicola Sturgeon to publish new independence referendum bill for Scotland - Politics live [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/13/boris-johnson-brexit-foreign-affairs-committee-quizzed-by-mps-over-brexit-as-pound-falls-again-politics-live]

The first minister told the Scottish National party conference in Glasgow she had a powerful political mandate to defend Scotland’s vote in favour of remaining in the EU in June’s vote.

But the UK government ’s recent rhetoric and policies on **immigration** and remaining within the EU single market made it clear the Tory party had now been taken over by its “rampant” and xenophobic right wing.

To applause, Sturgeon told the prime minister: “Hear this: if you think for one single second that I’m not serious about doing what it takes to protect Scotland’s interests, then think again.”

Sturgeon then won a standing ovation when she announced that the draft Scottish independence referendum bill would be published next week – earlier than her officials had previously signalled.

The first minister said she wanted the legislation in place to trigger a second independence vote before the UK is expected to formally leave the EU in March 2019 – a stance she had recently backed away from.

She said: “I am determined that Scotland will have the ability to reconsider the question of independence – and to do so before the UK leaves the EU – if that is necessary to protect our country’s interests.”

Her official spokesman cautioned that this was designed to give the Scottish government a full range of options: its immediate goal was to get the strongest powers possible for Holyrood in the Brexit deal. He said Sturgeon needed to see exactly what was on the table.

He said the Tories were fighting a “blue on blue civil war on what they think Brexit will be. We need the UK government to give much needed clarity on what they have in mind before we can be reasonably expected to come up with a package for Scotland.”

Speeding up the referendum bill process opens up a deepening and increasingly significant political divide between the Scottish and UK governments, showing Sturgeon’s increasing confidence that the Tories’ shift to a harder line on Brexit has strengthened her hand.

Sturgeon faces clear short-term obstacles to staging a second vote on leaving the UK. Scottish voters are still not convinced of the case for a fast second referendum and Holyrood requires Westminster’s legal authority to stage one.

The latest poll, published on Thursday by the Herald from BMG, found independence does not have a majority and that only 12% of voters would switch to back leaving the UK if there was a hard Brexit. It found 47% were against independence, 38% in favour and 12% undecided.

The economics of Scottish independence are still extremely difficult: the latest GDP data showed Scotland’s economy still growing at a third of the pace of the UK’s as a whole and government data showed a £15bn Scottish spending deficit last year – 21% of overall government spending in Scotland.

The SNP leader told delegates her first objective was to win far more power for the Scottish parliament – a proposal many senior party figures including the former health secretary Alex Neil now back.

Related: Scotland could gain greater independence via Brexit, Holyrood told [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/scotland-gain-greater-independence-brexit-holyrood-told]

Sturgeon made clear for the first time she would press May to strengthen Holyrood’s autonomy over policies currently overseen by the EU but devolved within the UK to Scotland, such as fisheries and agriculture.

But Sturgeon expanded that list of demands to include the right for Scotland to have special access to the single market, the freedom to have distinctive **immigration** policies, and the right to strike separate foreign deals, without specifying what those deals might be.

However, Sturgeon risks losing any goodwill with May’s government by also promising on Thursday to vote against the UK government ’s bill to leave the EU – regardless of the powers on offer to Holyrood. That stance is likely to entrench opposition to increased powers for Scotland among UK cabinet ministers.

Sturgeon will meet May in late October at a joint ministerial committee meeting between the prime minister and leaders of the UK’s three devolved governments, where a formal deal on involving the devolved administrations will also be signed.

Signalling what would be on her agenda at that meeting, Sturgeon said: “Over the next few weeks we will table specific proposals to protect Scotland’s interests in Europe and keep us in the single market – even if the rest of the UK decides to leave.

“It’s clear that beyond hardline rhetoric the UK government has no detailed plan. So the Scottish government will set out a plan for Scotland. We will seek to make this plan a key element of the UK’s article 50 negotiation.

“It will require substantial additional powers for the Scottish parliament .”

Opposition leaders said Sturgeon could have offered a far more constructive vision for reform of Scottish domestic policies but instead had increased the divisions and conflicts with the rest of the UK.

Sturgeon made clear she plans to set out new policies in her main conference address on Saturday, but Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Tory leader, responded: “Her comments show she has given up on speaking for Scotland and is now solely playing to the SNP gallery.

“This isn’t the action of a first minister of Scotland but an SNP fundamentalist who puts independence first, last and always.”

Kezia Dugdale, the Scottish Labour leader, said: “Nicola Sturgeon ’s top priority is to divide our nation once again. But our country is already divided following the Tories’ reckless Brexit gamble and we should not be seeking further divisions.

“Our economy is in trouble, and the last thing we need is the uncertainty of another independence referendum.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**David Loewi of D&D London says putting up barriers to employing workers from Europe would halt growth of businesses

The owner of one of the UK’s biggest restaurant groups has criticised the government’s hardline **immigration**stance[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/brexit-theresa-may-prioritises-immigration-curbs-over-free-movement] as “retrograde” and “bonkers”.

David Loewi, co-owner of the group behind high-end London restaurants Le Pont de la Tour, Coq D’Argent and Quaglino’s, who is also chairman of the Restaurant Association trade body, said erecting barriers to the employment of workers from Europe would be “extremely detrimental and would stop the growth of businesses”.

In an interview with the Guardian, Loewi said the Restaurant Association would be “lobbying hard” against any block on employing talent from the EU and the government only had to look at the fall in the value of the pound[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/12/pound-drops-further-after-davis-hints-uk-could-leave-single-market] in recent months to see how confidence in Britain was being affected by its stance.

About 60% of workers at the London restaurants of Loewi’s group, D&D London, come from overseas, a similar proportion to other restaurant businesses in the capital. UK-wide, a fifth of workers in the accommodation and food services industries come from overseas. The majority of those workers come from the EU.

Loewi said the anti-**immigration** stance taken by the government, combined with news reports of an increase in racist and xenophobic behaviour, had already made employing staff from abroad more difficult.

“There are so many UK industries that would not be able to work without EU employees. We welcome English workers but we shouldn’t be looking at where people come from if they can do a wonderful job. [Overseas workers] make London what it is and are important, certainly in the restaurant and hotel trades and the NHS,” Loewi said.

His comments come as the government faces growing criticism over its **immigration** stance since the Conservative conference when the home secretary, Amber Rudd, said it was considering requiring companies to declare the proportion of international staff[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers] in their workforce. Rudd later backtracked on the proposal, saying it was “not something we’re definitely going to do”[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers].

At the Tory conference Rudd also announced a crackdown on overseas students and work visas[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/04/rudd-announces-crackdown-on-overseas-students-and-new-work-visas], and pledged to prevent migrants “taking jobs British people could do”.

Loewi said Rudd’s comments were “completely bonkers, very negative and upsetting for a lot of fellow Europeans and people from all over the world who work in London and the rest of the UK. People will twice about coming here, paying their taxes.

“The restaurant business in London pays very well and conditions are good. It’s an exciting and fantastic career because you can move up and start your own business. But we can only grow and open more restaurants if we can find the staff. [Amber Rudd’s suggestions] are a retrograde and negative step.”

D&D recently revealed a 3% rise in sales to £107.8m and 16% rise in underlying profits to £13m. Last year it ditched plans for a London listing and saw its slowest sales growth in years as diners reined in their spending ahead of and immediately after the Brexit vote.

Des Gunewardena, Loewi’s fellow co-owner of D&D, said the government needed to be “armed very clearly with the positive impact of people coming from the EUon industries like ours and the NHS so they can negotiate rationally”.

He believes it is unlikely the government will ultimately block the hiring of skilled workers from the EU, although D&D is already working to train more Brits to work in its kitchens and dining rooms.

June, the month of the vote, was “rubbish” but individuals had swiftly returned to dining out two weeks after the vote.

“For two weeks afterwards it was doom and gloom. But then the financial markets didn’t collapse and everyone said ‘we’re not going to lose our jobs tomorrow. We’ve had the vote and going to Brexit, but we don’t know what the shape of that is going to be for the next few years and so I’m going back out to lunch and dinner.’ Since then the business has been trading strongly.

“Individual consumers are very positive. Going out to eat in a restaurant is a short-term decision not based on how things will be financially in three years’ time. They are spending money and I think that’s going to continue.”

D&D, which currently has the vast majority of its 34 restaurants in London, is planning to power into the north of the UK with hopes of opening in Leeds, Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Birmingham.

The company opened its first UK restaurants outside the capital – Angelica and Crafthouse – in the Trinity shopping centre in Leeds in 2013.

Gunewardena said the Leeds sites had been much more successful than expected and two more restaurants would be opening in the city later this year in the Victoria Gate development. The group’s first site in Manchester opens next year and it is seeking sites in other major UK cities.

“In London there is lots of demand but lots of restaurants. There is not as much demand in Leeds or Manchester or Edinburgh but there aren’t as many restaurants,” Gunewardena said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Growing anxiety among European electorates has led the EU to pay millions to Sudan’s dictator Omar al-Bashir, wanted for war crimes, to police migration from the Horn of Africa

In 2009 the international criminal court issued an arrest warrant for Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir on seven counts of crimes against humanity and war crimes. In 2010 it issued a further warrant on three counts of genocide. He is the only sitting head of state charged with committing genocide against his own people. In a majority Arab country, the ethnically African groups, especially those around the Darfur area, have long been politically marginalised. But since 2003 Bashir has been trying to systematically eliminate them, not least through his proxies, the hated Janjaweed (literally “devils on horseback”) militia, notorious for their cruelty. To take one example out of many: in February 2004, the Janjaweed attacked a boarding school in Darfur, forcing 110 girls to strip at gunpoint before raping many of them and burning down their school. Little wonder tens of thousands have been fleeing for their lives.

And it gets worse. Last month, Amnesty International released a report[https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/09/chemical-weapons-attacks-darfur/] with evidence that, earlier this year, Bashir’s air force had been dropping chemical weapons on some of the remoter villages. It is hard to get the soil samples that would fully evidence such a claim – foreigners, even UN-African Union peacekeepers – are not allowed in the region. But the horrific photographs of children with blistered skin and bleeding eyes look very much like the effects of some version of mustard gas. No, it’s not a competition, but as the world is rightly concerned with the plight of the people of Aleppo, there are others – in perhaps more out of the way places – who get far less of our attention.

But why has the UK government given no official statement on the evidence of chemical weapons use? Could it be that it wants to play down the significance of these attacks because the Bashir regime has now become an EU partner in the management of African **immigration** to Europe?

Last November, at a meeting in Malta, the EU came up with the Khartoum process[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2015/11/11-12/]. Desperate to respond to the migration “crisis”, it signed an agreement for “enhanced cooperation on migration and mobility”, giving Sudan €100m over three years, with another €46m specifically allocated for border control, training border police and establishing holding centres. And it’s often the Janjaweed that do the job of policing borders.

Outrageous doesn’t begin to cover it. Sudanese government officials are in London again this week for more “strategic dialogue” on migration cooperation. It seems that, because European electorates are getting increasingly anxious about **immigration**, we are now prepared to make a deal with the devil, funding to the tune of many millions a man who would be arrested for genocide were he to step foot on our shores. And why? Because Bashir has promised to help the EU stop people fleeing to Europe at source. The fact that they are fleeing his death squads and chemical weapons attacks isn’t being mentioned. We play down the genocide against his own people because he is now a valued “partner” on **immigration** and at the centre of one of the established migration routes from the Horn of Africa.

Not everyone is fleeing from Bashir’s bombs. In South Sudan, for instance, a civil war has left tens of thousands on the very edge of starvation, living off goat bones and water lilies. In the capital, Juba, traders are now cutting their tomatoes in half because people can’t afford to buy a whole one. To dismiss those who flee such horrors as mere “economic migrants”, as if all they want is some gilded consumer lifestyle of TVs and PlayStations, is wilfully blind and manifestly cruel.

And, by the way, let’s not blame any of this on Brexit. The shoddy Khartoum deal was an EU deal. And it took place over six months before we voted on EUmembership. Der Spiegel reported[http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/eu-to-work-with-despot-in-sudan-to-keep-refugees-out-a-1092328.html] that the 28 EUstates had agreed to secrecy about the deal. “Under no circumstances” should the public find out what was going on, the EU commission warned. Maybe that’s why we are not hearing so much about Bashir dropping chemical weapons on his own people. Freaked by **immigration**, the EU is now prepared to do business with murderers.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Watchdog says hundreds lost licences or were wrongly refused bank accounts under moves to create ‘hostile environment’

Hundreds of people have been wrongly refused bank accounts or had their driving licences revoked under the former home secretary Theresa May’s measures to “create a hostile environment for illegal **immigrants**”[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/oct/10/immigration-bill-theresa-may-hostile-environment], the **immigration** watchdog has revealed.

David Bolt, the chief inspector of borders and **immigration**, said the Home Office had failed to appreciate the potential impact of such wrong decisions on those affected.

His inspection, published on Thursday[http://icinspector.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Hostile-environment-driving-licences-and-bank-accounts-January-to-July-2016.pdf], shows that more than 250 people who had their driving licences revoked last year had been wrongfully identified as illegal **immigrants**, as were 10% of those denied a bank or building society account for the same reason.

The chief inspector’s first assessment of the initial 2014 phase of May’s “hostile environment measures” to deny public and private services to people with no legal right to be in the UK raises questions over whether ministers are justified with pressing ahead with phase two, due to come into effect next year.

The second phase will create a new offence of driving unlawfully in Britain and banks and building societies will be empowered to close the accounts of illegal migrants and freeze their assets.

Bolt said there was insufficient hard evidence to determine whether the measures were achieving what the government intended, such as an increase in those voluntarily returning home. A proper evaluation was needed – not least because of concerns about their potential damage to communities and individuals.

In a separate report commissioned by May in January when she was still home secretary, the chief inspector also revealed that almost 200,000 foreign nationals had been arrested in 2014-15 in England and Wales.

But the police asked the Home Office to carry out **immigration** status checks on only 30% of the foreign nationals arrested outside of London. When the Metropolitan police force was included, the proportion whose **immigration** status was checked rose to just over 50% nationally.

The “hostile measures” report reveals that 9,732 people had their driving licences revoked in 2015 after Home Office checks on their **immigration** status – close to the 10,000 a year target set by ministers. In total 20,000 people have had their driving licences revoked since the measure was introduced in July 2014.

Bolt said, however, that human error and poor quality of Home Office data led to 259 people who were not in the country illegally having their driving licences revoked in 2015, and the Driving and Vehicle Licensing Agency had to reinstate them.

“While these cases amounted to a small percentage of the total numbers of revocations, the Home Office did not appear to appreciate the seriousness of such errors for the individuals affected,” said the chief inspector.

“This was particularly true where a licence had been revoked when the individual had departed the UK before their leave had expired,” added Bolt, saying that if they returned without knowing their licence had been revoked they could leave themselves open to being disqualified if they drove on British roads believing they held a valid licence.

He questions the effectiveness of this particular “hostile environment” measure, noting that only 583 of the 9,732 people who had their licences revoked in 2015 subsequently left the country. On top of that only 475 revoked licences were actually returned to the DVLA in 2014-15.

The chief inspector says it is not possible to say how many people were refused a bank or building society account on the grounds of being in the country illegally because the 2014 law does not require them to report customer refusals from **immigration** status checks.

But he said that a sample of 169 case files of those refused accounts showed that 17 – 10% – should not have been listed as “disqualified persons” on **immigration** grounds, despite the list being updated weekly.

A Home Office spokesperson said: “As the home secretary announced earlier this month, we will be introducing measures that will mean that banks will have to do regular checks to ensure that they are not providing banking services to illegal migrants. Furthermore, we are introducing a new power to search for and seize UK driving licences held by those living in the UK unlawfully.

“The measures discussed in the independent chief inspector’s report should not be seen in isolation, but as part of the wider action we are taking that has made it harder than ever before for illegal migrants to live in this country.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Embassy in London handles more cases in a month than in whole of 2015, while passport requests double in three months after referendum

Applications for both Irish citizenship and passports have soared since Britain voted to leave the European Union in June, as thousands of people seek to mitigate the effects of Brexit on their lives, government figures show.

In all, more than 37,000 people in the UK and Northern Ireland applied for Irish passports in the three months after 23 June – 83% more than for the same months in 2015.

Additionally, in the three months following the referendum, the Irish embassy in London received more than 2,800 applications for citizenship from people on the Foreign Births Register (individuals with Irish ancestry). This compares with 235 applications in the first three months of 2016. In July alone, more cases were handled than in the whole of 2015.

The number of citizenship applications from British nationals resident in Ireland has also shot up, from 61 applications in the first nine months of 2015 to 351 in the same period in 2016, a six-fold increase.

According to Office for National Statistics’ estimates for 2015, there are 332,000 Irish-born individuals living in the UK. However, the number of people who could be eligible for Irish citizenship in the UK is much greater.

Correspondence between the Irish Passport Service and the Irish Secretary General’s Office in July stated that an “initial and conservative estimate puts the number of people in GB and NI eligible for Irish citizenship and a passport … at 2.1m”, excluding those who already have citizenship.

According to the Irish Central Statistics Office, there were 117,000 UK nationals living in Ireland in mid-2015.

Such is the surge in interest that a member of Ireland’s parliament is now calling on the Dublin government to halve the cost of applying for citizenship to encourage more Britons to take Irish nationality. It costs almost €1,000 to become an Irish citizen, which is two times higher than the EU average.

Among those applying to become an Irish citizen after the Brexit vote is Michelle Heming, who has been in Ireland so long that when she returns to her native Nottingham no one outside her family believes she is English.

Married to an Irishman with two children in a prosperous part of south County Dublin, Heming said what while she would always support the England football and rugby teams, it was time for her to take up Irish citizenship.

“When we travel together, are we going to have go into different lines now? Am I going to be separated from husband and children in airports and ports? I don’t think I would have looked for Irish citizenship before Brexit but now I really would prefer no issues when I am travelling. Or what if we had to relocate due to a new job to another part of the EU? Being an Irish citizen would eliminate any hassle in employment too.

“If it wasn’t for Brexit I wouldn’t give up my British passport [in fact, it is possible to hold dual nationality] as I do see myself as British. I am not Irish even though I have an Irish accent, my children are Irish and I love living here.”

In another part of south County Dublin, close to the residency of the British ambassador, Jean Gargan Smith and her English husband are getting his citizenship application ready.

Dave Smith, who works as a manager for a biopharmaceutical company in Ireland, spends a lot of time travelling, including one week a month in the United States at his employer’s headquarters.

“After our second child was born Jean and I did discuss me applying for Irish citizenship but after the Brexit vote I became convinced I need to do so now. It highlighted the issue again. We were on holiday when the Brexit result was announced and we were shocked at the outcome. I still find it hard to believe to this day that the UK is heading out of the EU,” he said.

Like Michelle Heming, Smith has concerns about both work trips and family holidays, and the possibility of being separated from his wife and children at airports.

Smith, who comes from Derbyshire, feared Brexit would make it more complicated for those like him still having to travel on a UK passport.

“With an Irish passport I can travel freely on business anywhere around Europe. I am one of the unlucky ones as my ancestors emigrated in the 19th century to Australia and eventually returned to Britain. They were originally from Ireland but their roots are too far back for me to claim automatic citizenship. So there is only one route I have to take and that is to apply to become an Irish citizen.”

The process is not quick. Gargan Smith has been told it could take up to 12 months.

It’s not just Britons living in Ireland who are thinking of applying for citizenship. Expatriates living in France and Spain are making inquiries too, according to department officials.

Aside from the backlog in applications following Brexit, the other barrier in the way of Irish citizenship for Ireland’s Brits is the cost. At €975 Ireland, alongside Austria, is the most expensive place in the EU to apply to become a citizen.

Related: Britain to push post-Brexit UK **immigration** controls back to Irish border[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/09/britain-to-push-post-brexit-uk-immigration-controls-back-to-irish-border]

Senator Neale Richmond from the ruling Fine Gael party, who knows the Gargan Smith family, is campaigning to halve the fee. “We have to make it easier for people to become Irish citizens and that has to start with the cost,” he said. “It is in our economic interest to encourage people like Dave and others in the same situation to become full citizens of this state.

“The current fee is exorbitant and we should be doing everything we can to encourage tax-paying, wealth-generating, talented people living in Ireland from countries like Britain to become fully fledged Irish citizens,” Richmond said.

British citizens living in the Irish Republic are strictly speaking not “non nationals” under Ireland’s **immigration** laws. Thanks to the pre-EU Common Travel Area there is unique freedom of movement for Irish and British people between the two islands.

The 380,000 Irish people in the UK are also not considered to be from a foreign country under British law.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**An existing Muslim congregation seeking a larger building has had to face opposition from a militia group that claims it will be an Isis training ground

A Muslim congregation in central Georgia that wants to build a mosque faces opposition from an armed “3%” militia that has terrorized county officials and smeared the mosque as a training ground for the Islamic State.

The militia’s actions have forced the cancellation of a county meeting meant to discuss the application to build the mosque, a move commissioners blamed on “uncivil threats or intentions [that] must be taken seriously”.

Questioned by the Guardian, the county sheriff said investigations into the activities of the militia, which released a video in which the site of the proposed mosque appeared to be trespassed upon, had involved “limited conversations”.

Another officer asked the Guardian to forward any information it had on the militia’s leader.

The imam of the congregation issued a statement in which he called for all concerned to follow the example of the prophets, who he said “exercised patience and treated their neighbors well”.

“This all started back in August,” Macrae Brennan-Fuller, spokeswoman for Newton County, told the Guardian with a sigh.

The members of Al Maad Al Islami have worshipped for a decade at the home of imam Mohammad Islam in tiny Doraville, Georgia[http://www.doravillega.us/], but the congregation has now become big enough to need its own building.

The members bought 135 acres about 40 miles south of Atlanta, in rural Newton County. The mosque would only require a small section of the land, which would otherwise be used for a cemetery, a park and possibly a school.

Newton County is solid Trump country, however, and the presidential candidate’s suspicion of Muslim **immigrants** revealed itself in local reaction. On 11 August, county commissioner John Douglas asked in the Rockdale Citizen[http://www.rockdalecitizen.com/news/local/reaction-to-mosque-plan-mostly-critical/article\_45e8eeff-64cb-5274-b11b-94b3361f68b2.html] newspaper: “Would building those things make us a prime area for the federal government to resettle **refugees** from the Middle East?”

Soon there was a Facebook page, called Stop the Mosque, alongside videos of armed and masked men firing weapons and setting off explosives[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EWnWrsHN\_wI&feature=youtu.be] in Georgia’s woodlands. The hashtags, the camouflage getup and clumsy maneuvers might have seemed silly, except the ammunition and demolition equipment were real.

By mid-August, Newton County’s commissioners had enacted a temporary ban on building any places of worship, a reversal for a body that a few years ago passed a zoning ordinance[http://www.co.newton.ga.us/home/showdocument?id=1434] designed to allow unimpeded construction of places described as “cathedral, chapel, church, synagogue, temple, mosque, tabernacle”.

An opposing outcry arose in support of the mosque, and the US Department of Justice reviewed a complaint by the Council on American-Islamic Relations. Under pressure, the commission set a date in mid-September to lift the ban. But just before meeting day, a militia emerged, calling itself the Georgia Security Force III% (GSF).

Related: Oregon standoff tension mounts as so-called '3%' groups refuse to leave[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/10/oregon-standoff-three-percenter-groups]

Three Percenters[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/10/oregon-standoff-three-percenter-groups] are a collection so-called patriot groups, scattered around the US and loosely affiliated. They draw their name from a claim that only a noble 3% of the American colonies’ population fought against the British in the American revolution. In reality, the colonies’ population at the time was about 2.5 million, of whom half were women, others were children, others old or infirm – and about 250,000 still fought.

The Georgia group’s leader, Chris Hill, is a paralegal who also goes by the pseudonyms Bloodagent Hill and Chris Doberman. He did not return messages from the Guardian. But according to the group’s site[http://www.iiisecurityforce.com/] and social media[https://www.facebook.com/GSFIII/], its members hold a range of contradictory views.

They are training to fight both the US government and enemies of the US government; they wave both the American flag and the southern Confederate battle flag; they say they support the US constitution but not the right of Muslims to express religious freedom.

As the Newton County meeting approached, the GSF released a video set outside a church across the road from the mosque’s proposed site. In it the force’s members – some paunchy and gray, some teenage and waifish – stood in poses, holding up three-fingers like a misplaced street gang. But their guns were real and their rhetoric was incendiary.

The video has since been taken down but Hill, a former US marine[http://www.rawstory.com/2016/09/construction-of-georgia-mosque-halted-due-to-threats-by-armed-militia/], claimed the proposed mosque had ties to Isis training, the September 11 attacks, the Boston marathon bombing, the Fort Hood shooting and more. Its members, he said, followed the antichrist. Another man hung an American flag on what appeared to be the mosque’s future site, an act which would have required trespassing.

The posts shook the Newton County commission. It canceled the meeting and posted a notice[http://www.co.newton.ga.us/Home/Components/News/News/2501/17] on its website: “A self-made video circulated on social media of a militia group from a neighboring county, may have been trespassing on private property, and exhibiting harassing or violent behavior.

“Unfortunately in today’s society, uncivil threats or intentions must be taken seriously.”

Brennan-Fuller, the county’s spokeswoman, said the commission never met to lift the temporary ban, which expired on 20 September.

“I hope that’s the end of it,” she said.

That seems unlikely. After the GSF bullied the Newton County commission, Sheriff Ezell Brown[http://ezellbrownforsheriff.com/] pledged to investigate the group. Reached on Wednesday by the Guardian, he said: “I’ve had limited conversations about it.”

Brown’s spokeswoman, Sergeant Courtney Morrison, said: “We don’t have any reports against the security force.”

Hill, the GSF leader, lives in neighboring Henry County. Captain Joey Smith[http://www.co.henry.ga.us/police/bio\_JSmith.shtml] of the Henry County police said he had heard of the protests but did not know Hill lived in Henry County. He said someone in the department may know of Hill, and asked the Guardian to forward its information on him.

“Anything you have would be helpful,” he said.

The congregation, in the meantime, hopes to make peace with its new neighbors before breaking new ground.

“As Muslims, we believe that God has commanded us to follow the teachings of the prophets Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, who exercised patience and treated their neighbors well, even in the face of injustice,” Imam Islam said in a written statement.

“For that reason, we consider building bridges with our neighbors far more important than immediately building a new cemetery and house of worship.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Leaving the EU will isolate Britain internationally and squander its historic influence – just when this region in conflict needs it most

Described by some as the UK’s Arab spring[http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/brexit-result-leave-arab-spring-protest-vote-boris-johnson-nigel-farage-a7101276.html], the vote for Brexit has been celebrated by its supporters as the anti-establishment, anti-status quo act that will reinvigorate the fortunes of the nation. Yet, like the Arab spring, we now know there is no plan for Brexit. Disarray and disorganisation has followed and, while Britons may not be subjected to the misery the Arab world has suffered, that does not mean all will be well.

Related: How should the UK respond to the crisis in Syria? | The panel[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/12/how-should-uk-respond-syria-crisis]

The decision to leave the EU could not have come at a worse time: the international community is undergoing major upheaval and faces what Sir John Sawers, a former head of MI6, has described as “ cold war-era threat levels[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/world-faces-cold-war-era-threat-levels-former-mi6-chief-sir-john-sawers].” Popular perception has pushed foreign policy to the margins – largely because of costly wars in Iraq and Afghanistan – but whether it is confronting terrorism, economic uncertainty or the belligerence of Russia and China, it would be a mistake to assume global events have no consequence in the UK.

Globalisation has dramatically reduced the notion of remote threats. What happens in a village in Afghanistan or in Isis-occupied territory threatens our interests at home. Britain now risks being left weakened, but just as exposed to international crises as it was before.

These crises are most acute in the Middle East. The UK has significant soft power there and strong bilateral ties that can be traced to its colonial history. Indeed, the majority of those that attempt to reach the UK are from conflict zones such as Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, whose citizens generally prefer the UK as their final destination because of the English language, its global status and its tolerance for different faiths and cultures.

But the UK now faces a Middle East and a global order in which fragile and failed states are on the increase, as are militias and terrorists with access to significant resources and large swaths of territory. These are the causes, and multipliers, of problems such as the **refugee** crisis or jihadi terrorism and they are not going anywhere anytime soon, with or without Brexit.

While at times we could turn one eye away from conflict zones and rely on the resources of the European collective to do the job for us, we could now find ourselves insufficiently equipped at a time of economic uncertainty. The country is shifting resources away from its defence capabilities and is diverging from interventionist and unilateral policies abroad. The Conservative government has often highlighted the need to deal with the root causes of issues such as the **refugee** crisis. But any calls for greater EU aid for **refugees**[http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-34248461] or the relaxation of EU trade rules[http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-mideast-crisis-britain-eu-idUKKCN0UY00N] to spur economic growth and alleviate the plight of **refugees** may now fall on deaf ears.

British influence on the global stage has been multiplied by the EU

In practical terms, leaving the EU means Britain will lack the ability to encourage European partners to invest energy and resources into places such as Iraq and Libya, where jihadi groups continue to thrive and where sectarian conflict has taken the country to the brink. It also means being unable to exert pressure and push for political reform in places that suffer from weak institutions or violent governments. Economic uncertainty in the UK will also mean trade is prioritised with countries whose political environments exacerbate the threats we face. This will have the inadvertent effect of placing the UK on the faultline of the worsening sectarian war between the regional powers Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Related: We need to stop calling it hard Brexit. This is chaotic Brexit | Owen Jones[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/11/hard-brexit-chaotic-leaving-eu-labour-tories-economic]

The EU has been far from perfect. And the UK has not maximised its opportunities for multilateral cooperation on the many challenges and crises facing the international community. Despite these challenges, however, British influence on the global stage has been multiplied by the EU, as was clear with the recent Iranian nuclear deal[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/14/iran-nuclear-deal-key-points]. And Syria shows that where we do not step in, others such as Russia will, with disastrous consequences for peace and stability.

There could be more optimism for the future if the UK invested in its foreign policy and actually had a strategy with direction and purpose. There is little to suggest that Theresa May’s government will address foreign policy shortcomings as it grapples with political and economic problems at home. Brexit will not only hurt our capacity to address international challenges but we also lack a proactive foreign policy to take its place.

It could be the despots, the Russians and rising powers such as China who will have the last laugh: isolation and division enables them to enhance their own influence and presence in volatile regions such as the Middle East, while also enabling them to challenge the international order.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**600 janitors who clean Target, Macy’s and Best Buy stores will start collective bargaining for better conditions after a highly unorthodox organizing drive

Maricela Flores, a 43-year-old **immigrant** from Mexico, was so unhappy at her job as a janitor at a Target store just outside Minneapolis – unhappy about having to work seven days a week, about being paid $8 an hour, about not having health coverage or paid sick days – that she did something unusually risky. She went on strike even though she was not part of a labor union.

When Flores, a mother of five, walked out in February of 2013, she was one of just eight janitors from stores in the Twin Cities to go on strike that day to demand better conditions. Flores was relieved not to get fired.

Related: Massachusetts to adopt equal pay law to break pattern of unfair pay for women[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/02/massachusetts-equal-pay-law-women-salary-history]

Now, 44 months later and after a highly unorthodox organizing drive that included six more one-day strikes, Flores and other janitors who clean Target, Macy’s and Best Buy stores in the Twin Cities are declaring victory. On Thursday, they will announce that 600 janitors have won union recognition and will soon start collective bargaining in the hope of winning higher pay, health coverage and other improvements.

“I could have done nothing, but I chose to fight,” Flores said. “This has been a long fight, but now I feel overjoyed. All the hard work has paid off.”

Flores hopes that her new union, Local 26 of the Service Employees International Union, will bring important gains when it bargains with the retailers’ cleaning contractors. “We want fair work scheduling, health insurance, higher wages,” Flores said in Spanish. “All these things would allow me to be more involved in the daily lives of my children and to have a better quality of life.”

This fight began seven years ago when an **immigrant** workers’ center in Minneapolis – Centro Trabajadores Unidos en Lucha (United Workers Center in Struggle) – contacted janitors at retail stores in the Twin Cities area. That workers’ center, known as CTUL, formed an organizing committee, led a three-mile protest march, held a 12-day hunger strike and sponsored a series of steadily expanding one-day strikes, which aimed to pressure retail powerhouses like Target and Best Buy, both based in the Twin Cities, to give the janitors a voice at work.

The effort grew more ambitious, with its focus turning towards getting Target to adopt a Responsible Contractor Policy. Target adopted such a policy in 2014, requiring its contractors to comply with labor and wage laws, and the janitors’ focus then changed to forming a labor union, convinced that this was the best way to win better conditions.

Labor experts say this is probably the most successful effort to unionize retail store janitors in the US. “The retail janitorial industry has been overwhelmingly non-union – it was viewed by most people as ‘unorganizable,’” said Stephen Lerner, the former head of the SEIU’s Justice for Janitors Campaign, which unionized tens of thousands of office building janitors nationwide.

Javier Morillo, the president of Local 26, noted a disconnect in the way Target’s janitors are treated. A unionized janitor “who cleans Target’s corporate headquarters makes over $15 an hour and has health benefits”, he said. “But if you clean inside a store, you make close to the minimum wage and have no health coverage or other benefits. It’s strange. It’s the same work.”

The campaign faced some major hurdles, among them that few janitors spoke English; that they were from many countries, from El Salvador to Somalia; and that many were undocumented. Veronica Mendez Moore, CTUL’s co-director, said the effort faced two other big obstacles: employee isolation and the complex structure of the industry.

Her group sought to contact janitors at 300 stores in the Twin Cities area, with many stores having just one or two janitors, who often worked after midnight.

“It’s a complicated industry structure with all these retailers and contractors so it was hard to figure out strategy,” Mendez said. “And these workers felt very isolated. It’s hard for them to feel there are other workers standing up with them. We did a lot of work to find ways to connect workers.” Organizers arranged conference calls that connected dozens of janitors, who for the first time could hear other janitors speaking out. Often, individual organizers drove to stores after midnight and used their mobile phones to connect one or two janitors to a conference call.

“It doesn’t seem revolutionary, but workers haven’t done anything like this,” Mendez said. “It was very intense to connect workers this way. They’re scattered all over the suburbs.”

The increasingly connected janitors grew more emboldened, holding several protests outside Target stores in Minneapolis. For Target these strikes became a headache. After the second strike, Target executives sat down with several CTUL leaders and janitors. Ultimately Target agreed to a Responsible Contractor Policy, which requires contractors not to break the law in fighting against unionization. The janitors also protested at a Best Buy shareholders meeting, helping to persuade that company to hire a new cleaning contractor that CTUL viewed as “responsible.”.

“These strikes really helped, they really pressured the companies to do the right thing,” said Ramon Hernandez, a janitor at Best Buy stores. He told of a cleaning contractor who cheated him and his coworkers out of overtime by forcing them – when working more than 40 hours a week – to punch in under the name of a “ghost” employee.

CTUL and the janitors brought several lawsuits against such wage theft, winning settlements that totaled more than $1m in back pay and damages. As a result of the campaign, the area’s retailers jettisoned some law-breaking contractors and hired better ones to replace them, helping to shrink the number of major contractors to four, from 20.

The janitors are winning recognition from three cleaning contractors, IFS, Carlson Building Maintenance and Prestige Maintenance. The companies agreed to begin bargaining under a trigger mechanism – only once the janitors gained recognition from contractors that clean 60% of the area’s roughly 300 big box stores. Officials from IFS, Carlson and Prestige did not respond to phone messages.

“The trigger means the contractors aren’t sticking out their necks too much,” Mendez said. In other words, they won’t have to increase costs because of a union agreement unless their competitors are doing the same thing.

Molly Snyder, a Target spokeswoman, said the retailer has a “strong commitment to maintaining high standards” for its cleaners and encouraged its contractors and CTUL “to have an honest and open dialogue that is focused on finding mutually agreement solutions”.

“We are very pleased by the progress that our vendors have made in that effort,” she said.

The Twin Cities campaign is unusual in that a workers’ center has worked so closely with a labor union. Morillo, Local 26’s president, noted that some labor leaders criticize worker centers for doing little to unionize workers.

“The importance of this is that five years ago, this market looked unorganizable, in the way that many low-wage and contingent workers seem unorganizable for traditional collective bargaining,” Morillo said. “That’s the big innovation here.”

Mendez said worker centers in other cities have called CTUL for advice on how they, too, can mobilize and organize retail janitors.

“A lot has changed for us,” said Maricela Flores, the janitor. “That first day I went on strike I was very afraid, afraid of getting fired. But I had to fight to change things to have a better life for me and my family. I was willing to take the risk to bring changes.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Nearly 10 allegations surfaced against Trump late Wednesday; Bob Dylan scoops up the Nobel prize for literature; Central America battles **refugee** crisis

Trump faces raft of allegations about behavior towards women Donald Trump is facing a torrent of allegations about his behaviour towards women, countering his claims at last week’s debate that he had only engaged in “locker room talk” and that his remarks about groping women without their consent in a leaked 2005 recording were “just words”. Nearly 10 allegations surfaced late on Wednesday. Two women, Jessica Leeds and Rachel Crooks, told the New York Times that Trump had groped or kissed them without consent. “He was like an octopus,” Leeds said of the airplane encounter 35 years ago. “His hands were everywhere.”

Another woman, Mindy McGillivray, claimed she was groped by the Republican nominee at a Trump foundation event in Florida while Natasha Stoynoff, a reporter for People magazine, said Trump forced himself on her in 2005. Two Miss USA contestants claimed Trump walked in when they were naked in a dressing room. “Mr Trump just barged right in, didn’t say anything, stood there and stared at us,” one told The Guardian.[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/12/donald-trump-miss-usa-dressing-room-2001-rehearsal] Five Miss Teen USA contestants also told Buzzfeed he had entered their dressing room while the young women – aged between 15 and 19 – were getting changed. And a recording emerged in which Trump appears to sexualise a 10-year-old girl. A spokesman for the campaign called the allegations a “co-ordinated character assassination” and his lawyers have since threatened to sue the New York Times.

Trump campaign rocked by new wave of sexual harassment allegations[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/12/donald-trump-women-new-sexual-harassment-stories]

The Nobel prize for literature goes to … Bob Dylan Bob Dylan was named the surprise winner of the Nobel prize for literature in Stockholm today “for having created new poetic expressions with the great American song tradition”. Sara Danils, permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy said: “He’s a great sampler and for 54 years he has been at it, reinventing himself.” Never short of lyrics, Dylan, aka Robert Zimmerman of Hibbings, Minnesota, has written in excess of 350 songs over the course of his career. In the preface to a recently published compendium[http://bobdylan.com/news/the-lyrics-since-1962-available-now/] of Dylan’s lyrics, Al Kooper (the man behind the organ on Like a Rolling Stone), said: “Bob is the equivalent of William Shakespeare. What Shakespeare did in his time, Bob does in his time.”

Bob Dylan wins 2016 Nobel prize in literature[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/oct/13/bob-dylan-wins-2016-nobel-prize-in-literature]

Central America’s invisible **refugee** crisis An estimated 80,000 people from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, mostly families and unaccompanied children, are expected to apply for asylum overseas this year – a 658% increase since 2011, according to the UN **refugee** agency (UNHCR). Tens of thousands more will be forcibly displaced, but not seek international help, driven by a toxic mix of warring gangs and corrupt security forces that is driving one of the world’s least visible **refugee** crises.

Central America’s rampant violence fuels an invisible **refugee** crisis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/13/central-america-violence-refugee-crisis-gangs-murder]

Wells Fargo CEO retires without severance Wells Fargo’s chief executive and chairman, John Stumpf, is retiring effective immediately from both the bank and the board in the wake of the scandal over its sales practices. Early in September, Wells Fargo announced that it had reached a $185m settlement with US regulators for opening more than 2m accounts without customers’ permission. “You should resign,” Massachusetts senator Elizabeth Warren told Stumpf last month. “You should give back the money that you took while this scam was going on, and you should be criminally investigated.”

Wells Fargo chief John Stumpf retires in wake of fake account scandal[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/12/wells-fargo-ceo-john-stumpf-retires-fake-accounts]

Airbnb faces new scrutiny over ‘illegal hotels’ Airbnb is facing renewed calls for a federal investigation from more than a dozen US cities, boosting senator Elizabeth Warren’s efforts to force the popular home-sharing startup to release data on its affordable housing impact. A coalition of American lawmakers are urging the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) on Thursday to “help cities to protect consumers”. The letter marks an escalation of a growing national campaign to force Airbnb to eliminate illegal hotels that are believed to be contributing to affordable housing shortages and urban displacement.

Lawmakers join Elizabeth Warren’s call for US to ‘step in’ on illegal Airbnb hotels[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/oct/13/airbnb-cities-urge-government-crackdown-elizabeth-warren]

US strikes Houthi radar sites in Yemen The United States has launched its first strike on Houthi-controlled territory in Yemen in retaliation for days of attacks on a navy warship, becoming an active combatant in a brutal war led by Washington’s ally Saudi Arabia. The sites were described as being involved in two missile attacks over the past four days on the destroyer USS Mason, operating out of the Bab al-Mandeb waterway between Yemen and east Africa.

US enters Yemen war, bombing Houthis who launched missiles at navy ship[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/13/us-enters-yemen-war-bombing-houthis-who-launched-missiles-at-navy-ship]

Billionaires taking a hit The world’s billionaires saw their wealth shrink by an average of £215m ($262m) each last year, as economic headwinds made themselves felt. A report published on Thursday by UBS and PricewaterhouseCoopers has found that falling commodity prices helped put billionaires under pressure at a time of stalling growth in technology and finance, the motors of wealth creation. And while Asia is creating a new billionaire every three days, the US billionaire population only grew by five in 2015. 160 people lost their billionaire status, including those who died.

World’s billionaires lose £215m each as global economy struggles[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/13/world-billionaires-lose-wealth-global-economy-struggles-study]

Late Night TVs influence on voters Over the past few years, late-night comedy has been taken far more seriously than in the days when Johnny Carson was a host. “It somehow feels different,” noted Charlie Rose. But can it influence voters? “I think [comedy] has an effect,” Saturday Night Live producer Lorne Michaels recently told the Washington Post, “but we don’t influence people in how to vote.” Comedians love to tap into the relationship between the promise of knowledge being power and power being meaningless, writes Evan Fleischer. But comedy is comedy. And power is power.

Can late-night TV hosts influence the way we vote?[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/oct/13/late-night-tv-host-donald-trump-voter-influence-us-election]

In case you missed it … It may not have the cut-and-thrust of The Devil Wears Prada but former US Vogue intern R J Hernández and author of An Innocent Fashion has his own identity-focused take on prejudices, or lack thereof, in that industry. “I think that, at the moment, there’s an attempt to be more accepting of diversity,” says Hernández. “But, in reality, I feel like that’s happening because it’s a trend. No one in fashion really cares about a diverse world.”

‘No one in fashion really cares about a diverse world’ – R J Hernández[https://www.theguardian.com/fashion/2016/oct/13/no-one-in-fashion-really-cares-about-a-diverse-world-r-j-hernandez]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Trump supporters are not the caricatures journalists depict – and native Kansan Sarah Smarsh sets out to correct what newsrooms get wrong

Last March, my 71-year-old grandmother, Betty, waited in line for three hours to caucus for Bernie Sanders. The wait to be able to cast her first-ever vote in a primary election was punishing, but nothing could have deterred her. Betty – a white woman who left school after ninth grade, had her first child at age 16 and spent much of her life in severe poverty – wanted to vote.

So she waited with busted knees that once stood on factory lines. She waited with smoking-induced emphysema and the false teeth she’s had since her late 20s – both markers of our class. She waited with a womb that in the 1960s, before Roe v Wade, she paid a stranger to thrust a wire hanger inside after she discovered she was pregnant by a man she’d fled after he broke her jaw.

Betty worked for many years as a probation officer for the state judicial system in Wichita, Kansas, keeping tabs on men who had murdered and raped. As a result, it’s hard to faze her, but she has pronounced Republican candidate Donald Trump a sociopath “whose mouth overloads his ass”.

No one loathes Trump – who suggested women should be punished[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/31/us/politics/donald-trump-abortion.html] for having abortions, who said hateful things about groups of people she has loved and worked alongside since childhood, whose pomp and indecency offends her modest, midwestern sensibility – more than she.

Yet, it is white working-class people like Betty who have become a particular fixation among the chattering class during this election: What is this angry beast, and why does it support Trump?

Not so poor: Trump voters are middle class Hard numbers complicate, if not roundly dismiss, the oft-regurgitated theory that income or education levels predict Trump support, or that working-class whites support him disproportionately. Last month, results of 87,000 interviews [http://papers.ssrn.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2822059] conducted by Gallup showed that those who liked Trump were under no more economic distress or **immigration**-related anxiety than those who opposed him.

According to the study, his supporters didn’t have lower incomes or higher unemployment levels than other Americans. Income data misses a lot; those with healthy earnings might also have negative wealth or downward mobility. But respondents overall weren’t clinging to jobs perceived to be endangered. “Surprisingly”, a Gallup researcher wrote, “there appears to be no link whatsoever between exposure to trade competition and support for nationalist policies in America, as embodied by the Trump campaign.”

Earlier this year, primary exit polls revealed that Trump voters were, in fact, more affluent than most Americans, with a median household income of $72,000[http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-mythology-of-trumps-working-class-support/] – higher than that of Hillary Clinton or Bernie Sanders supporters. Forty-four percent of them had college degrees, well above the national average of 33% among whites or 29% overall. In January, political scientist Matthew MacWilliams reported[http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/01/donald-trump-2016-authoritarian-213533] findings that a penchant for authoritarianism – not income, education, gender, age or race –predicted Trump support.

These facts haven’t stopped pundits and journalists from pushing story after story about the white working class’s giddy embrace of a bloviating demagogue.

In seeking to explain Trump’s appeal, proportionate media coverage would require more stories about the racism and misogyny among white Trump supporters in tony suburbs. Or, if we’re examining economically driven bitterness among the working class, stories about the Democratic lawmakers who in recent decades ended welfare as we knew it, hopped in the sack with Wall Street, and forgot American labor in their global trade agreements.

We don’t need their analysis, and we sure don’t need their tears. What we need is to have our stories told

But, for national media outlets comprised largely of middle- and upper-class liberals, that would mean looking their own class in the face.

The faces journalists do train the cameras on – hateful ones screaming sexist vitriol next to Confederate flags – must receive coverage but do not speak for the communities I know well. That the media industry ignored my home for so long left a vacuum of understanding in which the first glimpse of an economically downtrodden white is presumed to represent the whole.

Part of the current glimpse is JD Vance, author of the bestselling new memoir Hillbilly Elegy[http://www.newyorker.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/culture/cultural-comment/the-lives-of-poor-white-people]. A successful attorney who had a precariously middle-class upbringing in an Ohio steel town, Vance wrote of the chaos that can haunt a family with generational memory of deep poverty. A conservative who says he won’t vote for Trump, Vance speculates about why working-class whites will: cultural anxiety that arises when opioid overdose kills your friends and the political establishment has proven it will throw you under the bus. While his theories may hold up in some corners, in interviews coastal media members have repeatedly asked Vance to speak for the entire white working class.

His interviewers and reviewers often seem relieved to find someone with ownership on the topic whose ideas in large part confirm their own. The New York Timeselection podcast The Run-Up[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/19/podcasts/understanding-the-trump-voter.html?\_r=0] said Vance’s memoir “doubles as a cultural anthropology of the white underclass that has flocked to the Republican presidential nominee’s candidacy.” (The Times teased its review of the book with the tweet, “Want to know more about the people who fueled the rise of Donald Trump?”).

While Vance happens to have roots in Kentucky mining country, most downtrodden whites are not conservative male Protestants from Appalachia. That sometimes seems the only concept of them that the American consciousness can contain: tucked away in a remote mountain shanty like a coal-dust-covered ghost, as though white poverty isn’t always right in front of us, swiping our credit cards at a Target in Denver or asking for cash on a Los Angeles sidewalk.

One-dimensional stereotypes fester where journalism fails to tread. The last time I saw my native class receive substantial focus, before now, was over 20 years ago – not in the news but on the television show Roseanne[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roseanne], the fictional storylines of which remain more accurate than the musings of comfortable commentators in New York studios.

Countless images of working-class progressives including women such as Betty, are thus rendered invisible by a ratings-fixated media that covers elections as horse races and seeks sensational b-roll.

This media paradigm created the tale of a divided America – “red” v “blue”– in which the 42% of Kansans who voted for Barack Obama in 2008 are meaningless.

This year, more Kansans caucused for Bernie Sanders[http://usuncut.com/politics/bernie-sanders-wins-kansas/] than for Donald Trump – a newsworthy point I never saw noted in national press, who perhaps couldn’t fathom that “flyover country” might contain millions of Americans more progressive than their Clinton strongholds.

In lieu of such coverage, media makers cast the white working class as a monolith and imply an old, treacherous story convenient to capitalism: that the poor are dangerous idiots.

Poor whiteness and poor character The two-fold myth about the white working class – that they are to blame for Trump’s rise, and that those among them who support him for the worst reasons exemplify the rest – takes flight on the wings of moral superiority affluent Americans often pin upon themselves.

I have never seen them flap so insistently as in today’s election commentary, where notions of poor whiteness and poor character are routinely conflated.

In an election piece last March in the National Review, writer Kevin Williamson’s assessment of poor white voters – among whom mortality rates have sharply risen in recent decades – expressed what many conservatives and liberals alike may well believe when he observed that communities ravaged by oxycodone use “ deserve to die[https://www.nationalreview.com/nrd/articles/432569/father-f-hrer] ”.

“The white American underclass is in thrall to a vicious, selfish culture whose main products are misery and used heroin needles,” Williamson wrote. “Donald Trump’s speeches make them feel good. So does OxyContin.”

For confirmation that this point is lost on most reporters, not just conservative provocateurs, look no further than a recent Washington Postseries[http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/national/2016/08/31/opiods-and-anti-anxiety-medication-are-killing-white-american-women/] that explored spiking death rates[https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/white-death/] among rural white women by fixating on their smoking habits and graphically detailing the “haggard face” and embalming processes of their corpses[https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/life-lessons-from-a-small-town-undertaker-as-white-women-die-younger-in-america/2016/08/20/a1e64d76-60b6-11e6-af8e-54aa2e849447\_story.html]. Imagine wealthy white woman examined thusly after their deaths. The outrage among family and friends with the education, time, and agency to write letters to the editor would have been deafening.

A sentiment that I care for even less than contempt or degradation is their tender cousin: pity.

In a recent op-ed headlined Dignity and Sadness in the Working Class[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/20/opinion/dignity-and-sadness-in-the-working-class.html], David Brooks told of a laid-off Kentucky metal worker he met. On his last day, the man left to rows of cheering coworkers – a moment I read as triumphant, but that Brooks declared pitiable. How hard the man worked for so little, how great his skills and how dwindling their value, Brooks pointed out, for people he said radiate “the residual sadness of the lonely heart”.

I’m hard-pressed to think of a worse slight than the media figures who have disregarded the embattled white working class for decades now beseeching the country to have sympathy for them. We don’t need their analysis, and we sure don’t need their tears. What we need is to have our stories told, preferably by someone who can walk into a factory without his own guilt fogging his glasses.

One such journalist, Alexander Zaitchik, spent several months on the road in six states getting to know white working-class people who do support Trump. His goal for the resulting new book, The Gilded Rage[http://www.alternet.org/books/gilded-rage-conversation-trump-supporter-will-surprise-you], was to convey the human complexity that daily news misses. Zaitchik wrote that his mission arose from frustration with “‘hot takes’ written by people living several time zones and income brackets away from their subjects”.

Zaitchik wisely described those he met as a “blue-collar middle class”– mostly white people who have worked hard and lost a lot, whether in the market crash of 2008 or the manufacturing layoffs of recent decades. He found that their motivations overwhelmingly “started with economics and ended with economics”. The anger he observed was “pointed up, not down” at those who forgot them when global trade deals were negotiated, not at minority groups.

Meanwhile, the racism and nationalism that surely exist among them also exist among Democrats and higher socioeconomic strata. A poll conducted last spring by Reuters found[http://www.reuters.com/article/usa-election-trump-idUSKBN0TQ2QT20151208] that a third of questioned Democrats supported a temporary ban on Muslims entering the United States. In another, by YouGov, 45%[https://today.yougov.com/news/2015/12/09/most-americans-dislike-islam/] of polled Democrats reported holding an unfavorable view of Islam, with almost no fluctuation based on household income. Those who won’t vote for Trump are not necessarily paragons of virtue, while the rest are easily scapegoated as the country’s moral scourge.

When Hillary Clinton recently declared half of Trump supporters a “basket of deplorables”, Zaitchik told another reporter, the language “could be read as another way of saying ‘white-trash bin’.” Clinton quickly apologized for the comment, the context of which contained compassion for many Trump voters. But making such generalizations at a $6m fundraiser in downtown New York City, at which some attendees paid $50,000 for a seat, recalled for me scenes from the television political satire Veep in which powerful Washington figures discuss “normals” with distaste behind closed doors.

When we talked, Zaitchik mentioned HBO talk-show host Bill Maher, who he pointed out “basically makes eugenics-level arguments about anyone who votes for Donald Trump having congenital defects. You would never get away with talking that way about any other group of people and still have a TV show.”

Maher is, perhaps, the pinnacle of classist smugness. In the summer of 1998, when I was 17 and just out of high school, I worked at a grain elevator during the wheat harvest. An elevator 50 miles east in Haysville, Kansas, exploded (grain dust is highly combustible), killing seven workers[http://www.kansas.com/news/article986253.html]. The accident rattled my community and reminded us about the physical dangers my family and I often faced as farmers.

I kept going to work like everyone else and, after a long day weighing wheat trucks and hauling heavy sacks of feed in and out of the mill, liked to watch Politically Incorrect, the ABC show Maher hosted then. With the search for one of the killed workers’ bodies still under way, Maher joked, as I recall, that the people should check their loaves of Wonder Bread.

That moment was perhaps my first reckoning with the hard truth that, throughout my life, I would politically identify with the same people who often insult the place I am from.

Such derision is so pervasive that it’s often imperceptible to the economically privileged. Those who write, discuss, and publish newspapers, books, and magazines with best intentions sometimes offend with obliviousness.

Many people recommended to me the bestselling new history book White Trash[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/22/books/review-white-trash-ruminates-on-an-american-underclass.html], for instance, without registering that its title is a slur that refers to me and the people I love as garbage. My happy relief that someone set out to tell this ignored thread of our shared past was squashed by my wincing every time I saw it on my shelf, so much so that I finally took the book jacket off. Incredibly, promotional copy for the book commits precisely the elitist shaming Isenberg is out to expose: “(the book) takes on our comforting myths about equality, uncovering the crucial legacy of the ever-present, always embarrassing – if occasionally entertaining –poor white trash.”

The book itself is more sensitively wrought and imparts facts that one hopes would dismantle popular use of its titular term. But even Isenberg can’t escape our classist frameworks.

When On the Media[http://www.wnyc.org/story/americas-long-unaddressed-history-class/] host Brooke Gladstone asked Isenberg, earlier this year, to address long-held perceptions of poor whites as bigots, the author described a conundrum:“They do subscribe to certain views that are undoubtedly racist, and you can’t mask it and pretend that it’s not there. It is very much a part of their thinking.”

Entertain a parallel broad statement about any other disenfranchised group, and you might begin to see how rudimentary class discussion is for this relatively young country that long believed itself to be free of castes. Isenberg has sniffed out the hypocrisy in play, though.

“The other problem is when people want to blame poor whites for being the only racist in the room,” she told Gladstone. “… as if they’re more racist than everyone else.”

That problem is rooted in the notion that higher class means higher integrity. As journalist Lorraine Berry wrote last month, “The story remains that only the ignorant would be racist. Racism disappears with education we’re told.” As the first from my family to hold degrees, I assure you that none of us had to go to college to learn basic human decency.

Berry points out that Ivy-League-minted Republicans shepherded the rise of the alt-right. Indeed, it was not poor whites – not even white Republicans – who passed legislation bent on preserving segregation, or who watched the Confederate flag raised outside state capitols for decades to come.

It wasn’t poor whites who criminalized blackness by way of marijuana laws and the “war on drugs”.

Nor was it poor whites who conjured the specter of the black “welfare queen”.

These points should not minimize the horrors of racism at the lowest economic rungs of society, but remind us that those horrors reside at the top in different forms and with more terrible power.

Among reporters and commentators this election cycle, then, a steady finger ought be pointed at whites with economic leverage: social conservatives who donate to Trump’s campaign while being too civilized to attend a political rally and yell what they really believe.

Mainstream media is set to fail the ordinary American Based on Trump’s campaign rhetoric and available data, it appears that most of his voters this November will be people who are getting by well enough but who think of themselves as victims.

One thing the media misses is that a great portion of the white working class would align with any sense before victimhood. Right now they are clocking in and out of work, sorting their grocery coupons, raising their children to respect others, and avoiding political news coverage.

Barack Obama, a black man formed by the black experience, often cites his maternal lineage in the white working class. “A lot of what’s shaped me came from my grandparents who grew up on the prairie in Kansas,” he wrote[http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/obama-thank-god-im-a-country-boy/article/2603608] this month to mark a White House forum on rural issues.

Last year, talking with author Marilynne Robinson for the New York Review of Books, Obama lamented common misconceptions of small-town middle America, for which he has a sort of reverence. “There’s this huge gap between how folks go about their daily lives and how we talk about our common life and our political life,” he said, naming one cause as “the filters that stand between ordinary people” who are busy getting by and complicated policy debates.

“I’m very encouraged when I meet people in their environments,” Obama told Robinson. “Somehow it gets distilled at the national political level in ways that aren’t always as encouraging.”

To be sure, one discouraging distillation – the caricature of the hate-spewing white male Trump voter with grease on his jeans – is a real person of sorts. There were one or two in my town: the good ol’ boy who menaces those with less power than himself – running people of color out of town with the threat of violence, denigrating women, shooting BB guns at stray cats for fun. They are who Trump would be if he’d been born where I was.

We don’t need their analysis, and we sure don’t need their tears. What we need is to have our stories told

Media fascination with the hateful white Trump voter fuels the theory, now in fashion, that bigotry is the only explanation for supporting him. Certainly, financial struggle does not predict a soft spot for Trump, as cash-strapped people of color – who face the threat of his racism and xenophobia, and who resoundingly reject him, by all available measures – can attest. However, one imagines that elite white liberals who maintain an air of ethical grandness this election season would have a harder time thinking globally about trade and **immigration** if it were their factory job that was lost and their community that was decimated.

Affluent analysts who oppose Trump, though, have a way of taking a systemic view when examining social woes but viewing their place on the political continuum as a triumph of individual character. Most of them presumably inherited their political bent, just like most of those in “red” America did. If you were handed liberalism, give yourself no pats on the back for your vote against Trump.

Spare, too, the condescending argument that disaffected Democrats who joined Republican ranks in recent decades are “voting against their own best interests,” undemocratic in its implication that a large swath of America isn’t mentally fit to cast a ballot.

Consider that within the context of their experience and culturally entrenched information sources, they may be voting the way you would, if you’d walked in their shoes.

Journalist? Then chances are you’re not blue collar A recent print-edition New York Times cutline described[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/11/opinion/sunday/we-need-somebody-spectacular-views-from-trump-country.html] a Kentucky man:

“Mitch Hedges, who farms cattle and welds coal-mining equipment. He expects to lose his job in six months, but does not support Mr Trump, who he says is ‘an idiot.’”

This made me cheer for the rare spotlight on a member of the white working class who doesn’t support Trump. It also made me laugh – one can’t “farm cattle”. One farms crops, and one raises livestock. It’s sometimes hard for a journalist who has done both to take the New York Times seriously.

The main reason that national media outlets have a blind spot in matters of class is the lack of socioeconomic diversity within their ranks. Few people born to deprivation end up working in newsrooms or publishing books. So few, in fact, that this former laborer has found cause to shift her entire writing career to talk specifically about class in a wealth-privileged industry, much as journalists of color find themselves talking about race in a whiteness-privileged one.

This isn’t to say that one must reside among a given group or place to do it justice, of course, as good muckrakers and commentators have shown for the past century and beyond. See On the Media’s fine new series on poverty, the second episode of which includes Gladstone’s reflection that “the poor are no more monolithic than the rest of us.”

I know journalists to be hard-working people who want to get the story right, and I’m resistant to rote condemnations of “the media”. The classism of cable-news hosts merely reflects the classism of privileged America in general. It’s everywhere, from tweets describing Trump voters as inbred hillbillies to a Democratic campaign platform that didn’t bother with a specific anti-poverty platform until a month out from the general election.

The economic trench between reporter and reported on has never been more hazardous than at this moment of historic wealth disparity, though, when stories focus more often on the stock market than on people who own no stocks. American journalism has been willfully obtuse about the grievances on Main Streets for decades – surely a factor in digging the hole of resentment that Trump’s venom now fills. That the term “populism” has become a pejorative among prominent liberal commentators should give us great pause. A journalism that embodies the plutocracy it’s supposed to critique has failed its watchdog duty and lost the respect of people who call bullshit when they see it.

One such person was my late grandfather, Arnie. Men like Trump sometimes drove expensive vehicles up the gravel driveway of our Kansas farmhouse looking to do some sort of business. Grandpa would recognize them as liars and thieves, treat them kindly, and send them packing. If you shook their hands, after they left Grandpa would laugh and say, “Better count your fingers.”

In a world in which the Bettys and Arnies of the world have little voice, those who enjoy a platform from which to speak might examine their hearts and minds before stepping onto the soap box.

If you would stereotype a group of people by deeming them inferior to yourself – say, the ones who worked third shift on a Boeing floor while others flew to Mexico during spring break; the ones who mopped a McDonald’s bathroom while others argued about the minimum wage on Twitter; the ones who cleaned out their lockers at a defunct Pabst factory while others drank craft beer at trendy bars; the ones who came back from the Middle East in caskets while others wrote op-eds about foreign policy – then consider that you might have more in common with Trump than you would like to admit.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**We hear from three clowns on their craft and how they’re unimpressed by the ‘scary clown’ phenomenon

‘This scary clown thing is a huge distraction’

Peanut the clown, Leeds

I love my job! I have had 35 years of professional clowning. I consciously chose clowning when I could have become a teacher because of the creativity. I am dyslexic but I am a very good teacher so I developed my own system of teaching circus skills as an art form in schools. Over 7000 performances later I am able to work with the shyest children to get them on stage and in a circus show in two hours. It’s not magic - it’s just the class teacher comes with a lot of ‘background’ that I don’t have. Being a clown, I get the children’s attention and work with their imagination, which is the strongest part of a child’s life until they get to secondary school.

I have been aware of the ‘killer clown’ nonsense for over twenty years - since the Stephen King movie in fact. But this is new. These qualities and the cleverness of the videos that are fueling this craze appeals to children.

I am so concerned by what has been happening to children in relation to clowning that I am now teaching children mindfulness in schools so they can tell the difference between real and make believe and so learn how to be happy - despite the horrors in the world.

I think children’s innocence and safety are the real issue here.

‘They’re using the costume, but they’re not professionals’ Porotto the Clown, Leon, Mexico

I’m from Leon city in Mexico. I studied neuropsychology, and currently work in a public library as a storyteller using clown craft. I like poetry, and adapt short stories as theatrical performances.. I look up to Slava Polunin, Rowan Atkinson, Marceau and Charlot among others.

I like to read about theatrical theory and study to contextualize our work. Clowns work on human emotions: our body is poetry, and self-reflection - both for ourselves and the people who enjoy the show.. It’s been said that “laughter is health” - it’s true, but a clown explores hate, fear, sadness, and certainly joy.

There’s a media culture in which clowns seem like monsters or worse. There is nothing good in Ronald McDonald, creepy films like “The Clown, or George Gaccy, the “clown killer”.

There are peoplewho use a clown’s costume, but they’re not clowns. They’re not professional.

A clown isn’t an actor. We’re people, sharing our feelings with humor and our moods. Because the people are clowns too. Everybody should laugh at themselves.

A clown is more than an artist. It’s a way of life.

‘Clowns by their very nature are resilient’

Samantha Holdsworth

I am the Founder of Clowns Without Borders UK. Our clown work is unusual because we perform in crisis zones and for **refugee** children. We got back from performing in **refugee** camps in Greece last week. It’s a joyful, often tough and humbling job. We have the privilege and responsibility of reminding children, in the worst of circumstances, that it’s OK to be a child, we do this by making fools of ourselves.

Some people might say we have no business being in crisis zones however, these moments of joy that are specifically created for children in crisis are vital and should be part of everyday life. But they are not. Every child deserves to be a child regardless of circumstances and that’s why clowns are so important in this circumstances. Big NGO’s call it psychosocial first aid, we call it ‘laughter-aid’.

It’s a compliment when people think this work is easy, it means what we’re doing looks effortless, when really we’ve trained for years, rehearsed routines over and over again and most importantly we are skilled at listening to our audience. You can’t just walk into a complex situation and start being crazy, that would be scary! It requires a certain sensitivity.

You need a gentleness that speaks to children and practice is essential. Through our clowning we are saying to the children we are here for and we care about you. It’s only through this approach, which really comes from the heart, that the children can trust us and therefore let go. When that happens, anything is possible, like pretending we are all chickens and laughing together.

Coulrophobia, the fear of clowns, is real and needs to be respected. This [craze] is certainly not going to help. However, there’s a big difference between an actual clown and men in scary masks. I think the British public are able to discern the difference.

Clowns by their very nature are resilient, we bounce back! We’ve been around for centuries; long after these bozos in silly masks are gone we’ll still be here sharing laughter and happiness.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The numbers are staggering, and governments are doing little to protect people from warring gangs and corrupt security forces. Yet entire families who are now seeking asylum are being sent back and told to simply live elsewhere

Until a few months ago, Carlos Hernández was a government health promoter in central El Salvador. His job was to visit poor families and ensure their children attended school and received health checks, in exchange for modest cash benefits.

One day in March, on his way to visit a family in a neighbourhood controlled by the Mara Salvatrucha (MS13) gang, Hernández witnessed a beating by gang members. Too scared to intervene, he hurried past, completed his visit and started his long walk home.

The four assailants were waiting for him.

“I pleaded with them to let me live. I said I had children, that I’d say nothing,” said Hernández, 31. “They agreed to spare my life but told me never to return.”

The victim was found dead three days later – one of 611 homicides in the tiny Central American nation that month.

Hernández was scared, but couldn’t find another job. So when he returned to visit the same family a month later, he took a different route and left his uniform at home in hope of going unnoticed.

But he was spotted by gang informants, and the same four youngsters confronted Hernández with baseball bats, accusing him of spying for a rival group.

“They took down my address from my identity card, and threatened to kill my whole family if they ever saw me again. We left El Salvador five days later,” said Hernández, now living with his wife and two children in a sparsely furnished room in Tapachula, in southern Mexico, where they are seeking asylum.

The Hernández family are part of an alarming exodus of entire families forced to flee widespread violence in Central America’s northern triangle, the world’s most dangerous region outside an official war zone.

As huge numbers of Syrian and African **refugees** risk their lives crossing the Mediterranean Sea to escape war-torn states, advocates say a parallel **refugee**crisis has unfolded on America’s doorstep amid an undeclared but increasingly brutal war between criminal groups and security forces.

An estimated 80,000 people from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, mostly families and unaccompanied children, are expected to apply for asylum overseas this year – a 658% increase since 2011, according to the UN **refugee** agency (UNHCR). Tens of thousands more will be forcibly displaced, but not seek international help.

During the 1980s, the three countries known as the northern triangle were blighted by vicious civil wars between US-backed military dictatorships and leftist guerrilla groups. But even after ceasefires were agreed, peace never came to the region as unresolved inequalities and amnesties which let war criminals escape justice fuelled a new wave of violence and corruption.

This toxic mix of warring gangs and corrupt security forces is driving one of the world’s least visible **refugee** crises, Amnesty International will say in a new report on Friday.

“What is shocking is the absolute lack of protection their governments are providing their own people,” Salil Shetty, Amnesty’s general secretary told the Guardian.

In El Salvador, people are fleeing – and dying – at the same rate now as they did during the country’s 12-year civil war in which 1 million were forcibly displaced and 75,000 were killed. Last year, 6,657 people were murdered and violence forced at least 23,000 children to abandon school, in a country of 6 million people.

“The current internal displacement and forced migration is the same human drama we saw during the war,” said Celia Medrano from the Civil Society Roundtable against Forced Displacement in El Salvador.

Often the same weapons are doing the killing: many gangs are armed with the same assault rifles used by the civil war guerrillas[http://www.elfaro.net/es/201609/salanegra/19208/Las-maras-se-arman-con-fusiles-de-la-guerra-civil.htm].

Related: Mexico's migration crackdown escalates dangers for Central Americans[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/13/mexico-central-american-migrants-journey-crackdown]

While reaching the US remains the primary goal for most Central Americans in flight, Mexico is an increasingly popular final destination.

In Tapachula, the largest city near the Guatemalan border, shelters which once served transient migrants hoping to find work in the US are now full of frightened asylum seekers.

“Before, people left home in search of a better life – now they’re fleeing overnight to save their lives,” said Olga Sánchez Martínez, founder of Jesus the Good Shepherd shelter.

The shift is in large part down to the Southern Border Plan: the US-instigated **immigration** crackdown on Central American migrants, launched in June 2014 after a surge of unaccompanied minors that year, which has made it much harder to traverse Mexico.

The Republican presidential candidate, Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump], has pledged to build a wall on the US-Mexican border to keep migrants out. But the proliferation of **immigration** checkpoints and bandits who prey on migrants has already created a formidable barrier, forcing people to risk clandestine new routes through even more isolated regions[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/15/migrants-mexico-human-trafficking-us-immigration-crackdown] – or to stay in Mexico.

In the first six months of this year the Mexican **refugee** agency, Comar, received 3,486 asylum applications – a 150% rise compared to same period in 2015. More than 8,000 are expected by the end of 2016.

But despite a significant rise in approval rates over the past year, activists say too many asylum seekers are rejected or simply drop out because of long delays in processing.

The Hernández family are such a case: their application for asylum was rejected on the grounds they could return to El Salvador and move to a district designated as a safe space after a gang truce was brokered in 2012.

But the truce – which initially reduced murders by almost 50%[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/15/el-salvador-gang-truce] – was abandoned in 2014. Since then, gang warfare, organised crime and police brutality have intensified across the tiny country.

Related: One murder every hour: how El Salvador became the homicide capital of the world[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/22/el-salvador-worlds-most-homicidal-place]

“The gangs are stronger than ever, it’s a national problem. If you move to a community controlled by a rival gang, you’re suspected of being an informant –which is enough to get you killed too,” said Hernández.

His wife Elizabeth Portillo, 24, said: “We left everything we had, our beds, cots, fridge, our families, to come and sleep on the floor in this room. We didn’t want this, we left because we had to.”

Rejecting asylum claims on the grounds people can relocate within their own country violates national and international protocols, according to Perrine Leclerc, director of UNHCR in Tapachula.

“Internal relocation as a safe alternative to asylum should only be used in very specific circumstances and not in small countries like those in Central America where violence is generalized,” she said.

The family is challenging the decision, but appeals are rarely successful; in the meantime they cannot legally work and are reliant on stipends from UNHCR.

Comar did not respond to questions from the Guardian. But strong **refugee** laws coupled with pressure from activists means a small but growing number of families are being granted asylum in Mexico.

Janet Machado, 48, fled the city of La Ceiba in northern Honduras after her youngest daughter was shot and paralysed by a neighbourhood thug in January.

Machado travelled overland to Mexico with two wheelchair-using children –Gabriela and son Eric, 30, who is severely physically and learning disabled as a result of childhood meningitis – as well as her 17-year-old daughter Maholy and grandson Donavon, aged two.

Gabriela, 14, was shot in the left shoulder on her way to buy tortillas at the corner shop, following an argument with a male classmate. The boy’s father, who was under the influence of drugs or alcohol, shot her at close range and kicked her unconscious body. The bullet damaged the spinal cord and remains lodged between her lungs.

“My life completely changed, just like that. I spent three months in hospital, I haven’t been to school since January,” Gabriela told the Guardian after a rare physiotherapy session. The family struggle to pay the taxi fair to the rehab clinic and do not qualify for UNHCR cash benefits.

After four months living in a crowded shelter in Tapachula, the family were recently granted **refugee** status by Comar. Eventually they hope to make it to the US to join Donovan’s mother, an undocumented migrant working as a cleaner in Texas.

Going home isn’t an option.

Related: The migrants who fled violence for the US only to be sent back to their deaths[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/12/deportation-migrants-flee-honduras-guatemala-salvador]

“Security in Honduras is getting worse, and you cannot trust the authorities. Everyone knows who shot my daughter, but he’s still free. Even if they arrest him, it could make it things worse for us. We can’t go back,” said Machado.

A blend of organised crime, state brutality and deep-seated impunity left 8,035 people dead in Honduras last year, which has a population of 8.5 million.

In reality, those receiving international protection are a tiny proportion of those who would qualify.

Less than 1% of those crossing Mexico’s southern border – or 3,423 people – sought asylum here last year. In comparison, 170,323 Central Americans were detained by Mexican **immigrations** agents, and most were immediately deported home.

In addition, more than 100,000 families and unaccompanied children from Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala were detained at the US southern border in the past year.

Nevertheless, neither the US, Mexico nor the northern triangle countries have acknowledged the escalating **refugee** crisis despite warnings from the UN and rights groups.

Meanwhile, many people are too scared to apply for asylum or are simply unaware of their rights, said Fermina Rodríguez, from the Fray Matías Human Rights Centre in Tapachula.

“People are fleeing Central America to save their own lives, to save their children’s lives, in need of help. Yet Mexico’s main policy – which is always directed from Washington – is to detain and deport them, to stop them reaching the US, rather than offering them protection,” said Leclerc.

“The American dream still exists – but now most people are just looking for a safe place to live with their families; they’re searching for a normal life.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The third instalment of Beckett’s trilogy explores theological themes with wit, insight and invention – and leaves the way open for the story to continue

This novel completes one of the most accomplished and interesting science-fiction trilogies of recent years. The first volume, Dark Eden[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/jan/13/science-fiction-fiction], set up the premise. Two astronauts, Angela and Tommy, are marooned on an eerie non-solar planet; the action takes place six generations later, by which time, as well as various genetic problems caused by in-breeding, their descendants have developed a kind of ancestor-worship mythology. “Gela”, they believe, instructed them to remain in Circle Valley awaiting the “Veekle” that will take them back to Earth. But the expanding population is creating a scarcity of resources, and one young man, John Redlantern – a mixture of Prometheus, Moses and Gilgamesh – goes against the conservative elders and lights out for the Cold Dark. It was a deserving winner of the 2013 Arthur C Clarke award[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/may/01/chris-beckett-wins-arthur-c-clarke-award].

The second instalment, Mother of Eden[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/jul/31/science-fiction-roundup], takes places 400 years after the initial crash. It is almost a novelisation of the theologian Karen Armstrong’s theories put forward in Fields of Blood: Religion and the History of Violence[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/oct/08/fields-of-blood-religion-history-violence-karen-armstrong-review], with the move from subsistence to surplus leading to new forms of hierarchy and specialisation. By this stage, Eden is divided between the Johnfolk – more technologically advanced, with their motto “Become Like Earth” – and the traditionalist Davidfolk, with their shamanistic shadowspeakers who claim to be in contact with Gela. The heroine Starlight attempts a social revolution between the “highs” and the “lows”, and daringly makes public the “Secret Story”, Angela’s liberal message handed down from mothers to daughters. There was a huge amount to admire in both books. Beckett made a genuinely **alien** ecosystem, explored how stories and histories mutate and change – the Eden dwellers know about a conflict between the Germ Man and the Juice, for example – and formed a distinctive linguistic world, with words doubled as intensifiers, a range of slang terms (such as “do” for kill, and “slip” for sex) and some profoundly inventive oaths.

Now we have Daughter of Eden, the finale. The Johnfolk have launched an all-out attack on the Davidfolk. Angie Redlantern was Starlight’s childhood friend, and is a “batface” – meaning she was born with a cleft palate – who was once apprenticed to a shadowspeaker. The incursion turns her and her family into **refugees**, and as they journey towards the Circle Valley, she reminisces about her time learning about the religion of Gela, the heresies of the Johnfolk and various other forms of ritual and belief that have evolved. She has an inquisitive and sceptical mind, which stands her in good stead when the novel springs its peripeteia: what would happen to these societies if their Messianic hopes were finally fulfilled – if the old prophecies actually came true?

With wit and invention, Beckett has imagined a scien­tific Genesis about a society and the myths that sustain it

Much of the novel is concerned with the very idea of story. Who owns a particular narrative? How does one resolve contradictory stories? In the characters of the older shadowspeaker, Mary, and the bellicose young Johnfolk leader, Luke Johnson, Beckett elegantly and movingly examines how the fundamentalist mind copes when evidence that contradicts its position emerges. He shows how belief systems can be transformed from the literal to the symbolic and metaphorical, and how a story can be rewritten in subtle ways to align with the narrator’s confirmation bias. He does not, however, depict this solely as a kind of psychopathology of religious thinking. The novel equally stresses the importance of shared stories in forming cohesive societies, and gives due attention to the therapeutic role of story in dealing with grief, injustice and suffering. There are interesting asides about the relationship between the state and religion; and clever speculations on the emergence of taboos (Mary, for example, preaches against homosexuality in the context of a schismatic society where strength of numbers is paramount). It would be too simple to write off the characters’ theologies as hypocrisy, and Beckett shows how wanting to believe can turn into belief, how faith is belief in the unbelievable.

Although it provides a definitive closure to the Eden Saga, there is room for the story to continue, with the tantalising prospect of maybe seeing what a denizen of Eden makes of Earth, and why Earth was so interested in Eden in the first place. Beckett sketches in just enough of the backstory about what has been happening on Earth for it to be the basis of a completely different kind of work. Although there is no shortage of pessimism, there are still chinks of hope. The Eden trilogy is a remarkable achievement: with wit, insight and invention Beckett has imagined a scientific Genesis not just about a society, but about the culture and myths that sustain it. It is both politically astute and theologically compelling.

• Daughter of Eden is published by Publisher. To order a copy for £16.99 (RRP £13.93 ) go to bookshop.theguardian.com[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/daughter-of-eden.html?utm\_source=editoriallink&utm\_medium=merch&utm\_campaign=article] or call 0330 333 6846. Free UK p&p over £10, online orders only. Phone orders min p&p of £1.99.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rightwing populism is on the march – but the EU can’t even win enough support to impose sanctions

Hungary’s democracy is in mortal danger – and whether it survives will help determine the future of our embattled continent. This weekend the main opposition newspaper – think of it as a Hungarian Guardian – was closed down by its owners after six decades of existence[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/09/protests-in-hungary-at-closure-of-main-leftwing-opposition-newspaper]. Its digital archive vanished from the internet; its workers were shut out of their offices and left unable to access emails[https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/hidv-gi-b-attila-alexandra-barcea/hungary-shock-tactics-against-press-freedoms].

Publicly, it is presented as a commercial decision: in Hungary’s increasingly repressive society, there is widespread private cynicism about such a claim. Here was a newspaper that dared to challenge the government – whether on policy, corruption, or its onslaught against democracy.

Authoritarian rightwing populism is sweeping the western world: Hungary is an acute example. We all know history turned a corner after the 2008 financial crisis: we are beginning to see how sharp that turn was. From the Scottish independence movement to Podemos in Spain, from Donald Trump to France’s National Front and Hungary’s far right, from the rise of Bernie Sanders and Jeremy Corbyn to Greece’s Syriza: a painful struggle for the west’s future has only just begun. Hungary’s prime minister, Viktor Orbán – whose rightwing party swept to victory in 2010 – recognises this. His chief lesson from 2008 is that “liberal democratic states can’t remain globally competitive”. He has committed his government to building an “illiberal democracy” – and he is remaining true to his word[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-07-28/orban-says-he-seeks-to-end-liberal-democracy-in-hungary].

Rather than being repelled, a new generation is being attracted to rightwing extremism

Others have harsher descriptions. Hungarian dissident Gáspar Miklós Tamás accuses the government[http://arbetet.se/global/2015/09/26/gaspar-miklos-tamas-this-is-post-fascism/] of “pissing on the liberal status quo” in favour of “post-fascism”.

Hungarian-British poet George Szirtes knows all about repression. His mother was a photographer, his father a senior ministry official, and they fled after the Soviet Union crushed Hungary’s revolution in 1956. “Hungarian democracy is imperilled,” he told me. “We’re moving towards a Putinesque situation.” As Human Right Watch’s Lydia Gall puts it: “What we’ve seen in the last six years is essentially a continued undermining or deterioration of the rule of law and human rights protection.”

In 2010 and 2011, Hungary adopted a series of laws which were damned by Amnesty International[http://www.amnesty.eu/content/assets/Doc2011/Freedom\_of\_Expression\_Under\_Fire\_-\_Hungarian\_Media\_Law.pdf] as “a threat to the right to freedom of expression”. Hungary’s media outlets had to register with a national authority. The Klubrádió station – a persistent critic of the government – became one of its victims. At the end of 2011, the authority decided not to grant Klubrádió a licence to broadcast, forcing it into a protracted battle[https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2012/01/eu-must-press-hungary-respect-human-rights-norms/] – though the station did eventually win.

This authoritarian government has repeatedly amended the constitution: one change embedded discrimination against LGBT people by defining the family as a unit[https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2012/01/eu-must-press-hungary-respect-human-rights-norms/] “based on the marriage of a man and a woman, or a linear blood relationship, or guardianship. Indeed, earlier this year Hungary blocked an EU-wide agreement[http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2016/03/08/hungary-blocks-european-agreement-on-lgbt-rights/] to prevent discrimination against LGBT people.

Other amendments[https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/09/18/hungary-constitutional-change-falls-short] have attacked judicial independence and religious freedoms. Key public institutions, such as the office of the prosecutor general and the constitutional court, have been de facto taken over by the ruling party. “These are institutions that should be independent checks and balances on the government,” says Gall. There is a growing atmosphere of intolerance in the country, with those who dissent being denounced as traitors and accomplices of terrorism. Worse still, one of the main opposition parties is Jobbik[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/26/leader-hungarian-jobbik-rally-london], an antisemitic neo-fascist party with a paramilitary wing.

Hungary’s role in Europe’s **refugee** crisis has been appalling, prompting Luxembourg’s foreign minister to propose the country’s expulsion[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/expel-hungary-from-eu-for-hostility-to-refugees-says-luxembourg] for treating **refugees** “worse than wild animals”. Last year, the country declared a state of crisis[https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/europe-and-central-asia/hungary/report-hungary/] and built a fence with the intention of driving **refugees** back into Serbia. People who have already fled violence are reportedly being chased by dogs and beaten[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/amnesty-international-critical-of-hungarys-asylum-system/2016/09/27/0198491e-847e-11e6-b57d-dd49277af02f\_story.html].

And what has the EU done? Hungary is, after all, dependent on economic assistance from the union. Article 7 of the EU constitution exists to sanction member states in violation of its norms, including the suspension of voting rights. The European commission has made it progressively harder to invoke, and last year the European parliament threw out a proposal[http://www.politico.eu/article/hungary-eu-news-article-7-vote-poland-rule-of-law/] to invoke Article 7 – or even to activate a warning mechanism.

When Hungary’s government imposed the mass early retirement of veteran judges in favour of more pliant replacements, the EU did take action – but only on the grounds of age discrimination[http://europa.eu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/rapid/press-release\_IP-13-1112\_en.htm]. Hungary was fined and forced to pay financial compensation to those sacked – but it still achieved its goal. A recent government-initiated referendum to oppose EU plans to settle **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/04/the-question-was-stupid-hungarians-on-the-refugee-referendum] failed because of insufficient turnout, but it stirred up inflammatory xenophobic and racist rhetoric.

Related: Hungarian right does not want to leave the EU. It wants to subvert it[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-right-does-not-want-to-leave-the-eu-it-wants-to-subvert-it]

Hungary’s plight has disturbing echoes of Europe’s past: but, horrifyingly, it could foreshadow our future too. Rather than being repelled, a new generation – including the university-educated – are increasingly attracted to rightwing extremism[http://dailynewshungary.com/jobbik-is-the-most-popular-among-university-students/]. Poland too is in the grip of an authoritarian right which chips away at the country’s hard-won democracy. With no meaningful consequences, such governments feel increasingly emboldened. In Austria, the far right moves ever closer to power; in France, it grows stronger; in Sweden and other countries too.

The cure to such movements is a left that offers an inspiring alternative relevant to the insecurities and ambitions of the post-2008 world. We don’t have that yet. But that’s no excuse for inaction. And we in Britain cannot smugly condemn Hungary, of course: since the Brexit vote, xenophobic nationalism has marched defiantly. Our prime minister condemns her political opponents as having disdain for patriotism; this week, both the Daily Mail and the Daily Express printed chilling front pages calling for “unpatriotic Bremoaners” to be damned for a “plot to subvert the will of the British people”, and demanding “EU exit whingers” be silenced.

It is increasingly common in modern Europe for political opponents to be portrayed as unpatriotic fifth columnists. The history of our continent tells us where this can lead. Hungary is perhaps the most extreme, undiluted form of what Europe is becoming. It is a warning we should heed.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happen, including Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn at PMQs and the Commons debate on BrexitMy PMQs snap verdictBrexit debate - Summary so farGovernment’s Brexit strategy risks health of economy, MPs warn

block-time published-time 8.19pm BST

Evening summary Here are the key news articles and opinion pieces to read if you want to catch up on today’s events:

\* Theresa May in ‘U-turn’ over pre-article 50 Brexit debate in parliament [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/theresa-may-accepts-need-for-brexit-debate-in-parliament]

\* Jeremy Corbyn pushes Theresa May over ‘shambolic Tory Brexit’ [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/jeremy-corbyn-pushes-theresa-may-over-shambolic-tory-brexit]

\* Britain, get real: Brexit means whatever the EU says it means [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/12/britain-brexit-eu-pound-euro]

\* Brexit: MPs warn David Davis that lack of clarity is spooking markets [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/brexit-mps-david-davis-eu-exit-plan]

\* Pound drops further after Davis hints UK could leave single market [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/12/pound-drops-further-after-davis-hints-uk-could-leave-single-market]

\* The PM’s Brexit confusion is contagious [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/the-pms-brexit-confusion-contagious]

That’s all from me tonight. Thanks so much for joining us today and for all your comments.

block-time published-time 8.10pm BST

In other Brexit-related news, Tesco is running low on stocks of Marmite (and other products, but let’s face it that’s the only one we care about).

The supermarket’s main supplier, Unilever has halted deliveries of a range of goods blaming the fall in the pound. A source accused Unilever of “using Brexit as an excuse to raise prices”.

Read more on that from my colleague Sarah Butler here [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/12/tesco-running-low-key-unilever-brands-price-row-supplier-supermarket-falling-pound].

block-time published-time 7.58pm BST

Pound drops further after Davis hints UK could leave single market Here’s an excerpt from my colleague Phillip Inman’s piece [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/12/pound-drops-further-after-davis-hints-uk-could-leave-single-market] on how the pound has dropped even further:

A brief rally in the pound was quickly reversed on Wednesday after the government refused to make tariff-free access to the European Union ’s single market a red line in Brexit negotiations with Brussels.

Investors sold the pound after Brexit minister David Davis told MPs it was “not black or white” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/brexit-mps-david-davis-eu-exit-plan] whether the UK would stay in the single market.

Sterling [https://www.theguardian.com/business/sterling] fell two cents to $1.21 on the currency markets in afternoon trading, reversing a jump to $1.23 overnight that followed Theresa May ’s concession for parliament to hold a debate on the government’s stance on talks with the EU .

The U-turn in agreeing to a debate initially lifted markets, but the refusal of ministers to clarify the government’s position provoked a swift reversal in sentiment and the pound ended the day at $1.22.

block-time published-time 7.48pm BST

Thangam Debbonaire, a Labour MP, used her speech to discuss the importance of freedom of movement.

She ended her speech by saying:

If the government want to jettison all of that, the secretary of state should at least have had the courtesy to inform the British people what they were risking. The government should respect the sovereignty of this Parliament , which Brexit campaigners made so much of. Does the secretary of state really want to throw all that away?

It is clear to me that they have no plan for the future of this country, and if they throw it all away, without debate, without proper scrutiny and without the full participation of the British people, my constituents and the country will never forgive them.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.48pm BST

block-time published-time 7.46pm BST

Former cabinet member and Conservative MP, Maria Miller, is concerned that the British parliament is coming across as arrogant.

She said this during her speech earlier:

There is an arrogance creeping into the debate today that we should take great care about, because only one certainty is coming from the referendum decision in June: the vote to leave the EU – I put it on record that I was a remainer – and nothing else is certain at this point. Members on both sides have advocated membership of or freedom to trade in the single market, freedom of movement, or no freedom of movement.

Our EU partners listening today may be forgiven for thinking that there is more than a touch of arrogance coming from the British parliament, but the truth is that it is all up for grabs, and it is not for us to determine the outcome at this stage.

We may well continue trading in the single market – I certainly hope so – but that is what this negotiation is all about.

block-time published-time 7.24pm BST

In his speech earlier, Jacob Rees-Mogg , a Conservative MP, said it only appeared like his constituency voted to remain because the result had been “infected” by the votes cast in the city of Bath.

The leading leave campaigner was told by Labour’s Chris Bryant that his north east Somerset constituency had voted to stay in the EU . But Rees-Mogg blamed “urbanites” for the result.

Intervening on Rees-Mogg, Bryant said:

“You and I are in rather similar positions. The Rhondda voted to leave but I support remain. north east Somerset voted to remain but you supported leave. Do you fully accept that given what you have said about sovereignty that all of us in this house are not sent as delegates, we are here as representatives and we owe to our constituents our conscience as much as our vote?”

But Rees-Mogg prompted laughter across the House as he replied:

You should check the record. Unfortunately north east Somerset was not counted separately. We were infected by the votes of people in Bath. I’m pretty confident that the wise people of rural Somerset voted to leave whilst the urbanites in Bath voted to remain.

He’s been accused of being an isolationist by Labour MP Liz McInnes on Twitter .

enltrJacob Rees-Mogg claims that his constituency voted remain because they were "infected by the people of Bath." A true isolationist. #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash]

— Liz McInnes (@LizMcInnesMP) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/LizMcInnesMP/status/786228121192267776]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.35pm BST

block-time published-time 7.11pm BST

The motion passed unopposed The debate is over now. The motion, which was changed to include the government’s amendment, was passed unopposed. I will continue to post highlights from earlier speeches. Here’s more from Dominic Grieve, a Conservative MP:

I don’t have a prescriptive view as to what it should be, I’m quite happy to debate those issues and to listen to colleagues.

But what I am not prepared to do, and I say this with emphasis, is to have options closed down by diktat from wherever that may come, and I’m sorry to have to say, whether that be colleagues or the executive, on this matter.

They will have to be debated in this House, and this House will have to give its approval.

Mr Grieve also said he was worried at the “accepted euphoria that has followed this process” and warned of the legal quagmire that lays ahead.

He said:

“I have to say – I hope I am not too gloomy – that I see it as fraught with risk. There is the risk of the economic damage.

I have to say as a lawyer I see the repeal process and our leaving as being a legal nightmare, one that is going to take up an endless amount of this House’s time, and to the prejudice of many of the other priorities on which we should be focused.

It undoubtedly impinges on the devolution settlements and competence, we have a duty to maintain legal certainty and the rule of law which will be jeopardised in the process, there are private legal rights that are likely to be affected – some of which may lead to litigation and claims for compensation.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.34pm BST

block-time published-time 6.56pm BST

Spelling out in fine detail what goes on in the negotiations is not realistic, says David Jones .

He says they have already set out the broad terms of what Brexit will look like.

The house, he says, will be engaged in the process. The government agrees a balance needs to be struck.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.56pm BST

block-time published-time 6.53pm BST

David Jones , minister of state for exiting the European Union , is speaking now.

We all have a duty to respect and not seek to frustrate the will of the people, he says. He is pleased that most MPs appear to agree on this.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.30pm BST

block-time published-time 6.44pm BST

Barry Gardiner , shadow international trade secretary, is speaking now.

He says he accepts that we can’t have a running commentary on the Brexit process but the prime minister must provide a coherent and reasoned picture of what sort of future it wants for its citizens.

Everyone expects that negotiations will be tough but this does not stop the government from being clear about its objectives, he says.

Parliament must be part of the process, he adds.

block-time published-time 6.37pm BST

Stephen Kinnock , another Labour MP, is speaking now.

Rebuilding public trust in politicians and healing a fractured and divided society, must both be at the top of the government’s agenda, he says.

Demanding a parliamentary vote on Brexit is not a ploy to overturn the referendum vote, he says as his Labour colleagues nod. It must happen but it must be subject to the democratic process.

block-time published-time 6.23pm BST

This is what Chris Bryant , a Labour MP, said in his speech earlier:

“Not only was I a Remainer, I am a Remainer and I’ll remain a Remainer until my dying day.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.28pm BST

block-time published-time 6.16pm BST

Nic Dakin, a Labour MP, says nobody knows what Brexit actually means. Like beauty, it is in the eye of the beholder, he says.

People want to come out but they don’t want to lose out, he says.

People expect MPs to manage these contradictions and try and square the circle. We must listen to those who didn’t vote to leave, he says. That doesn’t mean overturning the vote but doing what’s in the best interests of everybody.

He ends his passionate speech mid-sentence by saying, I think that will do actually, and sits down.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.16pm BST

block-time published-time 5.59pm BST

The people of Teesside voted to leave the EU but they did not vote to give the government a blank cheque, says Anna Turley , Labour MP for Redcar, who just made her speech.

She wants to know that the British steel industry will be protected and rebuilt post-EU, and that parliament will have a say in trade deals.

A hard Brexit could be disastrous for Teesside, she says. Adding that subsidies supporting Teesside’s economy will still be crucial.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.01pm BST

block-time published-time 5.48pm BST

Liz Kendall , the Labour MP, is speaking now. She is reminding everyone of the state of the sterling. The government should pay attention but they are not, she says. She also reminds everyone that this will have an impact everyone, not just those going on foreign holidays.

The prime minister, she says, has failed to recognise that the fall in sterling has benefitted the asset-rich while those who are poor suffer as the cost of everyday products rise.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.18pm BST

block-time published-time 5.38pm BST

As promised earlier, here is an extract from Ed Miliband ’s speech near the start of the debate. He said the country was “deeply divided” and politicians had to try to bring it together.

It is up to all of us to try to heal the divisions. Now, from my side, remain, and for my part, I believe it mean we should accept the result of the referendum as part of trying to bridge that divide. The people voted, and we should accept the result. But, if I can put it this way, the humility of those who lost should be matched by the magnanimity of those who won.

As I think about my responsibilities, I do say to the people who voted leave and were successful, they should think about the remain people in our country who feel lost and wonder is there a place for them in Britain after Brexit.

Responsibilities lie on both sides. And, if I can say in passing, we should stop impugning the motives of each other. The vast majority of those who voted to leave did not do so because of prejudice. And those who are now advocating proper scrutiny and consent of this parliament are not doing so, as the Daily Mail says today, because they want to reverse the vote. It’s for much deeper reasons than that. It’s about the mandate from this referendum.

That’s all from me, Andrew Sparrow, for this afternoon. My colleague Nicola Slawson is taking over now to cover the rest of the debate.

block-time published-time 5.19pm BST

Here is the Hansard of today’s debate. [https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2016-10-12/debates/F327EC64-3777-4D40-A98D-BEC2E11763A2/ParliamentaryScrutinyOfLeavingTheEU] At the moment it goes up to Stephen Gethins ’s speech, but it will be updated as the evening goes on.

block-time published-time 4.58pm BST

Kwasi Kwarteng , the Conservative MP, is speaking in the debate now. He tells the Speaker that he must feel as if he is presiding over a group therapy session.

block-time published-time 4.55pm BST

My colleague Rowena Mason, who has been keeping a tally, says Alistair Burt was the seventh former Conservative minister to express concern about the government’s Brexit policy in the debate.

enltrAlistair Burt is the 7th former Tory minister to call on government to engage more with concerns about Brexit

— Rowena Mason (@rowenamason) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rowenamason/status/786230291790606336]block-time published-time 4.52pm BST

Here is my colleague Rowena Mason ’s story on the opening of the debate.

Related: Brexit: MPs warn David Davis that lack of clarity is spooking markets [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/brexit-mps-david-davis-eu-exit-plan]

And here is how it starts.

A string of Tory and Labour MPs have warned David Davis [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/daviddavis], the Brexit secretary, that businesses and financial markets are being spooked by his lack of a plan for leaving the EU .

Claire Perry, a Conservative former minister, said on Wednesday she was extremely concerned about the state of the pound [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/11/pound-completes-worst-four-day-performance-since-brexit-vote] and accused him of putting “narrow ideology” ahead of the national interest, while Ken Clarke , the former chancellor, said no foreign companies would invest until there was more clarity about the UK’s future relationship with the outside world.

Chris Philp , a Tory backbencher, urged the Brexit secretary to give away more details, saying there was a “danger some [businesses] may take decisions in the next two or three months” to pre-emptively scale back investment and move jobs.

Others to raise concerns included the serial rebel Anna Soubry , a former business minister who attended cabinet, who demanded a yes or no answer as to whether the UK would be in the single market.

block-time published-time 4.50pm BST

Alistair Burt , the Conservative former minister, is speaking now. He said he supported remaining in the EU during the referendum and he strongly attacked what was said about the EU by some of its opponents during the campaign.

I told my electors that, contrary to popular opinion, not all Conservative MPs are reluctant Europeans. I believe that this country prospered in the European Union . I believe that our sovereignty and independence were always intact. I believe that we were enhanced by our membership of the European Union just as the European Union was enhanced by our membership of it. With a political lifetime of relationship with colleagues from different countries, remembering what they have been through over the past century to build the European Union and all that it meant, I listened with despair and sometimes shame to the mischaracterisation of the EU and the way it was by the drip, drop of poison for too long, often from those lips that should have known a damned sight better.

block-time published-time 4.42pm BST

And here’s a quote from Ken Clarke ’ s speech earlier.

It’s a pity that the secretary of state is obviously still quite unable to say whether the objective of the government is to stay in the single market or in the customs union or not. Every other member state will make it quite clear to its parliament, its people, what attitude it is taking during these negotiations towards the single market, and we are not...

We still have got no offer of a vote and we need some clarity about the policy the government’s going to pursue because the government is accountable to this House.

block-time published-time 4.29pm BST

Angela Eagle , the former shadow business secretary, is speaking now. She says Britain did not vote to take back control from Brussels only to hand it over entirely to the prime minister and her “increasingly ridiculous three Brexiteers”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.44pm BST

block-time published-time 4.26pm BST

A few minutes ago Anna Soubry , the Conservative former business minister, said she did not accept that the EU referendum vote meant **immigration** had to be slashed. She said if politicians were prepared to make the case for **immigration**, people would understand. And she said that the government should abandon its **immigration** target.

There seems to be some nonsensical idea that, with a bit of upskilling here, and a bit of upskilling there, we will find the millions and millions of people who came and they work, not just in low-skill jobs but right the way through to the highest levels of research and development, the great entrepreneurs. We should be making it clear that we are open for business and that we are open to people, as we always have been, because they contribute to our country.

She also said Brexit was causing real economic damage.

What’s happening out there in the real world is that British business is in a very difficult and serious predicament. We’ve heard about the value of the pound at this record 30-year low. What does that mean? It means that a friend of mine last night sent me a text that her small business is now on the verge of going under. That is the reality of what is happenin.

It means a great company like Freshcut Foods in my constituency is seeing its best EU workers leaving. They feel they have no place here. They are finding, as the University of Nottingham said to me, that they can no longer recruit, they’ve lost some of their best academics, because they feel no longer welcome and valued in our country. And I’m sorry, it has to be said, we should be holding our heads with shame.

block-time published-time 4.08pm BST

Here is an extract from the speech from Stephen Gethins , the SNP’s Europe spokesman, earlier.

I’m a new member of parliament, but maybe other members can tell me: is it normal that a secretary of state can spend so much time at the despatch box without telling us anything. He spent a lot of time there and I’m none the wiser about where we are at the moment. It seems remarkable.

They tell us that they are having negotiations... And they can’t answer a simple question. And that strikes me; when you do spend time with our European partners, and you do start your negotiations. What are you saying to them? What could you possibly be telling them? We don’t even have a starting point.

block-time published-time 3.53pm BST

Nicky Morgan , the Conservative former education secretary, is speaking now.

She says the Conservatives are fully committed to the single market as far as she is concerned.

She says she was worried to hear at the Conservative conference that the cabinet did not discuss Theresa May ’s decision to set a timetable for invoking article 50.

She also says she resents the suggestion that she and others like her who want to scrutinise the Brexit process are trying to overturn the EU referendum result.

block-time published-time 3.50pm BST

Turning away from the Brexit debate for a moment, the Times’ Sam Coates has a good Twitter summary of what Tom Scholar, permanent secretary at the Treasury, told the Treasury select committee this afternoon.

enltrTreasury perm sec Tom Scholar before MPs on TSC.

What we've learnt:

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786214750342508548]enltr1. Scholar believes we will never learn the identity of the "Treasury official" who briefed against Liam Fox to the Telegraph

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786214814486069248]enltr2. He thought the Treasury was justified producing the pre-referendum reports on the impact of leaving the EU enltr2. He thought the Treasury was justified producing the pre-referendum reports on the impact of leaving the

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786214959088828417]enltr3. That the public line is that the 3 scenarios produced in April are not relevant to current situation

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786215148944064513]enltr4. Scholar clear the Treasury has 'got the memo' from grumpy Brexiteers and that the top priority of his dept is to make a success of Brexit

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786215273523191808]enltr5. That Brexit will lead to a "period of weaker growth over the next few years" leading to "greater fiscal pressure"

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786215400052781056]enltr6. That the Chancellor and the PM are agreed there will be "weaker growth" post Brexit

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786215499571036160]enltr7. That Scholar was unable to say - possibly because he doesn't / can't know - that the governmetn all agreed about future weaker growth

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786215631469309952]enltr8. That he thinks it is not necessary for the forthcoming fiscal rules set a date for a surplus, however much Chris Philp wants one

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786215874323775488]enltr9. Scholar says the OBR will, implicitly, reveal the amount of investment delayed post Brexit

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786216623912980481]enltr10. Scholar says financial services firms "are not making or triggering new plans". ie everything on hold until find out more on Brexit

— Sam Coates Times (@SamCoatesTimes) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SamCoatesTimes/status/786216860324917249]block-time published-time 3.46pm BST

Hilary Benn , the former shadow foreign secretary, is speaking now.

He says the government should make it clear, as soon as possible, that if it cannot secure a trade deal with the EU during the two-year withdrawal process, it will negotiate a transitional trade deal so that businesses do not face a sudden shock when the UK leaves.

He also strongly criticises Liam Fox’s decision to describe the EU nationals in the UK as a “card” to play in the negotiations. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/liam-fox-refuses-to-guarantee-right-of-eu-citizens-to-remain-in-uk] Words matter, he says. And it is wrong to describe people like this. He says they listen to the language, because they know ministers are talking about them.

Hilary Benn . Photograph: BBC block-time published-time 3.35pm BST

John Redwood says he was Margaret Thatcher ’s adviser at the time the single market was set up. He says he advised her not to give up the British veto when it was launched. She ignored his advice, he says. But she came to regret that, he goes on.

block-time published-time 3.30pm BST

John Redwood, the Conservative former cabinet minister and arch-Eurosceptic, is speaking now. He says the UK does not actually want anything from Europe. It wants to be allowed to carry on as an independent country, and it wants to allow the EU countries to carry on doing their own thing.

block-time published-time 3.28pm BST

Sky ’s Faisal Islam has also been told that David Davis did not mean to imply that the government would publish a Brexit green paper.

enltrConfirmed - still Government position there will be no pre A50 vote and no green paper - Eustice referring to other bills post repeal bill

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786211021035802624]block-time published-time 3.23pm BST

Clegg effectively accuses May of hypocrisy over allowing parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit Clegg is still speaking, and now he is talking about precedent.

Why is is that no one on the government benches has acknowledged that John Major came to the Commons before Maastricht negotiation to get a mandate for what he wanted. That was a “stance taken with courage and delivered with clarity”.

He says under the coalition a secretary of state came to him to ask about negotiating the opt out from EU judicial and home affairs rules.

Clegg was told by this minister that at the start of the negotiation there had to be a full debate and vote in the Commons. And another at the end. They took place, he says, on 15 July 2013, and on 10 November 2014.

He says Theresa May was the minister who insisted on those debates.

If a debate was necessary on the JHA [justice and home affairs opt outs], why isn’t one essential on Brexit, he says.

\* Clegg effectively accuses May of hypocrisy over allowing parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit.

Nick Clegg . Photograph: BBC block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.39pm BST

block-time published-time 3.16pm BST

Nick Clegg , the former Lib Dem leader, is speaking now.

He says the government does not have a mandate on how to leave the EU .

The Tories are reinventing history and ignoring precedent.

He says the Tories are saying the EU referendum was “an overwhelming vote” for Brexit. But it was relatively close, he says.

He says the Tories are now claiming to know why people voted to leave. They are saying it was all about **immigration**.

And they are casting aspersions on the 16.1m people who voted to stay in the EU . He says, if you believe in internationalism, Theresa May is calling you a “citizen of nowhere”. That amounts to insulting 16m of her follow citizens, she says.

block-time published-time 3.11pm BST

I’ve missed good speeches from the SNP’s Stephen Gethins , the former Tory chancellor Ken Clarke and the former Labour leader Ed Miliband while doing the summary. But I will post highlights from them soon.

block-time published-time 3.05pm BST

Brexit debate - Summary so far Here are the key points from the opening of the debate so far. It has been a rather odd occasion - not a debate about Brexit, but a debate about how parliament debates Brexit - but given that we now live in world where the pound can rally following the publication of government amendments to opposition day motions (see 11.50am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/12/pmqs-may-corbyn-brexit-debate-claims-real-victory-after-may-offers-brexit-debate-concession-politics-live?page=with:block-57fe14dce4b01d9dd2c90266#block-57fe14dce4b01d9dd2c90266], these procedural wrangles matter.

\* MPs are set to approve a motion with cross-party support saying the Commons must have a “full and transparent” debate on the government’s plans for Brexit before article 50 is invoked, but ministers are refusing to commit themselves to giving parliament an actual vote on the matter. Theresa May made this clear at PMQs (see 12.36pm) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/12/pmqs-may-corbyn-brexit-debate-claims-real-victory-after-may-offers-brexit-debate-concession-politics-live?page=with:block-57fe1fe8e4b03b22b4fb28b2#block-57fe1fe8e4b03b22b4fb28b2] and David Davis, the Brexit secretary, would not promise a substantive vote either in his speech at the start of the debate. It may well be the case that eventually MPs do get a vote, but any vote on a substantive motion would constrain the government, and also allow the possibility of Tory MPs rebelling with Labour, and May seems determined to resist it if at all possible. In his impressive debut as shadow Brexit secretary Sir Keir Starmer confimed that Labour was not explicitly demanding a vote in its motion because it wanted to maximise the chances of MPs voting for it tonight. (See 1.37pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/12/pmqs-may-corbyn-brexit-debate-claims-real-victory-after-may-offers-brexit-debate-concession-politics-live?page=with:block-57fe2e99e4b03b22b4fb2910#block-57fe2e99e4b03b22b4fb2910] and David Davis, the Brexit secretary, would not promise a substantive vote either in his speech at the start of the debate. It may well be the case that eventually MPs do get a vote, but any vote on a substantive motion would constrain the government, and also allow the possibility of Tory MPs rebelling with Labour, and May seems determined to resist it if at all possible. In his impressive debut as shadow Brexit secretary Sir Keir Starmer confimed that Labour was not explicitly demanding a vote in its motion because it wanted to maximise the chances of MPs voting for it tonight. (See

\* Davis has played down suggestions that the government will publish a white paper or a green paper on Brexit. When it was put to him that a fellow minister, George Eustice , said a Brexit white paper was likely to be published, Davis dismissed the idea. Later he seemed to hint that one could be published.

I should also tell the House... I have asked the chief whip to ensure we have a series of debates so that the House can air its views. And it would be again very surprising if we had those debates without presenting to the House something for them to debate.

But a source in the department for Brexit said that Davis was not intending to suggest that policy papers would be published before the debates. Davis was just referring to the fact that ministers would keep MPs updated, the source said.

\* A Conservative former minister has accused the government of pursuing a Brexit policy driven by ideology, not national interest. In a question to Davis Claire Perry, the former transport minister, said:

I am extremely concerned by what has happened to sterling and what has happened to interest rates since the prime minister’s comments at the conference last week. And I think the problem [David Davis] is not acknowledging is that many people in the country do not think that there is a policy to put the national interest first. They think there is a policy to put people’s narrow ideological interests first. And what we should be setting out is quite clearly how we are going to protect British jobs and businesses and put ideology in the past where it belongs.

Davis rejected this claim.

\* Iain Duncan Smith , the Conservative former work and pensions secretary, has withdrawn a claim he made on Monday that Starmer is a second-rate lawyer. He said he was being “clumsy” and that his comment was not intended to apply to Starmer, a former director of public prosecutions.

Can I unreservedly withdraw allegations that I made on Monday, only on the basis that it was clumsy, it was not meant about you, it was meant about advice. I don’t doubt for one moment your capabilities as a lawyer.

Starmer said he considered the matter closed.

I’m grateful for that and I can assure you and the House that I wasn’t in the slightest bit concerned. I consider the matter closed.

\* Davis refused to confirm that powers over fishing and agriculture currently exercised by Brussels would currently devolve to the Scottish parliament . These were matters that would have to be discussed with Edinburgh, he said. Alex Salmond , the former Scottish first minister, said that under current law these matters would automatically get devolved to Scotland, regardless of what Davis said, unless the devolution arrangements were changed. He told Davis:

Agriculture and fisheries are not reserved, therefore they are devolved. Unless the government intends to change that position it’ll be automatic that agriculture and fisheries powers go to the Scottish government.

Davis replied:

This is an area where we have not addressed or talked to the devolved administration at all yet. We will do so before we get to bringing it back.

\* Starmer said Labour was not trying to overturn the EU referendum result and that it had to be “respected and accepted”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.28pm BST

block-time published-time 2.17pm BST

Davis says Starmer said the British people did not vote for any particular model of Brexit.

They voted to leave the EU , Davis says.

They expect the government to get the best possible terms, he says.

And that’s Davis’s speech over.

block-time published-time 2.14pm BST

Peter Bone , a Conservative, says he thinks MPs are actually agreed on this. There will be parliamentary scrutiny, he says.

block-time published-time 2.13pm BST

Nick Herbert , a Conservative, says MPs like him who want the Commons to scrutinise the government’s plans are not trying to block Brexit.

block-time published-time 2.12pm BST

Patrick Grady , the SNP MP, asks if powers over fisheries will get handed to Scotland.

Davis says matters will have to be considered.

Alex Salmond , the former Scottish first minister, says if matters are not reserved, they are devolved to Holyrood. He says that means Scotland will get power over agriculture and fisheries.

Davis says the government will have to discuss this with the Scottish parliament .

\* Davis refuses to confirm that Scotland will get full power over agriculture and fisheries after Brexit.

block-time published-time 2.06pm BST

Davis says if you tell the person you are negotiating with what you want, the price goes up.

That would apply if you were buying a house.

Equally, if you indicated in advance that you are willing to compromise on something, you reduce the value of that concession.

block-time published-time 2.03pm BST

Davis says this parliament will be at least as informed about the government’s Brexit negotiations as the European parliament.

That will be the minimum, he says. But the government will be “considerably beyond the minimum”, he says.

He says he has asked the chief whip to ensure there are a series of debates so MPs can express their views.

And it would be odd to have those debates without having “something before the House”, he says.

\* Davis hints the government will publish a paper or papers on its Brexit negotiating stance.

UPDATE: I’ve been told Davis did not mean to give this impression. See 3.05pm. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/12/pmqs-may-corbyn-brexit-debate-claims-real-victory-after-may-offers-brexit-debate-concession-politics-live?page=with:block-57fe3a43e4b03b22b4fb2964#block-57fe3a43e4b03b22b4fb2964]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.08pm BST

block-time published-time 2.00pm BST

Andy Burnham , the former shadow home secretary, says David Cameron ’s refusal to make contingency plans for Brexit was “a serious dereliction of duty”.

Davis says he will do many things from the despatch box, but not criticise Cameron.

block-time published-time 1.58pm BST

Anna Soubry , a Conservative, asks if the government has turned its back on membership of the single market.

Davis says this intervention illustrates the problems with the language over this. People talk about hard and soft Brexit, which mean little. There is “a whole spectrum” of options available.

We won’t go for a Norwegian or Swiss or Turkish option. We will go for a British option, he says.

block-time published-time 1.57pm BST

Davis says ministers will be appearing regularly in the Commons to discuss Brexit.

Caroline Lucas , the Green MP, asks if changes to environmental laws will become subject to a Commons vote.

Davis says the government will have to win a vote in the Commons to change environmental law.

block-time published-time 1.50pm BST

Starmer intervenes. Will we get a plan?

Davis says he will address that later in his speech.

block-time published-time 1.50pm BST

Jack Dromey , the Labour MP, says George Eustice , the environment minister, has just said on TV or radio this lunchtime that the government will probably publish a white paper or a green paper on its negotiating stance. Is that the latest U-turn, he says.

No, says Davis.

(It is not clear whether he is saying there will not be a white paper, or that publishing one would not be a U-turn.)

block-time published-time 1.47pm BST

Davis says he will put the national interest first, listen to the devolved bodies and, wherever possible, reduce uncertainty. That is what the great repeal bill is about.

Claire Perry, a Conservative, says she is “extremely concerned” by what has happened to sterling and interest rates since the Tory conference. Many people think there is not a policy to put the national interest first. They think the government is putting ideology.

Davis says he is not being ideological.

block-time published-time 1.44pm BST

Davis says he can “broadly welcome” the Labour motion, “but with important caveats”.

He says it is important that parliamentary scrutiny does not undermine the government’s negotiating position, or thwart leaving the EU .

Labour’s Ian Lucas asks if parliament will get a vote on the “opening position” of the government.

Davis says he will not allow any party to have a veto on leaving the EU .

Labour’s Emma Reynolds says this veto argument is a red herring. She says seven out of 10 Labour MPs represent constituencies that voted to leave the EU .

block-time published-time 1.39pm BST

David Davis's speech David Davis, the Brexit secretary, is now responding to Starmer.

He says today he received a list of 170 Brexit questions from Labour. It was a stunt, he says.

He says the government will allow proper scrutiny of its plans. But it will not allow the Commons to have a veto.

block-time published-time 1.37pm BST

David Davis asks if the Labour motion is demanding a vote.

Starmer says the Labour motion is about scrutiny. But he is pressing for a vote too, he says.

I am anxious that we have first proper scrutiny, and then a vote.

But he does not want to jeopardise the scrutiny but having a vote against a vote, he says.

And that’s it. Starmer has finished.

NOTE: In other words, Starmer is saying Labour deliberately did not demand a vote in its motion because it did not want to give the Tories an excuse to vote against the principle of MPs having the chance to scrutinise the government’s Brexit plans.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.39pm BST

block-time published-time 1.33pm BST

Starmer says no one voted on 23 June to take an axe to the economy.

The government must put the national interest first, and not give in to pressure to have a hard Brexit.

It must prioritise the best possible access to the single market, he says.

The government should publish its plans for Brexit, and get the backing of the Commons.

block-time published-time 1.32pm BST

Starmer quotes what Liam Fox said at the Conservative conference about EU nationals in the UK being a negotiating “card”. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/liam-fox-refuses-to-guarantee-right-of-eu-citizens-to-remain-in-uk]

He says that is not good enough. EU nationals living in the UK deserve better than this, he says.

block-time published-time 1.30pm BST

Jonathan Edwards, the Plaid Cymru MP, asks what Labour’s policy is on single market membership.

Starmer says Labour wants the best possible access to it.

block-time published-time 1.27pm BST

Claire Perry, a Conservative, says many Tories will try to retain the benefits of single market access for the sake of firms in their constituencies.

block-time published-time 1.27pm BST

Duncan Smith withdraws 'second-rate lawyer' jibe at Starmer Johanna Cherry, the SNP’s home affairs spokesman, intervenes, saying it is a pleasure to listen to a first-rate lawyer.

That is a reference to Iain Duncan Smith , the Conservative former work and pensions secretary, calling Starmer a “second-rate lawyer” in the Commons on Monday.

Davis intervenes. He says he does not consider Starmer “second-rate lawywer”.

Now Duncan Smith intervenes. He says his comment on Monday was no intended to refer to Starmer. He was trying to make a general point about laywers, he says. He says he was “clumsy”. He says he wishes to withdraw the suggestion that this was aimed at Starmer.

Starmer says he was not bothered anyway. He considers the matter closed.

\* Duncan Smith withdraws ‘second-rate lawyer’ jibe at Starmer.

UPDATE: This is what Duncan Smith said on Monday.

enltrIDS apologises for calling @Keir\_Starmer [https://twitter.com/Keir\_Starmer] "a second rate lawyer" on Monday - said he was talking about another lawyer... pic.twitter.com/xa2jdcsPnL [https://t.co/xa2jdcsPnL] "a second rate lawyer" on Monday - said he was talking about another lawyer...

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786181187660353536]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.29pm BST

block-time published-time 1.22pm BST

Starmer says Davis said, in a Commons statement in September, that he would strive to build a national consensus for the government’s approach.

But how can you build a consensus if you will not disclose what your approach actually is, he asks.

block-time published-time 1.21pm BST

Starmer says even if the royal prerogative permits the government to withhold its plans from parliament, it does not require it to.

And he says the political imperative is for parliament to be consulted.

Bernard Jenkin , a Conservative, says there has already been a vote on this - at the referendum.

Starmer says the referendum did not set the terms for EU withdrawal.

block-time published-time 1.19pm BST

Starmer says the development of the convention governing this is obvious; the more important a decision, the more essential that parliament gets consulted.

block-time published-time 1.17pm BST

Dominic Grieve, the Conservative former attorney general, says there is a convention that major treaty changes have to be put to the Commons for an affirmative vote. He says that is only a convention. But conventions have to be followed, he says. He says the notion that governments resign after losing a vote of confidence is only a convention, but MPs would be very surprised if that were ignored.

block-time published-time 1.15pm BST

Chris Bryant , the Labour MP, says parliament should get a vote on treaties. This is something originally proposed by the Labour government in the 1920s, he says. He says it is worrying that ministers want to rely on the royal prerogative to take Britain out of the EU .

block-time published-time 1.13pm BST

Starmer says UK should not just copy existing model for post-Brexit relationship with EU Starmer says four models for leaving the EU have been most discussed: the Swiss model, the Norwegian model, the Turkish model and the Canadian model.

It is unlikely that any of those models will be exactly replicated. And nor should they, he says.

\* Starmer says UK should not simply copy an off-the-peg model for the UK’s relationship with the EU . This is Theresa May ’s position too.

block-time published-time 1.09pm BST

enltrNow Starmer says that Command Papers and an Economic Impact Assessment was laid before the @HouseofCommons [https://twitter.com/HouseofCommons] before UK went into EEC

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/786176978286153728]block-time published-time 1.09pm BST

Starmer says once the negotiating process has started, the government will not want to give any information to the Commons about its stance.

David Davis, the Brexit secretary, intervenes. He says he told a Lords committee recently that parliament would get at least as much information as the European parliament about the renegotiation.

block-time published-time 1.04pm BST

Labour’s Toby Perkins says the CBI thinks the government is heading for a cliff edge. Many people in business are worried about the lack of commentary from the government.

Starmer says there is “great uncertainty” in the country at large about the government’s plans.

block-time published-time 1.02pm BST

A Tory MP asks if Labour will set out its negotiating position.

Starmer says Labour is not in government. He would happily swap places with David Davis, he says.

block-time published-time 1.01pm BST

Starmer says the fact that the government has tabled an amendment suggests it is moving in the right direction.

Caroline Lucas , the Green MP, says MPs need to have not just a debate, but a vote too.

Starmer says he will address this point later.

He says the government must agree to publish some plans.

block-time published-time 1.00pm BST

MPs debate parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit The main debate on parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit is now starting.

Sir Keir Starmer , the shadow Brexit secretary, is opening for Labour.

He says the decisions being taken by the government in the next few months will have a profound impact on the UK. The Commons has probably never had to decide so many big issues since the end of the second world war.

He says the vote to leave the EU has to be “respected and accepted”, even though people like him were opposed to leaving.

\* Starmer says vote to leave EU must be “respected and accepted”.

But the nature of the EU withdrawal was not on the ballot paper.

And the government has not set out its opening terms for negotiation.

block-time published-time 12.57pm BST

Here is some Twitter comment from journalists and commentators on PMQs.

(It is quite a limited round-up by normal standards because I’m short of time.)

enltrAn assured performance from Jeremy Corbyn , who looked like an opposition leader. Theresa May had no answers for him and it showed. #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash] had no answers for him and it showed.

— Michael Wilkinson (@ThatMichaelW) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ThatMichaelW/status/786171440408125441]enltrTeam May need to assemble a better PMQs unit to build confidence - jokes ok but badly needs a coach or two.

— Iain Martin (@iainmartin1) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/iainmartin1/status/786168648536915968]enltrCorbyn getting used to this PMQs lark. Chose topic that unites his MPs, quoted Tory MPs on Brexit worries.

— Paul Waugh (@paulwaugh) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh/status/786164770575622144]enltrThat was a score draw for May and Corbyn. Both performed well, sticking rigidly to their positions but not landing any major blows #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]enltrThat was a score draw for May and Corbyn. Both performed well, sticking rigidly to their positions but not landing any major blows

— Sebastian Payne (@SebastianEPayne) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SebastianEPayne/status/786164229153972224]enltrJust realised no punters' emails in JC questions this week. Don't think they were missed much. #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash]enltrJust realised no punters' emails in JC questions this week. Don't think they were missed much.

— Rafael Behr (@rafaelbehr) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rafaelbehr/status/786166457390563328]enltrIt's odd watching Theresa May at PMQs. She does very well, but I always feel she's one question away from falling flat on her face.

— (((Dan Hodges))) (@DPJHodges) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DPJHodges/status/786166516630773761]block-time published-time 12.52pm BST

The Financial Times ’s Sebastian Payne says a Guardian story may have led Theresa May to think Emily Thornberry was backing a second referendum on the EU.

enltrTheresa May might have been referring to this report by Thornberry, which leaves the door open to a 2nd ref https://t.co/aBIfdlSBqY [https://t.co/aBIfdlSBqY] #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] https://t.co/3oZrQrSeuN [https://t.co/3oZrQrSeuN]

— Sebastian Payne (@SebastianEPayne) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SebastianEPayne/status/786169529705594880]block-time published-time 12.47pm BST

On a point of order Michael Fabricant says Jeremy Corbyn implied that Fabricant had received special treatment from the NHS during PMQs. (See 12.08pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/12/pmqs-may-corbyn-brexit-debate-claims-real-victory-after-may-offers-brexit-debate-concession-politics-live?page=with:block-57fe18cfe4b03b22b4fb287c#block-57fe18cfe4b03b22b4fb287c] during PMQs. (See

Corbyn objects. He says that is not what he was saying. He says he loves the NHS .

block-time published-time 12.44pm BST

Thornberry accuses May of misleading MPs about her Brexit stance Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary, has accused Theresa May of misleading MPs when she said Thornberry wanted a second EU referendum. (See 12.23pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/12/pmqs-may-corbyn-brexit-debate-claims-real-victory-after-may-offers-brexit-debate-concession-politics-live?page=with:block-57fe1b71e4b03b22b4fb2895#block-57fe1b71e4b03b22b4fb2895] referendum. (See

enltrFor the sake of a lame joke, the PM misleads House saying I'm calling for a rerun of Brexit referendum. I haven't and don't. #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]

— Emily Thornberry (@EmilyThornberry) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/EmilyThornberry/status/786168592865910788]block-time published-time 12.41pm BST

PMQs has now finished. It ran 10 minutes over time today.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.56pm BST

block-time published-time 12.41pm BST

Alison McGovern , the Labour MP, asks if the government will compensate the women who will lose out from the accelerated state pension age increase.

May says women were informed about these changes. She says pension arrangements for women will improve under the government’s plans.

block-time published-time 12.36pm BST

May refuses to promise MPs a vote on Brexit before article 50 is invoked Labour’s Angela Eagle asks if MPs will get a vote on Brexit before article 50 is invoked.

May says the idea that parliament would not debate or scrutinise Brexit was wrong. Parliament is going to have every opportunity to debate this issue.

\* May refuses to promise MPs a vote on Brexit before article 50 is invoked.

block-time published-time 12.35pm BST

Victoria Prentis , a Conservative, asks about maternity services in a hospital in her constituency. May says what matters is having a safe service.

block-time published-time 12.33pm BST

Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, says May has sided with the protectionists and nationalists who have taken over her party, just as Labour has been taken over by Momentum. She has chosen a hard Brexit. When will she put the interests of British people first. Almost no one voted for a hard Brexit.

MPs from both sides seem to be jeering Farron. He is having difficult being heard.

May says she will put the interests of the British people first.

block-time published-time 12.32pm BST

Fiona Bruce , a Conservative, asks May for an assurance that parents will get the right school place for their child.

May says the whole aim of the government’s policy is to ensure that there are good school places for every child.

And the government does want to lift the ban on selective schools expanding.

block-time published-time 12.31pm BST

Labour’s Ben Bradshaw asks if May will join France in saying those responsible for war crimes in Syria to be investigated by the international criminal court .

May says it is for the ICC to decide what it investigates. On the no-fly zone, she says the scenes in Syria are appalling. But there are many questions about how a no-fly zone could operate. What everyone knows is that the only solution is a political transition. It is time Russia accepted that.

block-time published-time 12.29pm BST

May says devolution deals are having a transformative effect. Suffolk is looking at such a deal.

block-time published-time 12.28pm BST

Liz Saville Roberts , a Plaid Cymru MP, asks about a couple in her constituency where median incomes are very low. This is affecting a couple who are having difficulty meeting visa requirements because of family income rules. Why should people in her constituency find it harder to meet rules allowing people to come to the UK.

May says she will respond in writing about the constituents’ case. But she says the government consulted carefully about the income rules.

block-time published-time 12.26pm BST

May says government investment has enabled growth in Pendle to be unlocked.

block-time published-time 12.23pm BST

PMQs - Snap Verdict: PMQs - Snap Verdict: Corbyn never quite put the ball in the back of the net, but this wasn’t May’s finest moment either, and the Labour leader did quite usefully catalogue some of the weaknesses in the government’s position on Brexit. The very fact that Corbyn focused on Brexit was striking, because since the referendum (and for some time before) he has generally avoided the topic. But, as usual, he asked strong questions but failed to follow them up. (In tennis terms, he has an adequate serve, but no return.) He also failed to press May on the one question that is really topical today; in the light of her U-turn last night on a Brexit debate, can she now commit to giving MPs a vote on a substantive motion? May responded competently, but not brilliantly, to Corbyn’s questions, and interestingly she avoided some of the gratuitous Labour-bashing that has marred some of her earlier PMQs, although she did finish with a neat point about Labour getting the same answer when they ask a question for a second time. (Although this was premised on a claim that Emily Thornberry has called for a second referendum on the EU , which as far as I’m aware she hasn’t.)

block-time published-time 12.15pm BST

Corbyn says the government seems to be turning its back on the single market, even though a commitment to this was in the Tory manifesto. Will May risk a shambolic Brexit just to appease the people behind her.

May says she will negotiate the best deal for the UK. She is ambitious about delivering it.

Corbyn says Ken Clarke often has a mot juste to help in these debates. He says the pound was heading south because no one has an idea what the government will put in place. The government has no plan for Brexit, and no strategy. The jobs and income of people are at stake. May says she will not give a running commentary. But she cannot run away from this.

May says she is optimistic about Britain’s prospects after Brexit. Labour did not want a referendum, she says. The Tories gave them one. Labour did not like the result. The Tories are delivering. And Emily Thornberry wants a second vote, she says. But Labour MPs should have learnt the lesson; if you ask the same question, you get the same reply.

(That’s a reference to the Labour leadership contest.)

block-time published-time 12.11pm BST

Corbyn says some Tories said Brexit would generate £350m a week for the NHS . Some ministers do not have data about Brexit. David Davis said on Monday he did not know what the economic effects of Brexit would be. But the Treasury says not being in the single market could cost £66bn. Is access to the single market a priority?

May says she wants the best deal for the UK, including maximum possible access to the single market. But she is also clear that the vote to leave the EU was a vote to get control of **immigration**.

Corbyn says May said leaving the single market would damage trade before she became PM. He says 140,000 people in the UK work for Japanese companies. What reassurance can May give to workers worried about their jobs?

May says the Japanese firm SoftBank invested in ARM after the referendum. That was a vote of confidence.

UPDATE: I’ve corrected the final paragraph which referred to a Japanese bank. SoftBank is not a bank. May did not described it as a bank.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.55pm BST

block-time published-time 12.08pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn wishes Michael Fabricant well. And he hopes Fabricant got the same treatment as others.

Some MPs seem to object to this.

Corbyn says May said in her conference speech that she wanted the UK to be a country where it does not matter where you are born. But the home secretary wants to name and shame firms that employ foreigners.

May congratulates Corbyn on his leadership victory. She says there was no plan to name and shame firms, or to publish lists of workers. But the government will consult on collecting data to ensure it is tackling skills shortages.

Corbyn says he is grateful to all those that voted for him to become leader of his party. There were rather more than who voted for May. May is slightly unaware of what is going on. The home secretary said firms would be named and shamed. Then the government said the data would just be retained. Yesterday we learned pregnant women would not get ultrasound at a hospital without photo ID. Are these the actions of a country where it does not matter where you were born.

May says if the NHS is providing services, people should be eligible. If people are coming to the UK, the health service should identify them and get money from them. Of course, emergency care will be provided without people having to give that information.

block-time published-time 12.04pm BST

Michael Fabricant , a Conservative, asks a closed question about the West Midlands economy. May says it is in good shape.

Fabricant says he recently had a well man check which showed he had a problem with his prostate. He had an operation. He is now fine. But he wants to thank the team at the Birmingham hospital. In the future there will be a shortage of prostate nurses.

May says MPs are pleased to see Fabricant back. But this is a serious issue. She commends NHS staff, and says cancer survival rates are at a record high. The government will look at the training of nurses, she says.

block-time published-time 12.01pm BST

Labour’s Paula Sheriff says she used to work in an NHS service that went to Virgin Care. They use a system of double appointments. That is unfair for patients, and adds costs to the NHS .

Theresa May says she wants the NHS to provide the best service. It was Labour that encouraged outsourcing, she says.

block-time published-time 12.00pm BST

enltrNick Brown MP back in Labour whips seat on the front bench for the first time in 6 years. Looks at home. #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash]

— Kate Proctor (@KateProctorES) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/KateProctorES/status/786159261327974400]block-time published-time 12.00pm BST

enltrGeorge Osborne sat next to Nicky Morgan for PMQs. Sharing a few laughs. Gaps on the Tory benches. Theresa May just arrived.

— Jack Maidment (@jrmaidment) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jrmaidment/status/786159006679175168]block-time published-time 11.59am BST

May and Corbyn at PMQs PMQs is starting in a few minutes.

Here is the list of MPs on the order paper with a question.

enltrHere is list for #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]. First up @paulasherriff [https://twitter.com/paulasherriff] - note Q3 is a closed question pic.twitter.com/86SbFtwlUe [https://t.co/86SbFtwlUe] - note Q3 is a closed question

— PARLY (@ParlyApp) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ParlyApp/status/786156608539750401]block-time published-time 11.52am BST

The nation has yet to respond to Boris Johnson ’s call for protests outside the Russian embassy over Syria. Here is the scene outside the embassy gates this morning.

The scene outside the Russian embassy this morning. Photograph: Damien Gayle for the Guardian block-time published-time 11.50am BST

The pound has rallied following the government’s decision that it will give MPs a “full and transparent debate” on Brexit, my colleague Graeme Wearden reports.

Related: Pound bounces back from all-time low as government agrees to Brexit debate – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/12/sterling-rebounds-brexit-fears-bank-of-england-business-live]

This is from the IPPR’s Joe Dromey, a Labour councillor.

enltrPound rebounds as May agrees to Brexit debate. Well done @Keir\_Starmer [https://twitter.com/Keir\_Starmer]. Forcing u-turns, shifting currency... Not bad for a 2nd rate lawyer pic.twitter.com/UAlxHOafJk [https://t.co/UAlxHOafJk]. Forcing u-turns, shifting currency... Not bad for a 2nd rate lawyer

— Joe Dromey (@Joe\_Dromey) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Joe\_Dromey/status/786143159386537984]block-time published-time 11.44am BST

The Conservative MP Stephen Phillips, who voted to leave the EU but who is now one of the leading Tory “rebels” demanding full parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit, has just told Andrew Neil on the Daily Politics that he wants to government to give MPs a vote on a “substantive motion” on leaving the EU before article 50 is triggered.

The government has agreed to give MPs a “full and transparent debate”. But now the key issue is whether there will be a debate on a substantive motion that can be amended. The Commons often debates issues on the adjournment (on a motion just saying that the Commons will adjourn) or on a take note motion (saying a particular subject has been debated). Debates like this do not force MPs to decide between two positions. Having a debate on a substantive motion would allow, for example, those MPs who want the UK to stay in the single market to table an amendment saying this should be a top priority.

Phillips told the Daily Politics he would like to see a motion saying, for example, that the UK should remain in the single market and that the UK should get control of its borders. Neil said these two demands were irreconcilable, but Phillips did not accept that.

block-time published-time 11.32am BST

Sir Keir Starmer , the shadow Brexit secretary, will be opening the debate this afternoon for Labour. David Davis, the Brexit secretary, will respond.

block-time published-time 11.19am BST

Modern-day slaves are being failed by “substandard” crime recording which risks allowing perpetrators to offend with impunity, according to the UK’s anti-slavery commissioner, the Press Association reports. Here is its story.

Kevin Hyland criticised “chronic weaknesses” as he demanded that law enforcement agencies step up their response to the issue.

Figures compiled for the commissioner’s annual report (pdf) [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/559571/IASC\_Annual\_Report\_WebReadyFinal.pdf] show 884 modern slavery crimes were recorded by police in England and Wales in 2015/16.

In the same period 3,146 referrals were made to the National Referral Mechanism, a framework for identifying potential victims.

Although it is not possible to directly link specific NRM referrals to recorded crimes using the data, analysis indicates that at best 28% of referrals may have resulted in a modern slavery crime being recorded by police in England and Wales, according to the report.

Hyland said some forces are taking a “proactive approach” to combating modern slavery but “many instances of substandard modern slavery crime recording remain”.

block-time published-time 11.03am BST

Government must give MPs a vote on Brexit negotiating terms, says Labour This is what Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary, said on the Today programme this morning when asked why the Labour motion on parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit (see 9.26am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/12/pmqs-may-corbyn-brexit-debate-claims-real-victory-after-may-offers-brexit-debate-concession-politics-live?page=with:block-57fde809e4b05d915e4240e5#block-57fde809e4b05d915e4240e5] did not specifically call for a vote. She said the motion implied that there would have to be a vote.

We want to have proper scrutiny, and proper scrutiny means a vote. We are absolutely clear about that.

block-time published-time 11.01am BST

Open Britain, the successor to Britain Stronger In Europe which is now campaigning to keep Britain in the single market, has welcomed the government’s concession that there will be a “full and transparent” debate in the Commons on Brexit. It has put out this statement from Pat McFadden , an Open Britain campaigner and the former shadow Europe minister.

It is welcome that the government has conceded that there should be proper parliamentary scrutiny of their negotiating position before they trigger article 50.

Hopefully this will put to an end the absurd accusation that anyone who asks the government questions is trying to deny the result of the referendum.

This is a significant starting point. MPs from across the House should now push for a vote on the government’s negotiation terms, which the government amendment to the motion does not compel them to hold.

block-time published-time 10.54am BST

Nigel Dodds , the DUP’s leader at Westminster, has said the DUP will support the government amendment tonight (see 9.26am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/12/pmqs-may-corbyn-brexit-debate-claims-real-victory-after-may-offers-brexit-debate-concession-politics-live?page=with:block-57fde809e4b05d915e4240e5#block-57fde809e4b05d915e4240e5] in the vote on parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit. He said:

It is now the government’s job to do what the public have said. It’s a serious, grown-up business, and I have every confidence that this prime minister can deliver.

No responsible negotiator does so having first publicly broadcast their bottom line in advance to those they’re negotiating with. I would not expect our government to do so, and infantile demands that they should betray a desire to frustrate the referendum result.

My party tonight will be voting to ensure Brexit means responsible, realistic government. But more than anything else, it’ll be voting to ensure that parliament respects the plainly stated will of the British people.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.55am BST

block-time published-time 10.52am BST

Nick Clegg , the former Lib Dem leader and former deputy prime minister, has been on Radio 5 Live this morning. He said it would take “years and years and years” to negotiate trade deals to replace the trade arrangements that already apply with the EU and other major trading partners. It could not happen before 2020, he said.

A full all-singing all-dancing replacement trade agreement with the rest of the European Union and with our trading partners around the world (before 2020) - absolutely no way.

He also said that in the coalition Theresa May was a home secretary unwilling to delegate who never commented in cabinet on economics or foreign affairs.

[May was] a “strong if narrowly-focussed Home Secretary. I sat next to her in cabinet meetings for half a decade. I never heard her once say a thing about economics or international affairs or education...

Home secretaries become command and control politicians. That’s fine if you’re a home secretary. It is not fine if you’re a prime minister, or dare I say it deputy prime minister, where you have to trust other people to make their own judgements.

block-time published-time 10.27am BST

My colleague Graeme Wearden is covering Sir Jon Cunliffe ’s evidence to the Lords committee on Brexit here, on his business live blog.

Related: Sterling rebounds as government agrees to Brexit debate – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/12/sterling-rebounds-brexit-fears-bank-of-england-business-live]

block-time published-time 10.25am BST

The Labour party is not planning to oppose the government’s amendment on parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit, I’m told. That means there is a chance that the Labour motion, with the government amendment (see 9.26am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/12/pmqs-may-corbyn-brexit-debate-claims-real-victory-after-may-offers-brexit-debate-concession-politics-live?page=with:block-57fde809e4b05d915e4240e5#block-57fde809e4b05d915e4240e5], will be backed by the Commons at 7pm, when the debate ends, without a vote.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.55am BST

block-time published-time 10.07am BST

Sir Jon Cunliffe , deputy governor of the Bank of England, and a former British permanent representative to the EU, is giving evidence to a Lords committee on Brexit now.

You can watch the proceedings here. [http://www.parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/533bbfe5-2a6a-4fe1-b90c-56cf9e92fb16]

I won’t be covering the hearing in full, but I will be monitoring it and posting any highlights.

Sir Jon Cunliffe giving evidence to a Lords committee. Photograph: Parliament TV block-time published-time 9.59am BST

Johnson's call for protests outside Russian embassy dismissed by both Stop the War and former MI6 chief Turning away from Brexit for a moment, Boris Johnson is in the unusual position of having his call for demonstrations outside the Russian embassy [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fcfdebe4b03b22b4fb24c8#block-57fcfdebe4b03b22b4fb24c8] over its conduct in Syria dismissed by both the Stop the War Coalition and a former head of MI6.

In the Commons yesterday Johnson seemed to taunt Stop the War over their willingness to protest against the UK government but not against Russia.

On the Today programme this morning Chris Nineham, Stop the War’s vice chairman, explained why the group would not be protesting outside the Russian embassy.

The reason for that is our focus is on what our government is doing. There’s a very good reason for this, because we can make a difference to what Britain does, we can make a difference to what our allies do to a certain extent and we have done.

But, if we have a protest outside the Russian embassy it wouldn’t make a blind bit of difference as to what [President Vladimir] Putin does because we are in Britain and were are in the West.

And, not only that - a protest outside the Russian embassy would actually contribute to increasing the hysteria and the jingoism that is being whipped up at the moment against Russia.

What we are saying is there is a hysteria which is being organised by politicians and the media against Russia to see Russia as the only problem in Syria.

Sir John Sawers was on the programme an hour or so later. He is a former head of MI6 (and not, to the best of my knowledge, a member of Stop the War), but he also expressed reservations about encouraging people to demonstrate outside the Russian embassy. He said:

We all have to be a little bit careful and mindful of the security of our embassy in Moscow when we think about calling for demonstrations here in London.

We all recall what happened to our embassy in Tehran three or four years ago. I don’t think that would happen in Moscow but we need to be careful about the consequences of things that we call for.

block-time published-time 9.48am BST

Tory MP demands three-day debate on Brexit before article 50 triggered According to Sky ’s Beth Rigby, the Conservative MP Stephen Phillips, one of the leading Tory “rebels” demanding parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit, wants the government to agree to a three-day debate on Brexit before article 50 is triggered.

enltrBREAK: On heels of No 10 climbdown, Stephen Phillips says he'll force govt 2 commit to 3-day parliamentary debate BEFORE triggering Art. 50

— Beth Rigby (@BethRigby) October 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BethRigby/status/786109861658583044]block-time published-time 9.35am BST

Labour produce 170 Brexit questions for the government The Labour party has also released a list of 170 questions for the government about its Brexit negotiating stance. You can read the full list on LabourList here. [https://labourlist.org/2016/10/labours-170-questions-for-david-davis-on-brexit/]

Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary, and Sir Keir Starmer , the shadow Brexit secretary, have set them out in a letter to David Davis, the Brexit secretary. In it they said:

If you are able to provide satisfactory answers to all these questions, just one per day from tomorrow until 31 March next year, it might give some confidence that the government is entering the Article 50 negotiations with a clear plan.

If not, it will reinforce the sense that the government is instead blundering into this process without a clear endgame in mind, repeating exactly the same mistake that the previous Prime Minister made with his ‘renegotiation’ of Britain’s EU membership last year: working to an artificial, self-imposed timetable; with a flawed Plan A of what he wanted to achieve; and no Plan B whatsoever.

Given you have consistently spoken up throughout your career in a highly principled way about the importance of Parliamentary sovereignty, we hope you will reflect again on the decision to deny the country’s elected representatives the opportunity to debate and vote on the Government’s plan for Brexit before Article 50 is triggered.

In response to the letter a Conservative spokesperson said:

We are aiming to deliver the right deal for the United Kingdom and return control over all the decisions that affect people’s lives to the sovereign institutions of this country.

That’s what people voted for on June 23. The prime minister has been clear that it would not be in the national interest to provide a running commentary as we shape our negotiating strategy, let alone reveal every aspect of it in advance as Labour now appears to be suggesting.

block-time published-time 9.26am BST

Labour claims 'real victory' after May offers Brexit debate concession MPs will debate parliamentary scrutiny of the Brexit process this afternoon and, in advance of the debate, Labour is claiming to have achieved a “real victory”. In reality, it it probably more a matter of establishing a temporary, tactical advantage, but an opposition is entitled to boast about its gains whenever it gets them.

The key point is that Theresa May has compromised to avoid the risk of a Tory revolt over giving the Commons a say on Brexit.

It’s an opposition day in the Commons (meaning Labour gets the choose the motion for debate) and the party decided to get MPs to vote on whether the Commons should be consulted on the government’s Brexit negotiating strategy. Here is the motion that it has tabled, which is also backed by the Lib Dems.

That this House recognises that leaving the EU is the defining issue facing the UK; believes that there should be a full and transparent debate on the Government’s plan for leaving the EU ; and calls on the Prime Minister to ensure that this House is able properly to scrutinise that plan for leaving the EU before Article 50 is invoked.

Some Tory MPs also feel strongly that the Commons must have a say over Brexit (for reasons set out in the chamber on Monday) and, if there were a straightforward yes/no vote on whether the Commons should be consulted, Tory rebels could unite with the opposition to defeat the government. Theresa May wants to ensure the government has the final say.

But May is not asking Tory MPs to reject the Labour motion outright (which is what normally happens when MPs debate an opposition day motion). Instead the government has tabled an amendment saying what Labour proposes is fine, so long as the government’s negotiating position is maintained. The amendment reads:

At end add ‘; and believes that the process should be undertaken in such a way that respects the decision of the people of the UK when they voted to leave the EUon 23 June and does not undermine the negotiating position of the government as negotiations are entered into which will take place after article 50 has been triggered.’.

Tory MPs will be asked to vote for this amendment, before the Commons votes on the main motions. Tory MPs who feel very strongly about parliamentary scrutiny, the “rebels” like Stephen Phillips [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/11/we-voted-brexit-keep-parliament-sovereign-wont-be-gagged], may choose not to back the amendment, on the grounds that it is an attempt to neuter the demand for scrutiny, but that that won’t look like much of a rebellion. And then the motion as a whole will get passed, probably with the amendment attached.

That means effectively that May has conceded that there must be a “full and transparent debate” in the Commons on the government’s Brexit plan, before article 50 is invoked. Sir Keir Starmer , the shadow Brexit secretary, said last night this was “a real victory for “parliament and will help ensure there is proper democratic grip of the Brexit process.”

But the Labour motion mentions a debate but not a vote. On the Today programme Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary, said that it implied a vote. But ministers will be able to say that they have not agreed to let the Commons vote on, for example, whether remaining a member of the single market must be a priority. If Labour could get May to concede that, then that really would count as a huge victory.

I will be covering this issue, and the debate, in full during the day.

Here is the agenda.

9am: Justine Greening, the education secretary, gives a speech to the Fawcett Society gender pay conference.

9.30am: Jeremy Corbyn , Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, Sir Patrick McLoughlin , the Conservative chairman, and Angus Robertson , the SNP leader at Westminster, give evidence to the Commons women and equalities committee on women in the Commons after the 2020 election.

9.30am: Chris Grayling, the transport secretary, gives a speech on HS2.

10am: Sir Jon Cunliffe , the Bank of England deputy governor, gives evidence to a Lords committee on Brexit.

10.30am: Senior police figures, including Stephen Rodhouse, deputy assistant commissioner at the Metropolitan police, give evidence to a Lords committee on Brexit.

12pm: Theresa May faces Corbyn at PMQs.

12.30pm: MPs begin a debate on parliamentary scrutiny of the Brexit process.

I will be mostly focusing on Brexit today but, as usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.35am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Conservatives queue up to raise concerns as pound plunges, and Labour says PM has no mandate for terms of leaving EU

A string of senior Conservatives warned Theresa May ’s Brexit strategy is risking the health of the economy in a parliamentary debate during which the pound dropped to its lowest ever level against a basket of currencies.

At least seven former ministers – including Claire Perry and Ken Clarke – were among MPs to raise concerns about the government’s approach, amid signals the prime minister could be heading towards a so-called hard Brexit.

Perry voiced concern about the state of the pound [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/11/pound-completes-worst-four-day-performance-since-brexit-vote]. “I am extremely concerned about what has happened to sterling and interest rates since the prime minister’s comments at the party conference last week,” she said.

Related: The PM's Brexit confusion is contagious | John Crace [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/12/the-pms-brexit-confusion-contagious]

The pound lost almost 1% of its value and its lowest ever level on a trade weighted index against other currencies during a speech from Brexit secretary David Davis, before slightly recovering later in the day. Since the referendum on 23 June, the pound has lost nearly 18% of its value against the dollar.

Perry added: “The problem that the secretary of state is not acknowledging is that many people in this country do not think that there is a policy to put the national interest first; they think that there is a policy to put people’s narrow ideological interests first. He should be setting out clearly how we will protect British jobs and businesses and putting ideology in the past, where it belongs.”

May has made it clear she intends to honour the result of the referendum vote and ensure controls on freedom of movement, but has not yet revealed how far she is prepared to give up access to the single market in order to achieve curbs on **immigration**.

At prime minister’s question time on Wednesday, she denied claims by Jeremy Corbyn , the Labour leader, that the government is presiding over a “shambolic Tory Brexit”.

But tensions ran high in parliament during the debate on the UK’s departure that followed, as several Conservative MPs said they were prepared to work with Labour in order to better hold the government to account over the type of Brexit it plans to pursue.

No 10 was so concerned that Tory MPs were prepared to vote in favour of Labour’s motion calling for proper scrutiny of Brexit that it promised a series of debates in the House of Commons before article 50 is triggered, while stopping short of promising a vote on the terms.

“The premise on which we are advancing is that we will have proper scrutiny. But it is not one where we will allow anyone to veto the decision of the British people,” said David Davis, the secretary of state for leaving the EU .

Related: Daily Mail's attack on 'Bremoaners' reflects editor's Brexit fears [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/12/daily-mail-bremoaners-brexit-mps-cbi-bbc-paul-dacre]

He said it was “not black or white” whether the UK would stay in the single market and he could go no further than talking about overarching aims because revealing the UK’s top priority would prove “extremely expensive”.

Those aims, he said, were: “Bringing back control of laws to parliament, bringing back control over decisions of **immigration** to the UK, maintaining the strong security cooperation that we have with the European Union , and establishing the freest possible market in goods and services with the European Union and the rest of the world.”

Davis also hit out at businesses and countries who were creating a “Brexit blame festival” which, he said, was making employees unnecessarily nervous about the consequences of leaving the EU .

Davis was supported by many of the most Eurosceptic MPs in parliament, including John Redwood, Bill Cash, Bernard Jenkin and Peter Bone . He and others have suggested that those calling for more parliamentary scrutiny are trying to “micromanage” the process or defeat the “will of the people”.

However, this argument was rebuffed by around a dozen of his Conservative colleagues who used the debate effectively to put May on notice that they will fight any attempt to push through a hard Brexit deal that they believe will harm the economy.

Meanwhile Clarke, a former chancellor, said no foreign companies would invest until there was more clarity about the UK’s future relationship with the outside world.

Related: Britain, get real: Brexit means whatever the EU says it means | Joris Luyendijk [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/12/britain-brexit-eu-pound-euro]

He said May’s conference speech potentially signalling an exit from the single market and customs union had caused a “reaction in the markets that was only too obvious”.

“It has continued ever since with continued pronunciations of uncertainty that are holding things back very badly. The pound has devalued to an extent that would have caused a political crisis 30 years ago when I first came here, and not for the first time.”

Chris Philp , a Tory backbencher, urged the Brexit secretary to give away more details, saying there was a “danger some [businesses] may take decisions in the next two or three months” to pre-emptively scale back investment and move jobs.

The debate was secured by Labour and opened by shadow Brexit secretary Keir Starmer , who said it was “frankly astonishing” that the government intended to avoid a vote on the terms on Brexit.

“I’ve stood here and accepted there’s a mandate for exit. There is no mandate for the terms. It has never been put to the country. It has not even been put to the secretary of state’s political party and it has not been put to this house. Where is the mandate on the terms?”

Dominic Grieve, a former attorney general, said there were likely to be economic risks and a “legal nightmare” caused by Brexit, as he argued there was a longstanding convention that major treaty changes must be approved by parliament rather than royal prerogative.

Nicky Morgan , the Conservative former education secretary, said she resented the implication from newspapers, ministers and “briefers and spinners at the heart of this government” that she was trying to block Brexit, and pledged to work even harder at holding the government to account over its role in leaving the EU .

She said she was “deeply concerned” that the cabinet had not been consulted on when article 50 would be triggered and spoke of her “heartbreak” that one of her constituents would find it difficult to carry on living in the UK as an EU citizen.

Anna Soubry , the former small business minister, said the country was facing difficult times and spoke of a small UK firm that was in danger of going under, and others that had told her EU workers were returning to their countries of origin.

“We should be holding our heads in shame that this is a feeling that people have,” she said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Raoul Ruparel provided the analysis before being appointed by David Davis to lend expertise on leaving the EU

The British economy will be hit by a “permanent cost” of more than £25bn a year if it decides to withdraw from the EU customs union, a new government adviser on Brexit has said.

Raoul Ruparel, who has been hired by David Davis to provide expertise on the process of leaving the EU , said he believed there was no question of the UK staying in Europe’s free-trade bloc.

But he admitted that leaving the customs union, inside which EU countries negotiate trade deals collectively and set common external tariffs, would reduce GDP by between 1 and 1.2% in the long term.

Ruparel’s comments, made before he was appointed to the senior government position, could provide ammunition for Labour MPs who have challenged the government’s trade secretary, Liam Fox , to prove the benefits of such a move.

A group of 53 Labour MPs, led by shadow Brexit secretary Keir Starmer , have sent a letter organised by the campaign group Open Britain demanding a “rigorous and publicly available cost-benefit analysis” to demonstrate why it would be the best option.

So far Davis and Theresa May have not said whether they believe Britain ought to withdraw from the union, with some ministers in government warning that the move would cause a huge extra burden on exporters.

But Fox has signalled that he supports withdrawal to allow the government to negotiate its own free trade deals.

Ruparel, who will be heavily involved in the process, made clear that he believed Britain would have to leave the bloc, arguing “this ship sailed some time ago”.

“The only real question then is why this is even a ‘live debate’ in Whitehall?” he wrote. “It is concerning that, at this stage, the UK government seems to still be debating the most basic tenets of Brexit when the time is upon us to be drafting a detailed approach.”

In the revealing analysis during the summer, he pointed to in-depth research by his thinktank, Open Europe, about the issue.

“What we found is that, in the long run (up to 2030), there will be a permanent cost to leaving the customs union,” the analysis said. “This cost is around 1% to 1.2% GDP.”

The additional costs were linked to the administrative burdens that would result from something known as “rules of origin”, under which the UK would have to prove that goods being exported into Europe were produced locally.

“But this cost is clearly not prohibitively high,” he said, adding that Norway and Switzerland were outside the bloc but had significant levels of trade with the EU . Ruparel said the alternatives were “less palatable”.

The Turkish model of being inside the customs union but outside the single market would allow **immigration** restrictions but “would mean the UK could not negotiate its own free trade deals and would have to accept whatever the EU agrees to with other parties,” he said.

Adopting a different Norway-like model in which Britain was in the customs union but also had a free trade deal would be hardly different to remaining in the EU . “The former would be economically disruptive and the latter would be politically explosive,” he wrote.

The intervention could alarm senior figures inside the Treasury, with ministers telling the Guardian that the reality of leaving the bloc will be significant costs for business that had to be addressed.

A spokesperson for the Department for Exiting the EU said the comments were not made on behalf of the government, saying: “This article was written before Mr Ruparel joined the department and reflects his work at Open Europe.”

A Labour MP, Emma Reynolds , said Ruparel’s comments made it more urgent for the prime minister to outline the direction that Britain would take. “The government needs to level with the British people that there are big trade-offs in this process and it is not going to be an easy thing to achieve,” she said.

Prof Jim Rollo, deputy director of the UK Trade Policy Observatory, added: “£25bn is not a small amount. The main advantage of leaving the customs union is that we can make our own trade deals around the world but there is no guarantee that these will be any better than those negotiated by the EU .

“The other 27 countries have a combined GDP that is almost six times that of the UK’s so they are offering other countries access to a much larger market and have more negotiating clout.”

The letter from Labour MPs, including the former home secretary Alan Johnson and former leadership candidate Liz Kendall , said they would have to conclude Fox was being “disingenuous about hypothetical future trade benefits and in denial about the real cost” unless he could produce evidence of the benefits of such an exit.

Meanwhile Starmer and the shadow foreign secretary, Emily Thornberry , will write to Davis on Wednesday with a list of 170 questions that they say remain unanswered by the government on Brexit – one for each day until article 50 is triggered in late March.

There are tensions within government departments about whether May will push for a hard Brexit in which **immigration** controls will be heavily prioritised over economic links.

Reports suggested that government was still using a warning of a £66bn a year cost in tax revenues if Britain leaves the single market, despite the figure being based on a Treasury forecast from April. A Downing Street spokesman warned against attempts to “reheat the arguments” of the EU referendum and distanced May from the suggestion.

Meanwhile the government has been accused of trying to avoid scrutiny of its Brexit strategy by creating a parliamentary committee that is too big to do its job [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/mps-criticise-ridiculously-large-brexit-select-committee] properly.

The Guardian can reveal that Davis has produced a report for Cabinet colleagues that hits back at civil servants who are making the claims.

In a paper that will be seen by Cabinet ministers on Wednesday, the Brexit secretary says it is extremely unlikely that the UK would end up with the worst case scenario of having to trade with the EU under WTO rules. He also promises that ministers would act to mitigate the impact if that did happen.

May has tabled a last-minute amendment to Labour’s opposition day debate in parliament. Jeremy Corbyn ’s party has laid down a motion calling for MPs to be able to scrutinise Brexit plans before article 50 is triggered in March.

The prime minister has joined Davis, the chancellor Philip Hammond and the home secretary, Amber Rudd , to add a sentence calling for parliament to respect the decision of the 23 June vote in favour of Brexit. It also says that politicians must not “undermine the negotiating position of the government”.

A Downing Street aide said: “The government is focused on delivering on Brexit. We have always been clear that while we should do nothing to undermine our negotiating position, parliament has an important role to playand this motion reflects that.”

In a plan to be officially announced on Wednesday, 21 MPs will sit on the new cross-party Brexit select committee. The committee will be almost double the size of almost every other Commons select committee following a deal struck between Conservative and Labour whips.

Some senior MPs have claimed that the committee has been made deliberately large so that it is less effective at scrutinising the government’s strategy [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/mps-criticise-ridiculously-large-brexit-select-committee] and less able to reach a consensus.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Young, Latin and proud, the Brooklyn-based musician writes about insecurity and self-discovery – an oasis of contemplation amid anti-**immigrant** rhetoric

Roberto Carlos Lange – known as Helado Negro [https://heladonegro.bandcamp.com/] – is an Ecuadorian American artist with an unprecedented sound. His music is a soothing, dreamlike collage of live and unorthodox instruments, and the 36-year-old musician uses his voice in so many absorbing ways, it almost feels as if you’re not listening to a person. “I like to utilize my voice as a new instrument,” says Lange, who is based in Brooklyn. “And when you hear songs in Spanish, for example, there are so many beautiful, flowery and exaggerated words that you can really mess with and they end up sounding like something else.”

Having grown up in south Florida as a first generation American with Ecuadorian parents, Lange makes music deeply connected to his roots and bicultural identity. In 2015’s Young, Latin and Proud [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TSykDP\_zZx8], he code-switches [http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/04/13/177126294/five-reasons-why-people-code-switch] between English and Spanish [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/03/nacion-espn-pitches-for-sports-loving-code-switching-latino-youth], calling for unity among America’s Latino community through understanding who we are and appreciating those who came before us.

“Tu abuela [your grandmother] es young, Latin and proud, tus padres [your parents] son young, Latin and proud,” he sings on the record. “One day you’ll be old, Latin and proud.” Pitchfork, the online music magazine, poignantly described the message [http://pitchfork.com/thepitch/830-helado-negro-is-young-latin-and-proud/] as a dream of a colorfully varied, empowered group of people, walking confidently toward the sunset.

‘For us [US Latinos], especially in south Florida, growing up between English and Spanish is so common,” he tells me, “and in a way it kind of sustains the cadence and rhythm of life, so my process ends up being a larger part of that.”

The song is featured on Helado Negro’s fifth studio album, Private Energy [http://pitchfork.com/reviews/albums/22445-private-energy/], an internal, atmospheric journey of self-discovery in which he explores the meaning of his own place in society and celebrates his Latino roots. His single, It’s My Brown Skin, proudly celebrates what it means to be brown, confronting issues of marginalization and the anti-**immigrant** views that regularly circulate in our newsfeed thanks to the rhetoric of Donald Trump’s campaign.

“It feels good to be brown,” Lange told Vibe [http://www.vibe.com/2016/09/helado-negros-new-song-its-my-brown-skin/] in September. “And I want all the other people who live in the US who might fear that their brown skin brings them trouble to use this as a meditation or a mantra.” It works: thanks to the record’s summery soundscape, when you listen to it, you can’t help but smile. It’s essentially a love song to himself and his race.

Above all, however, Helado Negro (which means black ice cream) is an experimental musician, and more than willing to take his studio experimentations onstage. As he travels across America on his biggest US tour to date, he is backed by the Tinsel Mammals, performers covered head to toe in tinsel foil who interpret his music through dance.

Lange created the concept and costumes with the help of the visual artist [http://art.kristisword.com/about/] Kristi Sword, his wife. The Tinsel Mammals are not touring performers but volunteers selected by Lange in each city. “The beautiful thing about the people who volunteer is that they are people who always wanted to do performance art or wanted to be onstage, but were too afraid to do so,” says Lange. “So the costumes, in a way, offer anonymity and safety.”

Lange says these performers represent the audience’s insecurities, and by watching them, we can feel more comfortable in our own skins. “In one way or another we are all insecure – ‘I feel fat’ or ‘this shirt doesn’t fit me’ – so these performers wash that all away, and they don’t think about any of that. They’re all safe, able to express themselves and have a private energy, to be able to put it out there delicately and not have to always guard it.”

Rather than overtly seeking to grab headlines, Private Energy explores self-discovery and growth. Helado Negro says he is not interested in trends but rather how music can help us evolve. “I’m just trying to make anything – whether it’s art, music or anything visual – that I can grow old with,” Lange says. “Something that is continually a part of me and not just create something to try and stay relevant.”

As we end the interview, Lange gives me a gift: a cassette copy of Private Energy. As I thank him and hold it in my hand, I am immediately reminded of my own childhood and how much I loved making mixtapes. His gesture brings back so many memories, taking me back to a simpler time. And that’s the beauty of Helado Negro: his music helps you reflect on the simplicity and beauty of your own place in the world.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Book also quotes French president as saying too many people arrive illegally and that Nicolas Sarkozy is ‘the little De Gaulle’

The French president, François Hollande, has said his country has “a problem with Islam” and that there are too many illegal migrants arriving in France.

He also suggested that today’s “veiled woman” could become a Marianne, the female symbol of the French republic, and attacked his rival Nicolas Sarkozy as “the little De Gaulle”.

The controversial remarks are published in a 660-page book: A President Should Not Say That: Secrets of Five Years in Office.

Hollande, 62, also spoke of the women in his life and how his actor girlfriend, Julie Gayet, wanted to be de facto first lady of France, which he said was a “hot topic” between them. And he admitted he is feeling lonely and betrayed in the Elysée Palace, where he sometimes feels like a “ghost”.

The French leader, whose desperately low popularity ratings make it uncertain as to whether he will stand for a second term in office, made the comments during more than 60 interviews with Le Monde journalists Gérard Davet and Fabrice Lhomme.

The subjects covered range from Hollande’s dismay over the national football team and the new generation of players (“they’ve gone from badly educated kids to ultra-rich stars with no preparation”) to his 2012 presidential rival Sarkozy, whom he described as “a Duracell bunny who is perpetually agitated” and full of “vulgarity and cynicism”.

But Hollande confided that he would not hesitate to vote for Sarkozy if it was a choice between his predecessor and Marine Le Pen, the leadeer of the far-right Front National.

It was his comments on Islam that could prove the most controversial.

The book quotes Hollande saying: “It’s true there is a problem with Islam … and nobody doubts that. There’s a problem with Islam because Islam demands places (of worship), recognition. It’s not that Islam is a problem because it’s a religion that is in itself dangerous but because it wants to assert itself as a religion on the Republic. What might also be a problem is if Muslims don’t criticise acts of radicalisation, if imams behave in an anti-republican way.”

He added: “The veiled woman of today will be the Marianne of tomorrow … because, in a certain way, if we offer her the right conditions to blossom she will liberate herself from her veil and become a French woman, while remaining a believer if she wishes, capable of carrying with her an ideal... Ultimately, what are we betting on? That she will prefer freedom to subservience. Perhaps the veil is a kind of protection for her, but that tomorrow she will not need it in order to be reassured of her presence in society.”

Critics said the French president was – perhaps inadvertently – suggesting women in France who chose to wear veils were not French and preferred to be subservient.

On **immigration**, Hollande told the authors: “I think there are too many arrivals, **immigrants** who shouldn’t be there … we teach them to speak French and then another group arrives and we have to start all over again. It never stops … so, at some point it has to stop.”

Laurent Wauquiez, president of the opposition centre-right Les Républicains, accused Hollande of being “willing to barter the symbol of the French republic for political Islam”. He said Hollande was “selling off the most powerful symbols of the French republic on the cheap”.

On French footballers, Hollande allegedly called some of them “guys from housing estates without bearings, without any values, who left France too early … they need weight training on their brains”.

He said he did not want to officialise his relationship with Gayet, 44, who he described as “a fine girl” and admitted she was “suffering from this situation”.

The president’s relationship with Gayet led to the break up with Valérie Trierweiler, a Paris Match journalist, for whom he left Socialist government minister Ségolène Royal, mother of his four children. Hollande said Trierweiler had an “obsession” with Royal, but he admitted: “The woman I am closest to is Ségolène … she is there when I need her.

“What weighs heavily on me is not having a family life. I liked family life a lot … at the Elysée you cannot have a private life. There is no time to be happy.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Fears grow over new school census questions for England and Wales after school and home address details passed to Home Office 18 times in four years

Details of individual children on the national pupil database in England and Wales were passed to the Home Office for **immigration** purposes 18 times in four years, the Department for Education has disclosed.

The revelation was made in a freedom of information response and comes as the Department for Education is trying to reassure parents in England and Wales that new school census questions[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/oct/08/boycottschoolcensus-why-parents-are-refusing-to-reveal-their-childs-nationality] asking them to list their children’s nationality and country of birth, sent out in the last few weeks, will not be passed to **immigration** enforcement teams.

The individual details of children’s schools and home addresses were supplied in response to requests from the Home Office’s absconder tracing team looking for parents who had disappeared after being told they faced deportation or trying to find unaccompanied child asylum seekers who have gone missing.

Peers and campaigners on Wednesday claimed the FoI disclosure showed the questions on nationality and country of birth gave the wrong impression and should be removed from the national pupil census.

But the DfE insisted that, while the Home Office has been given access on a limited number of occasions in the past to individual details on the national pupil database to find missing child asylum seekers or those who abuse **immigration** control, a fresh agreement means they will not pass over the new details on a pupil’s nationality or place of birth[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/26/parents-boycott-requests-childrens-country-of-birth-information].

“This is the first time we are gathering data on pupil’s country of birth, nationality and English proficiency as part of National School Census. It will be used to help us better understand how children with, for example, English as an additional language perform in terms of their broader education, and to assess and monitor the scale and impact **immigration** may be having on the schools sector,” said a DFE spokeswoman.

“This data has not and will not be shared with the Home Office or police and there is an agreement in place to this effect. Where the police or Home Office have clear evidence of illegal activity or fear of harm, limited data including a pupil’s address and school details may be requested.”

Gracie Mae Bradley, co-founder of Against Borders for Children, a coalition of parents, teachers, schools and campaigners, said it was a “scandal” that the FoI response had been delayed until the evening after the census was over.

She added: “This kind of deception is unacceptable, and allowed the census to go ahead last week under false pretences. It confirms what ABC feared all along: that school administrators are being turned into border guards as part of the government’s attempts to create a hostile environment for migrants.

“There is still time to resist this divisive and risky scheme. We are urging all schools who have not yet submitted their autumn census or collected the data for January to put down ‘Not yet obtained’ as the default answer for all children to the country of birth and nationality questions, until they know exactly who will use this data and why.”

When ministers were questioned on the issue in the House of Lords on Wednesday, Labour peer Baroness McIntosh demanded the new questions be withdrawn, saying regardless of whether or not the information was being used appropriately, the timing was “extremely unfortunate” and gave a “most unfortunate impression”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Leonard Hyde and Pat O’Mahony of County Cork remanded on bail after being accused of trafficking and illegally employing Filipino fisherman

Two Cork-based trawler owners were charged with offences under the Irish Illegal **Immigrants** (Trafficking) Act[http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2000/act/29/enacted/en/html] and Employment Permits Act[http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2006/act/16/enacted/en/html] at Cork district court on Wednesday.

Leonard Hyde, 62, of Crosshaven, County Cork and Pat O’Mahony, 50, of Kinsale, County Cork, were accused of trafficking and illegally employing Filipino fisherman Demie Omol.

The two men were charged with knowingly facilitating his entry in to Ireland on 23 March 2015 while knowing, or having reasonable cause to believe, that he was an illegal **immigrant**. They were additionally charged with employing a non-Irish national in the state without the legally required work permit.

No pleas were entered at this initial stage, as is the practice in Ireland.

Hyde and O’Mahony, owners of the fishing vessel the Labardie Fisher, were remanded on bail and told by the judge, John King, to reappear before the court on 9 November.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Capital’s population could reach 9.8 million by 2025 due to overseas arrivals and high birth rate, says Office for National Statistics

The population of London grew at twice the rate of the UK as a whole between 2011 and 2015, and could reach almost 10 million by the middle of next decade, official figures show.

In mid-2011, the population of the city stood at 8.2 million, but over four years it increased by 469,000 to just under 8.7 million, the Office for National Statistics(ONS) said.

The arrival of almost 200,000 people from overseas each year, and an average of 130,000 births a year drove the city’s growth, and offset the high numbers leaving the city for other countries and the rest of the UK.

The ONS figures show the population of London increased by 5.7% between mid-2011 and mid-2015, compared with growth of 2.9% for the UK as a whole. Over the same period, the cost of housing in the capital has rocketed – Land Registry figures show that the average price of a property rose by 47% between June and 2011 and June 2015, from £285,906 to £419,474.

After Greater London, Bristol was the city that saw the biggest boom in residents, with its population rising by 4.5%, or 49,000, to 1.1 million.

“Differing levels of population growth across different cities and regions are often a reflection of the economic strength of the location, with areas where the economy is performing strongest often experiencing most population growth,” the ONS said.

London, with its robust economy, has attracted far more movers from overseas than other parts of the UK, the figures show. Over the four-year period in question, an average of 192,000 people a year moved to London from abroad – including Brits who have returned after a period living overseas – while 95,000 moved in the other direction.

Net international migration to Greater London averaged 97,000 a year, out of a figure of 236,000 for the UK as a whole.

“London’s attraction to **immigrants** no doubt reflects its status as a major employment centre and international hub,” said the ONS.

“With its high ethnic-minority population it may prove especially attractive to people wishing to join family or others from that cultural background. In addition, for people heading to the UK, London is somewhere they are more likely to have some pre-existing awareness of than other parts of the country – perhaps because of previous visits, but also simply because it has a higher profile as the UK capital.”

Because many **immigrants** are young adults, the comparatively high **immigration** to Greater London affects all its other population dynamics, the ONS said. Over the period in question, there were an average 130,000 births in the capital each year and just 48,000 deaths.

The figures also showed large numbers of people leaving Greater London for other parts of the UK. Each year an average of 63,200 people left the capital, with the 22- to 29-year-old age group the only one where more people moved in.

Among 30- to 44-year-olds, 33,600 more people moved out of Greater London than into the city each year, while amongchildren that figure was 31,700.

In contrast, Bristol saw more people move in from around the UK, with net internal migration averaging 3,700 a year between mid-2011 and mid-2015. The population of Edinburgh was also boosted by internal migration, with 2,700 more people moving into the Scottish capital than out. House prices in those cities have also increased.

The ONS said that, based on recent trends, the population of Greater London was projected to grow by 12.7% between 2015 and 2025, to 9.8 million people. Across the whole of the UK, the biggest projected increase is among those aged 65 and over, where the population is expected to grow by 21%. In London, this age group is projected to grow by a quarter over the decade.

Neal Hudson, UK housing market analyst at property firm Savills, said council tax data suggested the number of homes in London had grown by 3.5% between March 2011 and March 2015.

“That highlights some of the pressure on London’s housing stock: more people trying to squeeze in, therefore more overcrowding and more upwards pressure on rents,” he said.

Hudson said that the number of people in their late 30s and early 40s who were leaving London was also down on the levels before the recession.

“They were staying put as a result of improving schools, the credit crunch limiting moves, etc, and so there were fewer opportunities for younger people to replace them on the housing ladder,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**From Paris to Rome and Bethlehem to Baghdad, a wave of new female mayors is taking office and shaking up old assumptions about what matters to cities. So what impact have they had?

“When I walk out of the office, people are maybe not expecting a woman,” says Megan Barry, when I ask whether she has experienced sexism since being elected mayor of Nashville, Tennessee, just over a year ago. “You can see the surprise in their eyes: ‘Oh, ha! It’s a woman, not a man.’ But I spent over 20 years in corporate America and this isn’t anything new.”

Barry, who is 53, has spent the past year creating 4,700 jobs, launching a $6bn (£4.87bn) urban transit plan, developing legislation to encourage the building of affordable housing and supporting a bill[http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/politics/2016/10/03/nashville-looks-monitor-new-marijuana-law-prevent-inequity/91285696/] to decriminalise possession of small amounts of cannabis. With a budget of $2.1bn, 50 departments and 10,000 employees she likens her job to that of CEO of a large company, and is already counting down, literally, to her re-election fight in 2019.

“I have a counter app on my phone. For the first 100 days, it counted up, since everybody wants to know what you did in your first 100 days. But now it counts back, so every morning I take a look: how many days do I have until I’m re-elected? I have a finite amount of days to do this and I don’t want to waste a single one of them. Today it’s 1,051 days.”

Just 19% of big-city US mayors are women, so Barry remains a relative rarity. But globally the number of women mayors is rising, and she is part a growing group of politicians who have become the first woman to lead their cities. Paris, Barcelona, Montevideo, Prague, Cologne, Warsaw, Bucharest, Rome and Baghdad are among the urban centres that have recently chosen (or in Baghdad’s case, had appointed) female leaders.

Statistics for the proportion of women mayors internationally don’t exist, and “mayor” can mean different things: some are directly elected, with the strongest mandates and highest profiles; others are the leaders of city councils elected by fellow councillors; some are state appointees. But the first-ever meeting of the Global Parliament of Mayors[http://www.globalparliamentofmayors.org/] in the Hague last month showed nine female mayors out of 57 high-profile cities.

And this month, many of those mayors from around the world will come together at Habitat III[https://habitat3.org/about], the UN’s global summit on sustainable urban development, which takes place every 20 years. The New Urban Agenda[https://habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda] produced from the event hopes to steer national and local governments to make improvements to all aspects of urban life, including “to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls, ensuring women’s full and effective participation and equal rights in all fields and in leadership at all levels of decision-making”.

Barcelona’s Ada Colau, mayor since June 2015, has been making headlines for her “radical” leftwing policies[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/26/ada-colau-barcelona-most-radical-mayor-in-the-world], having risen to power from the grassroots group La PAH, which campaigns against Spain’s tenant evictions and mortgage repossessions[https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2013/apr/26/spanish-housing-crisis-tenants-future] following the financial crisis. Anne Hidalgo, who became Paris’ first female mayor in April 2014, is taking bold steps to curb car use[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/sep/22/paris-ban-traffic-london-world-car-free-day] in the French capital and improve air quality. The two mayors recently collaborated on a manifesto[http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/alcaldessa/en/blog/we-cities-europe] that called on European cities to welcome **refugees**.

In Liberia, the first African country to elect a female president, mayoral elections are deemed too expensive, explains Cyvette Gibson, who was appointed Paynesville’s first female mayor by president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/07/ellen-johnson-sirleaf-profile] in 2012. Gibson, who is 41, spent much of 2014 struggling to control Ebola[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/30/ebola-inquest-un-united-nations-world-health-organisation] in Paynesville, a city on the eastern fringes of the capital, Monrovia. Since then waste, water and sanitation have been the dominant themes of her mayoralty, along with getting former child soldiers off narcotics and into jobs.

“There was a backlog of waste in this city going back 70 years. People were disposing of waste in their backyards, burying or burning it, and the city was in a deplorable state,” she says. After a clean-up, she introduced new systems as part of a World Bank waste project[http://www.worldbank.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/projects/P115664/emergency-monrovia-urban-sanitation-project-emus?lang=en], and believes appointing women to key roles has been fundamental to her success.

Every woman who becomes a mayor is taking the road not taken and opening that road for other women.

Vera Baboun, mayor of Bethlehem

“I always say women build differently than men,” she says. “Men build for today but women build for tomorrow because we’re interested in making sure we have some form of security for our children. That’s why we elected a woman as president in Liberia – we knew we needed a woman to rebuild our nation.”

On the face of it, Nashville’s Megan Barry or the clutch of women politicians now running European capitals might appear to have little in common with Gibson or with Vera Baboun, the 51-year-old Palestinian mayor of Bethlehem[https://www.theguardian.com/public-leaders-network/2015/dec/17/mayor-bethlehem-palestine-vera-baboun-christmas-tree-peace].

Baboun, a former literature scholar, has spent her term redrawing municipal boundaries, dealing with the damage caused to Bethlehem’s business district by the wall dividing the West Bank from Israel, and focusing on providing sufficient accommodation for tourists and pilgrims. But Baboun, one of three women who make up the 20% female quota on her council, has built links with female mayors in other cities, and says “every woman who becomes a mayor is taking the road not taken and opening that road for other women”.

“Being a woman at the head of the table wasn’t easy the first time,” she adds. “Some colleagues thought they should be in my place, so the first year was critical. My strategy was always to act. The effort required from women is double that required from men but internationally, being a woman has definitely been an advantage. I have the status to speak as the head of the city, and in Palestine I have become an important figure.”

Few supporters of women’s equality see no benefit at all in the elevation of women to roles previously occupied only by men. But there are plenty who pour cold water on the idea that where one leads, others will follow, or that the election of a first female mayor – or indeed a first woman as a country’s president or prime minister – changes anything much.

Ulrik Kjaer, professor of political science at the University of Southern Denmark, says recent Scandinavian political history justifies such doubts. While Denmark has had its first female prime minister, and the sexes are widely seen to be more equal there than almost anywhere else, the percentage of female mayors in the country has not risen above 15%.

Women still have a very hard time being accepted as political leaders, especially in local politics.

Ulrik Kjaer, professor of political science

“Since we have already some women mayors and we’ve had a female PM, we tend to tick off gender – ‘OK, we’re done with that, we’ve reached some kind of parity’ – and focus on other under-represented groups, **immigrants** and young people and so on... when in fact gender parity has not been reached,” he says. “Women still have a very hard time being accepted as political leaders, especially in local politics.”

Debbie Walsh, director of the Center for American Women and Politics, echoes this. She says Hillary Clinton’s run for US president[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/28/hillary-clinton-sexism-millennial-voters-women] creates the “false impression that women have really made it in politics. If she wins it will be enormously significant but it masks the reality. We’re not anticipating a year of great strides. We might get from 19% women in the House of Representatives to 20%. State legislatures are not particularly great, and at governor level there are only six women [out of 50].”

Walsh believes the women with positions in American politics are, on the whole, more moderate, because women are more economically vulnerable than men, and see themselves as more likely to need state help. But she adds that partisan pulls have recently become stronger.

She points to a lack of research into local government internationally as one problem confronting anyone trying to understand what impact, if any, women legislators make. She also notes that the jobs of mayor or governor pose particular challenges, because the stereotype of the good female politician is of a skilful group or committee worker, not a charismatic boss.

This point is echoed by Dorothy Thornhill, mayor of Watford in England for the past 14 years, and one of just four directly elected English female mayors[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/feb/03/where-women-council-leaders-northern-powerhouse-english-regions]. “People think leadership equals male characteristics,” she says. “The idea that you have to be this macho-type of person is still around.” As mayor, she has played against this type, and cheerfully reports how on a school visit a child shouted out, “You ain’t no mayor! You ain’t a fat bald geezer with a chain!”

A schoolchild shouted: 'You ain’t no mayor! You ain’t a fat bald geezer with a chain!'

So far Thornhill has turned down invitations to international conferences and gatherings of mayors (“I just know it would be on the front page of the Watford Observer – ‘Mayor on jolly’,” she says). But having once been a sceptic, she now believes directly elected mayors are the future of local government, not just in the UK where a handful of powerful new city-region mayors are due to be elected next year[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/09/labour-announce-candidates-mayor-greater-manchester-west-midlands], but internationally.

Last year the thinktank LGIU and Fawcett Society launched a Commission on Women in Local Government[http://www.lgiu.org.uk/project/commission-on-women-in-local-government/]. If this aims to fill in gaps in knowledge of what is going on in the UK, evidence on the impact of female mayors globally looks set to remain hard-to-come-by for some time.

“You see a woman’s body and you see a feminist outcome, but a woman’s body might not have a feminist mind,” says Sarah Childs, professor of politics and gender at Bristol University. While the election of a woman mayor can signal a desire for change, or rejection of the status quo – the mayors of Rome and Turin[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/20/rome-mayoral-crisis-could-hurt-five-stars-national-chances-italy-virginia-raggi] are both from Beppe Grillo’s anti-establishment Five Star Movement, while those in Barcelona[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/26/ada-colau-barcelona-most-radical-mayor-in-the-world] and Madrid are leftists – it is hard to draw any firm conclusions about what this might mean for women longer-term.

One influential aspect, however, is that these female leaders are showing a younger generation of girls what is possible. “Not too long ago I was in a parade, and somebody shouted, ‘Here comes the mayor!’” says Megan Barry. “Three little girls on a stoop looked up and one of them said, ‘Which one is he?’ so I got to walk over and say, ‘Actually it’s me,’ and she replied, ‘You mean a girl can be mayor?’”

But while not every woman mayor is a feminist with the specific goal of improving the lives of women in their city, it is still the case that women bring with them a set of experiences different in important ways from those of many of their male peers. “If you’ve never tried to put a buggy on a bus, you don’t really understand what many women’s experience of public transport is,” Childs says, adding that there’s a burgeoning argument for childcare to be thought about as infrastructure – not just roads and rail.

Sexual violence and harassment are another reason women and girls experience cities differently from men. Henriette Reker, mayor of Cologne, was stabbed in the neck[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/19/stabbed-mayor-cologne-elected-pro-refugee] by a male attacker the day before last year’s election. Following the sex attacks in the city at New Year[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/05/germany-crisis-cologne-new-years-eve-sex-attacks], when almost 500 sexual assaults were reported, Reker was lambasted for her remarks about keeping strange men at arm’s length, which were interpreted as “victim-blaming”. She has since said[https://monocle.com/magazine/issues/96/light-in-the-dark/] she thinks her words were a subconscious reflection of her own trauma. When I ask what lessons she took from New Year, she says the attacks are “still very much present in our heads”.

Ana Olivera, until last year mayor of Montevideo, capital of Uruguay, is another mayor to have focused attention on violence against women, by offering psychological therapy to survivors of sexual violence. But she describes rights for women as part of a larger struggle that includes racial equality and LGBT inclusion: “I don’t see women’s interests as a trade-off against the interests of other groups.”

On the contrary, supporters of women’s representation in politics believe women can act as a kind of bridgehead for other under-represented groups – older people, children, racial and religious minorities – because although women are not a minority, they are more likely than men to have experienced social exclusion and disempowerment. Olivera names among her proudest achievements as Montevideo mayor a skate park, proposed by a group of teenage skateboarders who won approval and a budget from the city.

If a couple of themes recur in talking to female mayors, one is that they have often been underestimated, if not insulted; another is their sense that women can bring a different, less overtly combative and more consensual approach to government. Also, there is their pride at having blazed a trail.

Female mayors in their own words Cyvette Gibson, Paynesville, Liberia (population 347,000)

“In parts of Africa there are still prejudices about women in leadership roles and doubts about the impact we can make. In Liberia our male counterparts have realised we are a force to reckon with – but we still have difficulties. About a year and a half ago, I had a minister come to my office and I had another meeting that ran over so I was late. I apologised, and the minister admonished me for keeping him waiting and told me to get him a bottle of water. I could not believe that he spoke to me like this, I almost fell through the floor.”

Henriette Reker, Cologne, Germany (population 1 million)

“Even some men said it was about time that Cologne got its first female mayor – and the voters agreed. But first and foremost you vote for a candidate’s personality. My sex doesn’t shape my style as much as you might think, although there are a couple of recognisable female traits. As a woman you have learned to be a good listener, to spot someone’s interest and to bring different parties around the same table without producing a loser.”

Ana Olivera, Montevideo, Uruguay (population 1.3 million)

“Of course I faced discrimination while campaigning. In the focus groups we conducted, many people felt I wouldn’t be able to deal with the unions. It was always the same issue: that I didn’t have enough authority. At one point, a reporter asked me, ‘do you really think Montevideo is ready for a woman as mayor?’ When I took office a women’s rights group in Montevideo called ComunaMujer gave me a wooden key to the city. When I left office, they gave me the same key, but made out of steel. That felt symbolic.”

Megan Barry, Nashville and Davidson County, US (population 1.95 million)

“It’s hard to know whether being a woman makes a difference as I’ve never been anything else. Saying that, often women bring a different perspective, and I’ll give you an example: recently I was on a job site looking at a sewer and there was a big sign that said ‘men working’ so I asked the men I was with what was wrong with the sign, and some of them noticed it was old or that it was chipped, but they didn’t notice the wording. We’ve now gone to national standard of ‘workers present’ for all our signs in Nashville and I had that ‘men working’ sign delivered to my office and hung on the wall.”

Vera Baboun, Bethlehem, Palestine (population 27,000)

“Leading the municipality gives me the chance to achieve things, and create opportunities on the ground. I enjoy witnessing change - even when I open a new road I enjoy it. It’s an abnormal situation in Bethlehem, people need a permit to leave the city, there is the wall to the north and settlements all over the place. When you achieve things on the ground that help people to see life normally, that is a joy.”

Dorothy Thornhill, Watford, UK (population 95,000)

“Mayoral leadership is very visible, it’s about walking down the street and somebody saying ‘you’ve made a right muck-up of that’. They feel they can comment on local decisions and I think that’s great. It’s my job to interfere in everything and I do. Being mayor is about being the glue of the town, bringing the right people together, it’s like being a brokerage of partnerships. I wanted to restore people’s faith in the council. What people said to me was that Watford was a town that had a downer on itself and part of what we’ve tried to do is to make people proud of Watford.”

Additional reporting by Drew Reed in Argentina. Guardian Cities is a member of the Habitat III Journalism Project. Read more about the project here[http://citiscope.org/journalism-project]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A project to clear invasive plants is creating tens of thousands of jobs in a drought-struck country with mass unemployment

Armed with chainsaws, loppers and herbicide spray, 54-year-old Phinda Jaxa and the two young women she directs march into the forests and mountains near George in the Western Cape, South Africa, felling trees, ripping out bushes and shrubs, and pulling plants out of riverbeds.

The former beautician is one of thousands of recruits fighting South Africa’s war against invasive **alien** plant species, non-indigenous plants that harm those native to the region and deplete the water supply.

With private companies now investing in the state’s efforts to clear the invasive plants, the question is whether this will be enough to tackle the problem for good. And whether it’s the best approach to start with.

Thirsty plants Invasive **alien** plants – including tree species such as pine, eucalyptus and black wattle, and shrubs such as the triffid weed – were first introduced to South Africa as early as the 17th century by European settlers.

They lower South Africa’s water availability by up to 4%[http://awsassets.wwf.org.za/downloads/wwf009\_waterfactsandfutures\_report\_web\_\_lowres\_.pdf] (pdf) in a country where water supply is dwindling rapidly in the face of the worst drought[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/14/south-african-national-park-kill-animals-severe-drought] in at least three decades. Left unchecked, this figure is predicted to rise to 16%. As well as choking out less thirsty indigenous vegetation, invasive species have been known to reduce crop yields[http://invasives.org.za/plants/famine-weed] and threaten human health.

Related: 'Extreme measures are needed': Namibia's battle with drought comes to its cities[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/jul/13/namibia-drought-coca-cola-meat-construction-industry-water-crisis-climate-change]

Jaxa says her life changed when she joined Working for Water (WfW)[https://www.environment.gov.za/projectsprogrammes/wfw], a state initiative launched two decades ago by the former minister of water affairs and forestry to create jobs centred on water conservation. In addition to earning more, Jaxa believes her experience managing a team of people helped her develop the skills she needed to set up her business, a restaurant in the township of Thembalethu. She now juggles the two, taking on field contracts when they are available.

Guy Preston, deputy director-general of environmental programmes at South Africa’s Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA), says tens of thousands of jobs have been created through the WfW project – which now has an annual budget of R1.1bn (£64m) – and more than 2.8m hectares of invasive species have been cleared. He adds that about 54,000 contractual jobs (which last anything between three months and three years) were created last year alone – no small feat in an economy saddled with a 26% unemployment rate[http://www.worldbank.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/en/country/southafrica/overview].

The private sector While the involvement of the private sector is seen as fundamental to the continuation of WfW, at present private companies only make up a small fraction of the initiative’s funding. According to Christo Marais, chief director of natural resource management at the DEA, around 80 private companies have invested about R120m (£6.9m) to date.

Brewer SABMiller has spent more than R2m to clear invasive vegetation as part of the company’s efforts to conserve water[http://www.sab.co.za/prosper/a-resilient-world/].

“Clean water is the single most important aspect of beer brewing,” says David Greyling, SABMiller’s sustainable development manager in South Africa. “We see great opportunity in creating water stewardship projects that not only ensure sustainable high-quality water, but provide employment.”

Other big name companies investing in WfW include retailer Woolworths, insurance company Sanlam, and Nedbank, one of the largest banks in South Africa. This private investment is predominantly directed towards specific projects. SABMiller, for example, invests in clearing invasives from the water catchment areas of the Outeniqua Mountains in the Western Cape, where many of the company’s independent hop farmers are located.

In addition to jobs clearing plants, new employment opportunities have emerged which use the biomass from cleared invaders to make products such as coffins, walking sticks, educational toys and compost. Six Eco-[https://www.environment.gov.za/projectsprogrammes/ecofurniture] F[https://www.environment.gov.za/projectsprogrammes/ecofurniture] urniture[https://www.environment.gov.za/projectsprogrammes/ecofurniture] factories employing about 100 people each, for example, have produced an estimated 430,000 school desks to date – all made from **alien** species.

Related: 'Crisis is a way of life': helping farmers cope with devastating climate change[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/oct/05/climate-change-smallholders-farmers-developing-world]

But there are critics of WfW. While he acknowledges the value of job creation, for example, Mike Muller, former director general at the Department of Water, says that formal project evaluations carried out in the early years of the WfW programme showed that employees on short-term contracts were borrowing money to pay for things such as furniture, which put them in financial difficulties when their contracts ended. Preston, however, says the programme has started promoting financial literacy to help check unwise borrowing by WfW employees.

Dean Muruven, WWF South Africa’s water source areas manager, believes WfW plays an important role in managing the country’s water supply and creating employment, but there is no magic bullet.

“WfW is one piece in a big water puzzle in South Africa,” says Muruven. “[It] has the potential to help ensure water supplies for millions of South Africans [...] But there needs to be a focus on adding value to create decent, meaningful and sustainable jobs. At the moment many of the jobs the project creates are seasonal and people may not want to do manual work indefinitely.

“What’s more, the current model is heavily state funded. It’s therefore vital to bring more businesses into the project, while continuing to assess and improve it to ensure the whole system works as effectively and sustainably as possible.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happenOsborne and Heseltine’s evidence to the business committee - SummaryBoris Johnson’s speech in the Syria debate - Summary and analysisAfternoon summary

block-time published-time 5.48pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* Russia should be investigated for war crimes in the Syrian city of Aleppo and risks becoming a pariah nation, Boris Johnson has said, claiming all the evidence shows Russian forces were responsible for deliberately bombing a UN humanitarian convoy. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/11/russia-should-be-investigated-for-syrian-war-crimes-says-boris-johnson]

\* The Norwegian foreign ministry has denied local press reports that it rejected a British request to set up a formal joint taskforce aimed at preparing a post-Brexit free trade deal between the two countries. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/norway-rejects-uk-request-for-joint-trade-taskforce-report-eea-eu]

\* Ministers have repeatedly given more public money to London’s planned garden bridge, despite official advice against doing so, and risk losing more than £20m if the controversial project is cancelled, according to a report from the National Audit Office (NAO). [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/11/london-garden-bridge-report-national-audit-office-public-money]

\* The pound has continued to fall in the light of concerns about Brexit. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/11/pound-pressure-city-fears-hard-brexit-bank-of-england-business-live] But at one point the FTSE 100 hit a record high.

\* Steven Woolfe is seen within Ukip as having destroyed his chances of becoming the party’s next leader in the wake his much-publicised scuffle and a flirtation with the Conservatives, according to senior Ukip figures. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/senior-ukip-figures-back-paul-nuttall-for-leadership-after-steven-woolfe-storm]

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time published-time 5.20pm BST

Boris Johnson 's speech on Syria - Summary and analysis This was Boris Johnson ’s first speech in a debate in the Commons in his role as foreign secretary, and also an opportunity to get some flavour of what the May government’s (non-Brexit) foreign policy is going to be like. Johnson famously wrote a biography of Winston Churchill and at one point this afternoon the the ultra-hawkish Labour MP John Woodock urged Johnson to adopt a Churchillian approach to Russian aggression in Syria. (See 2.56pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fcee10e4b01d9dd2c8fe98#block-57fcee10e4b01d9dd2c8fe98] As mayor of London and a Telegraph columnist Johnson generally tended to be on the more interventionist end of the scale, and so perhaps MPs were expecting him to adopt a rather more muscular approach to Syria policy than was adopted by his predecessor, Philip Hammond .

If so, they will have been disappointed. Johnson’s language was probably a bit more condemnatory than Hammond’s would have been in a debate like this. But if you listened carefully to what he said, he was actually adopting a rather cautious, dovish stance. This may be more a reflection of May’s views than Johnson’s. (Nick Timothy, her co-chief of staff and philosophical alter ego, is on record as saying foreign policy should “value stability, “respect sovereignty” and avoid ideological crusades.) [http://www.conservativehome.com/thecolumnists/2016/05/nick-timothy-the-chilcot-report-is-finally-coming-but-we-already-know-we-havent-learned-the-lessons-of-iraq.html] But it meant that if any MPs were hoping for Churchill, what they got instead was more Stanley Baldwin.

Here are the key points from his speech.

\* Johnson tentatively backed the call for Syria and Russia to be investigated for war crimes by the international criminal court . But he played down prospects of anything happening quickly, saying some ICC prosecutions only take place decades after the offences are committed. He told MPs that the targeting of hospitals in Aleppo amounted to a war crime.

Every hospital in eastern Aleppo is believed to have been bombed, some of them more than once, and several have been put out of action. Hospitals have been targeted with such frequency and precision that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this must be deliberate policy. The House will know that intentionally attacking a hospital amounts to a war crime. It is time, I think, for all these incidents to be fully and properly investigated with a view to assembling the necessary evidence to ensure that justice is done. And yes, to answer the question that has been raised by several honourable and right honourable members, we do think there could be advantages in the [international criminal court ] procedures. And I would remind this House that in recent history war criminals have been successfully prosecuted decades after their offences.

He also expressed some support for the French bid to get the ICC to launch an investigation into Syria and Russia, [http://news.trust.org/item/20161010084755-l2s3l/] saying he was “personally very attracted to the idea of holding these people to account before the international criminal court ”. But later, at the Number 10 lobby briefing, Downing Street sounded a bit less keen.

enltrBoris 'personally attracted' to pursuing Syria war crimes through ICC. No,10 asked if that's Govt policy, unaware of details of Boris words

— Paul Waugh (@paulwaugh) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh/status/785863360227250176]

\* He played down the prospect of backing no-fly zones over Syria. Andrew Mitchell, the Conservative former international development secretary who called the debate, demanded the creation of no-fly zones and other MPs backed the idea too. Johnson said he had “every sympathy” for what they were proposing and that he would consult allies on the idea. But he also signalled strongly that he would eventually say no. Pointing out that the Commons was opposed to sending troops to Syria, he added:

But we cannot commit to a no-fly zone unless we are prepared to... shoot down planes or helicopters that violate that zone. We need to think very carefully about the consequences.

The Labour MP John Woodcock read his comments as a move towards no-fly zones.

enltrForeign sec says all options being considered in Syria bar UK boots on ground - including no-fly zone or no bombing zone. \*some\* progress

— John Woodcock (@JWoodcockMP) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JWoodcockMP/status/785854359829700609]But the Independent’s John Rentoul probably has a more realistic interpretation of Johnson’s words.

enltrBoris Johnson didn't use these precise words, but his message on Syria was: I am not going to start WW3 by shooting down Russian planes.

— John Rentoul (@JohnRentoul) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JohnRentoul/status/785857246085414912]

\* Johnson said he would like to see people protest about Syria outside the Russian embassy. The Labour MP Ann Clywd proposed this earlier (see 2.27pm) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fce82de4b03b22b4fb2444#block-57fce82de4b03b22b4fb2444] and Johnson said he agreed with her.

I agree with [Ann Clywd]. I would certainly like to see demonstrations outside the Russian embassy. Where is the Stop the War Coalition at the moment? Where are they?

\* He said he was worried that “the wells of outrage [about events in Syria] are growing exhausted”.

\* He said Russia was in danger of becoming an “international pariah” because of what was happening in Syria.

If Russia continues in it current path, then I believe that great county is in danger of becoming a pariah nation. If President Putin’s strategy is to restore the greatness and the glory of Russia, then I believe he risks seeing his ambition turn to ashes in the face of international contempt for what is happening in Syria.

\* But he said the “best hope” was to persuade Russia to “do the right thing”. Johnson said the UK had urged the EU to adopt a tough line on sanctions against Russia, but he pointedly refused to commit the UK to pushing for tougher sanctions. He also declined to back a call from Labour’s Toby Perkins for the international community to boycott the 2018 World Cup in Russia because of what is happening in Syria. Summing up his position Johnson said:

In the long term the only realistic solution is to persuade both sides to have a ceasefire and then to work through to a political solution...

Our best hope is to persuade the Russians that it is profoundly in the interests of Russia to take the initiative, to win the acclaim of the international community, do the right thing in Syria, call off their puppets in the Assad regime, stop the bombing and bring peace to Aleppo and have a genuine ceasefire. That is the way.

\* He said the Aleppo siege was the worst in the civil war.

At this moment the 275,000 inhabitants of eastern Aleppo are under siege. They are isolated from the outside world, subjected to constant bombardment and prevented from receiving humanitarian aid. Their power and water supplies have been cut off in what has become a signature tactic of the Assad killing machine, to besiege civilian populations. And what we are now seeing in eastern Aleppo is the biggest and potentially the deadliest siege since the outbreak of Syria’s civil war over five years ago.

Boris Johnson in the Commons. Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.29pm BST

block-time published-time 4.10pm BST

Russia defends its record in Syria The Russian embassy in London has been using Twitter today to defend its record in Syria. One of its tweets is specifically directed at the Ministry of Defence (@DefenceHQ).

enltrGood that our followers are aware of the scale of suffering in Yemen. Bad that UK officials and media barely take note. pic.twitter.com/0P9dSeyzUu [https://t.co/0P9dSeyzUu]

— Russian Embassy, UK (@RussianEmbassy) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RussianEmbassy/status/785785830270967808]enltr. @UKforSyrians [https://twitter.com/UKforSyrians]enltr. @garethbayley [https://twitter.com/garethbayley] Russia didn’t veto "saving kids of Aleppo" – Russia vetoed a re-run of Libya, now recognized as crime in UK

— Russian Embassy, UK (@RussianEmbassy) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RussianEmbassy/status/785829262817460224]enltr. @MoD\_Russia [https://twitter.com/mod\_russia] to @DefenceHQ [https://twitter.com/DefenceHQ] :Russia’s record on Syria is thousands of freed villages, thousands of tons of humanitarian aid. What’s Britain’s? pic.twitter.com/VWHYysYeM3 [https://t.co/VWHYysYeM3] :Russia’s record on Syria is thousands of freed villages, thousands of tons of humanitarian aid. What’s Britain’s?

— Russian Embassy, UK (@RussianEmbassy) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RussianEmbassy/status/785851450362650624]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.11pm BST

block-time published-time 3.49pm BST

Emily Thornberry intervenes to ask what can be done to get rid of the jihadi fighters from easter Aleppo.

Johnson says this cannot happen while the city is still being bombed.

He says the best hope is to persuade Russia to do the right thing.

He says he will look at Staffan de Mistura’s plan to lead out the jihadist fighters. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/06/aleppo-could-be-destroyed-by-christmas-warns-un-envoy-for-syria] That sounds emminently sensible, he says.

And that’s it. Johnson’s speech, and the debate, is over.

I will post a summary soon.

block-time published-time 3.46pm BST

Johnson says the only possible solution is to have a negotiation.

The government has not give up hopes of this happening, he says.

block-time published-time 3.45pm BST

Johnson plays down prospect of imposing no-fly zones over Syria Johnson says many MPs urged Britain to go further.

Some people called for no-fly zones.

He says he has “every sympathy” for these proposals.

But the government does not support putting boots on the ground. And you cannot have no-fly zones unless you are willing to shoot down planes and helicopters.

Johnson says he will consult people about this, including those involved in imposing no-fly zones over Iraq in the 1990s.

\* Johnson plays down prospect of imposing no-fly zones over Syria.

block-time published-time 3.39pm BST

Johnson says, if Russia continues on its path, it risk becoming a pariah nation.

block-time published-time 3.38pm BST

Johnson says he would like to see protests outside Russian embassy over Syria Johnson says “all the available evidence” points to Russia being responsible for the recent attack on an aid convoy. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/20/un-aid-convoy-attack-syria-us-russia]

He says he is worried that “the wells of outrage are growing exhausted”.

He says there is no commensurate horror about Russia. Where are the Stop the War protests outside the Russian embassy, he asks.

\* Johnson says he would like to see protests outside the Russian embassy over Syria.

It is up to us in government to show a lead.

He says he thinks the government is having an effect. Russia has had to use its veto five times in the UN security council to protect its position.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.13pm BST

block-time published-time 3.33pm BST

Johnson says there is a case for taking Syrian war crimes to international criminal court Johnson says the citizens of eastern Aleppo are under seige. Their power and water supplies have been cut off. This is a signature tactic of the Assad killing machine. It is the biggest and potentially deadliest siege since the civil war started.

He says every hospital in eastern Aleppo has been bombed, some more once, and several have been put out of action.

This must be deliberate policy, he says. He says intentionally attacking a hospital is a war crime.

He says these attacks must be investigated with a view to taking a case to the international criminal court .

\* Johnson says there is a case for taking Syrian war crimes to international criminal court .

He says some cases get taken to the ICC years after they have been committed.

He says he hopes the Commons will take a different view from the one it took in 2013, when it decided not to intervene.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.02pm BST

block-time published-time 3.29pm BST

Boris Johnson 's speech Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary, is responding to the debate now.

It it is his first speech in a Commons debate as foreign secretary.

block-time published-time 3.25pm BST

Burnham says May misreading referendum because most Britons oppose a hard Brexit Andy Burnham, the Labour candidate for mayor of Greater Manchester and the former shadow home secretary, is speaking at the New Economics Foundation conference this afternoon. (See 3.05pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fcf0bfe4b03b22b4fb246c#block-57fcf0bfe4b03b22b4fb246c] He will urge Theresa May to set up a Brexit committee of the nations and regions to ensure Brexit policy is not just decided by London. He will say:

Theresa May has got the Brexit negotiations off on entirely the wrong foot and needs to change direction. She is working on the assumption that the country voted for a hard, confrontational Brexit when there is no evidence to support this. In fact, it would seem that the opposite is true – a majority of people were against a hard Brexit.

There is a big risk that her handling of these crucial talks could widen the divides in our country, not heal them. We need to open our eyes to these risks and ensure that all voices and perspectives are fully involved in shaping the Brexit negotiations.

Devolution in England was never conceived as part of the answer to Brexit but now it must be fully embraced as such. Brexit will have a differential impact on different parts of the country and a hard Brexit would hit the poorest areas hardest of all. Great effort will be expended to protect the financial sector and the City of London, which, while understandable, could lead to trade-offs that will damage other sectors.

These issues need to be openly debated and that is why I am asking the prime minister to establish a Brexit committee of the nations and regions, with places for the devolved governments and the elected mayoralties. The aim of that committee should be to seek a fair Brexit that balances the needs of all parts of the country. It is essential that Greater Manchester has a place at this table.

Andy Burnham . Photograph: Danny Lawson/PA block-time published-time 3.16pm BST

Bernie Sanders backs Green candidate in Witney byelection There has been a controversy about British politicians like Nigel Farage intervening in the US presidential election, but intervention is not all one-way. Bernie Sanders, the runner-up to Hillary Clinton in the contest to be the Democratic presidential candidate, has recorded a YouTube video backing the Green party candidate in the Witney byelection. It’s the least he could do. The Green candidate, Larry Sanders, is his brother. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/23/bernie-sanders-larry-sanders-brother-to-fight-david-camerons-old-seat-for-greens] video backing the Green party candidate in the Witney byelection. It’s the least he could do.

Bernie Sanders backs the Green candidate in the Witney byelection (his brother). block-time published-time 3.05pm BST

I’m down at the rather nerdy relaunch of the New Economics foundation thinktank, [http://neweconomics.org/building-a-new-economy-where-people-really-take-control/?\_sft\_latest=press-releases] at a community centre in Waterloo, where among others Ed Miliband and Vince Cable are groping for a progressive interpretation of the vote-winning Brexit slogan “take back control”.

At the post-lunch session, Miliband, who’s been energised by the battle to secure a parliamentary vote on article 50, told the audience the left should seize the opportunity of Brexit, which he said was a vote for radical change, and warned against focusing only on the detail of the deal with the rest of the EU .

If Brexit just becomes about the negotiations, we’re going to be stuffed, because all of the weight of the mandate will be borne by the rules on free movement and so on. We have got to have a bigger vision for where the country’s going.

Of course, Theresa May ’s already fleshed out what kind of mandate she thinks the Brexit vote gives her, including legitimising a much tougher **immigration**regime - and Cable was much blunter. He said:

The electorate has moved to the right, which was reflected in a rather brutal way in the referendum.

He said voters he spoke to during the last general election combined fear of a left-wing government, with identity politics - patriotism/nationalism. “We have to try and find a way of breaking through the tribal divisions on the centre left,” he said, adding that many of the 48% of voters who rejected Brexit feel “horribly dispossessed”.

Miliband tellingly said the left must find a way to “surmount” identity politics; Cable said Harold Wilson and Tony Blair managed to articulate a left-of-centre version of patriotism.

block-time published-time 2.56pm BST

Back in the debate the Labour MP John Woodcock says Britain must be willing to stand up to Russia over Syria. He says the Labour party is making itself “more and more of an irrelevance with every pronouncement from the front bench” on this. And he urges Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary, to learn from the example of how Winston Churchill stood up to aggressors.

block-time published-time 2.49pm BST

Reforms to pensions and savings announced since 2010 could cost the public finances around £5bn a year by 2034-35 according to the budget watchdog, the Press Association has reported. Here is the story it has filed.

The Office for Budget Responsibility analysis [http://budgetresponsibility.org.uk/wtr/welfare-trends-report-october-2016/] found that the reforms had made pensions less attractive than other forms of savings, particularly to higher earners.

Although the reforms provided a small benefit in the medium-term, over the longer period there would be a small cost, potentially adding 3.7% of GDP to public sector net debt over a 50-year period.

The paper looked at a series of changes to the tax treatment of pensions and savings, together with the freedoms given to people to access their retirement nest eggs introduced by George Osborne when he was chancellor.

“In recent years, the government has made a number of significant changes to the tax treatment of private pensions and savings and introduced a variety of government top-ups on specific savings products.

“In doing so, it has generally shifted incentives in a way that makes pensions saving less attractive - particularly for higher earners - and non-pension savings more attractive - often in ways that can most readily be taken up by the same higher earners,” the report said.

The OBR estimates suggest that “the small net gain to the public finances from these measures over the medium-term forecast horizon becomes a small net cost in the long term”.

The benefit from the reforms would peak at £2.3bn in 2018-19 before turning negative from 2021-22, rising in cash terms to reach £5bn by 2034-35.

block-time published-time 2.41pm BST

Back in the Commons Labour’s Alison McGovern has just finished her speech. She said a no-fly zone applying just to helicopters could save up to 90% of casualties.

enltrLabour's Alison McGovern says recent report found that weapons similar to napalm are being used on civilians in Aleppo.

— Jack Maidment (@jrmaidment) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jrmaidment/status/785834395026526208]enltrHelicopters deliver chemical weapons and barrel bombs - no fly zone just for helicopters could save 90% of casualties Alison\_McGovern

— PARLY (@ParlyApp) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ParlyApp/status/785835889180180480]At the end of her speech McGovern almost choked up as she said she had replaced her friend Jo Cox , who was killed earlier this year, as the co-chair of the all-party group on Syria.

enltrClose to tears, a brave @Alison\_McGovern [https://twitter.com/Alison\_McGovern] says Jo Cox "would have been here and she would have known what was needed" #AleppoDebate [https://twitter.com/hashtag/AleppoDebate?src=hash] says Jo Cox "would have been here and she would have known what was needed"

— Laura Hughes (@Laura\_K\_Hughes) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Laura\_K\_Hughes/status/785836448146657286]enltrIf people donate to @SyriaCivilDef [https://twitter.com/SyriaCivilDef] as a result of this #AleppoDebate [https://twitter.com/hashtag/AleppoDebate?src=hash] it will have been worth it says @Alison\_McGovern [https://twitter.com/Alison\_McGovern] it will have been worth it says

— Laura Hughes (@Laura\_K\_Hughes) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Laura\_K\_Hughes/status/785836774643920902]block-time published-time 2.35pm BST

Turning away from the Syria debate, here is John McDonnell , the shadow chancellor, commenting on the leaked Treasury report saying leaving the EU without a trade deal could cost the Exchequer up to £66bn a year. [http://press.labour.org.uk/post/151651953334/losing-access-to-the-single-market-would-be] (See 9.10am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fc940ce4b088a03a67d4f7#block-57fc940ce4b088a03a67d4f7] (See

The Tories should be sticking to their manifesto promise and fighting tooth and nail for access to the single market. Instead they are abandoning Britain’s clear national interests by putting narrow party political concerns first.

And here is the SNP’s international trade spokeswoman, Tasmina Ahmed-Sheikh, commenting on the same story.

This leaked report not only shows the deep divisions at the centre of Theresa May ’s Government, but also clearly demonstrates that Cabinet ministers like Liam Fox , who advocate a hard Brexit, value ideological purity over economic competence or the greater public good.

It’s little wonder that, by abandoning all economic reason, the Tories are running scared from any proper parliamentary scrutiny of their damaging plans.

And here is the Guardian ’s latest story on the leak.

Related: No 10 plays down warning of £66bn annual Brexit impact [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/no-10-plays-down-warning-of-66bn-annual-brexit-impact]

block-time published-time 2.27pm BST

At the end of her speech in the Syria debate Ann Clywd said she would like to see people demonstrate outside the Russian embassy until the bombing in Aleppo stops.

enltrCall from @AnnClwyd [https://twitter.com/AnnClwyd] for millions to demonstrate outside the Russian Embassy in protest over #Syria [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Syria?src=hash] for millions to demonstrate outside the Russian Embassy in protest over #SyrianCrisis [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SyrianCrisis?src=hash] for millions to demonstrate outside the Russian Embassy in protest over pic.twitter.com/BUUAabKgTX [https://t.co/BUUAabKgTX] for millions to demonstrate outside the Russian Embassy in protest over

— Margaret Keenan (@MargaretKeenan) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MargaretKeenan/status/785829613809176576]block-time published-time 2.22pm BST

Sadiq Khan says a 'hard' Brexit could be 'disastrous' for the economy Sadiq Khan , the Labour mayor of London, has been giving a speech to a CBI lunch today. He used it to warn that the “hard” Brexit approach that the government seemed to be adopting could be “disastrous” for the economy.

Here is the key extract.

There’s been a lot of tough talk from the government in recent days with what looks like a lurch towards a ‘hard Brexit’ approach. It seems some people at the heart of government are willing to lead us ever closer to the cliff edge.

Not only would hard Brexit be the wrong approach for our country, but the strong rhetoric from ministers - and the unnecessary rush to trigger article 50 - is sending all the wrong signals to investors during this uncertain period.

For if we were to leave the single market - without an agreement in place for privileged access for British business – the consequences could be disastrous. Not just to London, but to the whole of the British economy – hitting jobs and growth.

A hard Brexit approach could never be defended as being done in the name of principle or ‘taking back control’, as the clear motivation would be political expediency in an attempt to turn an extremely complex argument into a simple one. An approach that would not only be deeply irresponsible, but could cause significant economic damage.

We need the government to really be on the side of business and the City of London as we go into the Brexit negotiations – something that seems to be lacking at the moment.

So I’ll be working with businesses in the days, weeks and months ahead to put pressure on the government, to make sure London’s voice is heard loud and clear and to make the case for a proper, sensible solution to this complicated challenge.

enltrMayor @SadiqKhan [https://twitter.com/SadiqKhan] to CBI on Brexit concerns for London "hard Brexit approach cannot be defended- deeply irresponsible" pic.twitter.com/eQYbkJegUQ [https://t.co/eQYbkJegUQ] to CBI on Brexit concerns for London "hard Brexit approach cannot be defended- deeply irresponsible"

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/785827745054003200]block-time published-time 2.13pm BST

To coincide with today’s Syria debate, Plaid Cymru, the Welsh nationalist party, has said Russia and Syria should face an war crimes investigation at the international criminal court . Hywel Williams , Plaid’s leader at Westminster, said:

The case against Russia and Syria is clear and backed by firm evidence. The UK government must add its weight to calls already being made by France and the US for an ICC investigation.

Plaid Cymru voted against bombing Syria. We were told that such bombing would be carefully controlled to exclude danger to civilians but it is clear that neither Russia nor Syria are taking such precautions. Indeed, it seems as though they specifically target civilians. Taking them before the ICC for such actions would therefore be consistent with UK policy on air strikes.

block-time published-time 2.11pm BST

Jonathan Ashworth has come off Labour’s national executive committee, making way for the Jeremy Corbyn supporter, Kate Osamor . The issue is a decision for the shadow cabinet, rather than the leader, but there was no disagreement during their meeting today.

There have been reports that Ashworth was given a choice between a promotion to the shadow health job or his NEC place, which he had as part of his role as a shadow minister for the cabinet office. However, sources have suggested that the MP would have lost his seat whatever as his alternative was being sacked completely.

The issue is contentious in Labour because the NEC has been so finely balanced between Corbyn supporters and critics, and is critical at setting rules for the party, including over leadership elections. But one source insisted that this decision would not have dramatic impact on the overall make up.

block-time published-time 2.09pm BST

Back in the Commons Ann Clwyd, the Labour MP, says Britain does not have to wait for the international criminal court to investigate Russian war crimes in Syria. She says the government could be collecting evidence now. She said the Indict campaign, which she chaired, used to collect evidence of atrocities committed by Saddam Hussein in Iraq.

block-time published-time 2.04pm BST

Labour peers have ended their boycott of Corbyn’s shadow cabinet with Baroness Angela Smith and Lord Steve Bassam attending the meeting this morning.

A spokesman for the party in the House of Lords said: “In light of recent developments, they have spoken to a wide range of colleagues in the Labour Peers Group – the body which elects them to the post of Leader and Chief Whip respectively.

“With major votes coming up in the Lords – and our Peers continuing to play a key role in scrutinising legislation, and advising on Brexit – both Angela and Steve will resume attending Shadow Cabinet and speak for our Group.”

block-time published-time 1.45pm BST

Patrick Grady , the SNP’s spokesman on international development, is speaking now.

He says the SNP has consistently opposed military intervention in Syria.

What people in Syria need is bread, not bombs. And if we have the technology to drop bombs, we have the technology to deliver bread, he says.

Patrick Grady . Photograph: BBC/BBC News block-time published-time 1.42pm BST

Burt says he hopes Boris Johnson in his speech will make it clear whether there is a point at which the government will not longer put up with what is happening in Syria.

block-time published-time 1.37pm BST

Alistair Burt , the Conservative former Foreign Office minister, is speaking now. He says the vote against military action in 2013 was a mistake. That was a chance to get President Assad back to the negotiating table, he says.

He says just as intervention has consequences, non-intervention has consequences too.

block-time published-time 1.34pm BST

Here is a Guardian picture gallery showing the destruction in Aleppo.

Related: Destruction in Aleppo - in pictures [https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2016/oct/11/destruction-in-aleppo-in-pictures]

block-time published-time 1.29pm BST

Thornberry says, like Andrew Mitchell, she thinks the government should back the plan from the UN special envoy for Syria Staffan de Mistura who has said he would personally go to eastern Aleppo to escort jihadists out of the city if that would stop the fighting. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/06/aleppo-could-be-destroyed-by-christmas-warns-un-envoy-for-syria]

Emily Thornberry . Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament UPDATE: Here is my colleague Patrick Wintour ’s take on Emily Thornberry ’s speech.

enltrEmily Thornberry, shadow foreign sect, in her speech gives no support for no fly zones in Syria. Favours statesmanship, not brinkmanship.

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/785820370934915072]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.47pm BST

block-time published-time 1.24pm BST

Ben Bradshaw , the Labour MP, says he has not heard an unequivocal condemnation of Russia’s action in Syria.

Thornberry says of course the actions of Russia in Syria could well be seen as war crimes. There are the war crimes of Assad and Russia, and the war crimes of the jihadists. In time these must be taken to the international criminal court , she says.

block-time published-time 1.23pm BST

Asked if she backs military intervention, Thornberry says she is not a pacifist, but that it is questionable whether further military intervention in Syria would improve the situation.

block-time published-time 1.22pm BST

According to my colleague Patrick Wintour, the Labour party’s briefing for its MPs leaves open the question of whether the Russians are targeting civilians in Aleppo.

enltrLabour briefing to MPs on Syria leaves open issue of Russian war crimes saying only true if attacks on civilians & convoys were deliberate.

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/785797710054064128]enltrBritish Labour front bench briefing seems to think is an open question whether Russia is targeting civilians in Syria.

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/785800353744838656]block-time published-time 1.20pm BST

Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary, is now speaking.

She praises Mitchell’s record as international development secretary.

The situation of civilians in Aleppo is “hell on earth”. It is beyond our comprehension. Those responsible, whether the Assad regimen and Russia, or the jihadist forces, are equally guilty, she says.

She says they must be held account for their actions.

But that must not stop Britain work with the Russian government to restore the ceasefire.

block-time published-time 1.18pm BST

Labour’s Toby Perkins says it is ludicrous that the World Cup is being held in Russia in 2018 given its record.

Mitchell says he agrees.

He says he hopes Boris Johnson will consider this.

Mitchell says the international community faces a choice. Is it so cowed, so pole-axed, by Iraq that it cannot intervene.

He says we have a choice.

We can turn away from the misery and suffering in Aleppo, and appease Russia.

Or we can take a lead, and explore energetically and with determination every possible way of ending this barbarity and tyranny, he says.

And that’s the end of Mitchell’s speech.

Andrew Mitchell Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament block-time published-time 1.14pm BST

Labour’s Ben Bradshaw says he would back a no-fly zone. He thinks other Labour MPs would vote for the idea too.

Mitchell says that is welcome.

He urges Boris Johnson to meet John Major to discuss his experience of imposing a no-fly zone over Iraq in the 1990s.

block-time published-time 1.13pm BST

Mitchell goes on with questions for Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary.

What work is being done to catalogue human rights abuses in Syria?

What has been done to investigate the feasibility of imposing a no-fly zone in northern Syria? Does he accept that this would be perfectly possible?

block-time published-time 1.11pm BST

Mitchell says he has some questions for the foreign secretary.

What is the government doing to increase sanctions on Russia?

Will the Foreign Office be working with Eastern European allies to block a new pipeline for Russia?

block-time published-time 1.08pm BST

Labour’s John Woodcock says that, if the world does not face up to what Russia is doing, the UN could suffer the same fate as the League of Nations (ie, collapse.)

Mitchell says that is the point he was making.

block-time published-time 1.06pm BST

Mitchell says the Russians in Aleppo are like the Nazis at Guernica Mitchell says Russia is doing to the UN what Germany and Italy did to the League of Nations in the 1930s.

And what they are doing in Aleppo is like what the Nazis did at Guernica, he says.

\* Mitchell says the Russians in Aleppo are like the Nazis at Guernica.

Labour’s Mike Gapes says there should be a united condemnation, from the government and from Labour, of what Russia is doing.

Mitchell says he agrees.

block-time published-time 1.04pm BST

Nadhim Zahawi, a Conservative member of the foreign affairs committee, intervenes. He says it is in Russia’s gift to control Assad. They should not be aiding a war criminal like the Syrian president, he says.

Mitchell says President Obama has adopted an isolationist approach.

Russia is behaving like a “rogue elephant” in Syria, abusing international law and using its UN veto to protect itself from investigation, he says.

Caroline Lucas , the Green MP, asks if Mitchell thinks the UK should refer Russia to the international criminal court .

Mitchell says he does agree with that.

He says the attack on the aid convoy marks a new low. The Russians are not attacking military formations in Aleppo. They are attacking hospitals, he says.

A hospital last week was attacked by bunker bombs and cluster bombs.

He says there is no doubt that attacking that hospital was a war crime. Its location was known to all combatants, he says.

block-time published-time 1.00pm BST

Mitchell says the final barrier to progress has been the reception of **refugees** in Europe.

Many of them have ended up in the hands of the modern equivalent of slave traders.

He says this will either end through victory, or negotiation.

He says military victory is unlikely, and so the priority is to create the space where negotiation can take place.

block-time published-time 12.56pm BST

John Redwood, the Conservative, intervenes. Isn’t the tragedy that we cannot imagine a Syria with a government powerful enough to take charge, and wise enough to govern well.

Mitchell says he will address this later.

block-time published-time 12.55pm BST

Mitchell says the next big failure has been the failure to acquire unfettered access to Syria for the UN .

block-time published-time 12.54pm BST

Mitchell says President Obama’s decision not to enforce his red lines on President Assad’s use of chemical weapons was disastrous.

And the failure to create safe havens in Syria has been a terrible mistake, he says.

Syria has a population of 22m. Today nearly half of them are on the move, he says.

block-time published-time 12.52pm BST

Mitchell says what is happening in Syria as important to UK as Brexit Andrew Mitchell, the Conservative former international development secretary, requested this emergency debate. He is opening the debate now.

He says he requested an emergency debate with the backing of the all-party group on Syria.

The impact of what is happening in Syria on our children and grandchildren will be as big as the impact of Brexit, he says.

\* Mitchell says what is happening in Syria as important to UK as Brexit.

block-time published-time 12.47pm BST

MPs hold emergency debate on Syria MPs are about to start an emergency debate on Syria.

Here is Patrick Wintour’s preview story.

Related: West must confront Russia over Aleppo, emergency Commons debate to hear [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/west-must-confront-russia-over-aleppo-syria-emergency-commons-debate-to-hear]

block-time published-time 12.45pm BST

Osborne and Heseltine at the Commons business committee Here are the main points from the Commons business committee hearing with George Osborne and Lord Heseltine.

\* Osborne said he backed Philip Hammond , his successor as chancellor, in thinking Britain needs the “closest possible economic relationship” with the EU . But Osborne avoided saying whether it was essential for the UK to remain a full member of the single market. He said that he wanted to see Britain increase trade with countries like Australia outside the EU , but that this should not be at the expense of trade with countries in the EU like Germany.

\* Lord Heseltine mocked the appointment of Boris Johnson , David Davis and Liam Fox , the so-called three Brexiteers. (See 11.49am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fcc19ae4b088a03a67d5ef#block-57fcc19ae4b088a03a67d5ef], the so-called three Brexiteers. (See

\* Osborne played down, but did not deny, that he originally opposed plans to decentralise power from Whitehall in published by Lord Heseltine in a report for the government in 2012. When Iain Wright , the committee chairman, asked about a passage in David Laws’ book quoting Osborne dismissing the ideas (see 11am [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fcb387e4b0a043a4c24598#block-57fcb387e4b0a043a4c24598] and 12pm) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fcc47ae4b0eaaafbc9521b#block-57fcc47ae4b0eaaafbc9521b], Osborne said what Laws wrote did not account with his own recollection. But Osborne did not explicitly say the Laws account was wrong. Osborne said that he and David Cameron always thought the “best of the Conservative tradition” combined the interventionist views of people like Heseltine with the economic rationalism of people like Nigel Lawson . Heseltine said that if Osborne was initially opposed to his plans in 2012, that would not surprise him because “there has been a growing understanding of the potential [of decentralisation]”. But he also said that he thought the Laws account was simplistic because Cameron and Osborne knew what to expect when they commissioned Heseltine to write his report.

\* Osborne played down claims that Theresa May was pursuing a new industrial policy, saying her approach was “very similar” to the Cameron’s government. When he was asked about May’s claim that she wanted a proper industrial strategy, implying the last government did not have one, he replied:

Whenever you get new politicians in post, they always want to announce new things. Broadly, the approach I can see them pursuing in energy, regional policy and the like is very similar.

It is human nature that new people in new jobs want to do new things. But the key is to look at is what is essentially the agreed strategy adopted by the new team.

The agreed strategy that has been adopted by the new team is that we should have an industrial strategy, that certain sectors should receive active government support, that government should be pro-business, that devolution should continue, that the Northern Powerhouse should be supported.

I would look behind the blizzard of press releases to the continuity of the policy, and I see a lot of continuity.

\* He said governments in the past had been too slow to build new airports. Asked if the last government should have acted more quickly to expand Heathrow, he replied:

Our country has collectively over 60 years dragged its heels on airport expansion. At least the Cameron government has set us up for a decision over Heathrow or Gatwick, but we have got to take it as a country.

block-time published-time 12.01pm BST

And that’s it. The hearing is over.

I will post a summary soon.

block-time published-time 12.00pm BST

Iain Wright is now asking about the David Laws book. (See 11am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fcb387e4b0a043a4c24598#block-57fcb387e4b0a043a4c24598] It looks like he has been reading my blog.

Wright reads out the extract I quoted earlier.

Q: [To Osborne] Why did you change your mind about Heseltine and his ideas?

Osborne says this does not account with his recollection of events.

He says he and David Cameron commissioned Michael Heseltine to write the report because they thought the best Conservative tradition combined the dry economic rationalism of someone like Nigel Lawson , with the intervention of Michael Heseltine.

Osborne says it was an “alleged conversation”. He does not remember it, he says.

He says the vast majority of the report has been implemented.

Q: [To Heseltine] There were 89 recommendations in your report. Are you happy they were implemented?

Heseltine says you do not get 100% of anything in life. But the scale of the take-up has been amazing.

He says the quotations do not surprise him, because there has been a growing recognition of the importance of devolution.

But he says he does not believe them, because he had “form” on intervention and devolution. He had spoken of intervening before breakfast, lunch and dinner. So Cameron and Osborne knew what they were getting when they commissioned him to write a report.

He says Cameron and Osborne gave his report a warm welcome. You can describe that as “big beastism”. But the process he proposed has been adopted.

\* Osborne refuses to deny claims he originally opposed Heseltine’s decentralisation plans.

block-time published-time 11.52am BST

Q: If you have £1 to spend on transport, do you spend it on alleviating congestion in the south east, or do you spend it on boosting productivity in the north?

Osborne says a static analysis will always say the money should be spent in the centre of London (because of the advantage to the economy). But in government you have to ignore that, because you need to boost the economy in the north too, he says.

block-time published-time 11.49am BST

Heseltine mocks appointment of the 'three Brexiteers' This is what Lord Heseltine said when the Conservative member of the committee, Richard Fuller, asked about Brexit and the single market, and how important it was for Britain to be able to secure free trade agreements. (See 11.30am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fcbed6e4b0a043a4c245e4#block-57fcbed6e4b0a043a4c245e4]

He mocked the appointments of the three Brexiteers (Boris Johnson , David Davis and Liam Fox ). He replied:

We have three ministers now in charge, a brilliant set of appointments in my view because they can come up with the answers which have escaped me... The ability to trade seems to me an important part of our future... We have to find places to trade. And if there are all these markets that have escaped the attention of British exporters, it will be marvellous to have it pointed out to them by the new minister responsible.

Lord Heseltine giving evidence to Commons business committee. Photograph: Parliament TV block-time published-time 11.36am BST

This is from the Independent’s Rob Merrick.

enltrOsborne laughs as Hezza sarcastically calls Fox , Davis and Johnson a..."brilliant set of appointments "

— Rob Merrick (@Rob\_Merrick) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Rob\_Merrick/status/785789229469208576]And this is from my colleague Rowena Mason.

enltrLord Heseltine on the three Brexiteer ministers: a "brilliant set of appointments as they can come up with the answers that have escaped me"

— Rowena Mason (@rowenamason) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rowenamason/status/785789306040266752]block-time published-time 11.34am BST

Q: Should we be in or out of the single market?

Osborne says the UK wants to do more trade with countries like Australia. But that should not mean less trade with a country like Germany.

Q: Wouldn’t it be helpful if you two, who have had an important influence on trade policy, said what the government should do on this issue.

Osborne says Britain should try to avoid having to make a binary choice between trade with the EU , and trade with countries outside the EU .

You want to be trying to do both.

This is going to be “one of the interesting challenges” for the EU renegotiation, he says.

\* Osborne sidesteps question about whether the UK should prioritise single market membership in the Brexit talks.

block-time published-time 11.30am BST

Hooray. We are at last on Brexit.

Richard Fuller, a Conserative, asks about the single market.

Heseltine says he is glad that three Brexit ministers have been appointed, because they will be able to come up with answers to questions that he has not managed to find.

Perhaps they will find countries to trade with that we have not already found, he says.

Osborne says he agrees with the stance set out by his successor, Philip Hammond .

block-time published-time 11.28am BST

George Osborne has been giving evidence to this committee of an hour now, but he still has not been asked anything about Brexit. Admittedly, the hearing is supposed to be focusing on industrial strategy. But MPs on select committees do often go “off topic” and ask about subjects in the news. If Keith Vaz had been chairing this discussion, we would have had 60 minutes on Brexit.

block-time published-time 11.14am BST

Osborne says he was the chancellor who got the Star Wars movies to be made in the UK. Britain was in direct competition for the work with places like Vancouver, he says. He says the decision to film them here has brought film work worth $1bn to the UK. It is a good example of where a minister should get directly involved in attracting investment, he says.

block-time published-time 11.09am BST

Back in the committee Heseltine says an education policy is an absolute sine qua non for a successful industrial policy.

Osborne says he agrees.

And Heseltine jokes Osborne always agrees with him. (Heseltine clearly hasn’t read the Laws book either - see 11am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fcb387e4b0a043a4c24598#block-57fcb387e4b0a043a4c24598]

block-time published-time 11.00am BST

What the committee should be asking Osborne Lord Heseltine has been a long-term advocate of devolving power from Whitehall to the regions and in 2012 he published a report for the government, No Stone Unturned, [http://www.lgiu.org.uk/2012/11/01/lord-heseltine-review-a-summary/] containing ambitious plans for decentralisation. In his evidence a few minutes ago he praised Osborne for, well, agreeing with him. (See 10.39am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/11/george-osborne-to-be-questioned-by-mps-as-leak-reveals-treasury-brexit-warning-politics-live?page=with:block-57fcb2f3e4b088a03a67d598#block-57fcb2f3e4b088a03a67d598] containing ambitious plans for decentralisation. In his evidence a few minutes ago he praised Osborne for, well, agreeing with him. (See

Sadly, no one on the committee seems to have read David Laws ’ book Coalition. Laws was a Lib Dem minister in the coalition, and when he was writing the book he had access to Nick Clegg ’s private notes. As a result, the book is well-sourced.

And the book reveals that Osborne was a) initially sceptical about devolving powers to the region and b) opposed to Heseltine’s No Stone Unturned report.

Here is the key extract.

At the end of October [2012], the Heseltine report was published, urging the government to devolve more economic powers from the centre to the regions. George Osborne didn’t seem very impressed. At a meeting, he described the Heseltine report as a ‘very personal’ report, and a ‘bid to steal every department’s capital budget’.

David Cameron joked that the whole thing sounded like a ‘fourth-term priority’. The ever-sharp George Osborne added: ‘Yes, a fourth-term priority - but for a different government!’

The prime minister urged that we should be diplomatic in responding to the Heseltine report as ‘Michael is a very big beast in the political jungle. Upsetting him over this would be as risky as interrupting a silverback while he’s mating.’ It was an interesting and vivid image.

Later in the parliament, George Osborne seemed to become a belated supporter of more localism. For now, he certainly seemed rather sceptical. Even in early 2013, when the chancellor first started to advocate the devolving of money from central government to local areas, one seasoned government adviser told me: ‘George’s view is that the money will either be wasted by central government or by local government. He thinks the only advantage of devolution is that you can slice 10% off the money as you devolve it, so that the Treasury pays out less.’

block-time published-time 10.56am BST

Q: Should you have gone quicker in government on airport expansion?

Osborne says the country collective has dragged its feet on this. He says at least the Cameron government set the country up for a decision.

block-time published-time 10.49am BST

Heseltine says he thinks devolution of power outside Westminster needs to be led by the committee. David Cameron set up a committee to look at this, he says. But it was not as active as it could have been. He says he hopes Theresa May will push this agenda more.

block-time published-time 10.46am BST

Osborne says the devolution of the health service to Greater Manchester is “really dramatic”. He says this has not been really acknowledged in Westminster.

For example, in Manchester they are engaged in a hospital reconfiguration. These programmes are always controversial, he says. But it is going ahead more easily in Manchester because it is locally led, he says.

block-time published-time 10.41am BST

Osborne says the UK lost the capacity to build submarines in the 1990s. Getting that capacity back was “incredibly expensive”, he says. Some long-term thinking would have helped.

block-time published-time 10.39am BST

Q: In your book (from the 1980s) you said the trade secretary needed to be more powerful. Do you think the chancellor hinders industrial policy?

Heseltine says Osborne was “exceptional” as chancellor compared to other chancellors he has known. Osborne believed in devolving power, he says.

block-time published-time 10.37am BST

Heseltine says no government has focused enough on industrial policy Wright addresses Lord Heseltine.

Q: With all your experience, which government do you think has done industrial policy best?

Heseltine says no government has done it on the necessary scale. But the Cameron government did it on a bigger scale than any previous government.

\* Heseltine says no government has focused enough on industrial policy.

Q: Why has it not been done properly?

Because of ideological differences between the parties, he says.

He says the Thatcher government started to develop industrial policy. And, under John Major, Heseltine was allowed to take if further, he says.

But he says it did not progress under the Cameron government.

block-time published-time 10.32am BST

Q: In his first speech Greg Clark , the new business secretary, said previous industrial policies treated every place the same. That sounded like a criticism of your approach.

Osborne says he did not read it like that. He says the last government was adopting different policies for different areas.

block-time published-time 10.29am BST

Q: Does that create uncertainty for business. Should not there be more long-term thinking?

Osborne says it is natural that people want to announce something new. But, behind the blizzard of publicity, you should look for continuity.

block-time published-time 10.28am BST

Osborne says May’s industrial policy is 'very similar' to his own Iain Wright , the committee chairman, opens the questioning.

Q: Did you have an active industrial strategy in the last government?

George Osborne says he thinks he did have one. And he thinks the whole cabinet supported it.

Q: Theresa May talks about having a proper industrial strategy. Are you narked that she seems to be trashing your record.

Osborne says that whenever you get new politicians, they want to announce a new approach. But the key point is that there is continuity. He thinks the approach May is adopting is “very similar” to what he was trying.

\* Osborne says May’s industrial policy is “very similar” to his own.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.30am BST

block-time published-time 10.25am BST

Osborne's evidence to the Commons business committee George Osborne and Lord Heseltine are about to give evidence to the Commons business committee.

block-time published-time 10.13am BST

You can read all today’s Guardian politics stories here. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/all]

As for the rest of the papers, here is the Politics Home list of top 10 must reads, [https://www.politicshome.com/must-reads] and here is the ConservativeHome round-up of all today’s politics stories. [http://www.conservativehome.com/frontpage/2016/10/newslinks-for-tuesday-11th-october-2016.html] and here is

And here are four articles I found particularly interesting.

\* Daniel Martin and James Slack in the Daily Mail say JCB is leaving the CBI because of the CBI’s anti-Brexit stance. [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3831636/JCB-tycoon-quits-anti-Brexit-CBI-Digger-manufacturer-pulls-apocalyptic-warnings.html#ixzz4MlSqY0sK]

One of Britain’s biggest exporters is to quit the CBI in protest at its stance against Brexit.

Anthony Bamford of JCB is believed to have decided to pull out over apocalyptic warnings that leaving the EU could cost £100billion and lead to 950,000 job losses.

It is understood the firm will remain in the pro-Brussels group only until its membership expires next year.

\* Daniel Martin in the Daily Mail says Dominic Cummings, who was Vote Leave’s campaign director, has said Nigel Farage, the Ukip leader, almost stopped leave winning because his influence was so negative. [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3831697/Farage-blew-claims-Vote-Leave-mastermind.html]

Dominic Cummings , campaign director of Vote Leave, said that without the Ukip leader’s intervention, the Brexit side would have won by 60 per cent to 40.

In the end, Leave won a narrow victory of less than 52 per cent to 48.

Mr Cummings wrote on Twitter : ‘Farage and the idiots around him came within a whisker of losing us the Referendum.’

He said if Mr Farage had been in charge of the Leave campaign, up to 70 per cent of people would have voted to Remain.

\* Mark Harper, the Conservative former disabilities minister and former chief whip, says in an article in the Times (paywall) that the disabled could take some of the jobs currently done by EU migrants. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/comment/disabled-people-can-take-jobs-left-by-eu-migrants-kgg3hn650]

If we want to properly control **immigration** we must take this opportunity to end free movement of people from the EU to the UK. Yet when employment is at a historic high, and unemployment at its lowest levels in a decade, businesses are understandably concerned about placing constraints on the number of workers entering the labour market.

One way to increase the labour supply, while still reducing **immigration**, is to provide more opportunities for British disabled people who want to work but don’t get the chance...

There are significant numbers of disabled people who are capable of working, would like to work, but have some sort of barrier or difficulty that makes it harder to get a job. Helping them move into work will require more effort and imagination from businesses, together with some support from government. This help, both financial and practical, perhaps through existing schemes such as Access to Work, is surely a worthwhile investment.

Helping British disabled people who want to work to get jobs, expanding our domestic labour market, and controlling **immigration**, would be a great first step in delivering a successful Brexit and a country which really does work for everyone.

\* Alan Beattie in the Financial Times (subscription) says Britain’s political negotiating style is not suited to achieving success in Brussels. [https://www.ft.com/content/711bd8a2-8ef9-11e6-8df8-d3778b55a923]

When decisions are taken at official level, the UK, with its cadre of high-quality civil servants, has frequently got its way. When elevated to the altitude of ministers or heads of state, the culture of British politics — sectarian, raucous, aggressive — is inimical to the kind of painstaking, often painful, deliberation in Brussels.

The centralised British state, with a weak legislature and strong executive, lends itself to intense public debate in an excitable national press, followed by last-minute decision-making and quick implementation. In the EU , the dispersed nature of power means policies have to trudge wearily between the commission, national capitals and, increasingly, the European and national parliaments before being adopted.

Neither is necessarily superior. The eurozone’s inept handling of its sovereign debt crisis was an object lesson in what happens when iterative processes do not match the realities of 21st-century capital markets. Yet when British politicians are trying to achieve something in Brussels or with other EU governments, they need to play by continental rules — building out attacks slowly from defence rather than just punting the ball to the strikers.

block-time published-time 10.05am BST

The comments are now on BTL. Originally they were left off by mistake. I’m sorry about that.

block-time published-time 9.35am BST

The Commons business committee hearing has now started. Sir Vince Cable, the Lib Dem former business secretary, is giving evidence. You can watch the hearing here. [http://www.parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/9097a197-ea9e-4d5f-9b68-bdd288864e21]

I will be monitoring the hearing, but I will cover it in more detail when George Osborne starts giving evidence.

block-time published-time 9.32am BST

Here is the Labour peer Stewart Wood commenting on Twitter on the Times story.

enltrFeels more & more as though the Treasury has decided to conduct a guerilla war inside the government against Hard Brexit. pic.twitter.com/BRWclLHhKO [https://t.co/BRWclLHhKO]

— Stewart Wood (@StewartWood) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/StewartWood/status/785592238705377284]Wood used to work as an adviser to Gordon Brown , so presumably he knows a thing or two about what happens when the Treasury goes rogue.

block-time published-time 9.17am BST

The pound is falling again. My colleague Graeme Wearden has the details on his business live blog.

Related: Pound falls under $1.23 as City fears cost of hard Brexit – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/11/pound-pressure-city-fears-hard-brexit-bank-of-england-business-live]

block-time published-time 9.10am BST

In the Commons yesterday David Davis , the Brexit secretary, said that if the government got what it wanted in the Brexit negotiations, there would be “no downside to Brexit at all”. Setting out the government’s four aims, he said:

One is to regain control of our borders. Another is to get back control of our laws. The one I did not list was our aim to keep our justice and security arrangements at least as strong as they are. Finally, and most importantly in this context, the United Kingdom must aim to maintain the best possible open access to European markets and vice versa. If we can achieve all that, there will be no downside to Brexit at all, and considerable upsides.

But the Treasury is not so optimistic. This morning the Times is splashing on the leak of a Treasury paper saying that, if the UK leaves the EU without negotiating a trade deal, and has to rely on World Trade Organisation rules for trading with Europe, the government could lose up to £66bn a year in tax revenue. This is based on forecasts in the Treasury paper on Brexit published before the EU referendum. But the Treasury reportedly is standing by its analysis from earlier this year.

enltrTuesday's Times front page:

Hard Brexit could cost £66bn a year #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/jOb8RRZXAE [https://t.co/jOb8RRZXAE]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/785590430712885248]Here is the Guardian ’s version of the story.

Related: Hard Brexit will cost Treasury up to £66bn a year, ministers are told [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/hard-brexit-treasury-66bn-eu-single-market]

By a happy coincidence George Osborne , the former chancellor, is giving evidence to a Commons committee this morning, and so we may find out what he has to say about this. He is supposed to be talking about industrial strategy, but it would be odd if Brexit does not come up. After all, Brexit is going to have a huge impact on industrial policy - and everything else.

Here is the agenda for the day.

9am: The cabinet meets.

9.30am: Sir Vince Cable, the Lib Dem former business secretary, gives evidence to the Commons business committee about industrial strategy. At 10.15am George Osborne , the Conservative former chancellor, and Lord Heseltine, the Conservative former deputy prime minister and a business adviser to the last government, give evidence.

Around 12.40pm: MPs begin an emergency debate on Aleppo and Syria.

2pm: Nick Clegg , the former Lib Dem leader and former deputy prime minister, campaigns for the Lib Dems in Witney ahead of the byelection.

2.15pm: Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, gives evidence to the Commons home affairs committee on antisemitism.

3.45pm: Andy Burnham , the Labour candidate for Greater Manchester mayor, speaks at a New Economics Foundation conference.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Business raises concerns about the wisdom of leaving the single market, while MPs from all parties demand a say in negotiations

Welcome to the Guardian ’s weekly Brexit briefing, a summary of developments as Britain moves – ever more purposefully – towards the EU exit. If you’d like to receive it as a weekly email, do please sign up here [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/31/eu-referendum-morning-briefing-sign-up].

Producing the Guardian ’s thoughtful, in-depth journalism is expensive – but supporting us isn’t. If you value our Brexit coverage, please become a Guardian supporter [https://membership.theguardian.com/supporter?CMP=ema-3377] and help make our future more secure. Thank you.

The big picture

The pushback has begun. As the PM headed off to Denmark and the Netherlands (for talks, not negotiations) to try to persuade two traditional EU allies of the virtues of a hard Brexit, resistance is starting to stir at home.

First to open fire after the Conservative party conference, at which Theresa May gave the firm impression she will prioritise sovereignty and **immigration** controls over single market membership, was Britain’s business community.

In an open letter to the prime minister, [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/07/business-leaders-urge-theresa-may-to-avoid-hard-brexit] the heads of four major business groups, including the Confederation of British Industry , said any Brexit model that denied UK firms full access to the single market should be ruled out immediately:

Leaving the EU without any preferential trade arrangement and defaulting to standard WTO rules would … do serious and lasting damage to the UK economy. The UK voted to leave the EU but not to cause living standards to decline. We want a Brexit that safeguards future prosperity for everyone across the UK.

Next came parliament – the body Brexit was supposed to make more sovereign. Now an unprecedented cross-party alliance of MPs [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/08/mps-demand-vote-hard-brexit-single-market] – Tory, Lib Dem, Labour, SNP and Greens – has formed to demand that May give parliament a vote on the government’s Brexit stance before negotiations start.

They point out that while 52% of British voters chose to leave the EU , they did not also choose to leave the market with which Britain does 44% of its trade, and that parliament cannot legitimately be bypassed on such a momentous decision.

The PM authorised a statement saying [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/09/theresa-may-rules-out-commons-vote-on-single-market-exit] this was nothing more than “an attempt to thwart the will of the British people”, and in parliament the Brexit minister, David Davis, also dismissed calls [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/10/jeremy-corbyn-labour-rehsuffle-continues-labour-reshuffle-politics-live?page=with:block-57fbcfdce4b015d5d43fb6c8#block-57fbcfdce4b015d5d43fb6c8] for a parliamentary vote from the likes of the former Labour leader Ed Miliband and former Lib Dem deputy prime minister Nick Clegg, who argued:

On the basis of what constitutional principle do you believe that the prime minister can now arrogate to herself the exclusive right to interpret what Brexit means, impose it upon the country, rather than protect the rightful role of scrutiny and approval of this house?

Related: France offers help to banks considering Paris move after Brexit vote [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/10/france-helps-banks-consider-moving-to-paris-after-brexit-vote]

Davis said those arguing for the Commons to decide negotiating terms “cannot tell the difference between accountability and micromanagement” and promised MPs would get plenty of chances to debate the issue. (Mind you, he also said there was “no downside to Brexit, only considerable upside”, and the negotiating cards were “incredibly stacked our way”, so you may believe what you like. Other than that, it was basically what he’s said before [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/05/david-davis-vows-to-build-national-consensus-on-brexit].)

Also last week, sterling plunged to a 31-year low – featuring an alarming “flash crash” [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/07/theories-emerge-for-pounds-flash-crash-against-dollar] – amid mounting fears among currency traders of the longer-term economic impact of an eventual hard Brexit. The soft-Brexit chancellor, Philip Hammond, was forced to reassure [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/06/hammond-acts-to-reassure-city-and-wall-street-on-brexit] not only the City but also Wall Street, which were alarmed by both the anti-**immigrant** tone of the Tory conference and the possible loss of EU “passporting” rights if the UK leaves the single market.

Hammond said the home secretary Amber Rudd’s remarks that migrants should not “take the jobs that British people should do” – along with a proposal (since withdrawn) to force firms to publish how many foreign workers they employed – were not aimed at the financial sector, adding:

I can reassure people in the financial services sector, in all parts of it, that we are listening to what they’re saying and we’re understanding the positions that different subsectors have about their needs. The government is a pro-business government, strongly supportive of open markets, free markets, open economies, free trade.

The view from Europe European leaders queued up last week to ramp up their Brexit rhetoric [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/08/eu-leaders-line-up-to-insist-uk-will-pay-a-high-price-for-brexit-stance] after the PM’s apparent determination to head for a hard Brexit. Here is a sample of their choicest declarations, beginning with the French president, François Hollande , who said that if the UK were allowed to stay in the single market while curbing EU migration:

The fundamental principles of the EU will be threatened … Other countries would want to leave to get the supposed advantages without the obligations … There must be a threat, there must be a risk, there must be a price.

The German chancellor, Angela Merkel , and the European commission president, Jean-Claude Juncker , underlined the point, with Merkel saying in Berlin:

If we don’t insist that full access to the single market is tied to complete acceptance of the four basic freedoms, then a process will spread across Europe whereby everyone does and is allowed what they want.

What matters to the EU 27 now is its institutional integrity, upholding the four basic freedoms (movement of goods, services, capital and labour) and displaying single market solidarity. Whatever deal Britain gets cannot be seen to jeopardise that.

Meanwhile, back in Westminster Whatever Davis said, hard-boiled Brexit is difficult to swallow in SW1, even among pro-leave Tory MPs. Pro-Brexit MP Stephen Phillips has applied for an urgent debate [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/10/tory-mp-anna-soubry-concerned-rush-hard-brexit] in an attempt to prevent the government from negotiating the terms for Britain’s EU exit without consulting parliament, calling any move to bypass MPs “fundamentally undemocratic and unconstitutional”.

Anna Soubry, practically the only Tory MP still carrying the torch for remain, is backing him, and has met Miliband to discuss concerns about “a rush to hard Brexit, and the voice of members of parliament being completely lost in that rush”.

There was gentle mutiny on the airwaves too. Dominic Grieve, the former Conservative attorney general, said MPs should be given the chance to vote on triggering article 50. And Andrew Tyrie, the Conservative MP and chair of the Treasury committee, told the same programme he also thought MPs should debate the government’s negotiating position:

It seems to me British interests will be best served by an early and full and detailed explanation from the government of what its negotiating position is before it embarks on those discussions … What has never been discussed in any depth is what we arrive at. I think there’s a majority in parliament for doing that.

Across the green benches, one of the most notable appointments in Jeremy Corbyn ’s lengthy reshuffle was the shadow Brexit secretary, Keir Starmer, a former director of public prosecutions. Starmer, touted as a future Labour leader, said his first priority would be to push for more parliamentary scrutiny of Brexit:

There has to be democratic grip of the process. At the moment, the PM is trying to manoeuvre without any scrutiny. That is why the terms on which we are going to negotiate absolutely have to be put to a vote in the house.

He also put some clear water between his own views on **immigration** and those of the Labour leadership, which has refused to put a cap on numbers:

It should be reduced by making sure we have the skills in this country that are needed for the jobs that need to be done. We have to be open to adjustments of the freedom of movement rules and how they apply to this country. We have to be shrewd and careful.

You should also know that:

\* Concerned at the possible introduction of a post-Brexit “hard border” between Northern Ireland and the Republic, Britain is seeking to shift the frontline of **immigration** controls [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/09/britain-to-push-post-brexit-uk-immigration-controls-back-to-irish-border] to Ireland’s ports and airports.

\* The retail industry warned prices of consumer staples [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/10/prices-will-shoot-up-if-uk-fails-to-get-eu-single-market-access-retailers-warn] such as food and clothes will shoot up if the UK government fails to negotiate a good trading deal with the EU .

\* The government has dropped a highly controversial proposal [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/09/plan-to-force-firms-to-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers-abandoned] first mentioned by Rudd to force businesses to reveal how many foreign staff they employ.

\* The London School of Economics said it had been told clearly [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/07/lse-brexit-non-uk-experts-foreign-academics] by the Foreign Office that non-British academics would not be asked to advise the government on Brexit; the FCO said this is not the case.

\* Homophobic attacks in the UK rose 147% [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/08/homophobic-attacks-double-after-brexit-vote] in the three months after the Brexit referendum vote.

\* The government will argue that parliament should not be allowed to vote on article 50 [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/07/brexit-court-case-government-to-dismiss-claim-that-parliament-must-vote-on-article-50] – implementing Brexit – because that would mean ministers would be prevented from “giving effect to the will of the people”, according to legal arguments lodged in a case to be heard at the high court this week.

Read this In the Guardian , Stockholm-based journalist Ylva Elvis Nilsson explains very clearly why Britain will not get [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/09/brits-punished-brexit-we-want-fairness] both full single market access and controls over **immigration**(and it’s not about punishment):

The other EU countries believe it is in their national interest to safeguard the single market. Why? Because of jobs. Millions of jobs have been created because European companies have been able to buy and sell freely to the richest consumers in the world, in the largest market in the world. Creating the single market was a painful process … A lot of politicians had to return home to their voters and admit that things would have to change. Allowing one country today to dictate its own conditions while being part of this market would probably lead to the unravelling of the whole package of hard-won compromises. And that is not going to happen.

in the New Statesman, George Eaton argues that Brexit began as a libertarian project [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/10/brexit-was-libertarian-dream-it-has-become-statist-one], “born on the Conservatives’ fringes … Its proponents were economic liberals and fiscal conservatives”. Now, says Eaton, it has, under Theresa May ’s government, become a statist one:

For the prime minister, the leave vote was not merely a mandate to exit from the EU but to reshape domestic policy... The UK will now acquire the control that Thatcher craved. But Brussels’ social frontiers will be reimposed domestically. Free marketeers can lament their failure. But they know the tide of ideas is against them. The referendum would never have been won on a platform of open markets and open borders. May’s government is intent on controlling both.

Back in the Guardian , Jonathan Freedland asks who is going to speak for the 48% [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/07/marching-mad-brexit-someone-speak-48-per-cent] who voted remain, now that Britain seems to be hurtling towards “extreme Brexit”:

They – we – are not looking for a champion who will pretend that the referendum never happened, but one who will fight for a Brexit that does not deprive us of all we cherished in our relationship with Europe. It means arguing for a sane, practical deal that serves, rather than harms, our national interest.

And for anyone coming to this whole Brexit thing rather late, the Economist has a spectacularly complete survey [http://www-economist-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/britain/21708264-theresa-may-fires-starting-gun-what-looks-likely-be-hard-brexit-taking-britain-out] of pretty much where things stand.

Tweet of the week The redoubtable Ian Dunt, the editor of politics.co.uk, on David Davis:

Tory MP says Europe need us more than we need them, on tariffs. They are still saying this godawful nonsense as if it means something.— Ian Dunt (@IanDunt) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/IanDunt/status/785519451672305665]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**One Nation senator Brian Burston says public broadcasting has systemic bias and calls for a patriotic broadcasting channel. As it happened

block-time published-time 8.19am BST

Night time politics That’s it from me.

\* Today, Labor has finally confirmed it will block the plebiscite bill, which would suggest any chance of a poll is dead. But Malcolm Turnbull remains ever hopeful. He wants to give the senate a say and he refused to rule out a free vote in the parliament. In anticipation, National MP Andrew Broad said he would withdraw support from the government if there was a free vote without a plebiscite.

\* There was a stoush of sorts in the Coalition partyroom over Tony Abbott ’s push for democratic reforms which would allow Liberal party members a say in preselection of members. Christopher Pyne told him not to bring state party business to the federal partyroom. Abbott was not happy.

\* Question time featured Labor questions on Medicare, the NBN and George Brandis’ dispute with the solicitor general.

\* A third One Nation senator Brian Burston gave his first speech, calling for zero net **immigration** and another public broadcasting channel which could be called the Patriotic Broadcasting Channel. Why don’t we ever learn about the First Fleet?

Thanks for joining me. Thanks to Paul Karp, Gareth Hutchens and Katharine Murphy. Bowers is all kinds of good but he excelled himself. I will leave you with a hug. Not mine.

Goodnight.

Pauline Hanson congratulates fellow One nation senator Brian Burston after he delivered his first speech in the senate chamber. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 8.06am BST

Brian Burston finishes paying tribute to his leader Pauline Hanson. It seems they have patched up their differences since he was sacked by Hanson in 2000 due to an internal party dispute [http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/stories/s195533.htm]. Everyone hugs and shakes hands and it is all over.

One Nation senator Brian Burston delivers his first speech in the senate chamber this evening. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.09am BST

block-time published-time 8.02am BST

Burston says One Nation is the only party willing to “democratise multiculturalism”.

It seems that multiculturalism is an ethnic hierarchy, a form of supremacism, based on a coalition between minority activists and the left, despite the latter presenting itself as anti-racist. This unholy alliance is united by shared opposition to traditional Australia, the core identity of the Australian nation. An example is the defeat of the Abbott government’s policy of reforming Section 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act, a form of political censorship.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.11am BST

block-time published-time 7.53am BST

We are into anti-**immigration** arguments now by One Nation senator Brian Burston.

Australians can see with their own eyes the congestion on our roads, the urban creep, the pressure on our environment, the sky-high housing market that has priced homes beyond the hopes of young families. The opening of the new real estate market to foreigners does not help, an outrageous exposure of citizens to global demand. Australians can see the rise of high density housing degrading the architectural identity and amenity of their neighbourhoods.

Australia’s **refugee** intake is so large that it surpasses many countries’ **immigration** programs. Nevertheless, we do not select the intake for employability or cultural compatibility. The result is too often havoc in Australian society. Car-jackings. Home invasions. Flash riots. Drive-by shootings. And of course when citizens object, endless complaints under Section 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act, administered by the ethnocentric Human Rights Commission .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.54am BST

block-time published-time 7.50am BST

Senator Brian Burston warns against trying to increase population to compete with neighbours. He then warns:

China is flexing its muscles, militarily, financially, and ethnically, as it translates economic power into regional influence. Falling under Chinese dominance would cost us our sovereignty but also our democracy. We would be another Hong Kong. Australia must understand the geopolitical realities of our region if we are to navigate them safely, avoiding shoals and occasional storms.

block-time published-time 7.46am BST

Burston is on to black armband history, cultural hijacking of schools and acknowledgement of country. Which, if I am not going mad, he did at the beginning of the speech.

He says schools never celebrate the achievements of the First Fleet.

He wants to know the logic behind mass **immigration**, as practiced by the major parties.

block-time published-time 7.44am BST

One Nation’s Brian Burston has begun his first speech now. A Cessnock boy, he acknowledged the first peoples. He was a boilermaker by trade through BHP and worked on the facilities in many of the local wineries.

My life has been a journey from poverty to politics.

He talks about his childhood when “even the ABC was then supportive of one national identity”.

He joined One Nation because “how better to fight for Australia’s way of life”.

Australia has changed since the 50s and 60s. Back then we were poor but we knew Australia belonged to us.

Burston rails against identity politics and the rise of a fractured nation.

The majority have rights too …

He calls for a Senate inquiry into the jailing of Pauline Hanson.

Public broadcasting is another example of elite contempt for ordinary Australians, says Burston. He says public broadcasting has a systemic bias. But he said he does not want public broadcasting defunded.

Instead he wants an extra channel which could be a Patriotic Broadcasting Corporation.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.46am BST

block-time published-time 7.26am BST

Kakoschke-Moore is spending a lot of time on the dangers of gambling and how she has spent a lot of time talking to people through Xenophon’s office who have lost vast amounts of money. She has also talked about the design of poker machines to hook people in, the evils of online betting and the difficulties for families of gambling addicts.

I will never give up the fight for gambling reform.

She also commits never to give up on victims of defence force abuse [http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-09-24/sexual-abuse-survivors-slam-adf-handling-of-allegations/7873500].

And she will introduce a bill for a 40%-40% gender split, with 20% of either gender on government boards.

Diversity makes for better decision making.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.34am BST

block-time published-time 7.19am BST

Skye Kakoschke-Moore (NXT) is giving her first speech. She worked for Nick Xenophon and has since transitioned into the role of one of his new senators. She is putting the case for diversity in both ethnicity and gender. For young women looking at politics:

Speak up and do something about it, don’t be left silent and wondering what if.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.29am BST

block-time published-time 7.04am BST

Senators Skye Kakoschke-Moore (NXT) and Brian Burston (One Nation) will be giving first speeches this afternoon.

block-time published-time 6.55am BST

I failed to post Katharine Murphy’s story [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/11/christopher-pyne-rebukes-tony-abbott-for-bringing-up-party-reform] about a stoush in the Coalition party room. This is an ongoing sore in the NSW division that is spilling into the federal arena.

Tony Abbott has been slapped down by the defence industry minister, Christopher Pyne, in the party room for raising a proposal to democratise Liberal party preselection procedures in New South Wales.

Pyne rebuked Abbott on Tuesday after he exchanged cross words with backbench MP Julian Leeser about plebiscites in NSW preselections.

According to party room sources, Abbott had declared angrily that Leeser “did not believe in democracy for Liberal party members” before Pyne expressed an objection to Abbott bringing state organisational matters into the federal party room.

Sitting behind Tuesday’s exchange is a bitter fight roiling inside the NSW division of the Liberal party between conservatives and moderates over party rules in the state.

The democratisation push in NSW splits the party along factional lines [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/07/liberals-battle-to-be-the-life-of-the-party-defined-by-principles-and-power]. The right is leading the push for change, the moderates have resisted the push. The NSW state executive is controlled by the moderates.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.07am BST

block-time published-time 6.46am BST

The Senate has passed a Greens motion calling on all government ministers to refuse to meet with Ian Macfarlane until 21 March 2017 in his new role as CEO of the Queensland Resources Council [http://Later today the Greens will be moving a motion in the Senate calling on all government ministers to refuse to meet with Ian Macfarlane until 21 March 2017 in his new role as CEO of the Queensland Resources Council. https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/27/ian-macfarlane-says-he-cleared-new-mining-industry-job-with-pms-office].

On 21 March 2017, it will mark the end of the 18-month cooling off period after Macfarlane ceased to be resources minister which is required under the s tatement of ministerial standards.

The vote was passed 31-27.

It has no binding effect but is a statement of the will of the Senate.

Expect no action.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.07am BST

block-time published-time 5.59am BST

So many unexplained things in question time today...

The minister for small business, Michael McCormack, in question time. Photograph: Mick Tsikas/AAP block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.11am BST

block-time published-time 5.53am BST

It’s all about the numbers today.

The minister for defence industry and leader of the House, Christopher Pyne. Photograph: Mick Tsikas/AAP block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.11am BST

block-time published-time 5.41am BST

If it pleases you...

The member for Cowan, Anne Aly, talks to Malcolm Turnbull after question time. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.45am BST

block-time published-time 5.37am BST

Anne Aly attitude.

enltrLabor's Anne Aly talks to PM Malcolm Turnbull after #QT [https://twitter.com/hashtag/QT?src=hash] after @gabriellechan [https://twitter.com/gabriellechan] after @GuardianAus [https://twitter.com/GuardianAus] after https://t.co/dDqaVGBXj6 [https://t.co/dDqaVGBXj6] after pic.twitter.com/IK6yeIv7yn [https://t.co/IK6yeIv7yn] after

— Mikearoo (@mpbowers) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/mpbowers/status/785700014207053824]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.46am BST

block-time published-time 5.35am BST

Linda Burney, Stephen Jones, Andrew Giles (back) watch while Ed Husic and Tim Hammond point towards George Christensen. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 5.25am BST

I really don’t know the back story of this.

Deputy labor leader Tanya Plibersek taunts the treasurer during question time. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian But feel free to enlighten me, MPs.

Postscript: I have been enlightened and eight is the number times deficit has multiplied since the so-called budget emergency.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.19am BST

block-time published-time 5.19am BST

And another thing...

Malcolm Turnbull during question time. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.46am BST

block-time published-time 5.10am BST

Mark Dreyfus puts two questions to the justice minister, Michael Keenan, representing Brandis. They relate to the dispute between the attorney general and the solicitor general.

Q: Nearly 24 hours has passed since the minister took on notice questions about whether the attorney general had misled the Senate and the joint committee on intelligence and security. Why has the minister failed to meet the commitments that he gave to the House yesterday?

Keenan says check out the AG’s submission to the senate committee.

Q: I refer to the legal services direction relating to the solicitor general. Can the minister please explain to the House how it was possible for the attorney general to consult with the solicitor general in November 2015 about a document which did not exist until April 2016?

I’m really amused by the fact those opposite are interjecting so heavily about this as if they understand a word of what it is about the role of the solicitor general. I mean, seriously. I will give credit to the shadow attorney general that he might actually know something about the role of the solicitor general.

Keenan says Brandis consulted.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.12am BST

block-time published-time 5.05am BST

CAAAARP!

Deputy prime minister Barnaby Joyce during question time. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 5.04am BST

Christopher Pyne gets a question on the ASC restructure.

Meanwhile, in the Senate:

Senator Penny Wong has gone on the attack in Senate question time, noting statements by senator Ian MacDonald that the solicitor general Justin Gleeson’s advice was “was subject to question” because he was an Labor appointee.

The attorney general, George Brandis, said he hadn’t seen or read that speech.

Wong then asked him to guarantee he wouldn’t offer Gleeson an inducement to quit.

Brandis gave the commitment but disagreed with the premise that he had done so to get rid of Australian Human Rights Commission president, Gillian Triggs.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.13am BST

block-time published-time 5.01am BST

A government question to PDuddy, otherwise known as Peter Dutton : Will the minister update the House on action taken by the government to make our community safer including the cancellations of visas held by members of outlaw motorcycle gangs and is the minister aware of any different approaches to the protection of our borders?

Dutton launches into an attack on the CFMEU and the Labor party.

Tony Burke, Labor manager of business, raises standing order 90 “imputing improper motives which is considered highly disorderly”.

Speaker Tony Smith says he was sailing close to the wind. Dutton hooks in again.

When the Australian public ask themselves a question – is this leader of the opposition fit to be prime minister of this country, they need to look at his dirty grubby links back to the union thugs and bosses who are dictating terms to this man and it is unacceptable for a person who seeks the highest office in the country.

Burke objects again. Smith says, all G.

We do get tough questions and tough answers in this place and, as I have said many times, I don’t want to be ruling out tough questions as well. I have listened carefully. I don’t think there was anything directly there, Speaker Smith says.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.14am BST

block-time published-time 4.56am BST

Christopher Pyne: the new serial enthusiast.

enltrJBish inspects Christopher Pynes #headspace [https://twitter.com/hashtag/headspace?src=hash] wristband before #QT [https://twitter.com/hashtag/QT?src=hash] wristband before @gabriellechan [https://twitter.com/gabriellechan] wristband before @GuardianAus [https://twitter.com/GuardianAus] wristband before https://t.co/dDqaVGBXj6 [https://t.co/dDqaVGBXj6] wristband before pic.twitter.com/KjEQgzo5U4 [https://t.co/KjEQgzo5U4] wristband before

— Mikearoo (@mpbowers) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/mpbowers/status/785686581604605952]block-time published-time 4.55am BST

Chris Bowen to Scott Morrison : the final budget outcome for 2015/16 was dumped out late on a Friday afternoon two weeks ago. If a projected deficit of $4. 7bn for 2015-16 warranted a budget emergency, what does the treasurer call the government’s final deficit figure of $39. 6bn? A deficit more than eight times larger than that projected when this government came to office?

Morrison hyperventilates...

I notice from those opposite a hubris and arrogance after the election, a hubris and arrogance. We had the leader of the opposition do a lap of honour for an election he never won, Mr Speaker. Perhaps he was celebrating his victory over the shadow transport and tourism minister. (Albo).

But he does not answer the question.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.02am BST

block-time published-time 4.52am BST

A government question to the foreign affairs minister, Julie Bishop : Will the minister explain to the house the importance of clarity and consistency on policy in the South China Sea and is she aware of any alternative approaches?

(This is the Sam Dastyari, Paul Keating, Richard Marles question.)

Labor’s shadow defence minister decided Australia should escalate tensions by having our navy conduct freedom-of-navigation operations within 12 nautical miles of Chinese-controlled land features that are also contested by other claimants. We hear vague mutterings from the leader of the opposition but it took the former Labor prime minister Paul Keating to denounce Labor’s latest pronouncements as shocking.

I call on the leader of the opposition to confirm that it is Labor’s policy that the Australian navy should sail within 12 nautical miles of contested features in the South China Sea, something Australia has not ever done before.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.03am BST

block-time published-time 4.49am BST

Labor’s Anne Aly to Turnbull : Almost a year ago in this house the former Liberal member for Cowan spoke about poor internet coverage in the Cowan electorate. Speaking about the suburb of Greenwood, the former member said: “A lot of people just cannot get a service of any kind.” What has the prime minister done in the past year to provide broadband access to [Greenwood]?

I will give the honourable member the benefit of the history... [history lesson ensues]... She succeeded a very capable member for Cowan, a member who was very assiduous in standing up for his constituents and ensuring that they had the services that they need.

The PM will get back to her.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.35am BST

block-time published-time 4.44am BST

Enterprise tax plan again, this time to small biz minister Michael McCormack.

block-time published-time 4.44am BST

Labor to Turnbull : On 28 October 2014, the now prime minister told the parliament that one of the big changes he would be making in relation to the NBN would be “upgrading HFC networks to ensure everyone gets a very fast broadband but at much less cost”. Can the prime minister confirm the scaling back of up to 1. 5m HFC premises in the latest corporate plan, a significant increase in the cost of HFC connections and NBNCo abandoning the Optus HFC network?

Turnbull says NBNCo is “activating, signing up new customers – at the rate of around 90,000 every four weeks. In six years Labor connected 50,000”.

The turn-around of the NBN is one of the great achievements of the Coalition government.

i.e. Me.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.03am BST

block-time published-time 4.40am BST

A government question to the financial services minister, Kelly O’Dwyer: Will the minister update the house on the government’s support for small business through tax cuts and tax concessions? Is the minister aware of any alternative policies?

Enterprise tax plan.

The enterprise tax plan announced in the budget is now a plan to deliver “company tax cuts for small businesses with a turnover of less than $10m”. The big biz side of things does not get so much coverage these days. [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/may/03/corporate-tax-cuts-to-cost-budget-53bn-over-four-years]

This is probably because the larger business end has little hope of getting through the senate where crossbenchers will only cop up to $10m turnovers.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.41am BST

block-time published-time 4.33am BST

Labor has used its first questions in Senate question time to probe attorney general George Brandis about the controversy over advice from the solicitor general.

Eventually a Dorothy Dixer from the government’s side draws this response from Brandis about the plebiscite:

This morning the Labor party has driven a stake through the heart of marriage equality.

Brandis accused the Labor leader in the Senate, Penny Wong, of “being part of a caucus that has put a roadblock in front of the only feasible pathway to marriage equality any time soon”.

It is not too late to reconsider your position to give Australians marriage equality – which you say they deserve – and to give it within four months, by supporting this bill.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.42am BST

block-time published-time 4.32am BST

Anthony Albanese to the trade and tourism minister, Steve Ciobo : I refer to the minister’s comments of 31 August 2016 when he told the House “the increases in the passenger movement charge was choking the golden goose that is Australia’s tourism industry”. Given that just 28 days later the government increased the charge by $5, does the minister stand by his comments and, if he does, doesn’t that make him look like a golden goose?

Ciobo says the government is fiscally responsible and it was Labor’s fault. \*drink\* Labor had increased the charges in the past by a lot and the Coalition had increased the passenger movement charge by a “modest amount”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.43am BST

block-time published-time 4.29am BST

A government question to Scott Morrison : Will the treasurer update the House on how the government is managing the successful transition of the Australian economy? In particular, how will the enterprise tax plan stimulate investment, especially by small and medium-sized businesses in new jobs and higher wages to improve living standards for hardworking Australians?

ScoMo shorthand: Tax cuts help the economy.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.31am BST

block-time published-time 4.28am BST

Cathy McGowan asks Turnbull : It is a question about the provision of childcare in rural, regional and remote Australia and what the government commitment is to families who live outside our major cities and towns. The chairperson of the National Association of Mobile Services, Anne Bowler, recently told a Senate committee addressing the jobs for families childcare package that the legislation would ensure the closure of up to 90% of the 46 child mobile services including four in Victoria and one in Indi. Can you please assure the House the government really cares about the provision of childcare to farming and Aboriginal areas and those who live in remote areas and will guarantee funding for the values services which cannot be supported under childcare funding?

Turnbull says the system was not working well and the government is transitioning to a new system. He says some services were receiving less than $100 per child and other services were receiving thousands of dollars per child.

The reality is that some of the budget-based funded services are not delivering childcare but we recognise they are delivering a vital community service. Where that is the case, we’ll identify alternative funding sources appropriate to the type of service they’re offering and the number of children being cared for.

I think the translation of that answer is “we’ll get back to you”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.32am BST

block-time published-time 4.23am BST

Shorten to Turnbull: Australian of the year and mental health expert Professor Patrick McGorry has warned a plebiscite on same-sex marriage was a dangerous thing to do that will harm people’s mental health. What is the prime minister’s response to Professor McGorry’s warning last week?

Turnbull says he has respect for McGorry and has spoken with him about the issue directly but will not go into a private conversation.

I recognise and have some understanding of the special, the additional, mental stress and the prevalence of mental illness among the gay community. There is no issue about that. We understand that. The member for Sydney and I both understand that, in particular given our electorates, and we have both been involved with organisations that seek to address it and, indeed, have supported them. I might say very collaboratively. We do understand that.

But then he says the plebiscite is a democratic process and Shorten has supported the idea in the past. As Turnbull has supported the free parliamentary vote.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.33am BST

block-time published-time 4.19am BST

Barnaby Joyce gets a government question: will the deputy prime minister update the house on how the government is helping rebuild stronger communities and more jobs in regional Australia? Is the deputy prime minister aware of any alternative approaches?

Roads. Dams. Dog fences. Bringing sheep back.

It comes on the back of record ag exports, record prices in cattle, meat sheep, portion, turn-around in the wool market, the wine market. Record prices in sugar. Turn-around in the price of oranges, potatoes, chickpeas...

Not sure how the government effects commodity prices. Or rather, if they are responsible, there are milk prices which they need to think about.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.33am BST

block-time published-time 4.16am BST

Turnbull is still cranky about the texts.

I think all of us know, all of us know, many Australians that were frightened out of their wits by those text messages, that were frightened and misled, we have all heard stories of people in old people’s homes, of older Australians and the Labor party scoffs...

The opposition leader asked me “How is the AFP going?”. He knows very well what the AFP concluded. While there is a very serious criminal offence of impersonating a federal officer. There is, five years in jail actually, so there is apparently a loophole in the law which the Labor party managed to sail through. That loophole will be plugged.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.19am BST

block-time published-time 4.12am BST

Labor’s Catherine King to Turnbull : Is it seriously the contention of the government that the prime minister’s credibility on Medicare was unharmed by your Medicare freeze, unharmed by your cuts to pathology, unharmed by your plans to make Australians even pensioners pay more for medicines but couldn’t withstand a text message?

Turnbull :

She is like somebody who is charged or sued for misrepresentation, for telling a falsehood, for misleading somebody and whose defence is not that the statement was accurate, not that it did not mislead but that it didn’t have any effect. That’s basically her defence. How low has the Labor party sunk to that?

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.15am BST

block-time published-time 4.08am BST

Momentarily distracted by a tweet.

enltrTo Battle people #qt [https://twitter.com/hashtag/qt?src=hash] #auspol [https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] #ssm [https://twitter.com/hashtag/ssm?src=hash] #marriageequality [https://twitter.com/hashtag/marriageequality?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/54UpdHA6HE [https://t.co/54UpdHA6HE]

— Comrade craigjack36 (@craigjack36) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/craigjack36/status/785676484065177600]block-time published-time 4.06am BST

First government question is on the Coalition’s national economic plan.

block-time published-time 4.04am BST

First question from Shorten on Medicare to Turnbull : Does the prime minister stand by his promise that he made the day before the election that no Australian will pay more to see a doctor because of his six-year Medicare freeze?

Turnbull:

The reality is the indexation freeze was introduced by Labor as a cost measure. It has been maintained by us for precisely the same reason and what we have been able to do is to bring one new drug after another, one new lifesaving drug after another, on to the PBS . We’ve been able to use the scarce resources available.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.08am BST

block-time published-time 3.59am BST

Happy days. Question time coming up.

Mathias Cormann, Malcolm Turnbull and Marise Payne. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.04am BST

block-time published-time 3.51am BST

Sorry. Just having a quick kip before question time.

Malcolm Turnbull at a press conference with the finance minister, Mathias Cormann, the innovation minister, Christopher Pyne, and the defence minister, Marise Payne. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.05am BST

block-time published-time 3.13am BST

Just to clarify, Turnbull said the legislation for a plebiscite would continue its passage through the lower house and the Senate – notwithstanding Labor’s opposition to the bill.

But he would not rule out a free vote to amend the Marriage Act to allow for marriage equality – if the plebiscite bill fails.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.23am BST

block-time published-time 3.05am BST

Somewhere over the rainbow...

Tanya Plibersek meets with rainbow families before a press conference where Bill Shorten announced Labor would not be supporting the plebiscite. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian Bill Shorten meets LGBTI families. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.11am BST

block-time published-time 3.00am BST

The Coalition will push the plebiscite bill, does not rule out a free vote Malcolm Turnbull has confirmed the plebiscite bill will still be debated in the lower house today and then it will move to the Senate. Asked whether he will allow a free vote, he does not rule it out.

A question from Katharine Murphy :

Q: We do know that today the numbers are not there for the plebiscite to pass the parliament. So it really is a simple question. The plebiscite will fail. Will you allow a free vote in this parliament?

It is all very well to say the Senate will not vote for it. We respect the Senate. The bill is not even in the Senate yet. The Senate has to deal with the bill. It will come through and I am confident that it will pass the House. Then it will come to the Senate and the Senate has to deal with a bill. So that is the focus.

So he wants Labor to argue their case against the plebiscite in both chambers, which may be a calculation there is popular support for it. But the PM also keeps his cards close to his chest on a free vote in parliament – which, up until last September, he supported.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.12am BST

block-time published-time 2.52am BST

The prime minister has been asked about Paul Keating’s criticism of Labor’s defence shadow, Richard Marles, on the South China Sea dispute. He made the critique in a Troy Bramston story [http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/defence/paul-keating-lets-fly-at-labor-over-south-china-sea/news-story/f64662b0c95dc3e98f748644cc109e99] :

Paul Keating has slammed Labor defence spokesman Richard Marles for saying that the government must authorise the military to ­determine freedom of navigation operations in the South China Sea to defend Australia’s interest and send a clear message to China.

The former prime minister has also expressed concern that Labor is too compliant in its attitude ­towards US naval interests in the Pacific rather than adopting a more independent outlook that better balanced strategic and economic priorities.

Mr Keating told the Australian that Mr Marles’s comments “if ­reported correctly, were shocking to hear from a Labor spokesman”.

“A decision to sail a naval vessel through a disputed area in which we know there is a risk of conflict with the forces of another power – large or small – is one which should only ever be taken by the elected government in the full awareness of the circumstances at the time.”

Malcolm Turnbull agrees with Keating.

I agree with former prime minister Paul Keating on this. Decisions of that kind should be taken by governments... Outsourcing that to naval officers, no matter how distinguished, misses the point.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.07am BST

block-time published-time 2.47am BST

The defence minister, Marise Payne, on the restructure of ASC:

It is absolutely vital that we have the right ship-building structures in place to deliver on what are very ambitious plans to deliver historic, continuous naval ship-building programs. It is absolutely essential. Whether it is our offshore patrol vessels, or our future frigates, or the Pacific patrol boats being constructed in advance of those. These platforms which not only for a core of our naval capability but they provide engagement and support in our region and they will do that for many decades to come.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.14am BST

block-time published-time 2.41am BST

The defence industry minister, Christopher Pyne says it is a red letter day.

We will have one of the most modern and busiest ship yards in the world. Osborne North will have one of the most modern and busy submarine shipyards in the world. It will bring to Australia a significant multinationals sub contract involving DCNS . It will drive jobs and growth and create high technology advancement in jobs. The infrastructure will make Australia one of the centres of naval antisubmarine shipbuilding in the world. It will create a new export industry for our country and it is a red-letter day for the defence industry.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.58am BST

block-time published-time 2.38am BST

The finance minister, Mathias Cormann, says there will be a structural separation within ASC between ship-building and submarines.

It is a structural separation which is designed to ensure that the ASC is in the best possible position. Reform is built on the successful work that we have done for the destroyer program and the sustainment reforms.

It will be completed by mid 2017.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.59am BST

block-time published-time 2.35am BST

Malcolm Turnbull ’s press conference opens with a lecture on the Country Fire Authority . Which is confusing.

But then segues onto changes in the sub builder ASC and defence generally. Turnbull is going through all of Labor’s crimes:

cleaning up that mess, making up for that neglect, commissioning the vessel and setting out in our defence white paper, our plan and a way forward to secure our future...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.59am BST

block-time published-time 2.31am BST

Long term advocate of same sex marriage Rodney Croome comforts Shelly Argent, national spokesperson for Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) after a press conference with Bill Shorten where he announced Labor would not be supporting the plebiscite legislation. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 2.27am BST

Just to a quick summary of the day ahead of the PM’s press conference.

\* Labor is going to vote against the plebiscite bill - confirming what has been likely for weeks.

\* This leaves the government to consider its next move. In anticipation, National MP Andrew Broad has signalled he will withdraw support from government if Malcolm Turnbull tries on a free vote.

\* Before Labor’s decision, George Brandis released a draft bill of what could go to parliament if the marriage plebiscite passed. It’s all academic now but it involved exemptions for religious organisations and civil celebrants who object.

\* Late last night, the government’s Country Fire Authority bill passed, which gives volunteers more power when negotiating enterprise bargaining agreements at a state level. All crossbenchers except Jacqui Lambie voted for the bill.

\* The house has begun sitting.

\* The senate is beginning now.

block-time published-time 2.17am BST

enltrTomorrow His Excellency Lee Hsien Loong , Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore will visit Parliament.

— Aus House of Reps (@AboutTheHouse) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AboutTheHouse/status/785649086833815552]Like I say, the parliamentary sitting week is getting away from us so it is unlikely that the plebiscite bill will get through both chambers this week. Next week, the senate does not sit because it will be doing senate estimate committees.

block-time published-time 2.15am BST

Malcolm Turnbull coming up at 12.30pm with the ministers for finance, defence and defence industry. What on earth could it be?

block-time published-time 2.13am BST

Nice, Mike.

Opposition leader Bill Shorten, with shadow attorney-general Mark Dreyfus and member for Griffith Terri Butler outlining their reasons for blocking the plebiscite. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 2.09am BST

Finally Bill Shorten is asked about criticising Turnbull for keeping a plebiscite promise, knowing that the right wing of his party insisted on maintaining the plebiscite promise.

Just because you have a few National party MPs threatening to bring down the government, that’s Mr Turnbull’s problem. But that’s not Australia’s problem and my problem. My issue is marriage equality. I don’t have to do what the extreme right of the National and Liberal Party do. Mr Turnbull made that bed a long time ago. He has to lie in it now. He signed up to Tony Abbott ’s agenda, he signed up to Tony Abbott ’s plebiscite. He has to live with his conscience.

block-time published-time 2.01am BST

Bill Shorten says he will work with the crossbenchers, the Greens, the Liberals to have a vote in the parliament. Just not a plebiscite.

We will work with anyone to achieve marriage equality. We will work with the Liberals to have the vote but the point about it is a plebiscite is the wrong path to achieve marriage equality.

block-time published-time 1.57am BST

Shadow attorney general Mark Dreyfus goes into the draft marriage amendments which exempt both religious organisations and civil celebrants from performing marriage ceremonies for same sex couples.

Dreyfus has a problem with the civil exemptions.

Labor has always said that no minister of religion should be compelled to perform a religious ceremony against the tenets of their faith. That should go without saying. But civil celebrants are licensed by the commonwealth of Australia to carry out civil ceremonies which don’t have a religious component. That’s the basis of them being civil celebrants. That’s why 70 % of Australians choose civil celebrants because they don’t want to be married in a religious ceremony.

block-time published-time 1.53am BST

Bill Shorten is rolling out the reasons why Labor is not supporting the plebiscite and we are all familiar with these. And he says the latest release by Brandis of amendments shows Labor was right not to rush into supporting the plebiscite bill because the government keeps changing the goalposts.

Imagine if we had been foolish enough to rush into this decision and support a plebiscite then we find out that the plan which Brandis and Turnbull had, again caving in to the right, is to water down discrimination laws. Of course Labor supports religious freedom in this country but there are already laws in place to prevent discrimination. What sort of case are Turnbull and Brandis putting up when they are asking us to agree to their legislation, then at 11pm, the night before, they drop out legislation changing the rules of the game mid-game?

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.55am BST

block-time published-time 1.47am BST

enltrShorten's surrounded by families at his presser. He says he couldn't look at families & say the plebiscite was good for them @gabriellechan [https://twitter.com/gabriellechan]

— Katharine Murphy (@murpharoo) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/murpharoo/status/785642542402375681]block-time published-time 1.46am BST

enltrShorten says he could not in good conscience recommend Labor support the plebiscite #auspol [https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] @gabriellechan [https://twitter.com/gabriellechan] #PoliticsLive [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PoliticsLive?src=hash]

— Katharine Murphy (@murpharoo) October 11, 2016 [https://twitter.com/murpharoo/status/785641986497753088]block-time published-time 1.45am BST

Bill Shorten has also made some changes to his shadow cabinet following Stephen Conroy’s retirement.

Following this morning’s caucus meeting, I have appointed senator Don Farrell as the deputy leader of the opposition in the Senate.

Senator Farrell will also take on shadow cabinet responsibilities of shadow special minister of state and shadow minister for sport.

Senator Farrell is an experienced member of Labor’s senate team and a passionate advocate for South Australia. Our team will benefit greatly from Senator Farrell’s steady hand and his calm resolve.

In addition, Ed Husic will add digital economy and future of work to his current responsibilities.

“Steady hand and calm resolve”.

Qualifications? “Godfather”. Powerbroker. Faceless man [http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-05-10/don-farrell-back-in-new-run-for-the-senate/7402990]. He rose without a trace.

What a message to send to young up-and-comers in the Labor party.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.55am BST

block-time published-time 1.30am BST

Since the Labor decision, I am chasing whether the plebiscite bill will still be debated in the House today. It was go to the House this afternoon and the Senate tomorrow but the Senate and the House will be taken up mid-morning tomorrow with a visit from the prime minister of Singapore.

If you were Malcolm Turnbull , you would want the issue to go away, given it is 17 types of hard. We await the Coalition’s reaction. In the meantime, we can only hear the birds chirping.

Birds nesting in trees outside the mural hall of parliament house Canberra. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian As an aside, are these:

a) crows

b) ravens

c) currawongs

d) other.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.39am BST

block-time published-time 1.12am BST

While I hate to send you in a different direction, my colleague Helen Davidson is doing the live blog of the Northern Territory’s royal commission into juvenile detention [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/live/2016/oct/11/northern-territory-juvenile-detention-royal-commission-hearing-begins-in-darwin-live].

And, for those who follow state politics, it has been confirmed that the New South Wales premier, Mike Baird, has backed down on the greyhound racing ban.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.22am BST

block-time published-time 1.09am BST

So where are we at? We will have no movement on marriage equality for some time to come. As the National MP Andrew Broad broadcast this morning, the conservative end of the Coalition will not cop a free vote in the parliament.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.23am BST

block-time published-time 1.07am BST

The Greens are also coming up at 12.30pm.

block-time published-time 1.03am BST

Here is one Mike Bowers prepared earlier.

The opposition leader, Bill Shorten, in the mural hall of parliament house. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.48am BST

block-time published-time 12.58am BST

As a result of this news, there is press conference with Bill Shorten at 11.30am.

block-time published-time 12.44am BST

Paul Karp has confirmed Labor has indeed voted to block the plebiscite unanimously. This means the bill is dead.

block-time published-time 12.38am BST

Labor reportedly going to vote against the plebiscite Sky News is reporting that Labor has confirmed it will block the legislation to enable a plebsictie on marriage equality.

block-time published-time 12.33am BST

Ah Matt...

enltr @gabriellechan [https://twitter.com/gabriellechan] Healing divisions one hug at a time. You're welcome, Australia. #politicslive [https://twitter.com/hashtag/politicslive?src=hash] Healing divisions one hug at a time. You're welcome, Australia. pic.twitter.com/sZHLpiFiKO [https://t.co/sZHLpiFiKO] Healing divisions one hug at a time. You're welcome, Australia.

— The Matt Hatter (@MattGlassDarkly) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MattGlassDarkly/status/785613174091284484]block-time published-time 12.31am BST

I just want to pause here to note my freedom confusion.

The conservatives in the Coalition believe the attorney general’s draft marriage amendment does not go far enough.

The changes, to be implemented only after a plebiscite, contain exemptions for religious organisations but not small businesses.

Conservatives believe the exemptions should also apply to small businesses on the grounds of freedom of speech. What if you object to same-sex marriage but you cannot, under law, refuse to bake a wedding cake or sew a dress?

David Leyonhjelm agrees.

enltrDavid Leyonhjelm says he wants gov's plebiscite exposure draft to allow businesses to refuse service to same-sex marriages #auspol [https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash]

— Alice Workman (@workmanalice) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/workmanalice/status/785612043634171906]But, for the freedom warriors, why does freedom not extend to the right of same-sex couples to marry?

John Howard’s 2004 changes actually restricted freedoms to define marriage as between a man and a woman. There was not a peep from the freedom warriors then.

To recap, if I have this straight...

Same-sex couples should not be free to marry.

But, if they are free to marry, businesses should be free to refuse services to same-sex couples.

At the same time, while it’s gone off the boil, the same freedom warriors are arguing to amend 18c so people are free to insult and offend.

So under this logic, you would be free to call Penny Wong a racial name but she is not free to marry.

Makes sense.

George Michael: Freedom, I won’t let you down. block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.52am BST

block-time published-time 12.12am BST

Meanwhile, the minister for women, Michaelia Cash, has released a statement celebrating International Day of the Girl Child, “a global event recognising the rights of young girls around the world, whilst also acknowledging the ongoing challenges they confront”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.23am BST

block-time published-time 12.11am BST

There is too much happening here but I cannot bypass this. Trump’s 2005 comments were a “victory for women”, says Sky commentator and former Lib MP Ross Cameron.

enltr"Wildly gesticulating Trump supporter mansplains women's issue to a woman who can't get a word in edgeways" pic.twitter.com/f3jrORDtjl [https://t.co/f3jrORDtjl]

— Josh BOOoOoOtler (@JoshButler) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JoshButler/status/785456701273104385]The rise and fall of civilisations may be renamed ‘who get’s the girl’.

Be still, my celestial body.

block-time published-time 12.05am BST

Bill Shorten spoke briefly about the marriage plebiscite before going off to caucus. He is not for turning.

It is a shocking waste of $200m. The Liberal party is not going to bind themselves to it. It will be compulsory to vote but it is not compulsory to accept the outcome. The number of experts who have come out in recent weeks and explained that the potential for harm, in a divisive and ugly debate, the government cannot guarantee that everyone will be civilised when debating their peers. And now overnight we see the attorney general is blundering again and he is now saying that the only way we can have the plebiscite is by watering down anti-discrimination laws against gay people. I mean, this government does not want this to happen.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.08am BST

block-time published-time 12.03am BST

Just a housekeeping catch up. The chambers do not start sitting until midday for the partyroom meetings.

block-time published-time 11.45pm BST

Scott Morrison is talking about tightening up the welfare system, off the back of a Telegraph story that claims prime ministers from Howard onwards cannot get welfare recipients below 20% of the population.

He says getting a “transfer payment from government is now what many Australians have as part of their income”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.52pm BST

block-time published-time 11.35pm BST

Scott Morrison: Trump comments loathsome and cannot be dismissed Scott Morrison is speaking to Ray Hadley.

The treasurer is asked about the US election race. He says Donald Trump , with the 2005 remarks regarding women, is winning the race to the bottom.

He agrees with the PM yesterday, “those comments were loathsome” and says they cannot be dismissed as “locker room banter”.

They are not welcome in the locker room or any room... you don’t hear them around this place... Nine lives certainly seem to be up on those comments.

Asked about what happens if he is elected, Morrison says the US-Australian alliance runs very deep.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.50pm BST

block-time published-time 11.28pm BST

Back to the CFA vote.

Senator Jacqui Lambie was the only crossbench senator to vote against the CFA volunteers bill.

Those who voted for:

\* Leyonhjelm

\* Hanson

\* Roberts

\* Burston

\* Culleton

\* Hinch

\* Kakoschke-Moore

\* Griff

\* Xenophon.

block-time published-time 11.18pm BST

Innovation and nursing. What could be better?

Malcolm Turnbull attends the Australian College of Nursing parliamentary breakfast for the launch of White Paper, Nurses Essential to Health Reform. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian Ever vigilant, Mike Bowers has noticed that when the prime minister is feeling confident, he does this foot thing on the podium. Sometimes photographers see a lot more than the rest of us.

The prime ministerial feet. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.22pm BST

block-time published-time 11.10pm BST

We are expecting Labor to block the same-sex marriage plebiscite bill, which would mean it is dead in the water. But the bill remains on the parliamentary program for debate today in the house and tomorrow in the Senate. So if Labor rolls out of caucus with the expected “no”, will the government withdraw the legislation?

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.22pm BST

block-time published-time 10.58pm BST

Nationals MP Andrew Broad to withdraw support for government if there is a parliamentary vote on marriage Nationals MP Andrew Broad has just told me he would withdraw support for the government if there is a parliamentary vote on marriage without a plebiscite.

We must honour our election commitments. The choice between the Coalition and Labor was clear in the election campaign. We promised a plebiscite, Labor promised a conscience vote.

Broad will not say whether that withdrawal means he will withdraw support for all legislation but he rejects a suggestion he would sit on the crossbench.

I’m a Nat!

He does say that if the plebiscite goes ahead, he will vote the same way as his electorate, rather than the same way as the national outcome.

For me not to vote how they decide would cheapen their vote.

Broad says he trusts the Australian people to have a respectful debate. Broad received 64 letters on the subject, handwritten and not form letters. He said 32 were supportive of the change and 32 were in support of the status quo.

They were very respectful.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.23pm BST

block-time published-time 10.50pm BST

Marriage Act amendments exposure draft These are the key points on the draft amendment released by George Brandis :

1. The definition of marriage would change: The definition of marriage in s5 of the Marriage Act would be changed to replace “a man and a woman” with “two people”.

2. The conditions for a valid marriage would stay the same: It will continue to be the case that a marriage would be void if, for example, the parties are in a ‘prohibited relationship’, consent was not real, or one or both parties are not of marriageable age.

3. Foreign same-sex marriages would be recognised in Australia: All valid marriage solemnised under the law of a foreign country, including same-sex marriages, would be recognised in Australia if they are consistent with Australian law. A foreign marriage would not be valid in Australia if the marriage would be unlawful in Australia, for example, if the parties are siblings, in a parent-child relationship, or are polygamous.

4. Existing protections for ministers of religion would be retained and strengthened: ministers of religion would be able to refuse to solemnise a marriage on the grounds that the marriage is not the union of a man and a woman, if that refusal conforms to the doctrines, tenets or beliefs of the minister’s religion, or is necessary to avoid injury to the religious susceptibilities of adherents of the religion, or if (irrespective of the teachings of his or her church) the minister has a conscientious objection to same-sex marriage.

5. Marriage celebrants (including those who are not ministers of religion) would be able to refuse to marry a same-sex couple: In addition to the existing law whereby marriage celebrants are under no obligation to solemnise marriage, the Marriage Act would be amended to allow marriage celebrants who are not ministers of religion to refuse, on the basis of conscientious or religious beliefs, to solemnise a marriage on the grounds that the marriage is not the union of a man or a woman. Religious bodies and religious organisations would also be able to refuse to provide facilities, goods or services for the purpose of solemnisation of a same-sex marriage, or for purposes reasonably incidental thereto, if the refusal conforms to the doctrines, tenets or beliefs of the religion, or is necessary to avoid injury to the religious susceptibilities of adherents to that religion.

In the event that the parliament passes the plebiscite bill, the government proposes the establishment of a joint select committee to review and report on the exposure draft. The composition of the committee would be as agreed by the government, the opposition, and crossbench parties.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.26pm BST

block-time published-time 10.36pm BST

enltrNats MP @broad4mallee [https://twitter.com/broad4mallee] indicates he'll withdraw support for government if there is a vote on same-sex marriage without plebiscite #auspol [https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] indicates he'll withdraw support for government if there is a vote on same-sex marriage without plebiscite

— Stephanie Anderson (@stephanieando) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/stephanieando/status/785592427570606081]I am not sure whether National MP Andrew Broad means total withdrawal of support or just on this issue. Checking, checking...

block-time published-time 10.34pm BST

The house is a hive of activity this morning.

Malcolm Turnbull has just spoken to the Australian College of Nursing Parliamentary Breakfast for the launch of White Paper, Nurses Essential to Health Reform.

Bill Shorten is speaking to the Committee for Economic Development of Australia (Ceda) this morning.

Katharine Murphy did a preview here [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/11/australian-opposition-leader-bill-shorten-to-declare-donald-trump-unsuitable-to-lead-us] :

Australia’s opposition leader, Bill Shorten, will declare that Donald Trump is “entirely unsuitable to be leader of the free world” in a speech to a Canberra conference on Tuesday.

The Labor leader will tell the Committee for Economic Development of Australia on Tuesday morning that Australia’s alliance with the US is “bigger than any individual and stronger than any disagreement”.

“But I know I am not the only one relieved that with every passing day, with every disgusting, demeaning comment Mr Trump makes, the possibility of him being president fades,” the Labor leader will say.

“By his own words and his own actions, he has confirmed the worst fears of millions in the United States and beyond its borders – he is entirely unsuitable to be leader of the free world.”

The head of the Prime Minister’s Office Martin Parkinson spoke to Ceda [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/11/resourcefulness-not-resources-the-key-to-australias-future-says-chief-bureaucrat] last night.

We have party room meetings this morning. Cabinet met last night, which is why those marriage amendments appeared so late.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.51pm BST

block-time published-time 10.21pm BST

Late last night, just before 10pm according to the Dynamic Red, the fair work amendment (respect for emergency services volunteers) bill 2016 [http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22legislation%2Fbillhome%2Fr5680%22] passed 37 to 31. We are just tracking down the votes.

BTW, the Dynamic Red is not Katharine Murphy but the live updates [http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary\_Business/Chamber\_documents/Dynamic\_Red] for the Senate.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.52pm BST

block-time published-time 10.09pm BST

Good morning blogans,

It is all about marriage equality this morning. The political weather is cool with a lot of bluster this morning but let’s separate out what is real and what is rhetoric.

The concrete points:

\* The attorney general, George Brandis, has released draft amendments to the Marriage Act that would go to parliament if the plebiscite passes.

\* Under the amendments, the definition of marriage would be changed to replace “a man and a woman” with “two people”. Protections would be offered for religious organisations and celebrants involved in the marriage ceremony but not small businesses.

\* Labor will meet this morning to decide their final position on the plebiscite bill that needs to pass for the plebiscite to be conducted.

Apart from those points, these are the political points:

\* Conservatives are unhappy that the amendments do not go far enough because small businesses are not offered protection on the grounds of freedom of speech – the so-called wedding cake clause.

\* The LGBTI community say the amendments do not go far enough to force religious organisations to comply with the law.

\* LGBTI community representatives are pushing the Labor party to oppose the plebiscite due to the fear of hate speech and the argument that no other human rights issues need to go to a plebiscite.

\* Tanya Plibersek said this morning that Brandis released the draft marriage amendments at 11pm last night and expected Labor to decide overnight.

\* Plibersek also said “meh” to the changes, given the draft bill still doesn’t answer the mental health concerns of a divisive debate, nor the $200m cost of the plebiscite.

\* Brandis said while Labor may complain, in his meeting with his shadow minister Mark Dreyfus and Terri Butler, Labor refused nine times to suggest what changes they would like to the plebiscite bill. They are not serious, says Brandis.

He argued on Sky that the amendments set out the general rules of the act – the rest is up to the courts.

People will always be able to dream up borderline cases, I mean that is what courts are for to interpret acts of parliament. All we can do in acts of parliament is to explain a general rule. And the general rule we have created is an absolute exemption for ministers of religion. An absolute exemption on conscientious grounds for civil celebrants and an absolute exemption for churches and religious bodies in relation to the provision of facilities or the sale of goods or services reasonably incidental to a same-sex marriage ceremony.

OK there is a whole lot more in Brandis’s remarks, which I will bring you in the minute. Let’s crank this thing up. You can join me in the thread or on the Twits @gabriellechan with the man with the lens @mpbowers.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.54pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Children say their names were not taken during official attempts to record underage population of camp before demolition

Concerns have emerged over the accuracy of the first official attempt to find and register child **refugees** in Calais, just days before the camp is due to be demolished.

Hours after the census was concluded, several children said they had not been asked for their names, and it emerged that two of the main voluntary organisations working with children in the camp were not consulted during the count.

Around 72 police officers arrived in the camp in 17 police vans just before 8am on Tuesday. They went through the site in groups of 12, many armed with truncheons and firearms, and carrying riot helmets and clipboards. They spent three hours visiting every tent, attempting to count each **refugee**, noting their nationality, and the presence of children, for a census commissioned by the local prefect’s office.

At the same time, more than a dozen workers for the charity France Terre d’Asile (FTDA), which has been contracted by the French and British governments to count the unaccompanied children, made their way through the camp, taking the names of minors.

Shortly after the police census was completed, officers closed the cafe where children receive free meals, and took away one of the volunteers for questioning. Staff at the cafe have been compiling a list of vulnerable minors for the last few weeks. It was not clear whether this list had been handed to officials attempting to register children.

Volunteers at the **Refugee** Youth Service, where around 80 minors were present on Tuesday, said they had invited FTDA workers in to take names, but they had declined.

Jonny Willis, of the RYS, said he was sceptical about the accuracy of the counts. “It’s ridiculous to try to do a census like this in a place like this in just two days.”

On Monday, the British home secretary, Amber Rudd, acknowledged that she and her French counterpart, Bernard Cazeneuve, had a “moral duty to safeguard the welfare of unaccompanied **refugee** children”, and that hundreds of minors could be given a safe space to live in France or brought to the UK[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/10/300-children-from-calais-camp-good-result-amber-rudd] within the next fortnight.

After this commitment, several organisations were trying to collate a definitive list of who needed assistance. But given the fluctuating size and unofficial nature of the camp, finding, counting and registering children was a considerable challenge.

“I haven’t given my name to anyone,” said Omar Khan. “No one has asked me so therefore I have not put my name on any list,” said the 16-year-old from Afghanistan who has been in the camp for four months. He said he hoped to join friends in Manchester, but had no idea whether he had any chance of going legally, and didn’t know who to ask.

Omar said he had seen charity employees in blue vests walking around the camp with clipboards. “There was a big crowd around them. No one told me to talk to them.”

Efrem Negusse, 17, from Eritrea, who was waiting outside the closed children’s cafe, said neither he nor his three friends (aged 15, 16 and 16) had registered with the French charity when workers walked through the camp.

“I saw them but none of us put our names down. We didn’t know what they were doing. We didn’t ask them,” Efrem said, resting on crutches, after injuring his leg falling from a lorry on which he tried to get to the UK four days ago. “So many people come and try to register us. We don’t know what for. We will wait to see what happens; if there is a chance to go to England, we will.”

Related: ‘It is a disgrace to Europe’: former child **refugee** Lord Dubs on the Calais camp[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp]

As well as the police and the FTDA count, a more detailed survey of the camp’s residents was launched by the charity Help **Refugees**, aimed at noting residents’ particular needs; while another list, of vulnerable minors who might be eligible for transfer to the UK under the Dubs amendment to the **Immigration** Act, was being made by the UK charity Safe Passage.

Annie Gavrilescu, who was conducting the 10-day census for Help **Refugees**, said it would be a miracle if FTDA managed to do an accurate count in just two days.

The conclusions of the police and the FTDA counts were expected to be made public on Wednesday.

Rudd said UK and French officials had been working together for the last three weeks to try to find children in Calais who might be eligible to enter the UK under the Dubs amendment, which commits the government to offer sanctuary to some vulnerable **refugee** children. Volunteers with children’s organisations in Calais said they had not encountered any UK officials.

There was also confusion among camp residents about where they were likely to be sent to once the camp was demolished, and an absence of available information.

Etienne Desplanques, the official in the local prefect’s office responsible for the census, said the precise timing of the eviction – which may happen as early as this weekend – would depend on how many people were counted in the camp. Almost 7,000 spaces were available in **refugee** accommodation centres around France, he said, but if the camp population was higher, then the demolition would wait until enough places were available.

Ahmed Essa, 25, a Sudanese farmer who fled the violence more than a year ago, applied for asylum in France in August and is still waiting to hear if it has been accepted. “If I don’t have a place to go, I will sleep in the streets, or any place I can.”

Desplanques said he was confident a heightened police presence in Calais after the demolition would be enough to stop a new camp being set up on the same site.

But Calais residents were more cynical about the prospects of a complete camp demolition. One dismissed the idea as “utopian” and predicted it would simply spread the **refugee** population across the area and into the city centre. “At least at the moment, there is a clear place where people go; once the camp is demolished people will be back sleeping in doorways. It will be worse for the residents and worse for the **refugees**,” he said.

Rudd said earlier this week that the UK government would fund safe facilities in France for children potentially eligible to come to the UK in the future, so they no longer had to sleep in tents. However, organisations on the ground said they had no details of where such accommodation would be.

“We are the main service for distributing information and we are not able to do that because we don’t have any information. It’s very frustrating,” Willis said.

Omar, who has no family in the UK, said he planned to sleep rough if he was evicted from the camp. “I will sleep on a blanket by the port. I won’t have anywhere special to stay,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**One small town, one big election. I’m travelling to middle America to find out what people feel about an extraordinary presidential race

In 2012 I recall hosting an event in Washington DC during which columnist Ana Marie Cox, a former Guardian colleague, insisted she could cover the election from the couch. I remember being shocked by that admission-cum-brag at the time but the more I thought about it, the more I came to believe she was on to something. US elections are made-for-TV events. The conventions, rallies, polls and pundits are all essentially spectator sports. The process is built for consumption rather than engagement. It’s big business. In 2012, Republican spending on ads in Florida alone was almost double[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/track-presidential-campaign-ads-2012/] the total spent by the six main British parties combined during the UK 2015 election.

That does make covering elections in a substantive way very difficult. The mainstream narrative is driven not by what will change but who will win; not by what people are thinking but against which of those two crude boxes they will put their name. It’s as though the whole process takes place on a split screen[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/01/younge-america-return-roanoke] with the debate analysis, gaffes and ads on one side and the place where people work, love, and live on the other. When Barack Obama came out for gay marriage in 2012 the first question on cable television was not “What will this mean for gay people?” but “What will this mean for Obama’s re-election prospects?”

This new, twice-weekly series marks my sixth presidential election as a journalist and, as someone who prefers the road to the couch and ordinary people to TV pundits, I’ve always found it tough to cover the process in a way that both satisfies the reader’s need for a steer on the big picture and my desire to try to shift the framing of our coverage away from the horse race. Readers of course want to know who is likely to be the next president, and what headline issues they should look out for but I’m also interested in what the whole thing can tell us about how American society is evolving – particularly in an election as extraordinary as this, where a character as bizarre as Donald Trump and another as experienced as Hillary Clinton are candidates.

In 2004, I drove from John Kerry’s hometown[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/nov/02/uselections2004.usa4] in Boston to George W Bush’s former hometown in Midland, Texas, stopping in swing states along the way. I can’t vouch for what it was like to read, but I found it enthralling to write. I found myself at a drag show[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/oct/23/uselections2004.gayrights] in a small town in Missouri, breaking bread with Christian fundamentalists[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/oct/09/uselections2004.usa] who’d lost their son in Iraq in Pennsylvania, and watching the presidential debates with students in Iowa.

In 2008 I went to Roanoke, Virginia – a swing town in a swing state with a sizeable enough African American population that I could gauge the excitement around the potential election of America’s first black president. It was only by sticking around that I discovered that the town had a thriving arts scene that was politically engaged, or that the local courts set aside one whole day a week to deal with people with healthcare debts.

This time I’m going to Muncie, Indiana. Ahead of the election, I’ll be publishing articles twice a week – on Tuesdays and Thursdays – about what I discover here, who I’ve met, before writing an extended report after the vote. I chose Muncie, population 70,000, as my destination for two reasons. First of all it sits in Delaware County, which voted for[http://www.delawarecountyelectionday.com/] both Donald Trump (53%) and Bernie Sanders (58%). In an election year when Americans appear to be enamored with neither of the nominees – Clinton has a net favourability rating[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/clinton\_favorableunfavorable-1131.html] of -11 while Trump’s is -20[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/trump\_favorableunfavorable-5493.html] – I’m hoping that this trip will give some insight into what Americans appear to find **alienating** about their political establishment. I also want to ask: what is peculiarly American about this moment? How many similarities are there between here and Brexit Britain, or a France where the Front National is a serious contender for the presidency?

Indiana is a reliable Republican state – though Obama did win it in 2008 – but Delaware is a swing county. Both Obama[http://dcelectionday.com/20082General/Html/DelawareElecSumm.htm] and George W Bush[http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/statesub.php?year=2000&fips=18035&f=0&off=0&elect=0] won it twice. Once narrowly[http://dcelectionday.com/20122General/Html/DelawareElecSumm.htm] and once with double figures[http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/statesub.php?year=2004&fips=18035&f=0&off=0&elect=0]. But I’m also heading to Muncie because it has an iconic place in American social science as the subject of major sociological case study in the 1920s called Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2aRFcRFNUNQ].

The authors, Helen Merrell Lynd and Robert Staughton Lynd, who were married, were seeking a fairly typical American town in which to conduct extensive field research. They described Muncie, which they only ever referred to as Middletown, as “a community as small as thirty-odd thousand... [in which] the field staff was enabled to concentrate on cultural change... the interplay of a relatively constant... American stock and its changing environment.” Having first visited during a period of relative prosperity in the 1920s, they returned a decade later to write Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts during the Depression.

I want to hear from people who live in Muncie or nearby in Indiana: we intend that this project should be guided by readers. Let me know if there are issues you think I am missing or questions I’m not asking. Do you know smart people I should talk to? Put us in touch.

The question of political **alienation** and political parties losing their grip on their bases is not, however, unique to America[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/video/2016/jan/06/dont-let-trump-fool-you-rightwing-populism-is-the-new-normal-video]. Look across Europe and you will see that there is nothing uniquely American about the rise of Donald Trump. In Britain we’ve seen the grassroots of the major parties rebel against against their own leaderships with the double election of the leftwing Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, and the Conservative revolt over Brexit. So while I’m staying in Muncie I hope readers from across America and elsewhere let me know if they are seeing similar themes emerge and if so how they are manifesting themselves. Every country has a Middletown – and most of them are hurting.

I have been to Muncie before, 13 years ago[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/sep/11/september11.usa3], to write about the second anniversary of the 9/11 terror attacks. Back then, the political mood was tender with the political polarisation prompted by the Iraq war in particular and the Bush presidency in general. “The day when you would go out of your way to make a political statement are gone,” Joseph Losco, chairman of the town’s Ball State University political science department, told me at the time. “I don’t know if it’s gone for ever but it’s gone for now.”

I don’t know that I’d call Muncie typical – what place truly is? – but it certainly showcased America as a complex place. True, the sign for the local mosque was destroyed and one local preacher held a memorial service in which he refused to share the pulpit with Muslims, Jews or any other religion. But following the mosque incident a local Muslim man held a barbecue and 200 neighbours showed up; an alternative interfaith service attracted twice the number of participants as the Christian-only one.

So I’m back in Middletown in the hope that I will once again find that level of complexity and nuance in this volatile moment. I want to visit the food banks, gun ranges, churches and gay bars to talk to its teachers, preachers, cops and kids. To find out not just how people will vote but what they are thinking, and not just who will win but what, if anything, might change.

\* Main image by David Levene

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Closing long term cases would allow a short-staffed Home Office to focus on higher risk areas and improve post-Brexit border control

The next five years will see considerable work for Home Office staff managing our border, **immigration** and passport systems.

Knowing that change is impending for EU nationals, the UK will see additional applications for visas, citizenship and passports from people already living here or hoping to live here. For example, the complex rules on marriage between EU and non-EU partners will be on the minds of many couples, who may now marry sooner rather than later. This will need additional staff and ongoing policy changes for any unintended consequences as a post-Brexit settlement beds down.

But it’s doubtful the Home Office, even with more staff, will easily cope with the new workload unless a line is drawn on much of the historic caseload, often going back for many years.

There are no official figures[https://fullfact.org/immigration/why-we-cant-say-sure-how-many-illegal-immigrants-are-living-uk/] on UK illegal migration. Some academic studies estimate there may be as many as 500,000 people while Migration Watch thinks it could be more than 1 million people. I think the latter is more likely and that the number will continue to grow as the total of people overstaying visas, being concealed through ports, entering on forged documents or absconding from contact will exceed the number leaving voluntarily or deported.

Tackling this caseload is massive. Scant resources are rightly focused on higher risk individuals, such as foreign-national offenders who are deported on expiry of their sentence. Over the past six years, the government has made real progress on reducing abuse, including closing the loophole of bogus colleges that saw thousands admitted without really studying. But better control now cannot reverse the fact that the system has been abused and some people are still here after many years. The vast majority of cases of illegal migration are not active and staff resources could not cope if they were.

An appropriate amnesty would make our post-Brexit system manageable

Rob Whiteman

An appropriate amnesty would make our post-Brexit system manageable, optimise resources to focus on new cases and also strengthen border control around our lengthy coastline. Replacing antiquated systems is also best achieved by closing legacy cases.

As we have seen in the US[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2014/nov/20/obama-plan-shield-five-million-undocumented-migrants-deportation-speech], this type of amnesty is controversial. Arguments against include that it may send the wrong signal to future would-be illegal entrants, and regularising through visas many people here may lead to their dependents overseas then applying too, if the rules allow, thus increasing net migration. And where is a line drawn to allow many to remain and the remainder to still face potential deportation?

Related: Boris Johnson tries to calm **immigration** row with call for amnesty[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/19/michael-gove-george-osborne-condemn-nigel-farage-anti-immigration-poster-eu]

But the prize of taking a bold step will be considerable. It could shift the public mood, with people here because they are allowed to be here, and would enable the government to tackle higher risk cases and improve its post-Brexit border operations.

An amnesty for appropriate cases would also end uncertainty for many hundreds of thousands of people in limbo[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/mar/27/immigration-illegal-home-office-failures-abuses-inspector-watchdog], who are neither allowed to stay but likely to never leave or be deported. I believe the public is ready for a mature debate where the outcome is a country that, post-Brexit, is more comfortable about the role of **immigration** in our economy and society.

Rob Whiteman, chief executive of the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy, was chief executive of the Border Agency from September 2011 to September 2013 and is a former chief executive of the London borough of Barking & Dagenham.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Weakened by cuts, our ports are understaffed and lax on security – as politicians would know if they talked to employees

“Take back control” drove the Brexit vote[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/07/take-back-control-brexiteers-immigration-policy-johnson-davis-fox], and Theresa May is alarmingly clear: **immigration** control comes first – even if leaving the single market devastates the economy. But with the existing border control system under extreme stress, checks or visas for 100 million EU arrivals each year will mean a vast increase in workload for a Border Force that is already overstretched. Here’s just one practical reality that makes Brexit look more shocking by the day.

Related: This Brexit plan will divide Britain and Ireland once more | Diarmaid Ferriter[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/10/brexit-plan-divide-britain-ireland-uk-border]

May missed all her targets[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/nov/23/theresa-may-home-secretary-government-migration-target-fail-likely] when she was in charge of **immigration** as home secretary, so she knows better than anyone the impossibility of cutting net migration down to “ tens of thousands[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/20/theresa-may-drops-migration-target-deadline-after-mocking-corbyn-in-pmqs] ”. She knows UK border controls are inadequate: police find 10,000 people each year who have entered ports in the backs of lorries, and Dover’s Tory MP Charlie Elphicke claims many more, never detected, step straight into the arms of traffickers[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/31/dismantle-calais-camp-modern-slave-trade-traffickers].

Public sector cuts[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/23/tories-labour-councils-ministers-conservative-shires] have not spared the service that is supposed to security-check all arrivals at a time of a raised terror threat. The new home secretary, Amber Rudd, went to Heathrow in July to see how her Border Force performs. She might have expected our biggest port to be the best run, and on her visit she saw all the desks fully manned, with minimal queues at passport control and plenty of smiles.

What she probably wasn’t told was how many of those desks were staffed by people pulled in from everywhere else, including HMRC tax officers from Newcastle, who were put up in hotels. (Can HMRC spare them, when they are only checking 4% of self-assessment tax forms?)

Had she asked staff about their workloads, they probably wouldn’t have told the truth, governed as they are by a regime of terror and targets. I spoke to some Border Force staff, on condition of strictest anonymity, meeting them miles away from Heathrow for fear of disciplinary action if they were caught talking to a journalist. With no culture of transparency, this service punishes whistleblowers.

Here’s what they told me: after the public row over gigantic queues[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2012/jul/09/heathrow-passport-queues-london-olympics] before the 2012 Olympics, strict targets were set: non-EU passengers must queue for no more than 45 minutes, EU for 25 minutes, and fast-track first class just 15 minutes. These targets must be met 95% of the time.

At present, they are met 70% of the time, and staff shortages mean that civil servants brought in from elsewhere get just a few days’ training. “All they can do is a basic passport scan,” say these whistleblowers. “Training and experience matter. We can feel whether something is wrong about who they say they are, where they’ve been, for how long and how often. We notice their demeanour, their nerves.” It takes experience to spot children being trafficked. E-gates detect fewer suspicious cases.

Related: The message of Brexit was mixed. Now we are told it was simply a referendum on **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/05/the-message-of-brexit-was-mixed-now-we-are-told-it-was-simply-a-referendum-on-immigration]

If members of the public complain about long queues with too few passport desks open, staff issue a reply from a printed sheet they’re given: “All available Border Force officers are currently deployed and working to protect the public; border security remains our number one priority.” An honest reply would go something like this: “We haven’t got enough staff, we’ve had cuts, we’re on our knees working all hours and still missing our targets. Many more passengers are coming through and we don’t have time to scrutinise them. Sorry. Did you vote for these cuts?”

With everyone manning the desks, paperwork piles up behind the scenes: asylum claims are rising again and people stopped can wait hours to be checked. Staff are taken off customs: “Guns and drugs don’t matter as much as queues,” one officer says. They sometimes fail to claim the £2,000 fines from airlines that bring people in with inadequate documentation because they miss a five-day deadline for claims.

Staff hired now are on new contracts, with flexible annualised hours so they can be made to work overtime, extra days or to cancel holidays at short notice, “a nightmare for parents with childcare”, I was told. As a result, there is high turnover. “We’re at least 300 short,” these officers reckon. Managers deny it – but fixed official quotas of staff have been abolished.

Visa checks on people from non-EU countries are weaker, they claim, now visa offices abroad have been closed. “There are no standard interviews for student or visitor visas now. But you can’t rely on written references and qualifications,” says one officer who has worked overseas. “You need to see applicants to detect people who are not what they say they are.” During the present “surge”, there is only one forgery specialist each shift, instead of two or three: “They’re run off their feet.”

This isn’t just staff grumbling: the rightwing, anti-public sector Adam Smith Institute reported last month[http://www.adamsmith.org/news/britains-beleaguered-border-force-stretched-to-breaking-point] that the Border Force is “starved of funds and neglected”. Responsible for screening 225 million passengers a year arriving in the UK, it claims about 4,000 “high-risk” flights are landing without proper security checks.

Passenger numbers have risen by 20% since 2010 and are set to continue rising by 2% a year, while Border Force funding is cut: spending per passenger is down 25%. Some technology is 14 years out of date, while £1bn was wasted on a failed e-borders system[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/dec/03/flaws-in-home-office-security-forcing-staff-to-rely-on-incomplete-intelligence]. Last year’s National Audit Office report[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/dec/03/flaws-in-home-office-security-forcing-staff-to-rely-on-incomplete-intelligence] warned that the Advance Passenger Information System was collecting only 86% of arrivals. The system cannot check them all “in sufficient time to prevent high-risk travellers from starting their journey to or from the UK,” the report said. That leaves 16.5 million people a year unchecked before arrival.

Brexit will bring far worse problems. Half of all arrivals are from the EU, currently waved through on a scan to check their identity. But plans afoot at the Home Office suggest EU migrants will need to prove they have a skilled job lined up and can speak English. “We would need to check all these jobs were genuine – very difficult and very time-consuming,” says one officer. It might require doubling the Border Force.

“Take back control” was a brilliant play on people’s fears. What the people swayed by it and everyone else should know is that controlling our post-Brexit borders will be phenomenally expensive and difficult. And how closed the UK is going to feel to our neighbours.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Report calls for urgent review of funding restrictions that are leaving most vulnerable without vital support

Cuts to legal aid are far worse than anticipated and are creating a “two-tier” system which denies the poorest people access to justice, warns a critical report by Amnesty International.

The government should conduct an urgent review of the impact of the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders (Laspo) Act, which came into effect in 2013 and has severely restricted funding, the study says. A review has been promised within three to five years but ministers have delayed.

The year before the act was introduced, legal aid was granted in 925,000 cases, Amnesty points out. The year after, assistance was given in 497,000 cases, a drop of 46%.

The report calls for all children to be granted entitlement to legal aid regardless of the issues at stake. Some teenagers, it says, are at risk of having to represent themselves in **immigration** cases where they may face deportation.

The report highlights the emergence of “advice deserts” across England and Wales where the provision of free legal advice is disappearing. Worst affected are said to be the south-west, parts of the Midlands and the north of England.

The Legal Aid Agency’s exceptional case funding system, which was supposed to provide a safety net for the most vulnerable claimants, is said to be inadequate and flawed.

Laspo has been blamed for a surge in the number of litigants in person, slowing court processes. Legal aid is no longer available in the family courts unless one partner can prove he or she was a victim of domestic violence.

One consequence has been that separating couples are not evenly represented. One woman told Amnesty: “When I go to court I have to cross-examine my ex. That terrifies me. I have so many sleepless nights. If I lose I know I will blame myself – it’s because I wasn’t good enough. But then I think, how can I be good enough when I’m up against a barrister?”

Legal aid for **immigration** cases has also been cut, exposing unaccompanied or separated children to having to make applications to stay in the UK on their own, unrepresented. The report says up to 2,500 children a year are claimants in their own right in such cases, according to MoJ figures.

Children are at an “automatic disadvantage as the laws, processes and systems governing their circumstances are profoundly complex”, the report states. “They require specialist advisers that are experienced not just in **immigration** law, but also with working with children.”

One lawyer told Amnesty: “The idea that children and young people can represent themselves just does not work. This is such a vulnerable group. It’s not just that they don’t understand legal processes and legal concepts, which they don’t, but it’s also that they have no idea how to fill forms out properly, what to write, where to send paperwork, where to get advice and who to speak to.”

A youth worker told Amnesty: “I had one young person I was working with who had to self-represent at the lower asylum and **immigration** tribunal. He had a good case, but no access to legal aid … I accompanied him to court, explaining that I wouldn’t be able to help him as I’m not qualified but could give him moral support.

“He was vulnerable, he didn’t know what to expect. I had to explain everything: what the court looks like, what the environment will be. He didn’t know, he hadn’t seen any of it before. All he could do was tell his story to the judge, he couldn’t argue the case law … We asked for an adjournment but the court said no. In the end his appeal was refused.”

Alice Wyss, Amnesty International’s UK researcher, said: “Cuts to legal aid imposed by this government have decimated access to justice and left thousands of the most vulnerable without essential legal advice and support. We are in danger of creating a two-tier civil justice system, open to those who can afford it, but increasingly closed to the poorest and most in need of its protection.

“If Theresa May is really determined to deliver a country that works for all then there needs to be a justice system for everyone, not just those who can afford it.The government must start by protecting the most vulnerable and launching a review of this failing system immediately.”

A Ministry of Justice spokesperson said: “We have a generous legal aid system - last year spending more than £1.5bn on legal aid. We must ensure legal aid is sustainable and fair - both for those who need it and the taxpayer who pays for it. That is why we have made sure support remains available to the most vulnerable and in the most serious cases, and are taking action to ensure people can access the help they need.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happenGuardian/ICM poll gives Tories 17-point post-conference leadLunchtime summaryDavid Davis’s Brexit statement - Summary

block-time published-time 7.07pm BST

David Davis 's Commons Brexit statement - Summary Here are the main points from David Davis ’s Commons statement on Brexit.

\* Davis dismissed calls for MPs to have a vote on the government’s Brexit negotiating terms. The former Labour leader Ed Miliband and the former Lib Dem leader and former deputy prime minister Nick Clegg were among those arguing that parliament should be consulted. Miliband said:

There is clearly a mandate for Brexit from this referendum but there is no mandate for the particular form of Brexit.

And Clegg said:

On the basis of what constitutional principle do you believe that the prime minister can now arrogate to herself the exclusive right to interpret what Brexit means, impose it upon the country, rather than protect the rightful role of scrutiny and approval of this House?

Some Tory MPs made the same point. But Davis argued that those arguing for the Commons to decide negotiating terms “cannot tell the difference between accountability and micro-management”. He said that MPs would get plenty of chances to debate the issue. But, dismissing calls for MPs to be given a binding vote on the Brexit negotiations, he said that it was important for the government to be able to negotiate what it thought was in the national interest without being constrained by having to declare full details of its negotiating position to MPs. Speaking for Labour, the shadow Brexit secretary Sir Keir Starmer said MPs should get a vote “on the basic terms” of the renegotiation.

\* Davis refused to commit the government to publishing a white paper on the Brexit negotiations. He proposed one in an article he wrote as a backbencher in July, shortly before he was appointed to the cabinet, but, despite being asked repeatedly, refused to commit the government to publishing such document.

\* He claimed that the terms “hard” and “soft” Brexit were “designed to deceive” and “not meaningful in any way”.

\* He hinted that the government might accept a transitional trade deal with the EU if it could not agree a final one within two years. Labour’s Hilary Benn said a transitional deal might be necessary to stop the UK having to trade with the EU on World Trade Organisation terms if, after two years, a permanent trade deal has not been finalised. Benn asked if Davis agreed. Davis said he did not expect this to happen. But he went on:

I’m not going to offer a view. I will just simply say this; we are going to do everything possible to protect, enhance and maximise the opportunities for British business. And he can draw his conclusion.

\* He said that the government could not stop the pound going up and down during the Brexit process. In response to a question from Labour’s Emma Reynolds about why the pound dropped to a 30-year low after the Conservative conference, he replied:

I recommend you read a book called Flash Boys because part of that fall, the major part of that fall was the flash crash as a result of that. Otherwise, there are lots and lots of speculative comments that will drive the pound down and up and down and up in the next two-and-a-half years and there’s little we can do about that.

\* He said there would be “no downside to Brexit, only a considerable upside”.

\* He said he expected EU leaders to compromise during the Brexit talks. What they were saying now was not what they would be saying in the future, he said. See 5.22pm. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/10/jeremy-corbyn-labour-rehsuffle-continues-labour-reshuffle-politics-live?page=with:block-57fbc00ae4b015d5d43fb68c#block-57fbc00ae4b015d5d43fb68c] leaders to compromise during the Brexit talks. What they were saying now was not what they would be saying in the future, he said. See

\* He tried to reassure EU nationals living in the UK that they would be allowed to stay, saying most of them would have the legal right to remain anyway.

In terms of the individuals who are European migrants here and British citizens abroad, my intention and the intention of the government, is to do everything possible to underwrite their position, to guarantee their position, at the same time as we underwrite the similar position of British migrants abroad...

I don’t think people should worry people unnecessarily, get people concerned. Bear in mind five out of six migrants either have or will have ILR, indefinite leave to remain, by the time we depart the union.

\* He refused to commit the government to retaining single market membership. Asked about this, he said:

The single market, of course, is one description of the way the European Union operates but there are plenty of people who have access to the single market, some of them tariff-free, who make a great success of that access and it’s the success we are aiming for.

That’s all from me for tonight.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time published-time 6.20pm BST

Speaker turns down application for emergency debate on Brexit negotiating terms John Bercow , the Commons Speaker, rejects the application for an emergency vote.

He says he has taken the decision in accordance with rules that oblige him to consider whether the topic will be raised in the Commons by other means. There will be a debate on Brexit on Wednesday, he says.

\* Speaker turns down application for emergency debate on Brexit negotiating terms.

block-time published-time 6.18pm BST

Stephen Phillips calls for urgent debate on Brexit negotiating terms The Davis statement is now over.

But now the Conservative MP Stephen Phillips is making a short speech asking for an emergency debate on the Brexit negotiating terms under standing order 24. (See 12.15pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/10/jeremy-corbyn-labour-rehsuffle-continues-labour-reshuffle-politics-live?page=with:block-57fb773de4b06538ee91e1a9#block-57fb773de4b06538ee91e1a9]

Phillips says he voted leave. But he had nothing to do with the leave campaign. It was characterised by falsehood and propaganda, he says.

He says 48% of voters voted to remain. He voted leave on the grounds of sovereignty. But he did not vote to replace one tyranny with another. The government must consult the Commons, through debate, about the broad negotiating position it will adopt.

block-time published-time 6.14pm BST

Further shadow ministerial appointments Turning away from the Brexit statement for a moment, Labour has released another list of new shadow ministerial appointments. They include eight MPs returning to the front bench, Jeremy Corbyn says.

And the reshuffle is not over. More appointments are to follow.

Here is the list from Labour.

Shadow Minister for Justice – Christina Rees MP

Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs (also in Defence team) – Fabian Hamilton MP

Shadow Minister for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office –Liz McInnes MP

Shadow Minister for Schools – Mike Kane MP

Shadow Minister for Flooding and Coastal Communities – Sue Hayman MP

Shadow Minister for Energy and Climate Change – Alan Whitehead MP

Shadow Minister for Farming and Rural Communities – Mary Glindon MP

Shadow Minister for Wales – Gerald Jones MP

Shadow Minister for Housing – Ruth Cadbury MP

PPS to Rachael Maskell MP – Chris Matheson MP

block-time published-time 6.09pm BST

The SNP’s Joanna Cherry says Ken Clarke told the Andrew Marr Show yesterday that the pound kept falling because people did not know what would happen after Brexit.

Davis says currencies can be undervalued and overvalued. And he does not agree with Clarke, he says. There will be big markets for the UK. What happened to the pound last week was partly prompted by President Hollande’s comments, massively exaggerated by programme trading, he says.

block-time published-time 6.06pm BST

Back in the Commons Labour’s Lilian Greenwood asks when EU academics working in British universities will get an assurance that they can stay.

Davis says the government wants to give them the best assurances it can, but that this matter is not in hands.

block-time published-time 6.02pm BST

And the Conservative MP John Baron , who campaigned to leave the EU , has put out his own statement about Davis’s comments. Baron accuses “remoaners” of trying reverse the EU referendum result.

The EU referendum authorised the government to negotiate our withdrawal from the EU . There will be plenty of opportunity for debates and questioning as the various processes unfold. But it is clear that the ‘Remoaners’ are trying to use the ruse of extensive parliamentary scrutiny to stymie the electorate’s decision. This will not wash with the government or the public.

block-time published-time 5.59pm BST

Open Britain, the group campaigning to keep the UK in the single market, has put out this statement from Labour’s Pat McFadden about Davis’s statement.

If the government is serious about empowering parliament, then they should commit to putting before parliament the pre-negotiation white paper David Davis has supported. And to giving our sovereign parliament a vote on the eventual deal once the negotiations have finished.

The government cannot dismiss all calls for garliamentary involvement as attempting to deny the referendum result. The result was a vote to leave the European Union . It did not give the government a blank cheque on everything from leaving the Single Market to the potential for damaging tariffs and other trade barriers.

Those calling for parliamentary involvement are not trying to deny the referendum result but to have a proper say on the terms on which we leave.

Brexit is the biggest challenge facing our country in a generation. As we debate the detail of it, Parliament must be given a voice and a role. To deny it would be anti-democratic and ironic, given the claims of support for parliamentary sovereignty by leading Brexiteers.

block-time published-time 5.54pm BST

Labour’s Adrian Bailey says the home secretary’s speech to the Conservative conference was very hostile to foreign students. But these students contribute a great deal to the economy.

Davis says the government has told the Student Loan Company to extend loan opportunities for foreign students.

block-time published-time 5.52pm BST

Asked what he was thinking when he published his ConservativeHome article in July [http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/07/david-davis-trade-deals-tax-cuts-and-taking-time-before-triggering-article-50-a-brexit-economic-strategy-for-britain.html] proposing a pre-negotiation white paper, Davis says he was a backbencher at the time.

block-time published-time 5.50pm BST

Labour’s Madeleine Moon says Davis to give an assurance that EU citizens who have been in the UK for more than give years will have an absolute right to remain.

Davis says he can give that assurance because that’s the law. After five years in the UK EU citizens have a right to remain. After six years they have a right to citizenship.

block-time published-time 5.48pm BST

Davis says the terms “hard” and “soft” Brexit are “designed to deceive” Davis says he thinks the terms “hard” and “soft” Brexit are terms that are “designed to deceive”. They are “not meaningful in any way”, he says. The government will try to get the best possible trade access.

\* Davis says the terms “hard” and “soft” Brexit are “designed to deceive”.

block-time published-time 5.44pm BST

Here is Mark Elliott, a law professor at Cambridge University and legal adviser to the House of Lords’ constitution committee, on Davis’s statement.

enltr #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] Secretary repeats PM's erroneous assertion that Great Repeal Bill will end CJEU's jurisdiction. It won't. Leaving the EU will.

— Mark Elliott (@ProfMarkElliott) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ProfMarkElliott/status/785502870925967360]enltrDavis attempting to placate Commons with "Great Repeal Bill" that's irrelevant to key issues about initiation & conduct of #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] process

— Mark Elliott (@ProfMarkElliott) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ProfMarkElliott/status/785503577078919173]enltrBecoming clear Great Repeal Bill is smoke & mirrors exercise, giving spurious impression of meaningful parliamentary involvement in #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash]enltrBecoming clear Great Repeal Bill is smoke & mirrors exercise, giving spurious impression of meaningful parliamentary involvement in

— Mark Elliott (@ProfMarkElliott) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ProfMarkElliott/status/785506868819099649]enltrThe #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] Secretary is also unable to distinguish between a mandate to leave the EU and a mandate to negotiate particular exit terms

— Mark Elliott (@ProfMarkElliott) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ProfMarkElliott/status/785507168648822784]block-time published-time 5.37pm BST

David Nuttall, a Conservative, asks if the government will use the Parliament Act to overrule the Lords if it blocks the legislation to repeal EU law.

Davis says he does not expect the House of Lords to do that.

block-time published-time 5.36pm BST

Labour’s Rachel Reeves says some holidaymakers are now getting less than one euro for a pound. He says Davis has refused to explain why sterling has fallen in value.

Davis says Labour have talked the pound down “time and time again”.

block-time published-time 5.34pm BST

Labour’s Owen Smith says in the past Davis proposed two referendums on Brexit.

Davis says that is something he said a decade ago (during the Conservative leadership contest in 2005). At the time he was proposing a referendum on general terms for a negotiation, and then a final referendum on the outcome. But that is not what the government did this year, he says.

block-time published-time 5.31pm BST

Emma Reynolds , the former shadow Europe minister, asks why the pound has sunk to a 30-year low after the Conservative conference.

Davis says Reynolds should recommend a Michael Lewis’s book called Flash Boys. Much of the decline was caused by automated electronic trading, he says.

NOTE: That’s not actually true. The pound hit a record low before the plunge that was attributed to automated trading.

block-time published-time 5.27pm BST

Davis says the government wants to start by bringing all EU law into UK law. And it will certainly not be cutting employment rights, he says.

block-time published-time 5.26pm BST

Labour’s Paul Flynn says the chancellor has forecast bumps in the road. But, if the economy goes into recession, it won’t be a bump, but a sinkhole. Shouldn’t people get a second vote? Second thoughts are better than first thoughts, he says.

Davis says Flynn has revealed his agenda; he wants to overturn the result of the referendum.

block-time published-time 5.24pm BST

Here is the full text of David Davis’s opening statement. [https://whitehall-admin.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/speeches/exiting-the-eu-next-steps-ministerial-statement-10-october-2016]

block-time published-time 5.23pm BST

Labour’s Chris Bryant says the government should publish at least a white paper on Brexit talks, and a draft great repeal bill too.

Davis says the government has a huge mandate for what it is doing.

block-time published-time 5.22pm BST

Davis says these are the opening days of the negotiation. The first days are tougher than the final days. So what EU partners are saying today they will not necessarily say tomorrow, he claims.

\* Davis suggests he expects EU leaders to compromise during Brexit talks.

block-time published-time 5.19pm BST

Andrew Tyrie , a Conservative, says the negotiating position will leak. Won’t it be unacceptable for people to find out what the government thinks from abroad?

Davis says, in his evidence to the Lords committee last month, he said anything disclosed to EU partners or to the European parliament in confidence would be disclosed to parliamentary committees too.

block-time published-time 5.17pm BST

Labour’s Ben Bradshaw asks how a 52/48 vote for Brexit became an “overwhelming” mandate, as Davis described it.

Davis says the majority was larger than one million. And leave got more votes than any government has received.

block-time published-time 5.14pm BST

Davis says there will be large numbers of debates in the Commons. Even if the government does not call them, the opposition will. So MPs will debate this.

And there will be a Brexit select committee, he says. He says he will tell it things as far as he can. But he will not compromise the national interest.

block-time published-time 5.13pm BST

Pat McFadden , the former shadow Europe minister, says Davis promised a pre-negotiation white paper in his ConservativeHome article. [http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/07/david-davis-trade-deals-tax-cuts-and-taking-time-before-triggering-article-50-a-brexit-economic-strategy-for-britain.html] And he also promised that trade deals would start in September this year.

Davis says McFadden has misrepresented the article. He says he expects trade deals to start when the UK leaves.

block-time published-time 5.11pm BST

Bernard Jenkin , the Conservative MP, says he and other Vote Leave campaigners always made it clear that voting to leave the EU would mean giving up single market membership.

block-time published-time 5.09pm BST

Chris Leslie , the former shadow chancellor, says the new £5 note is smaller than the old one. But the currency has shrunk in value by even more. He says people did not vote to become poorer.

Davis says Leslie is making an extraordinary point, and echoing Harold Wilson .

block-time published-time 5.08pm BST

Hilary Benn , the former shadow foreign secretary, says the conflicting messages from government are causing uncertainty. If there is no trade deal by the end of the Brexit talks, will the government seek a transitional deal?

Davis says he has told every group he has spoken to that the government needs to collect hard data about the nature of the problem. For example, in terms of passporting rights for City firms, there are nine different types of passport. He says the government is trying to understand the problems.

But when the UK leaves it will start with the same regulatory system as the EU has. And normally it is regulation that causes the greatest problem with trade negotiations.

He says he will not answer Benn directly, but that he will do all he can to protect business, and that Benn can draw his own conclusions from that.

\* Davis hints that the government might go for a transitional trade deal with the EU after Brexit if it cannot negotiate a new one within two years.

block-time published-time 5.03pm BST

A few minutes ago Iain Duncan Smith , the Conservative former work and pensions secretary, described Labour’s Sir Keir Starmer as a “second-rate lawyer”.

That is a rather eccentric claim. Starmer was director of public prosecutions, and, by most accounts, a very good one, before becoming an MP.

Labour MPs have taken to Twitter to defend their colleague.

enltrIdiotic IDS describes Keir Starmer as a second rate lawyer which everyone in the House knows he isn't.

— Ian Lucas (@IanCLucas) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/IanCLucas/status/785506049465909249]enltrIDS disgracefully refers to Sir Keir Starmer as "a second-rate lawyer". The Nasty Party is alive & kicking #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash]enltrIDS disgracefully refers to Sir Keir Starmer as "a second-rate lawyer". The Nasty Party is alive & kicking #Parliament [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Parliament?src=hash]enltrIDS disgracefully refers to Sir Keir Starmer as "a second-rate lawyer". The Nasty Party is alive & kicking

— Liz McInnes (@LizMcInnesMP) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/LizMcInnesMP/status/785506648983015424]enltrI see the nasty, smug IDS is on form today,showing the nasty tories for what they really are! @Keir\_Starmer [https://twitter.com/Keir\_Starmer] has an excellent prof record #EU [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EU?src=hash] has an excellent prof record

— Angela Rayner MP (@AngelaRayner) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AngelaRayner/status/785506728997781504]enltrAnd Iain Duncan Smith has absolutely no right whatsoever to call former Director of Public Prosecutions Keir Starmer a "second rate lawyer"

— David Lammy (@DavidLammy) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DavidLammy/status/785515679990644738]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.28pm BST

block-time published-time 5.00pm BST

Crispin Blunt , the Conservative chair of the Commons foreign affairs committee, asks what will happen if there is no deal after two years?

Davis says this would put at risk the stability of the EU .

block-time published-time 4.58pm BST

Davis says that if EU countries adopt a “punishment strategy” towards the UK in Brexit talks, they will damage their own interests.

block-time published-time 4.55pm BST

Labour’s Angela Eagle says this is the first time she has heard parliamentary scrutiny described as “micro-management”. She invites Davis to condemn the decision to foreign academics being involved in providing the Foreign Office with consultancy advice about Brexit.

Davis says the story about the Foreign Office rejecting advice from foreigners was not true. He says Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary who is sitting beside him, has said that. And the LSE has said that too, he says.

block-time published-time 4.52pm BST

Nick Clegg , the former Lib Dem leader, says he used to be an admirer of Davis because of Davis’s belief in parliamentary accountability. So what gives the prime minister the right to decide on her own what mandate the referendum gave her?

Davis says Clegg, like Starmer, is confusing accountability with micro-management.

He says there will be plenty of debates in the Commons, starting with a Labour one on Wednesday.

block-time published-time 4.50pm BST

Ed Miliband , the former Labour leader, says David Davis wrote an article for ConservativeHome three days before being appointed to the cabinet saying the government should publish a white paper on its negotiating stance. When will that come?

Davis says he knows of no negotiation where a government publishes its stance in advance.

It will keep MPs informed. But it will not lay out its strategy in advance, he says.

Here is the ConservativeHome article that Miliband referred to [http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/07/david-davis-trade-deals-tax-cuts-and-taking-time-before-triggering-article-50-a-brexit-economic-strategy-for-britain.html]. And this is what Davis said in it about a pre-negotiation white paper.

We should work out what we do in the improbable event of the EU taking a dog in the manger attitude to Single Market tariff free access, and insist on WTO rules and levies, including 10 per cent levies on car exports. Let us be clear: I do not believe for a moment that that will happen, but let us humour the pre-referendum Treasury fantasy.

In that eventuality, people seem to forget that the British government will be in receipt of over £2 billion of levies on EU cars alone. There is nothing to stop us supporting our indigenous car industry to make it more competitive if we so chose.

WTO rules would not allow us to explicitly offset the levies charged, but we could do a great deal to support the industry if we wanted to. Research support, investment tax breaks, lower vehicle taxes – there are a whole range of possibilities to protect the industry, and if need be, the consumer. Such a package would naturally be designed to favour British consumers and British industry. Which of course is another reason that the EU will not force this outcome, particularly if we publicise it heavily in a pre-negotiation White Paper.

block-time published-time 4.40pm BST

Davis rejects calls for MPs to be able to vote on Brexit negotiating stance Davis responds to Starmer.

He starts by quoting something Diane Abbott said about Starmer. She said Labour had to be careful to avoid looking as if it were not listening.

He says the controversy about the government invoking article 50 without going to the Commons will be decided in the courts.

He says Starmer needs to understand the difference between accountability and micro-management.

He says the government has made its position clear. It wants to control its borders, for the UK to control its own laws and the best possible access to the single market.

\* Davis rejects calls for MPs to be able to vote on Brexit negotiating stance.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.53pm BST

block-time published-time 4.37pm BST

Starmer asks Davis to say when he does plan to give MPs a vote.

He says people did not vote to allow the government to take an axe to the economy.

The national interest must comes first, he says.

He points out that Davis did not even mention the single market in his statement.

Will the government seek access to the single market on the best possible terms?

block-time published-time 4.35pm BST

Starmer confirms Labour is demanding a vote on government’s Brexit negotiating position Sir Keir Starmer , the new shadow Brexit secretary, is responding.

He says the decisions the governments take on this will define us for a generation.

He says Davis’s first Commons statement was criticised for saying nothing.

And this one is no better, Starmer says. He says when he first read it he thought it was the previous one.

The government wants to draw up terms, negotiate and reach a deal without any parliamentary involvement, he says.

That is not making parliament sovereign; it is sidelining parliament, he says.

That is why Labour is demanding a vote on this issue.

\* Starmer confirms Labour is demanding a vote on the government’s Brexit negotiating position.

block-time published-time 4.32pm BST

Davis says the government will invoke article 50 by the end of March at the latest.

The great repeal bill will be introduced in the next parliamentary session, he says.

He says nations that are outward-looking and agile will succeed in the future.

block-time published-time 4.30pm BST

Davis says there is 40 years’ worth of EU law to overturn.

The government wants to ensure that, when it repeals EU law, it does not leave a black hole in the statute book.

He says the great repeal will will ensure the UK now longer has to obey EU law.

The legislation must work for the whole of the UK, he says.

He says he will consult the devolved adminstrations, although they will not have a veto.

He says the great repeal bill will not take the UK out of the EU ; it is separate from invoking article 50.

It will ensure that the UK has the laws it needs.

block-time published-time 4.28pm BST

David Davis 's statement on Brexit David Davis , the Brexit secretary, is now making his Commons statement on Brexit.

He says the case for leaving the EU is “clear, overwhelming and unarguable”.

The government will pass a bill to stop EU law having effect in the UK, he says.

He says MPs have a duty to respect the result of the referendum.

The mandate is clear, he says. The government will reject any attempt to reverse the EU referendum result, or to hold up Brexit, he says, or to keep the UK in by the back door.

The government will not provide a running commentary, he says.

But he says he wants to keep parliament informed.

His whole approach is about empowering this place, he says.

block-time published-time 4.21pm BST

Tomorrow the new shadow cabinet is due to meet. In an article for its website [http://www.progressonline.org.uk/2016/10/10/unity-or-uniformity-the-shadow-cabinet-decides/] Richard Angell, director of Progress, the Labour group dominated by Blairites and centrists, says the shadow cabinet should stop Jeremy Corbyn removing Jon Ashworth (a non-Corbynite) from the party’s national executive committee. Angell says:

In its meeting tomorrow the shadow cabinet has the chance to show the unity preached on our television screens. Who represents them on the NEC is in their gift, not the leader’s. As Ashworth has not resigned from the shadow cabinet, they have a choice. Either unity – by allowing Ashworth to continue – or uniformity – and sending out the message that there is only one view from here on in. If they go for the former the shadow cabinet, as a collective body, have a responsibility to show that diverse opinions are respected in Labour and that they will not simply rubberstamp the leader’s every edict.

block-time published-time 4.09pm BST

McDonnell says MPs should have a say over Brexit negotiations John McDonnell , the shadow chancellor, has given the opposition’s backing to those arguing MPs need to be given a say over the government’s Brexit negotiating position. He told BBC News :

We need a proper structure for these negotiations. We want absolutely clarity on the issues that will be negotiated and then we want some say over the details of that package.

We need to know what the objectives are at least. I understand that you don’t show your cards initially but you need to say what the objectives are...

We need certainty. People who want to invest in this country want some certainty. People whose livelihoods depend, for example, on the finance sector need some certainty so we’re saying to the government ‘get your act together’.

block-time published-time 4.04pm BST

In the Commons Amber Rudd , the home secretary, has been responding to an urgent question about **refugees** at Calais. She told MPs that she had met her French counterpart today and agreed that child **refugees** in the camps with links to Britain should be brought to this country. These are from my colleague Alan Travis and from the Telegraph’s Steven Swinford.

enltrAmber Rudd says told French minister today that as many children with UK links, esp under 12s, as possible brought to UK before demolition

— Alan Travis (@alantravis40) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alantravis40/status/785490398148001794]enltrAmber Rudd says that those children in Calais camp eligible to come to UK under Dubs amdt should be taken to place of safety

— Alan Travis (@alantravis40) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alantravis40/status/785490706479587328]enltrAmber Rudd says French government to provide list of lone children in Calais camp with UK links this week and will be dealt with in a week

— Alan Travis (@alantravis40) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alantravis40/status/785491656808202240]enltrAmber Rudd says that the primary responsibility for children in 'jungle' camp in Calais lies with French Government

— Steven Swinford (@Steven\_Swinford) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Steven\_Swinford/status/785489504958353412]enltrAmber Rudd: I have made crystal clear to France that priority must be to ensure safety and security of children during demolition of camp

— Steven Swinford (@Steven\_Swinford) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Steven\_Swinford/status/785489797632647168]enltrAmber Rudd: Be in no doubt we will move in all urgency to help children in Calais camps

— Steven Swinford (@Steven\_Swinford) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Steven\_Swinford/status/785491053327646720]enltrDiane Abbott, in first appearance as shadow home sec, says words cannot convey the horror of Calais 'Jungle' camp

— Steven Swinford (@Steven\_Swinford) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Steven\_Swinford/status/785491225398902784]block-time published-time 3.57pm BST

Here are the full tables (pdf) [https://www.icmunlimited.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/2016\_oct1\_guardian\_poll.pdf] from today’s Guardian/ICM poll.

And here is some Twitter comment on it.

From Owen Jones, the Guardian columnist

enltrFor people who say "polls are often wrong": the two big polling disasters in 1992 and 2015 overstated Labour's lead.

— Owen Jones (@OwenJones84) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/OwenJones84/status/785481981488427009]enltrI'm not saying this to demoralise people, but because things can only be turned around if you engage where you're starting from.

— Owen Jones (@OwenJones84) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/OwenJones84/status/785482139148095488]enltrThe Labour leadership need to be given some time and space to prove they can turn things around and avoid a terrible election defeat.

— Owen Jones (@OwenJones84) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/OwenJones84/status/785482262372548608]From Trinity Mirror ’s David Ottewell

enltrOne terrifying thought for Labour about that ICM poll - the party is currently behind the Tories among EVERY social class. pic.twitter.com/Jdk5p1xV2C [https://t.co/Jdk5p1xV2C]

— David Ottewell (@davidottewell) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/davidottewell/status/785446471705518080]From Polling Digest

enltrOur poll of polls puts the Conservatives 13.25 points ahead of Labour: pic.twitter.com/eXMi52mwOK [https://t.co/eXMi52mwOK]

— Polling Digest (@PollingDigest) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PollingDigest/status/785453899465588736]From PoliticalBetting’s Mike Smithson

enltrChart showing age breakdown split in today's ICM poll. Note the 75+ group going 77% to 7% to CON pic.twitter.com/utFxT3NwcE [https://t.co/utFxT3NwcE]

— Mike Smithson (@MSmithsonPB) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MSmithsonPB/status/785449794164719616]From Glen O’Hara, a history professor

enltrToday's ICM poll (17% Con lead) compared to equivalent ICM poll last Parl: then there was a 4% #Labour [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Labour?src=hash] lead, + Lab were on 39%. Now? 26%.

— Glen O'Hara (@gsoh31) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/gsoh31/status/785449663679848449]enltrSwing between today's ICM poll + same last Parl: 10.5%. Such a swing carried to a GE wd give Cons 90 #Labour [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Labour?src=hash] seats, up to + incl Don Valley.

— Glen O'Hara (@gsoh31) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/gsoh31/status/785450133622317061]From Piers Corbyn, Jeremy Corbyn ’s brother

enltrThese "polls" are about as honest as #Hilary [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Hilary?src=hash] #Clinton [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Clinton?src=hash]. #JC4PM [https://twitter.com/hashtag/JC4PM?src=hash]. https://t.co/Erg0Lisrj5 [https://t.co/Erg0Lisrj5].

— Piers Corbyn (@Piers\_Corbyn) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Piers\_Corbyn/status/785457875086893056]From ICM’s Martin Boon

enltrBrother of Labour leader has doubts about poll veracity and pollster integrity. Hmmm, to laugh or cry? https://t.co/1a55KDaCBS [https://t.co/1a55KDaCBS]

— Martin Boon (@martinboon) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/martinboon/status/785490010627858432]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.22pm BST

block-time published-time 3.36pm BST

Here is a Guardian video of Ed Miliband explaining why MPs should get a vote on the government’s Brexit strategy.

Ed Miliband: MPs should vote on Brexit terms [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/oct/10/ed-miliband-mps-parliamentary-vote-brexit-terms-video]block-time published-time 2.28pm BST

Trying to keep a tally of these Labour reshuffle numbers is not easy. Paul Blomfield did resign over the summer, but, a reader points out, he resigned from his post as a parliamentary private secretary, not as a shadow minister. (See 12.44pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/10/jeremy-corbyn-labour-rehsuffle-continues-labour-reshuffle-politics-live?page=with:block-57fb7d45e4b03b4fd4fa5ed7#block-57fb7d45e4b03b4fd4fa5ed7] So he was not on the front bench, although he would have been considered as part of the payroll vote.

So we can say that 17 MPs who resigned have now taken shadow ministerial posts. But only 15 people who resigned as shadow ministers in the summer have rejoined the front bench.

(I apologise for not getting this right earlier, but I’m in good company. Yesterday, when Labour released its list of shadow ministerial appointments, Jeremy Corbyn said he welcomed back the 10 who were returning. Later the party acknowledged that only nine were returnees because Louise Haigh had not actually resigned, despite voting against Corbyn in the no confidence ballot.)

block-time published-time 2.09pm BST

Lunchtime summary

\* A Guardian/ICM poll conducted at the end of the Conservative party conference gives the party a 17-point lead over Labour - four points up on the equivalent poll before the conference season. (See 11.52am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/10/jeremy-corbyn-labour-rehsuffle-continues-labour-reshuffle-politics-live?page=with:block-57fb685ee4b03258bcac6355#block-57fb685ee4b03258bcac6355]

\* Downing Street has arranged for David Davis , the Brexit secretary, to give a statement to MPs amid growing pressure for the government to give MPs a vote on its EU withdrawal strategy. Davis will make his statement at about 4pm, after an urgent question on the **refugees** at Calais. Earlier, Ed Miliband , the former Labour leader, told BBC News that MPs should vote on the Brexit strategy, not least to give the government a mandate. The government could publish a white paper on its plans and put it to a vote, he said. He said he was not trying to enable MPs to reverse the referendum result.

I am saying we are going to be leaving the European Union . That’s what the British people voted for. But we’ve got to get those negotiations right. It was Philip Hammond , the chancellor, who said last week the British people did not vote to make themselves poorer. And he’s right about that. And what worried me about some of what we heard at the Conservative conference was - I understand the concerns about **immigration** - but what I felt was our whole economy was in danger of being thrown off a cliff...

We need to be knowing now what the government will be negotiating for. And I believe they need to get the consent of MPs. Because there is no other mandate here. The Conservative manifesto said that the Conservative party was determined to stay in the single market. Now, it sounded from what Theresa May and some of her ministers were saying that we were going to leave the single market, contrary to the mandate. So there is no mandate for a hard Brexit. That is why parliament has got to be consulted.

On the World at One Dominic Grieve, the Conservative former attorney general, said MPs should be given the chance to vote on triggering article 50, the move that will start the formal EU withdrawal process. And Andrew Tyrie , the Conservative MP and chair of the Treasury committee, told the same programme that he thought MPs should debate the government’s negotiating position.

It seems to me British interests will be best served by an early and full and detailed explanation from the government of what its negotiating position is before it embarks on those discussions...

What has never been discussed in any depth is what we arrive at. I think there’s a majority in parliament for doing that. And I think the public would expect us to do that. In any case, it would greatly strengthen the prime minister’s hand in negotiations.

\* Theresa May has said she Brexit to be “smooth and orderly”. Speaking in Copenhagen after a meeting with the Danish prime minister Lars-Lokke Rasmussen in Copenhagen, she said:

The UK is leaving the EU but we’re not turning our back on Europe and we want to maintain strong, positive relations with our European partners like Denmark, and I am committed to doing just that.

But of course we are leaving the EU so if I turn to Brexit, as I said last week we will formally trigger the process of leaving no later than the end of March next year and I hope it can be a smooth and orderly departure.

Theresa May shakes hands with Danish prime minister Lars Lokke Rasmussen at the Marienborg estate in Lyngby outside Copenhagen, Denmark. Photograph: Keld Navntoft/EPA

\* Downing Street has dismissed suggestions from the CBI that its Brexit policy is undermining Britain’s “open economy” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/10/hard-brexit-risks-destroying-uks-open-economy-says-cbi-chief]. Responding to the comments from the CBI’s director general, Carolyn Fairbairn , a Downing Street spokesman said:

Britain is an open nation and, as we go through the Brexit process, a large part of that is going to be broadening our approach with the rest of the world, negotiating with other countries, setting up new trade deals and making sure Britain is very much an outward-facing significant player on the world stage.

But John McDonnell , the shadow chancellor, has said the CBI is right to speak out:

The CBI and Anna Soubry are right to warn of the dangers of a Hard Tory Brexit and the devastating impact it could have.

Losing access to the single market would seriously damage our economy but the Conservative government is prepared to risk people’s jobs and livelihoods and place party political gains ahead of the clear national interest.

\* Ed Miliband has said that Jeremy Corbyn can win a general election and that Labour MPs are now more inclined to support him. Seventeen MPs who resigned from the front bench earlier this year have already agreed to take shadow ministerial jobs and further appointments are due this afternoon. In an interview with BBC News , asked if Corbyn could win an election, Miliband, Corbyn’s predecessor as Labour leader, replied:

Absolutely, absolutely. Look, he got re-elected by our party, we’ve got more members than I think we’ve had in 40 or 50 years, he has mobilised party members and people who weren’t party members in a way that even I didn’t do so. Now the task is for all of us to take this out to the country and convince the country.

And I think there has been a change in terms of attitude and will among the parliamentary party since Jeremy’s re-election; I think there’s an acceptance that he won, an acceptance that people have got to work with him and support him.

It doesn’t mean there won’t be disagreements, it doesn’t mean that there will be constant peace, but it does mean there’s a sense that we’ve got to focus on the country not the party.

\* Miliband has described Ed Balls, his former shadow chancellor, as “national treasure” because of his role on Strictly Coming Dancing. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37607769?ns\_mchannel=social&ns\_campaign=bbc\_politics&ns\_source=twitter&ns\_linkname=news\_central]

\* The Scottish government has said that it is backing the building of a third runway at Heathrow. [http://news.scotland.gov.uk/News/Support-for-Heathrow-expansion-2cd7.aspx] Keith Brown, the Scottish government’s economy secretary, said this would “the best deal for Scotland”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.51pm BST

block-time published-time 1.55pm BST

Here is Andrew Cooper, the Conservative pollster, on the Guardian/ICM poll.

enltrLabour 26% support = 8 million \*votes for Socialism\*. 1983 all over again.

— Andrew Cooper (@AndrewCooper\_\_) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AndrewCooper\_\_/status/785459539655155712]block-time published-time 1.12pm BST

Number 10 lobby briefing - Summary My colleague Rowena Mason was at the Number 10 lobby briefing. Here is her summary.

\* The PM’s deputy spokesman said there had been “confusion” over the proposals regarding companies counting up their foreign workers. He said companies may still be asked to provide the proportion of foreign workers they employ but would not be compelled to publish this.

\* He addressed criticism from Tory MPs about the lack of parliamentary scrutiny around the Brexit negotiations by saying it was important that the government does not allow the “blocking the will of the people as expressed in June” but acknowledged the need for some oversight by MPs.

\* No 10 rejected the housing minister Gavin Barwell’s suggestion that people should pass property straight to their grandchildren, [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3830016/Let-inheritance-skip-generation-say-minister.html] saying he made personal comments at a fringe event. He said it was not acceptable for the government to dictate how people write their wills.

\* The spokesman said he was not aware of any plans to review the UK’s relations with Saudi Arabia after the airstrike on a funeral procession at the weekend.

\* The PM will not be commenting on Donald Trump ’s views on women. Her spokesman said: “There is an election taking place in the US. There are two candidates. It is a matter for the US electorate what they do and not the British government .” Pressed on whether Justine Greening was therefore speaking personally when she said it was crass, the spokesman said: “I have said I am not going to comment on Donald Trump . It is a matter for the American electorate.”

block-time published-time 12.59pm BST

Here is a mini Labour reshuffle reading list.

\* George Eaton at the New Statesman says Jeremy Corbyn’s shadow cabinet reshuffle is the most decisive to date. [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/10/jeremy-corbyn-asserts-his-authority-decisive-reshuffle]

\* John McTernan at Heatstreet says the reshuffle shows that Corbyn “intends to bring not peace but a sword to the parliamentary Labour party.” [http://heatst.com/world/john-mcternan-reshuffle-proves-corbyns-in-a-stand-off-with-labour/]

\* Phil BC on his blog defends the reshuffle. [http://averypublicsociologist.blogspot.co.uk/2016/10/understanding-jeremy-corbyns-reshuffle.html]

There’s also precious self-awareness on the PLP’s part about all this. Why, as sceptics and proven opponents were they expecting Jez to reach out? True, all cabinets and shadow cabinets regardless of political colouration and level of government tend to reflect a balance of forces. Ability has to come second, unfortunately. But they’ve already suffered a comprehensive defeat in the party, and from the experience of last year Jeremy has learned that doling out portfolios to people who would undermine you isn’t the best approach to managing matters. Some have returned anyway, and newbies have slotted in, including the much-hyped Keir Starmer in the Brexit brief. Therefore given their track record, and now the breaking of the boycott of the front bench, why from Jez’s perspective should he award them a say over who goes in the top team?

block-time published-time 12.44pm BST

The Press Association points out that, in addition to names I mentioned earlier (see 9.09am [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/10/jeremy-corbyn-labour-rehsuffle-continues-labour-reshuffle-politics-live?page=with:block-57fb42c7e4b03258bcac62a0#block-57fb42c7e4b03258bcac62a0] and 9.51am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/10/jeremy-corbyn-labour-rehsuffle-continues-labour-reshuffle-politics-live?page=with:block-57fb4efce4b0e4aaeaa8dca4#block-57fb4efce4b0e4aaeaa8dca4], there is one more Labour MP who has returned to the front bench having resigned earlier: Paul Blomfield , the new shadow minister for Brexit.

The PA missed him earlier - perhaps because Labour spelt his name wrongly (with two o’s) on its news release last night.

Over the summer 63 Labour MPs resigned from the front bench. [http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/who-labour-resignations-corbyn-brexit-8294813] Now 17 Labour MPs have returned (although one of them, Jonathan Reynolds ), resigned in January, not in the summer. For the record, they are: Jack Dromey , Pat Glass, Emma Lewell-Buck , Sharon Hodgson , Roberta Blackman-Woods , Paul Blomfield , Kevin Brennan , Jenny Chapman , Matthew Pennycook , Nick Thomas-Symonds, Keir Starmer , John Healey , Nia Griffith , Barbara Keeley , Jonathan Reynolds , Andrew Gwynne and Sarah Champion.

UPDATE: Paul Blomfield did resign over the summer, but he resigned from his post as a parliamentary private secretary, not as a shadow minister. So he was not on the front bench, although he would have been considered as part of the payroll vote. So we can say that 17 MPs who resigned have now taken shadow ministerial posts. But only 15 people who resigned as shadow ministers in the summer have rejoined the front bench.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.22pm BST

block-time published-time 12.15pm BST

As my colleagues Rowena Mason and Peter Walker report [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/10/tory-mp-anna-soubry-concerned-rush-hard-brexit], the Conservative MP Stephen Phillips, who voted to leave the EU , is demanding an emergency debate on the subject in the Commons. He believes the government has “no authority or mandate to adopt a negotiating position without reference to the wishes of the house and those of the British people, expressed through their elected representatives”.

Related: Tory MP accuses government of 'tyranny' over Brexit strategy [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/10/tory-mp-anna-soubry-concerned-rush-hard-brexit]

MPs can demand an emergency debate on a topic under standing order 24 [http://news.bbc.co.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/1/hi/uk\_politics/a-z\_of\_parliament/r-s/82027.stm]. The MP makes a short speech making his or her case, and then John Bercow , the Speaker, rules whether or not the emergency debate is granted. We are likely to get that this afternoon.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.14pm BST

block-time published-time 11.52am BST

Guardian/ICM poll gives Tories 17-point post-conference lead Political parties normally expect a modest post-conference bounce in the polls (because, if they are half-competent at PR, they can generally create a large quantity of mostly favourable media coverage) but the Conservatives will be delighted with the latest findings from the regular Guardian/ICM poll. It gives them a 17-point lead.

Here are the new figures, and how they compare to the previous Guardian/ICM polling figures from early September, before the conference season started.

Conservatives: 43% (up 2)

Labour: 26% (down 2)

Ukip: 11% (down 2)

Lib Dems: 8% (down 1)

Greens: 6% (up 2)

The fieldwork was carried out from Friday to Sunday.

The 17-point lead is the joint second highest ever recorded for the Conservatives by ICM in its polling series going back to 1992. They only once got a higher lead (20 points in June 2008, when Gordon Brown was at his most unpopular) although in September and October 2009 they also had a 17-point lead in ICM polls. But Labour did have larger polling leads at various points in the Blair era.

At 26%, the Labour figure is only one point higher than their lowest rating in ICM polling - the 25% they hit in June 2008 and August 2009.

The Conservative conference was dominated by news about Theresa May hardening up her stance on Brexit and the ICM figures suggest this has gone down well with voters. Although the proposal to force firms to reveal what proportion of their workforce is foreign has now been dropped, following a backlash from business, a YouGov poll at the end of last week suggested voters backed the idea by two to one. [https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/10/06/public-backs-plans-make-companies-say-how-many-for/] hardening up her stance on Brexit and the ICM figures suggest this has gone down well with voters. Although the proposal to force firms to reveal what proportion of their workforce is foreign has now been dropped, following a backlash from business,

The Tories may also have benefited from the fall in the Ukip share of the vote. At 11% Ukip are on their lowest level in an ICM poll since the 2015 general election, and this may reflect the damage done to the party’s reputation by the fight in the European parliament on Thursday that left Steven Woolfe MEP hospitalised.

ICM Unlimited interviewed a representative online sample of 2,017 adults aged 18+ on 7-9 th October 2016, and the data has been weighted to the profile of all adults. ICM is a member of the British Polling Council and abides by its rules.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.07pm BST

block-time published-time 11.06am BST

You can read all today’s Guardian politics stories here. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/all]

As for the rest of the papers, here is the Politics Home list of top 10 must-reads [https://www.politicshome.com/must-reads], and here is the ConservativeHome round-up of today’s politics stories. [http://www.conservativehome.com/frontpage/2016/10/newslinks-for-monday-10th-october-2016.html], and here is

And here are two Brexit-related stories worth reading.

\* George Parker and Arash Massoudi in the Financial Times (subscription) say the government plans a new system of vetting foreign takeovers. [https://www.ft.com/content/773a9770-8e34-11e6-8df8-d3778b55a923]

Theresa May is to push ahead with a new system to vet foreign investment in Britain, but has heeded warnings from chancellor Philip Hammond that the country cannot afford to adopt “French-style” protectionism.

The UK prime minister wants the government to be able to intervene in an “orderly and structured” way in sensitive foreign investment and is studying regimes used in other countries such as the US and Australia.

But at a ministerial meeting last month Mr Hammond led a chorus of warnings that any new regime must not undermine Britain’s position as Europe’s top destination for foreign direct investment, particularly with Brexit approaching in 2019.

“We can’t go down the Danone route [https://www.ft.com/content/12d7ac24-2433-11e2-94d0-00144feabdc0],” Mr Hammond said, referring to action taken by the French government a decade ago that appeared to be intended to prevent a takeover of the yoghurt maker Danone .

\* Sam Coates in the Times (paywall) says the CBI has warned about Brexit being a threat to Britain’s “open economy”. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/brexit-risks-closing-door-on-economy-bosses-warn-9ksg7n5x8]

The leader of Britain’s biggest business group has warned Theresa May that she risks “closing the door” on an open economy with her **immigration** clampdown and Brexit policy.

Carolyn Fairbairn , director-general of the CBI, issued the stark message in an interview with The Times as the government climbed down on its plan to name businesses thought to be relying too heavily on foreign workers...

Ms Fairbairn, who took over at the CBI last year, said: “What we have heard over the last few days, if you add up the messages in total, are signs that the door is being closed, to an extent, on the open economy, that has helped fuel investment. It’s very clear from conversations we are having that the world is watching. International investors are watching. Companies here are watching. And they are reading a lot into the signals of this government about how committed they are to creating a strong economy.”

block-time published-time 10.37am BST

Anna Soubry was followed on the Today programme by Peter Lilley , the Conservative former cabinet minster and strong Brexiteer. He said that MPs like Soubry who were demanding a Commons vote on Brexit were just sore losers who did not accept that parliament would in time vote on this. He told the programme:

They’re all remain voters who are rather reluctant to admit they’ve lost. They pretend they admit they’ve lost but they still want us to remain subject to European law.

block-time published-time 10.32am BST

On the Today programme this morning Anna Soubry , the Conservative pro-European MP, made the same argument that Ed Miliband has just been making on BBC News just now - that the Commons should have a vote on the terms of Brexit. She told the programme:

We are in grave danger of extrapolating from a very clear referendum on whether or not we’re going to stay in or out, we’re extrapolating from that all sorts of things, including **immigration** and including further restrictions on students, by way of example. This is the danger we are in, this over-extrapolation. It is not good for our country and it is not the way we go forward.

This is precisely why we do need to take the debate into parliament and not see it as having a vote at this stage or that stage, but just beginning at least to know what are the guiding principles as we now leave the European Union . That’s what we seek to achieve.

block-time published-time 10.25am BST

It’s Ed Miliband v Ed Balls on 24-hour news at the moment.

Miliband is on the BBC ’s Victoria Derbyshire show, where he has just said the Commons should vote on Brexit.

enltrA Commons vote on any Brexit deal is not about trying to reverse referendum result says Ed Miliband @VictoriaLIVE [https://twitter.com/VictoriaLIVE]

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/785406929380184064]enltrGovt needs the mandate of Parliament over any Brexit deal -Ed Miliband over any Brexit deal - @VictoriaLIVE [https://twitter.com/VictoriaLIVE]enltrGovt needs the mandate of Parliament over any Brexit deal -Ed Miliband over any Brexit deal -

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/785407586292101120]enltrEd Miliband calls for Govt to publish White Paper on Brexit deal and put to a vote of Commons @VictoriaLIVE [https://twitter.com/VictoriaLIVE]enltrEd Miliband calls for Govt to publish White Paper on Brexit deal and put to a vote of Commons

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/785407728533512192]He also said that Labour could win an election under Jeremy Corbyn .

enltrEd Miliband asked if Jeremy Corbyn can win a general election: "Absolutely, absolutely."

— John Ashmore (@smashmorePH) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/smashmorePH/status/785409541420777473]Asked if he was invited to join the shadow cabinet, Miliband said he “was not invited formally”. Miliband said he was happy to remain a backbencher, but he did not rule out returning to the front bench in the future.

And Balls, of course, has been talking to Sky about Strictly.

enltrEd Balls says he has stopped eating Wotsits and started dancing on trains https://t.co/5UiI2uGMtT [https://t.co/5UiI2uGMtT] pic.twitter.com/bRvF1vtWbg [https://t.co/bRvF1vtWbg]

— Total Politics (@TotalPolitics) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/TotalPolitics/status/785408585559838721]block-time published-time 9.51am BST

Corbyn's shadow cabinet For the record, here is the full list of Jeremy Corbyn ’s new shadow cabinet, released by Labour late on Friday afternoon.

Leader of the Opposition – Rt. Hon. Jeremy Corbyn MP

Shadow Foreign Secretary – Emily Thornberry MP

Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer – John McDonnell MP

Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury – Rebecca Long-Bailey MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union – Sir Keir Starmer MP

Shadow Home Secretary – Diane Abbott MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Business – Clive Lewis MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Education – Angela Rayner MP

Shadow Secretary of State for International Trade – Barry Gardiner MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Defence – Nia Griffith MP

Shadow Lord President of the Council and National Elections and Campaigns Co-ordinator – Jon Trickett MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions – Debbie Abrahams MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Health – Jonathan Ashworth MP

Shadow Secretary of State for International Development – Kate Osamor MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Transport – Andy McDonald MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government – Teresa Pearce MP (standing in for Grahame Morris MP, who is on leave)

Shadow Secretary of State for Justice – Richard Burgon MP

Shadow Attorney General – Baroness Shami Chakrabarti

Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport – Tom Watson MP

Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs – Rachael Maskell MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Scotland and Northern Ireland – Dave Anderson MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Wales – Jo Stevens MP

Shadow Secretary of State for Housing – Rt. Hon. John Healey MP

Shadow Minister for Women and Equalities – Sarah Champion MP

Shadow Minister for Diverse Communities – Dawn Butler MP

Shadow Minister for Voter Engagement and Youth Affairs – Cat Smith MP

Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office – Ian Lavery MP

Shadow Minister for Mental Health and Social Care – Barbara Keeley MP

Shadow Minister without Portfolio – Andrew Gwynne MP

Shadow Leader of the House – Valerie Vaz MP

This list includes five MPs who resigned from the front bench in the summer and who have now returned: Nia Griffith, John Healey , Andrew Gwynne , Barbara Keeley and Sir Keir Starmer . In addition, Sarah Champion resigned over the summer, but announced before Corbyn’s re-election that she was coming back. And it has also been confirmed that Jonathan Reynolds is taking up the post of shadow city minister. He also previously resigned from the front bench, but in January, not in the summer.

So, by my count, including the nine (see 9.09am plus update [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/10/jeremy-corbyn-labour-rehsuffle-continues-labour-reshuffle-politics-live?page=with:block-57fb42c7e4b03258bcac62a0#block-57fb42c7e4b03258bcac62a0] ) MPs on yesterday’s list, Corbyn has now persuaded 16 Labour MPs to return.

block-time published-time 9.24am BST

David Davis to make Commons statement on Brexit There will be a statement in the Commons today on Brexit, the Labour Whips Twitter feed has announced. David Davis , the Brexit secretary, will deliver it, and his new Labour shadow, Sir Keir Starmer , will respond.

enltrThere will be a Brexit Statement today in @HouseofCommons [https://twitter.com/HouseofCommons] from @DavidDavisMP [https://twitter.com/DavidDavisMP] with @Keir\_Starmer [https://twitter.com/Keir\_Starmer] for @UKLabour [https://twitter.com/UKLabour] for

— Labour Whips (@labourwhips) October 10, 2016 [https://twitter.com/labourwhips/status/785395150289862656]block-time published-time 9.09am BST

Jeremy Corbyn has acquired a reputation for holding reshuffles that run for almost as long as The Mousetrap and the current one, which started on Thursday, is still underway. We are told we will get some new names later today. Having finalised his shadow cabinet at the end of last week, late yesterday afternoon Corbyn announced 21 other frontbench appointments. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/09/conor-mcginn-holly-lynch-labour-mps-whips-resign-rosie-winterton] For the record, here is the full list.

Shadow Minister for Labour – Jack Dromey MP

Shadow Minister for Industrial Strategy – Chi Onwurah MP

Shadow Minister for Transport - Pat Glass MP

Shadow Minister for Children and Families - Emma Lewell-Buck MP

Shadow Minister for Public Health - Sharon Hodgson MP

Shadow Minister for Early Years - Tulip Siddiq MP

Shadow Minister for Communities and Local Government - Gareth Thomas MP

Shadow Minister for Communities and Local Government - Kate Hollern MP

Shadow Minister for Local Government and Housing - Roberta Blackman-Woods MP

Shadow Minister for Local Government and Devolution - Jim McMahon MP

Shadow Minister - Department of Work and Pensions - Margaret Greenwood MP

Shadow Minister for Arts and Heritage and Deputy Secretary of State DCMS - Kevin Brennan MP

Shadow Minister for the Digital Economy - Louise Haigh MP

Shadow Minister for Sport - Rosena Allin-Khan MP

Shadow Minister for Brexit - Jenny Chapman MP

Shadow Minister for Brexit - Matthew Pennycook MP

Shadow Minister for Brexit - Paul Bloomfield MP

Shadow Solicitor General - Nick Thomas- Symonds MP

Shadow Minister for Home Affairs - Carolyn Harris MP

Shadow Minister for Justice - Yasmin Qureshi MP

Shadow Community Health Minister - Julie Cooper MP

During the Labour conference Corbyn said that “lots” of MPs who resigned over the summer because they had lost confidence in his leadership would be returning. At the end of last week, when the new shadow cabinet list was published, it contained only a handful of returnees, but nine of the people on this list are MP who resigned and are coming back. They are: Jack Dromey , Pat Glass, Sharon Hodgson , Roberta Blackman-Woods , Kevin Brennan , Jenny Chapman , Matthew Pennycook , Nick Thomas-Symonds and Emma Lewell-Buck .

I will post more on the reshuffle as it emerges.

Otherwise, Brexit is likely to dominate. Theresa May is visiting Denmark and the Netherlands and, with the Commons returning, it is possible that we may get an urgent question on Brexit.

Here is the agenda for the day.

11am: Number 10 lobby briefing.

Lunchtime: Theresa May arrives in Copenhagen for a meeting with the Danish prime minster, Lars Lokke Rasmussen .

Afternoon: May arrives at the Hague for a meeting with the Dutch prime minister, Mark Rutte .

Afternoon: Further details of the Labour reshuffle are due to be announced.

3.30pm: Possible urgent question on Brexit.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

UPDATE: Louise Haigh was included earlier in the list of 10 Labour MPs returning to the front bench. But, although she spoke out against Corbyn publicly in the summer, [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/21/jeremy-corbyn-labour-owen-smith-leader] she did not actually resign from the front bench, according to a Labour source. So there are nine returning Labour MPs on the list.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.15am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**People power, not politicians, led the fight against intolerance in the 1970s. We need that grassroots spirit again

To quote those legendary Englishmen the Beatles, it was 20 years ago today [http://genius.com/The-beatles-sgt-peppers-lonely-hearts-club-band-lyrics] (or thereabouts). In autumn 1996, the Tory-run Department of National Heritage issued a press release featuring the term “Cool Britannia” [http://news.bbc.co.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/1/hi/uk\_politics/6557625.stm]. Tony Blair and the prime movers of New Labour were already on that political wavelength. In his conference speech the previous year, Blair had said that he aspired to make Britain “a young country … with a common purpose, ideals we cherish and live up to … ready for the day’s challenge: ambitious, idealistic, united”. By the following year, a new Labour government was working on nothing less than “the rebranding of Britain”. Now, ruinously, we have been rebranded again.

Related: Walls Come Tumbling Down by Daniel Rachel review – where have all the political musicians gone? [https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/sep/28/walls-come-tumbling-down-daniel-rachel-review]

This time it is all about England. As the UK continues to fracture and Scotland goes its own way, England is the country that media people and politicians might still rarely mention by name, but which completely dominates the post-referendum foreground. In this context, England is the nation for which Theresa May claims to speak, and which preoccupies many Labour politicians: a country of hardcore Brexit supporters, St George’s flags hung out on Kent housing estates – and, to paraphrase Blair [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/may/23/labour.tonyblair], **immigration**, **immigration**, **immigration**. In contrast to that bright 1990s vision of a future UK, it is, moreover, an old country, whose dotage is portrayed as a matter of crabby resentment, a place where there is a collective wish to lock all the doors.

This newly rebranded place underpinned one of the key plot lines that ran through this year’s conference season. In Liverpool, for all Jeremy Corbyn ’s claims to be “relaxed” about **immigration** [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/28/jeremy-corbyn-immigration-labour-conference-speech-live/], some of his own MPs were voicing a sudden hostility to the principle of free movement, which peaked when the Leeds MP Rachel Reeves said **immigration** had turned her Leeds constituency into a “tinderbox” [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/28/labour-can-win-immigration-enoch-powell-rachel-reeves]. A week later came all that Tory nastiness in Birmingham, with a serving home secretary floating serious plans to make companies declare the number of non-British workers on their books, a monstrous illiberal idea that Tories were , amid much furore, forced to abandon [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/09/plan-to-force-firms-to-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers-abandoned]. But there was also Jeremy Hunt, with the support of the prime minister, boasting of his plan, which apparently endures, to minimise the numbers of foreign doctors. This was an English proposal in every way: aimed at an English audience by a minister who, thanks to devolution, sees only to the English NHS .

It was telling perhaps, that as the Labour party fumbled, the most pointed response came from a trio of voices that included the leaders of the UK’s two progressive nationalist parties: Nicola Sturgeon and Plaid Cymru’s Leanne Wood, who joined the Greens’ Caroline Lucas in rightly decrying “the most toxic rhetoric on **immigration** we have seen from any government in living memory”.

We are in a bad place, but we didn’t get there overnight. Over the past 10 years or so, a small set of English people and organisations have led the toxic recasting of their country. Nigel Farage and his de facto English nationalist party didn’t just push the EU to the top of the political agenda, they also created the impression that they spoke for a forgotten nation. And then there were the English grassroots Conservatives, most of whom raged against David Cameron ’s modernisation drive, such as it was. A big role has also been played by the great minds at those self-consciously English media outlets, the Mail and the Express. Witness the Mail’s “Who will speak for England?” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/04/who-will-speak-for-england-asks-the-daily-mail-and-twitter-answers] front page, used this year to open its campaigning against the EU .

What distinguishes the point we have reached today is that this poisonous illiberalism, this recasting of the way we view ourselves and the face we show to the world, has been given an official stamp of approval by a group of shameless Tory politicians at the top. Seemingly they are terrified of the people who voted for Brexit, but also they scent a great political opportunity. Shame on them, and their cynicism.

The liberal left also shares responsibility for leaving the question of what England is to more destructive voices

People on the liberal left also have to bear some responsibility, for averting their eyes from the essentially cultural elements of politics, and leaving the question of what England is to altogether more destructive voices. England, after all, is not just the Brexit heartlands. Its other aspects are there in Leeds, Bradford and Manchester; in mischievous, multicultural Bristol; and Leicester, a magnificent English city that represents hope for the future, and people’s ability to get on. London speaks for itself. And there is another England beginning to stir in the supposedly staid suburbs (like the one I grew up in, 12 miles south of Manchester), areas fast filling up with a diverse array of people who have moved beyond the city limits.

Even in the places for which May and the Tories now affect to speak, things are more complicated than they seem to think. I have met plenty of English Brexit supporters who have expressed worries about **immigration** while paying warm tribute to Poles, Czechs and people from the Baltic states as admirable “grafters”, and assets to the places where they have settled. Their kids mix with new arrivals at the local schools, where the children of migrants acquire local accents. Where some people do indeed shout and seethe about **immigration**, one can nonetheless divine the country that led George Orwell, among others, to celebrate its essential moderation and gentleness (“You notice it the instant you set foot on English soil. It is a land where the bus conductors are good-tempered and the policemen carry no revolvers”).

These things need to be loudly celebrated, and talked about in specifically English terms. But when politicians will not recognise England’s existence, let alone the fight for its soul, how will that happen? Those of us who live in England and feel a profound attachment to it ought to wake up to a simple truth: that our country is being stolen away, and repainted in truly ugly colours. What is afoot is as much cultural as political, and it will take much more than conventional politics to turn things round. This is a moment: one that demands the attention of musicians, writers, dramatists, journalists – and the millions of people in England who surely feel a deep dismay about what is happening.

And if we want the beginnings of an idea about what to do, we could look back not to the giddy, superficial 1990s, but to a much more troubled period: the late 1970s, when a surge of largely English racism and bigotry was killed off by trailblazing creations such as Rock Against Racism [https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/sep/06/rock-against-racism-book-syd-shelton-clash] and the Anti-Nazi League, and a great counter-movement – a movement of people that went right to society’s roots. I do not know what form a 21st-century version of that fight will look like, but I do know we need one. To paraphrase that great Englishman Billy Bragg, we ought to be looking for a New England. That feels now like a matter of urgency.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Operation Sovereign Borders co-author defends hardline policy and conditions on Nauru, saying it has ‘medical facilities that most Australian towns would give their right arm for’

The co-author of Operation Sovereign Borders says that “every Australian should be extraordinarily proud of” the **immigration** policy and defended the “extraordinary medical facilities” on the island, claiming “most Australian towns would give their right arm” for similar services.

Jim Molan, a retired major general, said on Monday night’s episode of Q&A the border security operation was a “pro-migration policy”.

Appearing on an episode of the ABC panel show which discussed Australia’s **refugee** policy and possible alternatives, Molan said offshore processing was the hardest part of the policy to maintain but there were “choices for those on Nauru and Manus”.

Related: The Nauru files: cache of 2,000 leaked reports reveal scale of abuse of children in Australian offshore detention[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention]

“If you’re a **refugee**, then you settle in those countries, or other countries that will take you. If you’re not a **refugee**, you go home.”

Molan – the only person on the panel in support of offshore processing – questioned the testimony of Dr Anna Neistat, a doctor with Amnesty International in London, that the conditions of **refugees** on Nauru was “one of the worst” she had ever seen.

Neistat said “the whole world” knew about the devastating effects of the policy on detainees’ physical and mental health, citing the suicides, attempted suicides, self-immolation and self-harms[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] that were “daily occurrences” on Nauru and Manus.

She questioned whether the success of the policy was dependent on subjecting people to “enormous levels of suffering and essentially keeping them hostages”.

Does the success of this policy depend on subjecting people to suffering? @Jim\_Molan[https://twitter.com/Jim\_Molan] & Shen Narayanasamy #QandA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/QandA?src=hash] https://t.co/EDVqkfTG7j[https://t.co/EDVqkfTG7j] — ABC Q&A (@QandA) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/QandA/status/785434239734996992]

Molan said while he had not visited Nauru himself, he was convinced “that if you go to Nauru you will find the most extraordinary medical facilities that most Australian towns would give their right arm for”.

He said he had been to Manus Island and said “we are so far ahead of **refugee** camps throughout the world that it is not funny”.

Shen Narayanasamy, the human rights campaign director for GetUp and the founder of No Business in Abuse[https://www.nobusinessinabuse.org/], said corporations tasked with running the processing centres were pulling out[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/01/wilson-security-to-withdraw-from-australias-offshore-detention-centres] because of “overwhelming” evidence of mistreatment and abuse.

She had earlier remarked on the “incredible secrecy” of Operation Sovereign Borders, pointing to doctors’ high court challenges against gag laws.

But Huy Truong, a former **refugee** turned businessman and philanthropist, challenged Molan’s point that medical facilities were more crucial to a **refugee** holding facility than “the sense of hope and direction”.

Related: Offshore detention’s callous, brutal bureaucracy damns itself | Ben Doherty[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/11/offshore-detention-australia-secret-exposed-nauru-files]

“You can be in a five-star luxury hotel but if you feel like you are locked in and not going anywhere and you have no idea when you will leave, I think the despair and depression that would be associated with that would far outweigh living in a camp.”

Truong had made his own journey to Australia from Vietnam with his family after the Indochina War in 1978. They tried to reach Darwin from Indonesia on three separate occasions; each time, their boat took on too much water and they had to turn back.

He said he had “enormous sympathy” for the argument that asylum seekers risked their lives by attempting to reach Australia by water, but that those risks were relative.

“We knew the risks, but the risks of persecution... The risk of staying versus getting onto a boat – you were faced with that real choice to make. I almost guarantee, particularly if you’re a parent, that you know which choice you’ll make. You’ll take the risk and get on the boat.”

A sense of hope was worth more than physical comforts. Restarting our lives in safe haven, says Huy Truong #QandA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/QandA?src=hash] https://t.co/9ryk4YlTJM[https://t.co/9ryk4YlTJM] — ABC Q&A (@QandA) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/QandA/status/785435161471037440]

Truong said there was a “sense of hope” during his own time at the **refugee** camp in Jakarta, where he and his family awaited processing by the UNHCR.

“We knew in weeks and months we would be processed and we knew where we were going,” he said. “That was worth more than anything relative to the physical comforts that a camp might produce.”

He “couldn’t imagine the trauma” that would come with indefinite detainment as was the case on Nauru and Manus Island.

Australia’s offshore processing policies came with a significant monetary cost, as well as a human one, the panel heard.

Professor Jane McAdam, the director of the Kaldor Centre for International **Refugee** Law at the University of New South Wales, said offshore processing and Operation Sovereign Borders cost Australia the same amount from 2014-16 as the United Nations’ **refugee** agency had spent on 50m displaced people.

Related: 'We are the forgotten people': the anguish of Australia's 'invisible' asylum seekers[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/apr/13/we-are-the-forgotten-people-the-anguish-of-australias-invisible-asylum-seekers]

“That is the kind of money we’re spending to stop people who need safety and assistance from getting it, and instead that money could be so much better spent to assist people to actually find safe ways to bring them here.”

But in response to McAdam’s point that asylum seekers needed a “safe, lawful pathway” to Australia, Molan said there was one already – “and it is being exercised each and every day”.

He said indefinite detainment on Nauru and Manus “was not the issue”.

“I’ve never met anyone in our system who wants to hold them there for one second longer... Perhaps there will be no need for either of the two islands to be functional by 2018,” Molan said.

Even beyond offshore processing, the limbo being endured by approximately 30,000 asylum seekers in Australia on bridging visas was “perhaps the worst cruelty you could visit upon any person”, said McAdam.

Audience member Shukufa Tahiri, who was born into a Hazara family in Afghanistan[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/video/2016/sep/10/dear-australia-shukufa-tahiri-on-how-refugees-are-targeted-by-rhetoric-video] and who followed her father to Australia as a **refugee** in 2006, said “the lack of certainty and prolonged delays in certainty” that came with temporary visas were driving cases of self-harm and suicide.

With the current suicide toll, is it worth such mistreatment of asylum seekers? @Jim\_Molan[https://twitter.com/Jim\_Molan] & Huy Truong #QandA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/QandA?src=hash] https://t.co/qmN930XYs5[https://t.co/qmN930XYs5] — ABC Q&A (@QandA) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/QandA/status/785444321109565440]

Molan said he “did not connect the two”.

“This is not an academic activity for me.... There is a cost but it works. It has saved lives and it has restored the faith of the Australian people in their migration policy.”

He said he had not been persuaded to reconsider his stance.

“Operation Sovereign Borders, going into the future, is the new normal... No one should ever think that Australia is not doing its bit.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Party will invite all MPs to sign on to code echoing initiative advanced by ALP and Australian Democrats in period Pauline Hanson was last in parliament

The Labor caucus on Tuesday will consider a proposal for a new code of race ethics[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/23/code-of-race-ethics-proposed-for-parliament-to-counter-rise-of-one-nation], echoing an initiative advanced by the ALP and the Australian Democrats during the period Pauline Hanson was last in parliament.

In a meeting on Tuesday morning widely expected to torpedo the Turnbull government’s proposed marriage equality plebiscite, the Labor caucus is also expected to endorse the new parliamentary code of conduct, before issuing an invitation to all MPs in the 45th parliament to sign on.

The draft wording of the code, seen by Guardian Australia, covers eight principles including one very high bar – that MPs agree “to speak and write in a manner which provides factual commentary on a foundation of truth about all issues being debated in the community and the parliament”.

Related: Minister flags defunding plebiscite campaigns in return for Labor support – as it happened[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/live/2016/oct/10/pauline-hanson-backs-malcolm-turnbulls-country-fire-authority-bill-politics-live]

As well as the requirement to be truthful, the code would require signatories to “act in a manner which upholds the honour of public office and the parliament”.

The code encompasses respect for the religious and cultural beliefs of all groups living within Australia in accordance with the universal declaration of human rights, and it says the signatory will “uphold principles of justice and tolerance within our multicultural society, making efforts to generate understanding of all minority groups”.

The code also requires signatories to “recognise and value diversity as an integral part of Australia’s social and economic future; to help without discrimination all persons seeking assistance”; and “encourage the partnership of government and non-government organisations in leading constructive and informed debate in the community”.

It also references a recognition of the significance of Indigenous culture “and to promote reconciliation with and constitutional recognition of Indigenous Australians.”

The code is being pursued by the shadow attorney general, Mark Dreyfus, who says it will send a signal about the tenor of the new parliament.

Related: Confronting the appeal of Pauline Hanson - Australian politics live podcast[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/audio/2016/sep/23/confronting-challenge-pauline-hanson-australian-politics-live-podcast]

The previous code of race ethics was pursued by the then Labor senator Margaret Reynolds and the Democrat senator John Woodley in 1996, prompted by concern about the debate on racism that erupted in that year’s election campaign. The Reynolds/Woodley initiative ultimately won support from 54% of federal parliamentarians.

Caucus debate on the code follows the passage of a bipartisan motion on Monday which denounced “racial intolerance in any form” and reaffirmed Australia’s commitment to a non-discriminatory **immigration** policy.

Monday’s parliamentary debate followed Pauline Hanson’s declaration in her first speech to the Senate in mid-September, that Australia was in danger of being swamped by Muslims[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban], and an Essential poll that found 49% of Australians supported One Nation’s call for a ban on Muslim **immigration**.

The prime minister told parliament Islamist terrorists had succeeded in raising levels of anxiety about Muslim **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/21/race-discrimination-commissioner-criticises-pauline-hanson-for-stoking-division] and about the role of Islam within Australia, but he argued political leaders had to reassure and “explain the facts” rather than add to disunity.

In his contribution to Monday’s debate the Labor leader, Bill Shorten, contended with Hansonism more explicitly, declaring Australia was not in danger of being “swamped” by anyone.

Politicians, he said, needed to “do more than mouth words of respect – we must thoroughly and publicly reject racism”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Home secretary says initial effort will focus on safeguarding unaccompanied children as French camp closes

British and French ministers are close to a deal to safeguard or bring to the UK hundreds of unaccompanied **refugee** children as France prepares to close the Calais camp, the home secretary, Amber Rudd, has told MPs.

Rudd said after a two-hour meeting on Monday with her French counterpart, Bernard Cazeneuve, that the official effort would focus initially on safeguarding children aged 12 and under. She said: “We are expecting to reach agreement. When the camp clearances take place in the next few weeks we will be working very closely with the French.”

The home secretary said that the French authorities had agreed to verify by the end of this week a list of 387 child **refugees** with a legal right to come to the UK, drawn up by the campaign group Citizens UK.“Once we have that official list we will move quickly within days and remove very quickly those children,” she said.

Rudd said that as many children as possible with direct family links in Britain would be brought to the UK under the Dublin convention before the Calais camp was closed while the rest would be transferred during the rest of the operation.

There are thought to be nearly 1,000 unaccompanied children in the Calais camp at present.

She added that she pressed the French minister to ensure that those lone child **refugees** who qualified to be brought to the UK under the “Dubs amendment” would be moved to safe facilities when the camp was cleared while their cases were rapidly considered.

MPs on all sides welcomed the home secretary’s apparent new sense of urgency on the issue. She promised that bureaucracy would no longer hamper the government’s determination to help the lone child **refugees** in the camp. A second Home Office asylum expert is to be sent to France and an official-level contact group has been set up between the two governments to deal with the situation. In London a dedicated Home Office team has been set up within its “Dublin unit” to process the transfers.

Rudd refused to put a figure on the number of child **refugees** who were likely to be brought to Britain as a result of the expected deal or give a likely timetable, saying it would only help the people traffickers. She did however tell the Daily Mail in an interview published on Monday that if 300 child **refugees** came to the UK that would be “a really good result”.

The French have also refused to name a specific date on their planned clearance of the **refugee** camp in Calais but it is expected that its closure will rapidly follow the agreement between the French and British over the fate of the near-1,000 unaccompanied child asylum seekers believed to be in the camp.

MPs on all sides also pressed Rudd to accelerate the process and provide a dedicated safe children’s centre in Calais.

Officials from the main French children’s charity working in Calais started a census of all the children currently based in the camp on Monday. The registration of all children was expected to take two days and will be used to verify the original list of 387 children with a legal right to go to the UK provided to the Home Office on 2 September.

The Calais prefecture asked the organisation France Terre d’Asile to conduct a census of all minors, collecting names and ages of all the children currently living in the camp.

Although Citizens UK and the local charity l’Auberge des Migrants, have previously counted and made unofficial registers of the children, the population is very fluid, with some children leaving and new children arriving every day. A spokesperson from theFrance Terre d’Asile said it would not comment on its findings until the census was complete.

Mary Jones, who runs the Kids Cafe in the camp, where approximately 200 unaccompanied children receive free food daily, said she had been told to expect representatives from the charity on Monday to begin making a list of minors. “If they are focused on under-12s, there are very few of them. The youngest, an eight-year-old, made his way to the UK at the weekend,” she said.

The campaigner and actor Juliet Stevenson, representing Citizens UK’s Safe Passage project in Calais, said she welcomed the government’s announcement that it was willing to take in some of the unaccompanied children from the camp in Calais.

“However, they need to do it much faster. Much faster,” she said. “Every night unaccompanied children are risking their lives trying to reach the UK, and the imminent threat of the demolition of the camp is only making them more desperate.

“Three unaccompanied children have died already this year trying to reach the UK from Calais. The government needs to respond appropriately to the urgency of this situation. It must work with the French to safeguard unaccompanied children in the camp immediately, and in the longer term, work to ensure these children have proper access to their legal rights,” she said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**London proposes working with Dublin to strengthen external borders in order to combat illegal migration into UK

The Irish government has signalled support for UK plans to shift the frontline of **immigration** controls to Ireland’s ports and airports[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/09/britain-to-push-post-brexit-uk-immigration-controls-back-to-irish-border] post-Brexit in an attempt to avoid a “hard border” between the north and the south.

The republic’s finance minister, Michael Noonan, said neither the Irish nor the UK government wanted a hard border once Northern Ireland has left the EUalongside the rest of Britain.

Related: Post-Brexit world could see Ireland carrying out Britain’s passport checks[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/09/ireland-could-carry-out-britain-passport-checks-post-brexit]

He told the Irish Times[http://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/government-agreeable-to-using-irish-ports-and-airports-to-control-immigration-to-uk-1.2823763] : “If you do not have a border going from Newry, going across, dividing Sligo and Donegal from the northern counties, the next step is to have controls at the ports. That would mean Rosslare and Larne [sea ports] and the airports, but that wouldn’t be much more than the normal checks we have at airports already, where you show your passport.”

Frances Fitzgerald, the Irish deputy prime minister, said her government was agreeable to the plan, adding there was “not anything surprising” in the proposals.

Earlier James Brokenshire, the UK’s Northern Ireland secretary, said London and Dublin would work together to strengthen Ireland’s external borders in order to combat illegal migration into the UK once it leaves the EU.

However, some Irish politicians said the notion of using Irish ports and airports to control **immigration** into the UK was “ridiculous”.

Matt Carty, an Irish MEP, said British **immigration** problems should be the least of Ireland’s worries, given economic and social turmoil caused directly by the referendum result.

He said: “The Irish government and a succession of its representative have been deferential to the British government from time to time. What we are saying is that this is not an occasion for this. We need to be pointing out the needs of this island and making demands for the Irish people. It is not their job to be pushing for the wishes of the British government.”

Carty said British **immigration** controls were the smallest of the problems to have arisen from the June referendum. “Brexit has presented a huge amount of challenges for the Irish government in terms of the trading relationship with Britain both to the UK and between Northern Ireland and Ireland. To add on the task of **immigration** controls, I think is ridiculous.

“This island will suffer more than anyone else … because of Brexit in terms of the economy, the social issues and the political issues.”

Carty, who lives in the border town of Carrickmacross and is the Sinn Féin MEP for the Midlands North-West constituency of Ireland, said any hardening of the border would have a devastating effect on communities.

About 34,000 people cross the border each day, whether commuting for work, shopping or travelling to college and universities.

“Where I come from there are 12 roads into the north. The idea that these are going to be patrolled by the British army are slim. They couldn’t seal the border at the height of the Troubles so it is unlikely now. But that is not the point. Any hardening of the border on this island is unwelcome,” said Carty.

The former taoiseach John Bruton recently warned of the “incalculable consequences” that Brexit would have on trade.

“The underlying assumption of the Good Friday agreement … was that both parts of Ireland would be included in a zone of free movement of goods and people, an assumption that is in the process of being unilaterally reversed by the UK side’s decision to leave that zone. Brexit will thus devastate trade flows, and human contact, within Ireland, with incalculable consequences,” he said in an article in the Financial Times[https://www.ft.com/content/30dabf70-2f1c-11e6-bf8d-26294ad519fc].

Britain is Ireland’s largest export partner, with €1.3bn a week traded between the two countries. The collapse of sterling since the referendum has devastated small businesses, who have seen the cost of exporting rise by as much as 17%.

It has also seen a return to booming cross-border trade, with Irish shoppers travelling to the north for cheaper goods including petrol, clothing and footwear and groceries.

The measures mooted by Brokenshire are aimed primarily at controlling non-EU citizens using Ireland as a gateway to Britain.

Mairead McGuinness, a Fine Gael MEP for the same constituency as Carty’s, told RTE radio in Dublin that the question of **immigration** controls post-Brexit was conjecture as no one knew what Britain wanted.

Sources close to the Irish government say they do not feel it is a significant issue currently. They are also relaxed about the notion that EU citizens might come to Dublin and then cross the EU border into Northern Ireland as a means of getting illegal access to the UK.

“In our experience EU migrants want to work. They would not be seeking work in Northern Ireland because it isn’t there and if they tried to fly out of Belfast or get the Ferry in Larne they would be subjected to British border controls and would be stuck,” said the source.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Amman announces plan to get supplies to about 75,000 people stranded at border

More than 70,000 Syrian **refugees** who are stranded in dire conditions on the Jordanian border could be about to receive long-awaited aid after an announcement by Jordan’s government of plans to use a crane to deliver supplies.

Related: Epidemic warning over 'ghost' **refugees** stuck at Jordan-Syria border[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/ghost-refugees-stuck-jordan-border-syria-disease-aid-workers-say]

Jordan first shut its border to **refugees** fleeing the Syrian civil war in mid-2014. About 75,000 Syrians have since been trapped in no-man’s land, unable to either enter Jordan or return to Syria.

Aid groups managed to deliver food and supplies by lorry until June this year when Jordan sealed the border to all traffic after a car bomb in the area. In the four months since, **refugees** at the “berm” – as the border fortifications are known – have been virtually without humanitarian aid[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/ghost-refugees-stuck-jordan-border-syria-disease-aid-workers-say].

Without formal shelter, **refugees** had dug holes in the ground to escape a Russian bombing raid. At the height of summer, when temperatures reached 50C (122F), Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) said those at the berm were experiencing “some of the most extreme conditions on Earth”.

But there was a glimmer of hope on Monday when the Jordanian government said aid could be delivered without opening the border – by using a crane to regularly lift supplies over the berm, or sandy ridge.

Aid groups in Jordan told the Guardian that nothing had been confirmed. But Mohammed Momani, a government spokesman, said in interviews with the Jordanian Times[http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/jordan-allows-aid-delivery-cranes-berm-refugees] and the Associated Press[http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/jordan-permit-regular-aid-drops-crane-syrians-42694612] that a plan had been set in motion.

“The new mechanism will be delivering aid on the berm through cranes, and the aid will be given to community leaders of groups of Syrians so they can distribute it accordingly,” he told AP. Aid was previously delivered using a crane once in August.

If the plan goes ahead, the aid could alleviate a dire humanitarian situation on the border, where Amnesty International says[https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/09/syria-jordan-border-75000-refugees-trapped-in-desert-no-mans-land-in-dire-conditions/] disease is now rifeowing to the absence of medical care since the start of summer.

Several people have died of hepatitis, and satellite footage obtained by Amnesty[https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/09/syria-jordan-border-75000-refugees-trapped-in-desert-no-mans-land-in-dire-conditions/] last month showed **refugees** had begun to create makeshift burial grounds in which to inter the corpses. “Many people have died,” one **refugee** at the border told the charity. “The humanitarian situation is very bad, the situation of children in particular is very bad. We have drinking water but hardly any food or milk … [it] is awful.”

The situation highlights the worsening prospects for displaced Syrians hoping to reach safety outside their home country. In the early years of the Syrian war, **refugees** could easily flee to neighbouring countries, with about 2.5 million escaping to Turkey, 1.2 million to Lebanon and more than 650,000 to Jordan. Syrian **refugees** now make up about a fifth of Lebanon’s population and a 10th of Jordan’s.

But as the war dragged on, Middle Eastern countries gradually shut their borders, particularly once it became clear that western countries would not share the responsibility by resettling significant numbers in Europe and north America.

Syrian **refugees** must now choose between living under regime rule; fleeing to **refugee** camps in rebel territory, which have at times been overrun by jihadis or bombed by the government[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/06/syrian-refugee-camp-bombing-airstrikes-sarmada-un-msf] ; or risk being shot on the Turkish border[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/01/turkey-safe-haven-refugees-shoots-border-illegal-deportations-syrians] as they smuggle themselves across.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**All the day’s economic and financial news, as sterling comes under fresh pressurePound down in early tradingSpeculators take record short positionsAnalyst: pound faces ‘perfect storm’Nobel prize for economics awarded

block-time published-time 1.17pm BST

Right, time for a break after this morning’s double-dose of live blog action.

We’ll be back later if anything sensational occurs.....

block-time published-time 1.14pm BST

The pound has dipped back below the $1.24 mark again.

This comes after the government told reporters that MPs won’t be asked to vote on the Brexit issue.

Reuters has the details:

The British government said on Monday that holding a second vote in parliament on the country’s exit from the European Union would not be acceptable, but that lawmakers would have a role to play in scrutinising the Brexit process.

“Parliament is of course going to debate and scrutinise that process as it goes on. That is absolutely necessary and the right thing to do,” a spokesman for Prime Minister Theresa May told reporters.

“But, having a second vote, or a vote to second-guess the will of the British people is not an acceptable way forward.”

The Observer reported yesterday that a cross-party alliance of MPs is pushing for a vote on the terms on which Britain leaves the EU. They argue there is no mandate for a ‘hard Brexit’, in which the UK leaves the single market.

Related: MPs demand vote on hard Brexit plans for UK to leave single market[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/08/mps-demand-vote-hard-brexit-single-market]

block-time published-time 1.01pm BST

Although the blue-chip FTSE 100 index has risen today, there are still some chunky losses among UK firms.

Nicholas Hyett, Equity Analyst, Hargreaves Lansdown, picks out the big losers:

“It’s not a pleasant day to be a UK domestic stock. The FTSE 100 and 250 top fallers lists are littered with the likes of Travis Perkins, down 2.5%, and Pets At Home, down 3.6%, as concerns about the impact of Brexit and sterling weakness continue to bite.

Banks too are having a tough morning as concerns over European, and particularly German, banks continue to rattle stock markets. RBS is the hardest faller of the FTSE 100 banks, down 1.8%. The lower sterling creeps, the more intimating those as yet unquantified, but dollar denominated, US Department of Justice fines become – reports out this morning suggesting the bank actively sought to bankrupt small businesses could mean there are yet more fines to come[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-37591335].

Continuing the by now familiar pattern, international earners are topping the FTSE 100, which is up 0.2% overall. Strong performances from precious metal miners Fresnill o, up 1.5%, and Randgold, up 1.2%, reflect a strengthening in their underlying commodities – hinting at nervousness in the market.”

block-time published-time 12.56pm BST

Jobs site Indeed.com has reported a jump in Britons searching for vacancies overseas.

In the 100 days since the Eu referendum, the number of British workers looking for jobs in Ireland has risen by 20%. Australia, Canada and Germany are also popular areas:

Mariano Mamertino, Indeed’s EMEA Economist, says there was a surge of interest in working abroad immediately after the Brexit vote:

“Ireland in particular has been a big winner. Not only are high numbers of Britons searching for Irish jobs, but so too are jobseekers from elsewhere in the EU. The UK has long been a magnet for international talent, but Brexit uncertainty is leading many of them to consider Ireland instead.

“The UK economy has proved resilient in the first few months since the poll, with consumer confidence remaining high and the number of people in work barely changing. But a deterioration in the hiring appetite of employers - coupled with increasing talk of a Hard Brexit - and returning uncertainty over what that might mean, is now prompting many Britons who had been thinking of working overseas to job hunt in earnest.”

block-time published-time 12.47pm BST

Hello again. The financial markets are in a subdued today, as US election fears add to Brexit uncertainty.

The pound has now struggled back over the $1.24 mark, as investors continue to fret about Britain leaving the single market.

FXTM VP of Market Research Jameel Ahmad says Round 2 of the Clinton vs Trump Presidential Debate is also worrying the City.

The financial markets appear to have commenced trading for the new week under a mixed cloud, as both the constant headlines over the EU referendum outcome and the end of week slide in the price of oil weigh on investor sentiment.

It is also possible that the reason for a mixed start to weekly trading could be due to investors being pre-occupied with Round 2 of the Clinton vs Trump Presidential Debate taking place overnight, where the Mexican Peso has once again strengthened significantly as the expectations of Donald Trump eventually winning the US election continue to decline.

The overall market reaction to Round 2 of the Presidential Debate is far less volatile to what we experienced at the end of Round 1, although this could be because the race to who could possibly win the US election was far closer at that time. Donald Trump appears to have now managed to **alienate** himself from his own political party, with the feeling in the air being that the comments released from a 2005 recording has gone some distance towards self-destructing his own presidential campaign.

Here’s a video clip of last night’s debate:

Highlights from the second presidential debate: Trump fights dirty against Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/10/highlights-second-presidential-debate-trump-clinton-video] block-time published-time 11.29am BST

Nobel Prize awarded to Hart and Holmström The Nobel Prize for Economics has been scooped by two US-based academics for their work on contract theory.

Oliver Hart (born in London) and Bengt Holmström (born in Helsinki) are recognised for examining how real-life contracts work, and the pitfalls they can create:

The Swedish Academy for Science say:

Through their initial contributions, Hart and Holmström launched contract theory as a fertile field of basic research. Over the last few decades, they have also explored many of its applications.

Their analysis of optimal contractual arrangements lays an intellectual foundation for designing policies and institutions in many areas, from bankruptcy legislation to political constitutions.

enltrBREAKING 2016 Prize in Economic Sci. to Oliver Hart @Harvard[https://twitter.com/Harvard] & Bengt Holmström @MIT[https://twitter.com/MIT] “for their contributions to contract theory” #NobelPrize[https://twitter.com/hashtag/NobelPrize?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/xosZ27WVee[https://t.co/xosZ27WVee]

— The Nobel Prize (@NobelPrize) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/NobelPrize/status/785416538249687040]block-time published-time 10.44am BST

The Nobel Prize for economics is being awarded now -- follow my other liveblog for all the action:

Related: Nobel prize in Economics 2016 to be awarded – live[https://www.theguardian.com/business/economics-blog/live/2016/oct/10/nobel-prize-in-economics-2016-awarded-live]

block-time published-time 10.08am BST

The eurozone has overcome the shock of the Brexit vote, according to new research.

Germany’s Sentix institute’s index of investor confidence has jumped to 8.5 this month, up from 5.6 in September.

That’s a stronger reading than expected, taking the index back to its levels before June’s referendum.

enltrEuro Zone Sentix Investor Confidence (Oct) 8.5 versus 6.0 expected, previous 5.6

— Sigma Squawk (@SigmaSquawk) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/SigmaSquawk/status/785397209168838656]enltrEurozone investor confidence hits post-Brexit high – Sentix https://t.co/WkLhTS7GR3[https://t.co/WkLhTS7GR3]

— fastFT (@fastFT) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/fastFT/status/785402303440416768]block-time published-time 9.28am BST

Davide Serra, hedge fund manager at Algebris Investments, is still fuming about the government’s proposal to make UK firms list their foreign workers:

enltrDear @theresa\_may[https://twitter.com/theresa\_may] @MayorofLondon[https://twitter.com/MayorofLondon] Algebris Investments was ready to be rebranded Algebris **Immigrants**. Should we go ahead or not? Clarity pls

— Davide Serra (@davidealgebris) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/davidealgebris/status/785389398154174464]block-time published-time 8.43am BST

Analyst: Pound faces a 'perfect storm'. There’s no respite for the pound this morning after Friday’s flash crash, says Kathleen Brooks, research director of City Index.

She fears that the talk of a ‘hard Brexit’ has spooked the market, and made the pound ‘toxic’.

That’s why speculators are betting against sterling, by taking up a record number of short positions ( see earlier post[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/10/pound-sterling-falls-businesses-brexit-greece-business-live?page=with:block-57fb4078e4b05c2f1e953df0#block-57fb4078e4b05c2f1e953df0] ).

And does Theresa May’s government care about the pound? Brooks thinks not....

The UK government don’t seem to mind a weak pound. We have had no official word from the government about the pound’s flash crash on Friday. For a country mired in debt a weak currency and the inflation that it will undoubtedly bring, can be a good thing. However, from a currency perspective this is a perfect storm.

At the start of this week it does not look like we will regain the $1.25 handle in GBP/USD any time soon, instead we could drift down towards $1.20 over the next few weeks before the market tries to “buy the low” in the pound. So bargain hunters may have to wait before making their move.

block-time published-time 8.31am BST

While the pound slides, Mexico’s peso is enjoying a strong start to the week.

The Peso has jumped by 1.6% against the US dollar, which is significant as Mexico’s currency has become a ‘proxy’ way of trading the US presidential election.

Traders believe that Donald Trump’s chances of becoming the next US president have diminished, after this happened:

Related: Donald Trump forced to apologise as sex boast tape horrifies Republicans[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/08/donald-trump-forced-into-apology-as-sex-boast-tape-horrifies-republicans]

block-time published-time 8.23am BST

Shares in German lender Deutsche Bank have fallen by 3% in early trading.

Investors are disappointed that the bank hasn’t finalised a fine with the DoJ for mis-selling mortgage-backed securities.

Germany’s Bild newspaper reported yesterday that CEO John Cryan wasn’t able to reach an agreement with the Justice Department during a meeting in Washington.

enltrNo DOJ deal.... #DeutscheBank[https://twitter.com/hashtag/DeutscheBank?src=hash] drops.

— Caroline Hyde (@CarolineHydeTV) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/CarolineHydeTV/status/785376452137091073]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.25am BST

block-time published-time 8.17am BST

Speculators take massive positions against sterling This bodes badly for the pound....

enltrFX speculators amass record bets against sterling, CFTC data show. And this is only to Tuesday, so doesn't capture "flash crash" fall <$1.20 pic.twitter.com/WAuYPFbNkF[https://t.co/WAuYPFbNkF]

— Jamie McGeever (@ReutersJamie) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/ReutersJamie/status/785377881845268480]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.37am BST

block-time published-time 8.16am BST

The FTSE 100 index has opened 20 points higher, at 7064 , around 50 points shy of its record close in April 2015.

The weaker pound is pushing up the share prices of companies who earn revenue in dollars (or other foreign currencies).

Mining companies such as Randgold, and silver-producer Fresnillo, are leading the risers, along with engineering group Rolls-Royce and defence firm BAE Systems.

Top risers on the FTSE 100 this morning Photograph: Thomson Reuters block-time published-time 8.07am BST

Ouch. Trade-weighted sterling has just hit its lowest level since January 2009.

This measures the pound against a basket of currencies.

block-time published-time 8.02am BST

In another blow, half of Britain’s business leaders expect to cut investment and hiring over the coming year, as Brexit uncertainty chews away at confidence.

Here’s the story:

Related: Brexit fears lead large UK companies to plan lower investment[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/10/brexit-fears-large-uk-companies-planning-lower-investment-deloitte-survey]

block-time published-time 7.59am BST

HSBC: Pound will keep falling Sterling is likely to keep falling over the next year as the Brexit saga continues, says Dominic Bunning, senior FX strategist at HSBC.

He predicts the pound will drop to $1.20 by the end of 2016, and $1.10 by the end of 2017.

Bunning told Bloomberg TV this morning that investors are concerned with ‘structural issues’, such as Britain’s gaping current account deficit, rather than interest rates or growth prospects.

In theory, a weaker currency should address those structural issues and help the economy rebalance. But Bunning fears that the weak pound may not be transmitted to the real economy.

As he puts it:

It’s hard to see Britain’s goods exports picking up if we’re in dispute with our biggest trading partner.

block-time published-time 7.50am BST

Pound falls back through $1.20 Sterling is coming under fresh pressure this morning after UK business chiefs warned against crashing out of the single markets.

The pound has dropped by over half a cent to $1.237, back towards the levels hit on Friday in the aftermath of the infamous ‘flash crash’.

Pound vs US dollar Photograph: Thomson Reuters Sterling has also lost new ground against the euro, to €1.1075.

The selloff comes as the head of the CBI warns that quitting the EU could destroy Britain’s hopes of remaining an open economy.

Carolyn Fairbairn told The Times that:

“What we have heard over the last few days, if you add up the messages in total, are signs that the door is being closed, to an extent, on the open economy, that has helped fuel investment,” she said.

“It’s very clear from conversations we are having that the world is watching. International investors are watching. Companies here are watching. And they are reading a lot into the signals of this government about how committed they are to creating a strong economy.”

Fairbairn also blasted the government’s proposal to force UK firms to compile a little list of their foreign workers. That plan was ditched over the weekend, following heavy criticism[http://news.sky.com/story/foreign-workers-will-not-be-named-by-firms-home-office-10611216].

More here:

Related: Hard Brexit risks destroying UK's open economy, says CBI chief[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/10/hard-brexit-risks-destroying-uks-open-economy-says-cbi-chief]

block-time published-time 7.27am BST

The agenda: Eurogroup meeting, US election fallout... Good morning, and welcome to our rolling coverage of the world economy, the financial markets, the eurozone and business.

Coming up today.....

Greece’s bailout is in focus today, as Eurozone finance ministers gather in Luxembourg for a Eurogroup meeting.

They’ll assess Athens’ progress against its austerity targets, and consider whether to hand over €2.8bn in funding. This aid tranche has been on hold for a while, as the Greek government struggles to ‘tick the boxes’ set by its creditors.

The meeting could be overshadowed by reports that the International Monetary Fund is considering stepping back from the Greek bailout, and merely taking on an “advisory” role.

Meanwhile, the City won’t be able to take its mind off Brexit, and concerns that the UK is going to leave the single market. On the upside, at least we’ve not suffered another flash crash today...

The US presidential election race may also move the markets, after last night’s sometimes brutal clash between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump.

If you missed it, here’s what happened....

A cornered Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] prowled the presidential debate stage on Sunday, threatening to jail an opponent he called “the devil” in a last-ditch bid to staunch his hemorrhaging campaign hopes.

Swaying malevolently behind Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/hillary-clinton] as she parried attacks on everything from her husband’s sex life to Wall Street and her foreign policy judgment, the intense Republican dominated the night but made little effort to seduce new voters.

Instead, he began the night by assembling a group of women in a press conference to revisit alleged sexual assaults by Bill Clinton, before confronting his opponent hardest on her private email server.

“OK Donald, I know you are into big diversion tonight,” shot back Clinton. “Anything to get away from your campaign and how Republicans[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/republicans] are deserting you.”...

More here:

Related: Donald Trump uses second debate to threaten Hillary Clinton with jail[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/10/debate-donald-trump-threatens-to-jail-hillary-clinton]

Also coming up.... the winner of the Nobel prize in economics will be announced today, sometime around 11.45am BST.

And at 9.30am, the latest Sentix survey of eurozone investor confidence is released.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.56am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Theresa May is helping shape the new political landscape by focusing on migrants. Labour has to develop a popular, more positive vision

If you ignore the nasty, divisive rhetoric on **immigration** and the worrying attempt to position “human rights lawyers” as figures of hate, Theresa May’s conference speech[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-consigns-cameron-to-history-in-populist-speech] was basically an admission that Ed Miliband had it right. Gone was the individualism and free-market fetishism that has defined her party for decades. In its place, a focus on collectivity and the necessity of activist economy policy.

The reception among conference attendees was fairly muted. Mutters of “socialism” were heard from the floor, and libertarian thinktank the Adam Smith Institute published a statement[http://www.adamsmith.org/news/may-must-accept-that-markets-not-the-state-are-the-solution-to-our-problems] condemning the move towards government intervention.

In many ways it feels like the death of an old order. Post-financial crash, there’s little reason to believe in the efficacy of a laissez-faire approach to governance. It’s strange to think that a decade ago, Labour and the Conservatives were competing over who could most enthusiastically deregulate the financial sector. The mood of the country has changed dramatically. We were told that we should celebrate the rich getting richer because the wealth would trickle down[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/20/trickle-down-economics-broken-promise-richest-85] and benefit us all.

There’s no point telling people that **immigration** is beneficial for the economy if they’re not feeling those benefits

Now, there’s a feeling that we’ve been conned. Elites have taken us for fools as employment rights have been rolled back, communities have been destroyed and our economy has been savaged by the “ spivs and gamblers[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/sep/22/vince-cable-criticism-attacks-capitalism] ” in the City. No wonder the “take back control” slogan of the Vote Leave campaign was so seductive. Collective control is exactly what we’d lost. EU membership became a symbol of the faceless, unaccountable, technocratic power that people in many parts of the country have grown to resent.

In hindsight, the return of class politics was inevitable. Twenty years ago, John Prescott told us that “we are all middle-class now” – but in 2016, the stark divisions in our society are impossible to ignore. Across Europe, centrism is in a similar state of decline. Even the term seems outdated, as the centre point of public opinion is now in a different place altogether. Collectivism is the new mainstream. The most relevant debate isn’t over the necessity of working together, it’s about who is allowed in the tent.

At the dawn of the post-liberal era we have the opportunity to make a choice. When we demand policy that benefits the majority rather than an elite minority, who does that include? There are two options here and it’s clear which May has opted for. The sort of rightwing, xenophobic rhetoric she espouses has a long and unillustrious history. Focusing her critique primarily on economic elites would probably be difficult given that they make up the majority of Conservative party donors and cabinet ministers. Instead, she has trained her guns on a group far less able to fight back: migrant workers[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/05/the-message-of-brexit-was-mixed-now-we-are-told-it-was-simply-a-referendum-on-immigration].

Related: Mass EU migration into Britain is actually good news for UK economy[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/feb/18/mass-eu-migration-into-britain-is-actually-good-news-for-uk-economy]

The terrifying thing is that this has a track record of working – and it’s working again. The Tories are 17 points ahead in the latest Guardian/ICM poll[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/10/jeremy-corbyn-labour-rehsuffle-continues-labour-reshuffle-politics-live?page=with:block-57fb685ee4b03258bcac6355#block-57fb685ee4b03258bcac6355], the joint-second highest lead ever recorded for the Conservatives by ICM going back to 1992. When people face real hardship, when they’ve seen their communities decline in the face of processes they feel powerless to control, they’re naturally on the lookout for someone to blame. Media barons like Rupert Murdoch[https://www.theguardian.com/media/rupert-murdoch] – who are much more the genuine enemies of working-class interests – have stoked the idea that migrants are the cause of all society’s problems.

The facts of the situation are largely irrelevant. There’s no point telling people that **immigration** is actually beneficial for the economy if they’re not feeling those benefits. Pointing out that migrants are net tax contributors doesn’t have much impact when people have seen our public services gutted. On the left, we’ve tried to fight powerful, emotional narratives with stats and wonkery, and unsurprisingly we’ve come up short. It’s time to talk to voters in language that makes sense.

Some aspects of this will make those with liberal instincts uncomfortable. In the face of venomous, racist, anti-migrant rhetoric many of us feel a natural desire to defend freedom of movement without any qualification. This allows the line to become blurred between the utopian principle that people should be able to live wherever they want and the reality of what is currently happening.

Related: The media needs to tell the truth on migration, not peddle myths | Alberto Nardelli[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/dec/11/the-media-needs-to-tell-the-truth-on-migration-not-peddle-myths]

Many people do not relocate out of a personal desire to experience life somewhere new, but because economic pressures compel them to seek a higher income than they’d be able to secure in their place of birth. Why should someone from Sheffield or Bolton be forced to move down to London – away from family, friends and support networks? Why should someone from Poland or Romania have to live in cramped, shared accommodation and send money to a partner and children hundreds of miles away? Whose interests does this really serve?

While supporting all workers making these decisions in the current economic context, shouldn’t the left have greater ambitions than this? How has Norman Tebbit’s instruction to “get on your bike”[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/jun/15/norman-tebbit-interview] if you can’t find decent employment close to home come to be seen as something desirable?

If we only talk about the positives of the current regime, we’re never going to connect with voters who don’t perceive that their lives as having improved in recent decades. And the issue is not going to go away. Climate change is the greatest looming threat and is likely to cause **refugee** flows magnitudes greater than the current Syrian crisis. It’s going to be hard to adjust. Unless we can develop a version of collectivist politics that doesn’t draw a sharp line between “us” and “the other”, the most likely consequence is rising hate, fear, and a political culture that edges closer to the exclusionary authoritarianism of fascism.

Labour will never convince people that it has the answers if it is forced into defending the status quo. However, the cynical triangulation attempted by some MPs in recent weeks concedes ground to xenophobia, while utterly failing to persuade voters that its advocates mean what they say. It’s time to ditch the reticence and come up with a more radical vision: what do we actually want the future to look like?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Justine Greening says data will not be used to ‘name and shame’ businesses, after proposal was roundly criticised

The government has abandoned plans to force businesses to reveal how many foreign staff they employ, following widespread condemnation and accusations that the policy was akin to tattooing workers “with numbers on their forearms”.

Justine Greening, the education secretary, announced on Sunday that companies will not be made to publish the data as suggested by the home secretary, Amber Rudd, during the Conservative party conference.

She said the information would be confidential and instead used by the government to identify skills shortages, rather than to “name and shame” businesses that rely on foreign employees.

Related: Does Amber Rudd hate foreigners, or does she hate us? | David Mitchell[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/09/amber-rudd-hate-foreigners-foreign-workers-companies-racist]

Last week, Rudd unveiled plans to force companies to reveal how many[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/04/rudd-announces-crackdown-on-overseas-students-and-new-work-visas] foreign staff they employ, to a chorus of disapproval[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/06/amber-rudd-sofa-factory-boss-disappointed-criticism-staffing-collins-hayes]. She said foreign workers should not be able to “take the jobs that British people should do” and announced proposals to make companies publish the proportion of “international staff on their books”.

However, in an apparent U-turn on the policy, Greening told ITV’s Peston on Sunday: “This is not data that will be published. There will be absolutely no naming and shaming.

“This is about informing policy so that we understand which areas and parts of the country there are skills shortages, evidenced by the fact that employers are not taking local workers as much as they might do. It then enables us really to tailor policy in those areas so we can respond to that.”

David Cameron’s former communications director Craig Oliver, speaking on the same programme, described the announcement that the data will no longer be made public as a “managed retreat”.

Greening’s comments were echoed by the defence secretary, Michael Fallon, who told BBC Radio 5 Live he could “absolutely rule out” asking companies to list, name, publish or identify in any way the number of foreign workers they have.

It came after Steve Hilton, a former adviser to Cameron, had suggested that ministers might as well announce that “foreign workers will be tattooed with numbers on their forearms”. Writing in the Sunday Times, he condemned the policy[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/09/tory-plans-to-make-firms-list-foreign-staff-worse-than-trumps-muslim-ban] as repugnant and divisive.

The former education secretary Nicky Morgan agreed with Hilton’s description of the plan. “I was very surprised that Amber had put forward that proposal about the listing of foreign workers, because that’s not the Amber Rudd I know and I’ve worked alongside... The trouble with these sorts of policies is they send out a message about the party,” she told Sky News’ Murnaghan programme.

The government had announced a planned consultation that would require employers to “set out the steps they have taken to foster a pool of local candidates, set out the impact on the local labour force of their foreign recruitment and be clear about the proportion of their workforce which is international, as is the case in the US”.

The plans to publish foreign worker numbers will not be included in the consultation.

Defending her speech[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers] and the proposals last week, Rudd did not explicitly say the information would not be published. “I am very aware about the language and when I looked at the speech and thought how I would present it,” she said.

“We should be able to have a conversation about the skills we need. I don’t think we should have a situation where we can’t talk about **immigration**. We must not ignore the fact that people want to talk about **immigration**, and if we do talk about **immigration**, don’t call me a racist.”

Reacting to the change in policy, Diane Abbott, Labour’s shadow home secretary since Thursday[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/06/jeremy-corbyns-choices-the-big-roles-in-the-shadow-cabinet], said: “The Tories are in disarray following Amber Rudd’s worrying statement last week, contradicting each other as their policy falls apart at the seams.

“The Tories’ anti-foreigner agenda is a distraction from their own complete failures of policy, and against the best interests of society. Many sectors risk collapse if the Tories press ahead with these plans on overseas workers: the city, farmers, the NHS, construction.

“We need answers from the Tories on how they will protect our economy, but they have no plan other than a risky hard Brexit which would threaten our prosperity.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Amber Rudd to meet French counterpart to discuss processing child **refugees** with links to Britain before camp is dismantled

Amber Rudd, the home secretary, will be told by her French counterpart, Bernard Cazeneuve, that the UK must speed up the asylum applications of hundreds of unaccompanied minors at the Calais **refugee** camp or risk losing the confidence of the French public.

Cazeneuve, the French interior minister, is due to meet Rudd in London, where he will also discuss plans to dismantle the camp, home to as many as 10,000 asylum seekers, within the next few weeks.

Related: Britain ‘did not respond' to French pleas to take Calais child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/08/child-refugees-calais-camp-stranded-britain-ignored-pleas-home-office]

A member of Cazeneuve’s cabinet said: “We cannot imagine the UK with its traditions of human rights will refuse to admit unaccompanied minors into the UK. The main objective is to ensure that these minors have a better life in the UK where they have family or friends living in the country.

“At present, the time it is taking for the British authorities to process these children is far too long. It needs to be cut to a matter of days. We need an agreement on this very urgently.”

There are thought to be at least 1,000 unaccompanied minors in Calais aged under 18, of which hundreds– possibly as many as 400 – have a connection with the UK. Each side has blamed the other for failing to register the child **refugees** properly.

There have been reports that the French interior ministry plans to start the process of dismantling the camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/01/child-refugees-despair-calais-camp-close] from 17 October, and extra police are being drafted into the area to ensure the operation is complete within 10 days.

The French would like action on the fate of the minors linked to the UK before the destruction of the camp starts and people in the camp are dispersed to reception centres scattered across France. In an earlier partial demolition, as many as 100 children disappeared.

Cazeneuve’s spokesman said that François Hollande, unlike some other presidential candidates, does not support the tearing up of the Le Touquet treaty with Britain. If there was no progress on the issue of minors at the meeting with Rudd, he added, the French public would think the British were “not taking their responsibilities seriously”. He added that local shops in Calais and the regional economy were being “devastated” and that there “had to be a solution”.

The Le Touquet agreement effectively means that the British border extends to Calais’s ferry ports, where British **immigration** officials can check passports and inspect vehicles.

The French government, in common with complaints issued by the British Red Cross at the weekend, said bureaucratic delays were preventing many of the children from reaching the UK.

Cazeneuve’s spokesman refused to discuss the precise date the camp would be dismantled, saying discretion was necessary to prevent disruption or attracting large numbers to the camp in its final days or weeks.

The future of the camp and the existence of the British border stationed in Calais has become a major issue in the French presidential elections, with successive candidates visiting the camp to pledge they will bring it to an end.

Nicolas Sarkozy, one of the leading candidates of the French right, has promised to visit the UK the day after he is elected president to demand change to the border arrangements set out in the bilateral Le Touquet treaty.

Construction has begun on a British-funded wall[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/20/work-calais-wall-refugees-lorries-uk] to clamp down on repeated attempts by migrants to stow away on trucks heading for Britain.

Related: Tory MPs urge Amber Rudd to do more to help child **refugees** in Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/03/tory-mps-urge-amber-rudd-do-more-help-child-refugees-calais]

Speaking at the weekend, Anne Longfield, the children’s commissioner for England, threw her weight behind the calls for the UK to speed up the processing of minors in the camp. “I asked the French authorities to determine which children from the emergency Calais **refugee** camp are eligible to come to the UK to ensure their safety and process them immediately,” she said. “It is unacceptable that some must currently wait up to nine months to see if they can come or not.”

The French insist the delays have been caused by the British officials and not by their failure to register minors.

The British Red Cross declared in a report at the weekend that of the estimated 1,000 unaccompanied children who are currently living in the Calais camp, 178 have been identified as having family ties to the UK. This gives them the right to claim asylum.

However, it currently takes an average of 10-11 months to bring a child to the UK under the Dublin regulation. This is owing to problems ranging from basic administrative errors that cause severe delays to a shortage of staff required to facilitate transfers. A further 200 child **refugees** might also qualify for asylum under changes to the **Immigration** Act.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Major parties combine to repudiate One Nation platform. Derryn Hinch says Donald Trump is ‘disgraceful’ but Pauline Hanson says his taped conversation about women ‘was 10 years ago’. Meanwhile, Labor prepares to debate the marriage equality plebiscite bill. Follow the developments live...

block-time published-time 1.41am BST

Commission of Inquiry into Lionel Murphy: 30 years on, access to records still being decided. This statement was made in both houses this morning:

PRESIDENT’S STATEMENT ON RECORDS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

In May 1986 the Parliament established, by legislation, a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry to advise the Parliament whether any conduct of the Honourable Lionel Keith Murphy was such as to amount, in its opinion, to proved misbehaviour within the meaning of section 72 of the Constitution.

In August 1986, following a special report to the Presiding Officers relating to the terminal illness of the judge, the inquiry was discontinued and the Act establishing the Commission repealed. The Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (Repeal) Act 1986 gave to the Presiding Officers exclusive possession of the documents of the Commission for 30 years from its commencement.

The repeal Act commenced on 25 September 1986 and the period of exclusive possession expired from 26 September 2016. The Presiding Officers may now grant access to documents of the Commission by written authority.

With the expiration of the period of exclusive possession, the Speaker and I have determined that the Clerks of the Senate and the House of Representatives and other nominees approved by us can access and examine the records of the Commission for the purposes of providing advice to assist in our responses to requests for access.

The examination of the records by parliamentary officers commenced on 29 September 2016.

We are awaiting advice on the contents of the records before determining any arrangements for wider access to them. It should be understood that this process may take some time as the records are extensive.

block-time published-time 1.24am BST

Just because:

enltrI have no idea who is responsible for this Trumpkin. It's wonderful. pic.twitter.com/VilR9Bellv[https://t.co/VilR9Bellv]

— Dan Murphy (@bungdan) October 9, 2016[https://twitter.com/bungdan/status/785254662307840000]block-time published-time 1.23am BST

enltrIndependent @WilkieMP[https://twitter.com/WilkieMP] will introduce a Private Member’s Bill to ban foreign donations to political parties & candidates at 11:35am #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash]

— Political Alert (@political\_alert) October 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/political\_alert/status/785274252152807424]block-time published-time 1.10am BST

Malcolm Turnbull was asked about Gina Rinehart’s joint bid for Kidman and Co.

Would the government look favourably upon that?

Turnbull:

Well it is always great to see Australians investing in Australian agriculture, but the matter will go before the Foreign Investment Review Board (Firb) of course because there is a minority foreign investor. Of course there is a minority foreign investment in Kidman now. I always welcome seeing Australian investment in Australian agriculture, as I believe all Australians do.

block-time published-time 1.07am BST

This is important.

Attorney general George Brandis has announced a free legal advisory service for people engaging with the Royal Commission into the Protection and Detention of Children in the Northern Territory.

The North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency (Naaja), the Children in Care and Youth Detention Advice Service will receive $1.1m from the government this financial year.

This is also important, from March last year[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/mar/25/indigenous-sector-outrage-at-funding-for-government-departments-and-sport].

The North Australian Aboriginal justice agency (Naaja) earlier this month told a Senate inquiry budget cuts of about $1.6m would cost 10 to 15 jobs[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/mar/10/nt-aboriginal-leader-pleads-for-prime-minister-to-give-up-indigenous-affairs].

From the end of this month Naaja would cease all criminal legal services in Darwin and Katherine for Aboriginal adults, other than those currently in custody and, as well as cut back on civil services, it was further reported on Wednesday[http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/indigenous/federal-funding-cuts-a-recipe-for-injustice-in-nt-courts/story-fn9hm1pm-1227276981186].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.29am BST

block-time published-time 12.59am BST

I should also tell you that the Committee on Economic Development of Australia is on in Canberra today. Ceda does a state of the nation conference annually.

The speakers include secretary of the department of the prime minister and cabinet, Martin Parkinson, industry innovation and science minister Greg Hunt, NSW treasurer Gladys Berejiklian, Victorian treasurer Tim Pallas and chair of the Clean Energy Finance Corporation, Jillian Broadbent.

Parkinson, who is the headline act, is not on until tonight at dinner.

The theme is pretty close to jobs and growth. Otherwise known as “A new policy agenda: innovation, growth and the future economy”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.29am BST

block-time published-time 12.47am BST

Independent Kennedy MP Bob Katter introduces his banking commission of inquiry bill in the house of representatives of parliament house. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time published-time 12.40am BST

enltrPM Malcolm Turnbull with govt. & oppositon at Shimon Peres condolence book this morning @gabriellechan[https://twitter.com/gabriellechan] @GuardianAus[https://twitter.com/GuardianAus] pic.twitter.com/PiuorMKJX3[https://t.co/PiuorMKJX3]

— Mikearoo (@mpbowers) October 9, 2016[https://twitter.com/mpbowers/status/785258381011320832]block-time published-time 12.38am BST

Turnbull and Shorten to reaffirm a non-discriminatory **immigration** policy in response to One Nation Malcolm Turnbull will move Bill Shorten motion regarding non-discriminatory **immigration** policy around midday. Labor initiated this motion which is similar to one moved by John Howard and Kim Beazley in 1996 when Pauline Hanson first came to the parliament. After negotiation between Turnbull and Shorten, the PM agreed to move it.[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/30/malcolm-turnbull-agrees-to-adopt-bill-shortens-racial-tolerance-motion]

The motion says:

That this House:

(1) reaffirms its commitment to the right of all Australians to enjoy equal rights and be treated with equal respect regardless of race, colour, creed or origin;

(2) reaffirms its commitment to maintaining an **immigration** policy wholly non-discriminatory on grounds of race, colour, creed or origin ;

(3) reaffirms its commitment to the process of reconciliation with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, in the context of redressing their profound social and economic disadvantage;

(4) reaffirms its commitment to maintaining Australia as a culturally diverse, tolerant and open society, united by an overriding commitment to our nation, and its democratic institutions and values; and

(5) denounces racial intolerance in any form as incompatible with the kind of society we are and want to be.

block-time published-time 12.32am BST

Katter is outlining cases of banks foreclosing on clients who defaulted on loans as a result of banks failing in responsible lending practice. He says the banks, as a result, get the asset and the client is made a “debt slave”. He says the banks have a “punitive discretionary power”.

Indi MP Cathy McGowan seconds the motion.

block-time published-time 12.28am BST

In the Senate, they are debating the CFA volunteers bill. There are 13 senators waiting to speak.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.45am BST

block-time published-time 12.27am BST

Is that the time?

enltrPM Malcolm Turnbull & Bill Shorten at Shimon Peres condolence book signing this morning @gabriellechan[https://twitter.com/gabriellechan] @GuardianAus[https://twitter.com/GuardianAus] pic.twitter.com/Ejf7I5SwxV[https://t.co/Ejf7I5SwxV]

— Mikearoo (@mpbowers) October 9, 2016[https://twitter.com/mpbowers/status/785258859984072705]block-time published-time 12.26am BST

Katters moves next to the bank commission of inquiry “with the powers of a royal commission”.

The point of this bill is for Katter with the Greens and Labor et al to try to get the numbers in both houses to force a royal-commission-like inquiry on the government and the banking industry.

He refers to The Big Short book and movie[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vgqG3ITMv1Q].

He is talking about the danger of recourse loans.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.26am BST

block-time published-time 12.20am BST

The banks commission of inquiry bill has been deferred. Now Bob Katter is speaking to a private member’s bill on the Foreign Acquisitions and Takeovers Act 1975. He starts in on the decision of the Norther Territory government to sell the lease of the Darwin port to a Chinese owned company[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-03-07/darwin-port-deal-funds-quick-hit-to-nt-economy/7228000]. He reminds the chamber that Australians always thought they would be protected by the British in the second world war until …

Katter is talking about the vertical integration exercised by foreign companies like Adani (“even though I am a fan of Adani”). He talks about Chinese mining companies that bring in “their own food”.

Where are the benefits for Australians … it has been negative, Mr Speaker.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.38am BST

block-time published-time 12.05am BST

I have already noted Labor’s final position on the plebiscite bill will be nailed down at caucus tomorrow. The caucus will also decide who will take retiring Labor senator Stephen Conroy’s position as deputy leader in the Senate. It is ordained to be Don Farrell, Faceless Man and party powerbroker who is back after the last election. He will also take Conroy’s special minister of state shadow position.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.45am BST

block-time published-time 11.56pm BST

Loathsome. Demeaning. Disappointing. Trump.

Malcolm Turnbull and the employment minister Michaelia Cash meet with CFA volunteers on the ministerial forecourt of parliament house. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian Malcolm Turnbull has weighed in on Trump, describing his comments as “loathsome”. And the minister for women Michaela Cash, described the comments as demeaning and disappointing.

block-time published-time 11.32pm BST

I’m told the legal and constitutional affairs committee is likely to have a hearing on Friday re the Brandis-Gleeson[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/07/labor-urges-senate-to-disallow-george-brandis-veto-over-legal-advice-requests] matter, an argument between the first and second legal officers of the nation.

They are arguing over the details around a directive that would allow George Brandis to veto whether the solicitor general provided advice to government departments.

Given the solicitor-general, Justin Gleeson, made a submission to the inquiry, everyone is assuming he will want to front the committee. But it is an assumption at this stage. Whether Brandis wants to appear is anyone’s guess.

Already, Labor is moving a motion to debate Brandis’s behaviour today, expected around 4.30pm.

Labor’s leader in the Senate, Penny Wong, has moved a motion to strike down the Brandis regulation but it has been deferred until after committee reports on 8 November.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.42pm BST

block-time published-time 11.18pm BST

enltrSomehow, Leyonhjelm supports and condemns Trump's obscene comments #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/AZiyVCFgm0[https://t.co/AZiyVCFgm0]

— Myles Morgan (@ImMylesMorgan) October 9, 2016[https://twitter.com/ImMylesMorgan/status/785238931423924224]block-time published-time 11.17pm BST

From Greens advisor Tim Beshara :

enltrParliament will debate how Brandis is a dill. pic.twitter.com/jX1Nh7E94P[https://t.co/jX1Nh7E94P]

— Tim Beshara (@Tim\_Beshara) October 9, 2016[https://twitter.com/Tim\_Beshara/status/785240266814783488]This relates to the controversy about the circumstances around attorney general George Brandis’s directive and whether he properly consulted the second legal officer, solicitor general Justin Gleeson.

The matter is now the subject of an inquiry by the Senate standing committee on legal and constitutional affairs. I am checking on the committee’s next moves.

block-time published-time 11.01pm BST

The Senate also starts at 10am. The senators have a number of bills to consider, including the CFA bill and the bracket creep bill later today.

This week we will have first speechs from One Nation senators Brian Burston and Rod Culleton, NXT senator Skye Kakoschke-Moore and Labor senator David Chisholm.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.10pm BST

block-time published-time 10.52pm BST

The lower house starts at 10am this morning.

Private members’ bills run all morning. Among them is a Bob Katter version of a banking “commission of inquiry”. The bill states it would have the same powers as a royal commission and outlines the mechanics that Katter prefers:

(1) The treasurer must, within six weeks after the governor general in council assents to this act, appoint persons to:

(a) conduct an inquiry into the matters specified in section 6; and

(b) report to the treasurer on the matters (including any recommendations relating to the matters) within six months after the governor general in council assents to this act.

(2) The appointment must be by notifiable instrument.

(3) The appointment takes effect on the day after the instrument of appointment is made.

(4) The commission’s report is not a legislative instrument.

(5) The members of the commission have the privileges of members of the House of Representatives.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.57pm BST

block-time published-time 10.35pm BST

Oh look. Trump does have a fan in Australia.

enltrDavid Leyonhjelm says Trump's comments show's he's a man of his time and maybe we should "cut him some slack" #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash]

— Primrose Riordan (@primroseriordan) October 9, 2016[https://twitter.com/primroseriordan/status/785224030047629312]It is hard to get attention on the expanded Senate crossbench.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.40pm BST

block-time published-time 10.34pm BST

Poll numbers. It must be Monday. Thanks to our friends at AAP for this.

Malcolm Turnbull is more popular with voters than Bill Shorten, but support for the government continues to trail the opposition party, a new poll shows.

The Australian reports the latest Newspoll shows the prime minister’s popularity at 45% – the highest level in the 100 days since the tight election win – compared with the Labor leader’s four-month low of 30%.

In two-party preferred terms, Labor has 52% compared with the Coalition’s 48%, the second time voters’ support for the government has been lower than when Turnbull ousted Tony Abbott as prime minister 13 months ago.

The primary vote for the government rose to 39%, while Labor’s slipped to 37% and the Greens were static at 10%.

Independent popular support was at 15%, with Pauline Hanson’s One Nation party taking 6%, while Nick Xenophon’s party was at about 2%, the Australian reports.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.59pm BST

block-time published-time 10.28pm BST

Malcolm Turnbull is meeting CFA volunteers with employment minister Michaela Cash. He is challenging Bill Shorten to stand up for the volunteers, who defend Victorian lives in the “inferno of summer”.

Mike Bowers is down there at the minute. Some pictures to you shortly.

block-time published-time 10.22pm BST

Hanson and Hinch clash over Donald Trump The Clinton-Trump debate is coming up and the Donald has declared he will dig the hole deeper and delve into Bill Clinton’s behaviour. (Because you know a woman must always be held to account for her husband’s crimes.)

Pauline Hanson was speaking about Trump’s comments today.

It was vulgar. It wasn’t said publicly, [it was] said behind the scenes in a tape recording. That was 10 years ago. I do believe that the people of America are fed up with the major political parties of Republicans and the Democrats and the way the country has been.

I know Trump is standing as a Republican. The whole fact is they are looking for change. They have seen the destruction of their country, their way of life, the standard of living and want someone who will fight for them. It is up to the people …

Then Hanson and Hinch met up at the lifts and Hinch said Trump was a disgrace.

Donald Trump, in any manner or form, is absolutely disgraceful. [That] you as a woman can even make any justification for what he has said …

Hanson:

I didn’t condone what he said. The people of America will decide.

Hinch:

If you are even slightly right then God help the country. The man is a sexual predator and he is a disgrace.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.00pm BST

block-time published-time 10.10pm BST

Before we get to the Hanson-Hinch thing, Katharine Murphy reports[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/10/philip-morris-lawyer-plain-packaging-legal-challenge-trans-pacific-partnership-trade] the legal counsel to tobacco giant Philip Morris has told a parliamentary committee that people have responded hysterically to a landmark legal case challenging Australia’s plain packaging laws.

This is about the legal case allowed under the investor state dispute settlement (ISDS) clause in a previous trade agreement with Hong Kong. And a similar ISDS clause caused great controversy in the negotiations over the Trans Pacific Partnership agreement. It is worth a read.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.01pm BST

block-time published-time 9.51pm BST

Good morning and it’s good to be back for this fortnight of sitting.

This week, you can expect a veritable smorgasbord of politics.

I’m thinking Country Fire Authority. I’m thinking plebiscite. I’m thinking banking behaviour. I’m thinking tax threshold legislation.

First up, Pauline Hanson has told the ABC that she will support the respect for emergency services volunteers bill. This is the so-called CFA bill, which became an issue in the federal election because of a stoush between the Victorian professional firefighters and the volunteers over an enterprise bargaining agreement (EBA). The bill gives emergency service volunteers more power in any EBAs. The government needs nine votes and with four One Nation senators coming across the line, with three Nick Xenophons, Derryn Hinch and Bob Day, the Coalition appears to be in the clear.

As Katharine Murphy reported late yesterday[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/09/labor-poised-to-kill-off-marriage-equality-plebiscite-when-parliament-resumes], after um-ing and ah-ing and foot shuffling while still pointing out their vehement opposition, Labor is finally going to decide what to do about the Coalition’s plebiscite bill. This is the legislation which would create a plebiscite on marriage equality. The plebiscite would give an indication of the electorate’s feelings, though its outcome would not bind the parliament or the Coalition to the outcome. At the last sitting, Labor announced it would undergo consultations and those meetings have included both the LGBTI community and church groups who oppose marriage equality. They will take the issue to Tuesday’s party room meeting.

While I was sitting in a quiet corner reading a book last week, the bank bosses appeared at the much-vaunted house economics committee hearings set up by the Turnbull government. There was a fair bit of squirming involved but it did not soften the resolve in Labor, the Greens and Independent Bob Katter among others for a royal commission. The Greens have already flagged they will be moving for a commission of inquiry this week. I reported on this advice[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/25/parliament-could-force-banking-inquiry-despite-hostile-coalition-says-senate-clerk] from the clerk of the Senate, Rosemary Laing to Greens senator Peter Whish-Wilson in August. Her letter then suggested the parliament could force an inquiry like the one into Lionel Murphy in the 80s. (That one was abandoned due to Murphy’s illness.) The problem for those in favour of a banking royal commission is that it can only be established by executive government, that is the Turnbull government. But a commission of inquiry could be – according to Laing – forced by the parliament if their numbers in both houses were there. We shall await developments there.

Also on the agenda are income tax cuts. Today, first thing we shall see Scott Morrison’s bracket creep bill[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/may/03/bracket-creep-changes-in-budget-to-save-500000-from-second-top-marginal-tax-rate] in the house again, which:

Amends the Income Tax Rates Act 1986 to increase the third personal income tax threshold[http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary\_Business/Bills\_LEGislation/Bills\_Search\_Results/Result?bId=r5683] so that the rate of tax payable on taxable incomes from $80,001 to $87,000 for individuals is 32.5%. The Greens are not having a bar of it but Labor supports it so it is done deal.

Also around this morning, Gina Rinehart, who has lately gone long in cattle[http://www.smh.com.au/business/australias-richest-woman-gina-rinehart-buys-two-cattle-stations-20160721-gqb0mh.html], has thrown her weight behind a $365m bid for the Kidman cattle company, confirmed last night. The Stock and Land has a version of this story here[http://www.stockandland.com.au/story/4216028/rinehart-bids-for-slice-of-kidman/?cs=4582] :

Gina Rinehart’s Hancock Prospecting Pty Ltd, Shanghai CRED Real Estate Stock Co Ltd and S. Kidman & Co Ltd (Kidman) have announced today that they have entered into a Bid Implementation Agreement (BIA) under which a joint venture company Australian Outback Beef Pty Ltd (AOB) owned 67 per cent by Hancock and 33pc by Shanghai CRED has committed to make a takeover offer to acquire the Kidman and Co.

In a statement to the media issued by a public relations company acting on behalf of Kidman and Co and Hancock Prospecting, it was revealed the offer was conditional on approval from Australia’s foreign investment regime and Chinese government approvals.

It is also conditional on the completion of the divestment of the Anna Creek station and the Peake by Kidman to other Australian grazing interests.

So you can see where this parliamentary week is going along at a clip already. And if you think this week is full, next week we have the house sitting and budget estimates …

Of course, it will be hard for even the most eventful Australian parliamentary day to compete with the second Clinton-Trump debate after the weekend’s revelations of a sordid little conversation[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/08/john-mccain-donald-trump-sex-boast-tape] otherwise dismissed as “locker-room banter”. Get me a bucket. We will have live coverage of this elsewhere on the big G. Like duelling banjos[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1tqxzWdKKu8], the Australian and American political blogs will create (if not beautiful then) music of sorts.

Join us in the thread or on the Twits @gabriellechan or @mpbowers. Already there has been a little rigorous debate between Hanson and Hinch at the press gallery lifts over the Trump. More of that in a moment...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.05pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Northern Ireland secretary James Brokenshire says London and Dublin will share data to stop migrants using Irish border as backdoor into Britain

Britain is seeking to shift the frontline of **immigration** controls to Ireland’s ports and airports to avoid having to introduce a “hard border” between north and south after the UK leaves the European Union, the Guardian has learned.

The Northern Ireland secretary, James Brokenshire, has told the Guardian that London and Dublin will work to strengthen Ireland’s external borders in order to combat illegal migration into the UK once it leaves the European Union.

In an interview, Brokenshire said there was now a “high level of collaboration on a joint programme of work” between the two states to control **immigration**.

“We have put in place a range of measures to further combat illegal migration working closely with the Irish government,” Brokenshire said. “Our focus is to strengthen the external border of the common travel area [CTA], building on the strong collaboration with our Irish partners.”

The CTA is a unique arrangement that allows for full freedom of movement between people from Ireland and Britain on both islands.

After Britain’s vote to leave the EU in June, concern mounted that to control **immigration**, measures would have to be imposed on the 300-mile border between the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland. Any such border controls would probably be seen as a violation of the Good Friday agreement and a provocation in a region that has only relatively recently put violence behind it.

Shifting the onus of **immigration** control to Irish entry points such as Dublin airport and Rosslare port would avoid this. However, it would also make a mockery of claims by the Brexit camp that leaving the EU would enable Britain to “take back control of its borders”.

Brokenshire said: “We are already working closely with the Irish government and other members of the common travel area to prevent people from seeking to evade UK **immigration** controls from entering via another part of the CTA. There is a high level of collaboration on a joint programme of work. This includes investment in border procedures; increased data sharing to inform **immigration** and border security decisions; passenger data systems enabling the collection and processing of advance passenger information; and harmonised visa processes.”

The measures will be aimed primarily at non-Europeans seeking entry into the CTA. Politicians on all sides of the divide on the island of Ireland have expressed concern that Irish border towns such as Dundalk could become the “ new Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/26/calais-migrant-camp-must-go-by-end-of-year-francois-hollande] ” if people-traffickers trying to send migrants into the UK target the Irish Republic as a “jump-off point” into Northern Ireland.

Precedents already exist for this Anglo-Irish collaborative model: Indian and Chinese visitors are subject to a system whereby they apply for a single visa, valid for travel in both Ireland and the UK.

The joint Anglo-Irish border procedures will not be able to stem the arrival of EU nationals, as they will retain the right to free movement to live and work in the Irish Republic. However, this point is seen as moot: officials believe few EU citizens will want to come and work illegally in the UK after Brexit. “The numbers would be very small,” said one diplomatic source familiar with Brexit discussions.

The Fine Gael-led coalition government in Dublin has confirmed it is in negotiations with London to better share intelligence to tighten **immigration** controls for people from outside Britain and Ireland.

Ireland’s foreign minister, Charles Flanagan, said he welcomed Brokenshire’s commitment to an invisible north-south border and agreed on the importance of an intelligence-led approach to curbing illegal **immigration** across the Irish border.

Flanagan said: “In terms of the threat of illegal **immigration** through the border, the sharing of information is vital, as is the sharing of systems and the use of digital technology. These are means by which we can ensure that any adverse impact is minimised. The object of our engagement is to maintain the common travel area.”

I caution that this will be a decision not just by the UK or Irish governments but ultimately also by the 27 EU states

Charles Flanagan, Irish foreign minister

However, he stressed that upgrading **immigration** controls between the UK and Ireland would, from Dublin’s perspective, have to be negotiated alongside the country’s EU partners.

“I caution that this will be a decision not just by the UK or Irish governments but ultimately also by the 27 EU states. I have been impressing on my fellow 26 EUforeign ministerial colleagues the importance of maintaining what is now an invisible border. I have to say there was among them a deep understanding of the consequences for the peace process[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/21/northern-ireland-fear-brexit-conflict-good-friday-agreement-eu] of the reimposition of a heavily fortified border,” he added.

Brokenshire said that Brexit would neither destabilise the power-sharing institutions set up under the Good Friday agreement nor provide any propaganda boost for hardline dissident republicans opposed to devolution in Belfast.

“Political stability and prosperity in Northern Ireland has been hard fought over many decades, and we will not do anything to undermine it,” he said. “There is no reason to think that the outcome of the referendum will do anything to undermine the rock-solid commitment of the UK government and the people of Northern Ireland to the settlement set out in the Belfast agreement and its successors.”

The Northern Ireland secretary insisted that he did not even want to see customs checks on the border when the UK triggers article 50 and finally leaves the EU.

“The open border for people and businesses has served us well and no one wants to see a return to the borders of the past. It is a high priority for the government that we do not see border controls coming into place. There is a very strong commitment from the Irish government as well as ourselves to see that that does not happen.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A digital ‘outer common perimeter’ using traveller data offers solution to controlling **immigration** and avoiding a hard border

The British government has given its first official hint that it hopes the Irish external border will provide the solution to one of the most vexing conundrums of Brexit: how to pull up the **immigration** drawbridge without installing a “hard border” of customs posts and passport checks between Northern Ireland and Ireland.

James Brokenshire’s statement that the focus in a post-Brexit world is to “strengthen the external border of the common travel area” is likely to mean that the only physical passport checks an international traveller will face on his or her way into Britain via Ireland will be at an Irish airport or seaport.

Asking the Irish to carry out Britain’s passport checks may not be what Brexiters had in mind when they campaigned to “take back control of Britain’s borders”. Indeed, the chairman of the Vote Leave campaign, the former chancellor Lord Lawson, explicitly called for the return of a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Republic during the referendum campaign.

But the development of electronic border systems – essentially passenger databases – by both British and Irish governments over the past decade make it possible to operate a digital “outer common perimeter” around both countries.

Neither system has been without major problems, but the collection of advanced passenger information at the time of booking and the transmission of passenger name records on international flights has now become routine. The data collection will soon be extended to include all flights within the EU.

Those databases enable both governments to screen out those barred from entry before they even get on the plane. They mean that a passenger arriving at Dublin airport could face the same digital checks as any arriving at Heathrow.

As Brokenshire indicates, this process is already under way, with the Irish government recognising UK short-term visitor visas for travel to Ireland for visitors from 16 countries, including India and China. A common short-stay visit visa is also being pursued.

In March, Ireland passed legislation allowing the UK to require airlines and ferry companies to provide advance passenger details on all UK-Irish journeys. The Northern Ireland secretary is making clear this work will accelerate and the existing Operation Gull to tackle illegal migration to Northern Ireland expanded to close any potential backdoor to Britain post-Brexit.

Only a relatively small number of EU citizens would want to come to the UK illegally

As the Irish ambassador to Britain, Dan Mulhall, recently told the House of Lords: “For as long as Ireland is not part of Schengen, everyone coming into Ireland from continental Europe and beyond has to go through passport control at our airports and ports. Therefore, the only people who will have the right of free movement into Ireland and the right to live, work, visit and settle in Ireland will be European Union citizens.

“It is, of course, true that an EU citizen could come to Ireland after Brexit, settle in Ireland and then decide to go across the border to Northern Ireland and then to Britain, but they would be illegal **immigrants**. As I understand, most Europeans are not interested in being illegal in any European country … It seems to me that only a relatively small number of European Union citizens would want to come to the UK illegally.”

Mulhall said in the “worst-case scenario” that the UK government decided to curb freedom of movement to prevent all other EU citizens living and working in Britain, the Irish border would not pose an additional risk. All EU citizens would presumably still have the right to enter and visit Britain and pass any external passport control, so any future work permit system would likely be enforced with internal checks by employers through a registration, national insurance or identity card system.

Customs checks are a different issue, but academics say they could operate on the same lines as those between Norway and Sweden where mobile spot checks don’t necessarily take place at the physical border.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Brussels committee chair points to Liechtenstein and challenges view that unrestricted free movement is an EU red line for single market access

A prominent Brussels politician has said that a number of European countries have been allowed to put in place tougher **immigration** measures than the UK while retaining access to the single market.

Vicky Ford, a Conservative MEP who chairs the European parliament’s committee on the internal market, said in one case a country had even set an “upper break” on migrant numbers without losing economic ties.

Related: Keir Starmer calls for **immigration** to be reduced[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/09/keir-starmer-calls-for-immigration-to-be-reduced]

The comments suggest Theresa May could be able to hit back at the uncompromising positions being taken by her European counterparts in a bid to retain single market access while reducing **immigration**.

Chancellor Angela Merkel told business leaders in Germany that Britain would not keep full access to the single market alongside restrictions to free movement, echoing the argument made by the French president, François Hollande.

But in an interview with the Guardian, Ford said there were a number of ideas being used or considered in countries inside the EU or European Economic Areathat Britain could look to adopt, including:

\* Migrants only being able to access housing, health and education if they prove their employment through a registration system.

\* British jobs only being advertised locally.

\* Criminal checks in advance of people arriving.

\* An upper break – or cap – on migrant numbers.

“If you look at a country like Liechtenstein, in the EEA, they have access to free movement of goods within the single market [but they] have an absolute cap on the number of people given residency a year – and it is only 90 people,” she said.

Ford, who is the East of England MEP, argued that the “Liechtenstein solution” might not be perfect for the UK, but said it was an important precedent that a country with a population of 37,000 was given such a low limit.

“We have towns of 30,000 – that is the size of Wisbech, but some years it has had over 1,000 people [arrive],” she said.

Ford said that the numbers of migrants in some British towns had been equivalent to the quota of 1,200 **refugees** for the whole of Hungary, which has caused huge controversy.

“The ability to put an upper break is a concept that has been adopted by EEA members and they have been given access to the single market,” she said.

Ford, who has expertise on the single market as a result of her role at the helm of a key Brussels’ key committee on the issue, said even EU countries went further on **immigration** than the UK.

Related: We don’t want Brits to be punished on Brexit. We just want fairness | Ylva Elvis Nilsson[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/09/brits-punished-brexit-we-want-fairness]

“Look at a country like Belgium,” she said. “To live in Brussels you need to have a social security card, you need to be registered with your local area. And you have to have an employer who is committed to pay your social security benefits – or to be able to prove that you’ve got substantial private funds.

“In practical terms it is not possible go and live in Belgium and access public services without a job... Without your social security card you can’t get housing, education, healthcare, rent a property.”

Her comments suggest that, in theory, the prime minister might not need to choose between a so-called hard or soft Brexit. But in practice European leaders do not want other countries to follow the UK’s lead so are likely to maintain their tough stance for political reasons.

Given the controversy over an ID card system in the UK amid privacy concerns, Ford gave another example of Estonian e-cards, in which migrants register online but retain control of their data.

And she said other ideas were being considered as well: “In Switzerland [in the single market] they are introducing a rule that jobs have to be advertised locally and when I talk to colleagues across European countries they think that is a perfectly reasonable thing to be looking at.”

Ford also said there were reforms that could help prevent foreign criminals entering the country on the horizon. She pointed to the system in the US of travellers having to fill in an electronic advance notice that allows their criminal records to be checked ahead of entry. “The EU is now considering doing that – we could do that,” she said.

“So please when we are having this discussion about free movement of goods, services and work, we should look at what is being used elsewhere and say there are no red lines here,” said Ford, suggesting there could be a deal that is in between a hard and soft Brexit.

Asked why Britain had not taken steps to tighten up **immigration** within the rules previously, Ford argued alternative systems did have drawbacks, such as skilled migrants being put off by the bureaucracy.

She said it was clear that Britain would not retain “full” membership of the single market because of May’s determination to take control of legislation. “But the idea that you have that mature, close, cooperative relationship that she discussed is in my mind completely possible with a new package around migration controls that looks at the different examples from across Europe,” she said.

Ford also addressed the issue of EU regulations, admitting that Britain could not diverge too far from expectations, but that that there ought to be some flexibility.

“We are the most compliant country,” she said.

“I would point out to people in other European countries that even within the single market some countries take quite an à la carte approach themselves to implementing European [regulations]... There is a single market scoreboard that looks at implementation of European legislation and the UK is well ahead of France and Germany.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Shadow Brexit minister’s view appears to contradict that of Jeremy Corbyn, who was said to be ‘not concerned about numbers’

Keir Starmer, the shadow Brexit minister, has said **immigration** is too high and called for it to be reduced as Britain leaves the EU, despite Jeremy Corbyn ruling out any cap on arrivals.

In his first interview since being recruited to the shadow cabinet[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/07/labour-reshuffle-jonathan-ashworth-shadow-health-secretary-nec-national-executive-committee] on Friday, the former director of public prosecutions appeared to disclose a different approach to migration controls to that proposed by the Labour leader in recent weeks.

The MP for Holborn and St Pancras, who has been touted as a future Labour leader, said the number of migrants should be reduced by tackling a skills shortage. “There has been a huge amount of **immigration** over the last 10 years and people are understandably concerned about it,” he told BBC1’s The Andrew Marr Show on Sunday.

“I think it should be reduced and it should be reduced by making sure we have the skills in this country that are needed for the jobs that need to be done.”

Asked if he accepted that limits on **immigration** would mean an end to free movement[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/may-on-collision-course-with-backbenchers-seeking-soft-brexit] and therefore a departure from the EU’s tariff-free single market, Starmer said: “We have to be open to adjustments of the freedom of movement rules and how they apply to this country. We have to be shrewd and careful.”

His views seemingly contradict those of Corbyn[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/27/jeremy-corbyn-rules-out-pledge-cut-immigration], who last month appeared to rule out[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/28/corbyn-defence-of-immigration-splits-shadow-cabinet-labour] a reduction in **immigration**. The Labour leader told delegates at the annual party conference: “A Labour government will not offer false promises. We will not sow division or fan the flames of fear. We will instead tackle the real issues of **immigration** – and make the changes that are needed.”

Corbyn’s spokesman went further, saying later: “He is not concerned about numbers.” Rather than seeking controls on **immigration**, his spokesman said, Labour would seek to mitigate its effects on low-paid workers by reintroducing a “migrant impact fund”.

Sources close to Corbyn said he believes in trying to reduce the number of migrant workers in the UK, but doing so by ending the undercutting of pay through the exploitation of migrant labour. It is understood that the words attributed to Corbyn’s spokesman, about a lack of concern over numbers, gave a misleading impression, which did not reflect the Labour leader’s view.

In the interview, Starmer made clear that he accepted the vote in June to leave the EU, but would challenge Theresa May’s plans not to put the terms for Brexit to parliament.

“The referendum is clear and has to be accepted. We can’t have a rerun of the questions put to the country earlier this year, but there has to be democratic grip of the process. At the moment, the PM is trying to manoeuvre without any scrutiny. That is why the terms on which we are going to negotiate absolutely have to be put to a vote in the house,” he said.

He made his comments after it was revealed that the former Labour leader Ed Miliband had held discussions with pro-EU Tory MPs on Saturday and was said to be considering tabling an urgent question[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/08/mps-demand-vote-hard-brexit-single-market] in the Commons, demanding that May appear before parliament to explain its future role[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/07/brexit-court-case-government-to-dismiss-claim-that-parliament-must-vote-on-article-50] in Brexit decisions, when MPs return on Monday.

The SNP and the pro-EU Conservative MPs Nicky Morgan and Anna Soubry were also considering tabling questions, while the former Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg, now the party’s Brexit spokesman, said it would be appalling if MPs did not vote on the detailed terms of Brexit, including the UK’s future relations with the single market.

Related: Labour can win on **immigration** – but not by channelling Enoch Powell | Zoe Williams[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/28/labour-can-win-immigration-enoch-powell-rachel-reeves]

Speaking to the Observer[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/08/mps-demand-vote-hard-brexit-single-market], Miliband said: “Having claimed that the referendum was about returning sovereignty to Britain, it would be a complete outrage if May were to determine the terms of Brexit without a mandate from parliament.

“There is no mandate for hard Brexit, and I don’t believe there is a majority in parliament for [it] either. Given the importance of these decisions for the UK economy … it has to be a matter for MPs.”

Starmer challenged the language used by the home secretary[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/09/tory-plans-to-make-firms-list-foreign-staff-worse-than-trumps-muslim-ban], Amber Rudd, when she proposed that companies should list the numbers[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers] of foreign workers they employ, but said the proposals themselves were neither xenophobic nor silly.

“What we shouldn’t do is fan the flames of division. I am sure you and many people watching this were appalled by the sort of language as ministers advocate a list of foreign workers,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Stopping one fighter plane program would save enough to build wind farms to power 320,000 homes. We need to drastically reassess our priorities

One year ago this week, I was sitting in a cramped hotel room with 15 other staffers in Las Vegas for Bernie Sanders’ first debate for the presidential nomination. The question came from CNN: “What is the greatest national security threat?” Pundits criticized and mocked[http://www.factcheck.org/2015/11/sanders-on-climate-link-to-terrorism/] him for weeks after he answered “climate change”. But he was right.

And it’s not just Sanders pointing out the imminent threat posed by climate change to global and national security. CIA analysts and our nation’s military strategists are rightfully naming it as a contributor to **refugee** flows, the spread of disease, and conflicts over basic resources like food and water.

In 2014, 17.5 million people were displaced[http://www.ips-dc.org/report-combat-vs-climate/] by climate-related disasters. Those numbers will continue to rise dramatically in the coming decades, according to climate displacement program manager Alice Thomas of **Refugees** International.

Our nation’s defense officials know global warming’s destructive forces could undermine fragile governments[http://www.acq.osd.mil/ie/download/CCARprint\_wForeword\_c.pdf] in unstable regions of the world where extremist ideologies can take root. Yet mainstream Republican avoidance of reality on the science of climate change impedes the necessary reassignment of resources to meet the challenges posed.

Now a new report from the Institute of Policy Studies[http://www.ips-dc.org/report-combat-vs-climate/] provides the most accurate calculation of government spending on climate security to date. The picture isn’t pretty. We’re spending 28 times as much on military security than climate security. A public sector investment of $55bn per year is required to meet the challenge, according to the study. With $21bn in the 2017 budget, a shortfall of $34bn is left.

That may seem like an insurmountable hill to climb. It’s not! As the IPS report points out, plenty of money lies untouched in the nation’s bloated military budget.

The F-35 fighter plane program is a prime candidate for big cuts. It’s the most expensive weapon ever designed, complete with massive cost overruns. The sad cherry on top: the military admits that this plane just doesn’t work[http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/17/military-admits-billion-dollar-war-toy-f-35-is-f-ked.html]. If we turned back now, IPS says we could build enough offshore wind farms to power 320,000 homes for millions of people.

Savings from gutting a Navy program designed to build close-to-shore combat ships would provide enough funds to retrain more than 150,000 coal industry workers. The ships have been plagued with mechanical errors[http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/12/politics/us-navy-littoral-combat-ship-overhaul/]. Our own Government Accountability Office says the “actual lethality and survivability performance of LCS is still largely unproven through realistic testing”. Others have called[http://www.thefiscaltimes.com/2015/12/22/Has-Navy-Wasted-Billions-Its-New-Combat-Ship] the ships an outright “waste”. Retraining and redistributing our fossil-fuel workforce to green jobs would be a welcome reprioritization.

Congress could harness additional savings by reducing service contracting and canceling other wasteful or unnecessary weapons programs. But one party largely stands in the way. Republicans are hell-bent on leading our country down an unforgivable road with grave consequences. Their party’s nominee for president believes[http://www.motherjones.com/environment/2016/09/trump-global-warming-hoax] that global warming is a hoax engineered by the Chinese. That would be comical if it weren’t so dangerous.

Rich Americans justify inaction by dismissing climate change as a far off problem that will affect others. But climate change is here and now. And while the sharpest edge of its destructive forces will sadly hurt people of color and lower-income the hardest, we’re all in deep trouble.

In an unusually forceful public service announcement[http://theweek.com/speedreads/653587/hurricane-matthew-kill-weather-channel-warns-unusually-blunt-psa], The Weather Channel this week warned Floridians that Hurricane Matthew would lead to a heartbreaking loss of life. Florida governor Rick Scott said: “This storm will kill you.” These un-natural weather occurrences are becoming more and more frequent.

My home state of California faces its worst drought in 1,200 years[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/04/09/doing-something-about-the-drought\_n\_7000126.html]. When I traveled home for the holidays two years ago, I saw the devastating impact of climate change firsthand. Where boats once sat docked in my hometown marina, only dust remained[http://www.upi.com/Science\_News/2014/12/05/Californias-drought-worst-in-1200-years/7271417805105/]. Climate scientists are telling us that the United States is not immune to the instability and infighting that will occur when populations are forced to fight over food and water. They need only look to California for confirmation, where northerners and southerners argue fiercely over water access[http://sacramento.cbslocal.com/2015/07/28/is-southern-california-sucking-northern-water-supply-dry-during-drought/].

The only practical solution to curb unrest, suffering and death here and abroad is a massive redistribution of government money. This week’s new report from IPSserves as a thoughtful blueprint.

Republicans should take heed of former GOP President Dwight Eisenhower’s words of wisdom:

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

Let’s steward our resources wisely. Let’s choose climate over combat.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Parents have been campaigning to stop schools collecting data on the birth nationalities of their pupils. Here’s why …

Moves to ask parents to submit the country of birth of their children this week as part of the school census have caused a significant backlash on social media, with parents being urged to boycott the survey via the #BoycottSchoolCensus hashtag campaign. Here are the answers to some of the key questions about the census and the campaign against it.

What is the census, and what is new about it this year? State schools in England supply details about their pupils to the Department for Education for what is known as the school census once every term. The census includes details such as age, address and academic attainments, and these are recorded in the national pupil database[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/collections/national-pupil-database] (NPD). National statistics from the survey are published every year. Here’s the 2016 edition[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2016].

Related: Parents urged to boycott requests for children's country of birth information[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/26/parents-boycott-requests-childrens-country-of-birth-information]

Last year, long before the Brexit referendum, the DfE decided to add new components for the 2016-17 census, including pupils’ country of birth and nationality. It also started to ask schools to judge children’s proficiency in English if it is not their first language. The DfE has collected data on pupils’ ethnicity for many years.

Can schools ask to see passports or birth certificates? No. There are reports that many schools have reacted to the new questions on birth and nationality by asking to do so, but the DfE says parents are not obliged to comply.

Schools and local authorities are allowed to ask for proof of date of birth during the admissions process, but the DfE’s code specifically states[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/publications/school-admissions-code--2] they must not ask for “long” birth certificates or “other documents which include information about the child’s parents”.

What is the data used for? At a basic level the DfE uses the school census for funding and planning. Its intention in adding nationality and language ability was to help gauge the “targeting of support” for pupils and schools.

Academics and journalists conducting research also make extensive use of the database. Figures showing that grammar schools have a tiny number of pupils on free school meals[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/sep/09/disadvantaged-children-under-represented-in-grammar-schools], for example, are likely to have come via the NPD.

Who has access to the data? Access to the NPD is restricted[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/guidance/national-pupil-database-apply-for-a-data-extract], and the restrictions increase with the level of detail. The highest level of access – known as tier four and which could identify individual pupils – is only open to a small number of approved applicants, and details identifying individual pupils cannot be divulged.

Condition of access includes compliance with the Data Protection Act 1998. Thismeans providing proof of registration with the information commissioner’s office, having appropriate security arrangements in place to process the data, using the data only for the specific purpose requested, keeping it for only for the specified length of time and not sharing it without prior written approval.

Why are people worried about the use of the data? Some people fear the Home Office could use the database to identify foreign-born families, or match the findings to its own **immigration** database. The timing of the census has heightened this worry.

The change was suggested a year ago, but the subsequent result of the EU referendum has left the **immigration** status of EU nationals living in the UK much less clear than it was 12 months ago. With Liam Fox suggesting[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/liam-fox-refuses-to-guarantee-right-of-eu-citizens-to-remain-in-uk] that they could be “one of our main cards in the negotiations” for Brexit, and the home secretary, Amber Rudd, suggesting companies could be forced to reveal how many foreigners they have,[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers] the political atmosphere is highly charged.

Campaigners say the Home Office has a record of accessing other government departments’ data[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/26/parents-boycott-requests-childrens-country-of-birth-information], but the DfE’s official line is that the information will not be shared: “These data items will not be passed to the Home Office. They are solely for internal DfE use for analysis, statistics and research,” it said.

It is worth noting that the Home Office could already do something similar through existing HMRC tax records.

Can you opt out of the data collection? Yes, to a point. The DfE’s guidance to schools allows parents and carers to refuse to supply the information on nationality and place of birth. It is the first time parents have been given that right in the school census. The school will still supply all the other data that it already collects on pupils.

Should you boycott the birth and nationality questions? It’s very much a matter of personal conscience.

It is unlikely the Home Office is trawling the NPD looking for **immigrants**. It doesn’t currently have the capacity, though it could perhaps could in the future. Many school leaders are in favour of the data collection, because it helps them argue for further funding for new places and additional support for those needing to learn English.

Boycotting the data collection would send a strong signal to the DfE that they are being too intrusive in their methodology, and that parents are concerned about the potential abuse of the data in the future. One thing is clear though. No schools should be badgering parents to see passports, and parents are entirely right to be refusing these requests.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Whether it’s Karl Lagerfeld on the reality star’s robbery experience, or online bullying, the impulse for cruelty we see all around us is cause for concern

Karl Lagerfeld[https://www.theguardian.com/fashion/karl-lagerfeld] is a man who has found fame and fortune because he is very good at providing wealthy women with clothing and accessories that proclaim their wealth. So why on earth does he feel he can tell a wealthy woman with clothing and accessories that proclaim her wealth that it was her own silly fault she found herself tied up and dumped in a bath[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/04/karl-lagerfeld-kim-kardashian-cannot-display-wealth-then-be-surp/] while armed robbers divested her of her jewellery?

Lagerfeld, the chief designer at Chanel, Fendi and his own label, declares that “you cannot display your wealth then be surprised” when you are robbed. So that’s him out of three jobs. Perhaps he can become an armed robber himself. I’ve always felt that you can’t be an armed robber then be surprised when everyone thinks you’re the scum of the earth. I’m clearly out of kilter with the spirit of the times, which seems united in its belief that it’s OK for five armed robbers to like diamonds, but not for Kim Kardashian[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/kim-kardashian] to. What next? Will people start believing that a woman in a short skirt is asking to be raped?

Kardashian, however, appears to agree with her critics. She is said to have accepted that it was foolish to flaunt her lifestyle in the media, especially social media. Except, isn’t a lot of Kardashian’s wealth actually the consequence of her willingness to flaunt it in the media, especially social media? The essential view is that folk such as Kardashian are going to attract psychopathic attention, and she’s an idiot for getting all freaked out because one part of her job turns out to be a bit less pleasant than other parts of her job. Who do we think these guys are? Gentlemen highwaymen?

A political party that insists **refugees** should be driven out, not helped, has set Britain against its neighbours

I hold no brief for Kim Kardashian, nor for the people who sustain her by consuming the media in which she so lucratively appears. I don’t, however, believe that Lagerfeld’s version of the same deal is so very much more elevated. In his more established iteration of the same formula, the respectful masses admire the Chanel suits in Vogue, and feel they own their own small fragment of the specialness in the form of a Chanel eye pencil.

The key word here is “respect”. Kardashian has notoriety, rather than fame. She attracts contempt rather than admiration. She is vulnerable because everyone knows who she is, and no one actually respects her. Those who respect her so little that they hold a gun to her head, terrify her, leave her in fear for her life: they have more in common with the Lagerfelds of this world than Kardashian and her fans do. (Those who do respect Kardashian are widely considered to be as ghastly as she is.)

The chilling thing about Kardashian’s violation, and the world’s reaction to it, is that it affords her no respect at all, not even respect for another human being who was subjected to an awful ordeal. Worse, not only is there no respect. There’s not even any kindness. On the contrary, there’s a note of arrogant pride in the gusto with which lack of empathy for Kardashian’s suffering is vocalised.

I guess this wouldn’t be so important if it were confined to wealthy self-advertisers living their weird and ill-advised dream and getting robbed for their pains. But it’s not. A narcissistic bully is admired so much that he’s within spitting distance of being president of the US. A political party that insists **refugees** should be driven out, not helped, has achieved its fantasy of setting Britain against its neighbours. The bullies who blame and denigrate are in the ascendancy, and people seem to like it. I don’t think any of this bodes well for the political and social future of humanity.

But the most distressing thing is to consider how this adult revelling in lack of empathy might be affecting our children. There are a whole bunch of reasons why suicides among children have now reached a 17-year high, not least the political and institutional lack of kindness that starves children’s mental health services of resources[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jul/04/nhs-child-mental-health-services-anxiety-depression].

Related: Cyberbullying – what if it’s your child at fault?[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/oct/01/cyberbullying-what-if-its-your-child-at-fault]

It’s easy to blame social media, but it’s easy to make a connection too. Is it really OK to let our children think that it’s fine to terrorise another human being, if you decide that somehow she had it coming, because of the things social media say about her?

Maybe a lot of people need to listen to Lucy Alexander, whose 17-year-old son, Felix, killed himself [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/05/felix-alexander-mother-lucy-open-letter-worcester] in April. He’d endured seven years of bullying, often from people who’d never met him. They had just jumped on a vile social media bandwagon, in which people were cruel because they had the chance to be, that rolled on and on and on. She wrote an open letter[http://www.worcesternews.co.uk/news/14781036.Mum\_s\_powerful\_open\_letter\_to\_bullies\_after\_teenage\_son\_s\_suicide/], in the hope of saving others from what her son had been subjected to. This is how she concludes it.

“You may see that I have repeatedly used one word in this letter and I make no apology for this.

“The word is kindness. I said this at our son’s funeral. Please be kind always, for you never know what is in someone’s heart or mind.

“Our lives have been irrevocably damaged by the loss of our wonderful son; please don’t let it happen to any other family.”

I stand with Lucy Alexander.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PM’s suggestion that Britain will prioritise **immigration** control over single market draws united and sharp response

Britain and the EU appear more bitterly divided over Brexit than at any time since the referendum, with European leaders ramping up their rhetoric after Theresa May signalled she would seek a clean break with the bloc.

The prime minister’s Conservative conference speech, in which she indicated Britain would prioritise **immigration** control and restore the primacy of UK law to become an “independent, sovereign nation” without full access to the single market, drew a sharp response from continental capitals.

In Paris, François Hollande said Britain must suffer the consequences of its decision. “The UK has decided to do a Brexit. I believe even a hard Brexit,” he said. “Well, then we must go all the way through the UK’s willingness to leave the EU. We have to have this firmness.”

If not, “we would jeopardise the fundamental principles of the EU”, the French president said on Thursday night[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/07/uk-must-pay-price-for-brexit-says-francois-hollande]. “Other countries would want to leave the EU to get the supposed advantages without the obligations … There must be a threat, there must be a risk, there must be a price.”

Related: Government bars foreign academics from advising on Brexit[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/07/lse-brexit-non-uk-experts-foreign-academics]

Hollande’s message was underlined on Friday by the president of the European commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, who said the 27 remaining member states must not give an inch in exit negotiations. “You can’t have one foot in and one foot out,” he said. “We must be unyielding on this point.”

Britain risked “trampling everything that has been built” over six decades of European integration, he said.

In Berlin, Angela Merkel rammed home the same point[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/angela-merkel-takes-significantly-tougher-brexit-stance]. “If we don’t insist that full access to the single market is tied to complete acceptance of the four basic freedoms, then a process will spread across Europe whereby everyone does and is allowed what they want.”

Merkel called on German industry leaders to back the government’s line in Brexit talks, even if it hit their profits. “We have to make sure our interests are coherent here so that we won’t be put under pressure constantly via European industry associations to eventually allow full access to the internal market even if all freedoms aren’t respected,” she said.

The British government has yet to confirm what kind of future relationship it will seek with the EU, but the conditions set down in May’s speech – in particular migration controls on EU citizens and the insistence that Britain will no longer be under the jurisdiction of the European court of justice – effectively rule out membership of the single market.

That will be hard to square with the prime minister’s determination for British firms to have the maximum opportunity to operate within the single market.

In an interview with the Guardian, Joseph Muscat, the prime minister of Malta, which will hold the EU’s rotating presidency when Britain triggers article 50 early next year, said the four freedoms – the movement of goods, capital, services and people – could not be decoupled. “That cannot be negotiated … These principles are the basis for everything the EU does,” he said.

Related: Angela Merkel urges German firms to back tough stance in Brexit talks[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/angela-merkel-takes-significantly-tougher-brexit-stance]

The French finance minister, Michel Sapin, said on Friday that eurozone governments would not accept the City of London remaining the main euro clearing centre once Britain left the EU. “There will be activities taking place in London that will only be able to take place on the territory of the European Union,” he said.

The leaders’ statements reflect an increasing feeling in European capitals that the hard line the prime minister and others adopted during the Conservative conference – including the home secretary, Amber Rudd’s plans to prevent migrants “taking jobs British people could do” – may reveal a far deeper hostility to the EU than they had imagined.

Despite well-publicised divisions, the EU 27 have shown consistent unity on Brexit. Charles Grant of the Centre for European Reform thinktank said in a research paper last week [https://www.cer.org.uk/insights/why-27-are-taking-hard-line-brexit] that this was partly because of a rising fear of Eurosceptic populism.

“A lot of British politicians believe that the hard line of the 27 is merely an opening stance,” Grant said. “Rather more Britons assume that, in the end, Angela Merkel will look after the UK. But for Merkel, the interests of the EU come first. She believes that maintaining the institutional integrity of the EU, and the link between the four freedoms, is in Europe’s interest and therefore Germany’s.”

He said many British politicians were over-optimistic about the kind of deal they might achieve because they failed to understand the continental debate on migration. “They tend to assume that because the British dislike EU migration, other Europeans must think similarly,” he said.

“In most EU countries the big issue is inflows of people from outside, not inside the EU. In Germany, for example, mainstream politicians do not see intra-EU migration as a big problem. So the 27 are not going to allow the British to combine single-market membership with controls on EU migration.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**She stole the show in The Night Manager: now Debicki is taking centre stage

A number of competing bars have been built into the outer bulwark of the National Theatre in London, and when she emerges from rehearsals one night in September the Australian actor Elizabeth Debicki[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/elizabeth-debicki] – animated, adamant, 6ft 3in – hesitates. Which bar? We circle the building together, scouting options, dismissing one place for being too quiet, another too busy. Debicki has heard a rumour about a secret actors’ drinking den hidden deep within the theatre complex. Finally, we wind up back at the quiet place, where she orders a glass of red wine. “I love that in England the choice is only ever ‘medium’ or ‘large’,” the 26-year-old says, taking a swig. Then again, she adds, who is she to talk. “In Australia, we fill swimming pools with this stuff.”

Chatting at the bar, I can understand why, whenever Debicki does a job (playing a warlord’s mistress in The Night Manager[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/the-night-manager], opposite Hugh Laurie and Tom Hiddleston, a party girl in Baz Luhrmann’s 2013 adaptation of The Great Gatsby[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2013/may/14/great-gatsby-review-cannes], or an **alien** in the upcoming superhero sequel, Guardians Of The Galaxy[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3-cZveM34c] ) she is affectionately known as “Debicki” on set. “My first name never lasts longer than five minutes.” There is an unstuffy and clownish energy to this actor, who doesn’t like to let a sentence rest if there’s a quip to be added and who, when she talks, waves her hands about as if she’s drowning. She chews gum and fiddles constantly with her short, bleached hair, now tugging it upright, now flattening it sideways. Her exuberance might be amplified by the fact that she’s only just been let loose from a rehearsal room after nine hours’ work on a new play, but Debicki says she’s always had “an ingrained intensity, a little bit of madness”, and she puts this down to her ancestry: Polish on her father’s side, Irish on her mother’s. When I ask about the most tiring part of rehearsing, Debicki flattens her hair to one side and says, “It’s a David Hare play. The words.”

There’s not a lot more she can say about the production, she says, beyond the fact that it’s called The Red Barn[https://www.nationaltheatre.org.uk/shows/red-barn], is set in 1960s New England and co-stars Mark Strong – a “psychological thriller with Hitchcockian elements”. I ask if she can give me a little preview of her New England accent. “No. Noooo. No way.” The hair gets dragged into clown-like puffs. “ No.” Debicki has signed a number of non-disclosure agreements recently, she explains, mostly related to her work on Guardians Of The Galaxy, and this has made her paranoid about saying anything about anything. “You start to worry there are snipers on the tops of nearby buildings.”

We talk instead about The Night Manager, safely in the can, safely broadcast, safely praised and garlanded. Overnight, while Debicki was asleep in her rented place in London, many of the cast and crew came together in Los Angeles. The series was up for some big awards at the Emmys[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/sep/19/emmy-awards-2016-review-game-of-thrones-people-v-oj], including nominations for her co-stars Hugh Laurie[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/hugh-laurie], Olivia Colman[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/olivia-colman] and Tom Hiddleston[https://www.theguardian.com/film/tom-hiddleston]. In the end, the show’s Danish director, Susanne Bier, won.

Debicki woke up to an inbox full of fuzzy photographs of the gang celebrating. “I miss them,” she says. “In my experience as an actor, it was probably the most unified group I’ve ever worked with. It’s rare you come out of a job and everyone you worked with, you want to see them again.”

In The Night Manager, adapted from John le Carré’s[https://www.theguardian.com/books/ng-interactive/2016/sep/03/tinker-tailor-writer-spy-the-many-lives-of-john-le-carre-in-his-own-words] 1993 novel, Debicki played Jed, a chilly beauty who has been “bought”, in the character’s words, to be the girlfriend of globetrotting arms dealer Richard Roper (Laurie). Jed gets muddled up in her allegiances when a former MI6 officer (Colman) commissions a taciturn spy ( Hiddleston[https://www.theguardian.com/books/ng-interactive/2016/sep/03/tinker-tailor-writer-spy-the-many-lives-of-john-le-carre-in-his-own-words#videos] ) to bundle in and mess with Roper’s schemes. Over its six episodes, there was a good deal of betrayal and sex and murder, as well as a lot of checking in and out of swanky hotels. There were clunky moments (Debicki’s character to Hiddleston’s: “Everyone’s attracted to you: who are you ?”), but even so it became that show – the one you’d better watch, as a matter of national imperative, in order not to be left out of conversations the whole time.

I love the idea that everyone was sitting down on a couch in front of it on a Sunday

“I love the idea that everyone was sitting down on a couch in front of it on a Sunday,” Debicki says. “That’s old-fashioned entertainment, isn’t it?” Her commutes to and from the theatre have been interesting, post-Night Manager. If she hasn’t showered or done her hair, she says, she’ll generally pass unnoticed. And, sometimes, “there’s a very British thing, where people have a very quiet but still slightly audible argument as to whether I am actually the woman in The Night Manager. It’s usually the husband or boyfriend looking over and saying, ‘No. Not her.’”

She was delighted that Bier, the first woman Debicki had been directed by, won the Emmy. On the set of The Night Manager, “we used to fight a lot about how sexy Jed had to be”; Debicki thought less, Bier thought more. A shower scene from episode two had to be tried a few times because, as Debicki remembers, “Susanne thought I was drying myself off like a football player in a locker room. She wanted Jed to be, not an object, but very feminine.” Bier helped her to understand the difference.

Most importantly, Debicki says, she responded to Bier’s refusal to praise her just for showing up. “Sometimes you work with directors who are very vocal, very complimentary. And I probably looked to Susanne for that, at first, like a deer in the headlights.” What happened? Debicki does an impersonation of the way the director spoke to her – eyes rolling, Scandinavian accent set to full-stun sarcasm: “You’re wonderful, you’re amazing, you’re the best actress in the world.’” She grimaces and mangles her hair. “It was freeing, to be made terrible fun of. I stopped looking for her approval.”

Debicki was born in France, the oldest of three children. Her parents were ballet dancers who met in Paris while performing in a show together. They relocated to the suburbs of Melbourne when Debicki was five. At her new school, “I remember desperately wanting to assimilate. It was probably the beginning of my acting career.” She spoke fluent French. “But kids are sensitive, right? I decided I wanted to fit in and I wouldn’t speak the language any more. My parents were appalled. Can you imagine? You have a little child who’s bilingual and then one day goes, ‘Nope.’”

The family weren’t well off. When her parents’ dancing careers timed out, Debicki’s father took a job working backstage at a theatre. She remembers “it was all a big relief” when she won a scholarship to an otherwise pricey school. Somewhere under Debicki’s quippy top layer there’s something firmer, and I get a sense of this when I ask an incautious question about how she won her scholarship: a recital, a dance? “Sat an exam,” she says, flatly. “I can write, too.” Debicki explains: “When your parents are ballet dancers, they teach you to be really fucking tough.” Physically? “They deal with a lot of physical pain, but no. Dancers are the toughest people I’ve met on a psychological level. It is so much more brutal than acting. Your expiration date is more definite, you work so much harder for your place along that barre or in that chorus line or whatever. My parents – who were very good at what they did, and had a sneaking suspicion early on that they were going to raise at least one child who would turn out to be a thespian – they really instilled a lot of toughness in us.” She remembers being told, often: chin up.

But she ever so slightly broke their hearts, Debicki says, when at the age of 17 she got into law school (“They were overjoyed”) and chose instead to take up a place to study drama. At the University of Melbourne, Debicki’s training was almost exclusively theatrical. “We had one week of film and TV classes. I remember having to hold up fake bottles and say: ‘Buy this Coke!’ I never expected to work on screen.” Her first job as a graduate was on the stage, playing a bereaved mother in a drama with the Melbourne Theatre Company[http://www.mtc.com.au] : “I had to cry a lot.”

This was an odd time in her life. Just as the weepy play was about to start rehearsing, Debicki went to a screen test in a Melbourne hotel, where an agent was assembling tapes of unknown Australian actors for Baz Luhrmann’s[http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0525303/bio?ref\_=nm\_ov\_bio\_sm] perusal, on the off-chance the director might want them in his new adaptation of The Great Gatsby. Debicki’s tape caught Luhrmann’s eye. “I got an email that said, ‘Baz liked your test.’ It was incomprehensible.” She was flown to Los Angeles, a 36-hour trip, where she did another test. Back in Melbourne, she didn’t hear anything for a month. “I started to assume I’d been hit by a bus and dreamed the whole thing.” Then she was walking to rehearsals one day when Luhrmann called her mobile and said, “Would you like to be part of our little play?”

People often say I seem very confident. I wonder if it’s from having been different from a young age

In Gatsby, which was filmed in Sydney in late 2011, Debicki played Jordan Baker, a glamorous society cynic, vaguely catalytic in the doomed affair between Leonardo DiCaprio[https://www.theguardian.com/film/leonardodicaprio] ’s Jay Gatsby and Carey Mulligan[https://www.theguardian.com/film/carey-mulligan] ’s Daisy Buchanan. Of her state of mind during the shoot, Debicki says, “I had just finished school. I felt about 12 years old.” She was good in the movie, though: lofty, composed, holding her own as the notably unfamous one in a cast composed of established or rising stars. Debicki knows that Luhrmann (“my fairy godmother”) took a chance on her. “He casts on instinct. And I guess with this he decided, ‘I have big actors in it already.’”

She was working in another play by the time Gatsby premiered at Cannes in 2013. The Maids[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/australia-culture-blog/2013/jun/09/the-maids-review-stc-blanchett], starring Cate Blanchett[https://www.theguardian.com/film/cate-blanchett] and Isabelle Huppert[https://www.theguardian.com/film/isabelle-huppert], had Debicki as a wealthy woman who visits her frustrations on her servants. After a run in Melbourne, the play transferred to Broadway, where Debicki was singled out for praise ( the New York Times called her “smashing”[http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/10/theater/cate-blanchett-and-isabelle-huppert-in-the-maids.html?\_r=0] ; Time magazine found her “tall and delicious”[http://time.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/3111617/the-maids-review-cate-blanchett/] ). Between the Melbourne and Broadway runs, Guy Ritchie cast her as a baddie in his Man From UNCLE movie[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/aug/11/the-man-from-uncle-review-style-paired-with-deathly-boring-substance], and Justin Kurzel, who’d seen The Maids, made Debicki his Lady Macduff in a big-screen Macbeth with Michael Fassbender[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/oct/01/macbeth-review-shakespeare-michael-fassbender-marion-cotillard]. By the time these films were on release, Debicki had already lobby-hopped through posh hotels in Switzerland, Marrakech and Mallorca, filming The Night Manager.

Which brings us to what might be called her non-disclosure period. After the David Hare thriller at the National, Debicki will appear in a mysterious space drama called The God Particle[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cl2MyJchPCI], playing an astronaut, and then in the Guardians Of The Galaxy sequel, playing a “fabulous” **alien** about whom she can say very little. I ask her to give me something about the Marvel Studios film – anything – and she says there was lots of green-screen work. Anything else? She leans forward and seizes my knee: “There is probably someone from Marvel – wearing a tweed cap – pretending to be an audience member at the National – spying on me right now.”

She adopts a roughly similar policy of banterish deflection when prodded, mildly, to talk about her romantic life. “Have I got a boyfriend-slash-girlfriend? That’s very liberal of you. I don’t want to say anything. I’m really private.” What she will say is that it can be unnerving, hopping from job to job, rental to rental, and that she’s glad her parents trained her in the tradition of iron, ballet-dancer toughness. “As an actor, you’re nomadic. You never settle. And that can be very trying on the sense of self, when who you feel you are shifts all the time. It drove me nuts as a kid, all that ‘Chin up’ stuff, but now I’m grateful for it.”

The quiet bar at the National gets busier (an evening show is about to start) so we step outside, where Debicki registers mild surprise that she managed to finish her big glass of wine after all, and slings on a backpack to head home. On the set of The Night Manager, she’s reminded, Hiddleston used to quiz her about the meaning of Australian slang words such as “dag” and “daggy”; she points a thumb at her backpack, a cumbersome, canvas thing: “This is daggy.”

We set off together, heading for the same station. Like Debicki, I’m tall (I have a couple of inches on her 6ft 3in) and we probably make a bit of a sight, striding along the river. Oncomers take a good look, then look away. I know from experience that it’s hard, if not impossible, to engage someone in interesting conversation about being tall, though every day people try. I’m not eager to bring up the subject unless she does.

“I can’t remember the last time I met someone who was taller than me,” she says.

We compare notes. Has she had that one where an old lady in the supermarket asks for something off the top shelf? (Yes.) The one where an overwhelmed young child bursts out crying, spontaneously, at the sight of her? (Not yet.) Debicki says she’s come to think her height might be the source of some of her unusual energy. “People often say I seem very confident. If I have to present an award, or it’s the first day of work somewhere, I have this veneer of being totally au fait. I wonder if it’s from having been different from a young age. I was always aware that people were aware of me. Maybe I tried to overcompensate.”

She’s too sarky and self-aware not to point out, while saying this, that nobody is about to start “playing the violin” for a “tall-y”. And she can hardly blame strangers for being attentive to physical distinction, because “rare’s rare, you know?” Even so, height is something you don’t get any choice about and can’t switch off; it’s a strange and unrepresentative thing to be defined by. So don’t make the whole article about me being tall, Debicki suggests, before we shake hands goodbye. I tell her I’ll put it in somewhere at the end.

• The Red Barn[https://www.nationaltheatre.org.uk/shows/red-barn] is at the Lyttelton Theatre, London SE1, until 17 January

• Styling: Melanie Wilkinson. Hair: Ben Talbott at the Galleon east Dulwich, using Charles Worthington. Makeup: Emma Day at the Wall Group, Using Dior Fall Look and Capture Totale Dreamskin Cushion. Fashion assistant: Billie Brand

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Russia used these carpet bombing tactics to massacre civilians in Grozny. The west can’t stay silent: we know how this ends

Where are the demonstrations in western capitals to denounce the brutal onslaught on Aleppo[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/06/a-tale-of-two-cities-satellite-images-show-contrasting-fortunes-of-aleppos-citizens] ? Around 300,000 people are exposed to carpet bombing[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/06/aleppo-could-be-destroyed-by-christmas-warns-un-envoy-for-syria], including bunker-busting and fragmentation ordnance. Is the weather so bad that no one wants to stand on a square, or in front of a Russian embassy? Or does no one care? Does no one think protesting would make a difference?

Related: Eastern Aleppo could be destroyed by Christmas, warns UN Syria envoy[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/06/aleppo-could-be-destroyed-by-christmas-warns-un-envoy-for-syria]

Take London. There have been several demonstrations linked with foreign affairs in recent months – but none of note about the siege and destruction of Aleppo. A cheerful crowd gathered in front of the French embassy to mock this summer’s banning of the burkini[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/29/burkini-ban-would-be-unconstitutional-says-french-minister] on the Riviera. In June, thousands took part in a “ march for Europe[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/03/pro-eu-protesters-join-march-for-europe-demos-around-uk] ” (one banner read: “Fromage, not Farage”). And last month, crowds gathered to support **refugees**. All worthwhile, important causes. But about the Syrian conflict? Almost nothing. Certainly nothing comparable to those crowds.

The same applies to Paris, Berlin, Madrid, Rome. To be fair, in Brussels, on Tuesday, some people did demonstrate[https://syria.liveuamap.com/en/2016/4-october-aleppo-protest-outside-the-european-commission], holding “Save Aleppo” placards: there were a hundred or so demonstrators on Schuman Square. But street protests denouncing Aleppo’s plight are confined to small groups – often exiled Syrians and human rights activists. There is none of the grassroots mobilisation that other wars – Iraq in 2003, or the Gaza conflict – have triggered. Nor have artists, trade union leaders, intellectuals or politicians, who have in the past been prompt to organise anti-war movements, shown any determination to get the crowds out to call for an end to the slaughter in Syria.

It may be that we have become numb to the constant stream of horrifying news, including the more than 100 children killed last week[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/01/world/middleeast/aleppo-syria-civilians.html?\_r=0] in Aleppo by airstrikes. It may be that Syria seems too complex an issue. But what is complex about saying civilians should be protected? What is complex about denouncing those who are currently dropping untold amounts of ordnance on neighbourhoods and hospitals?

The carpet bombing of Grozny was aimed at emptying the city, either by killing its people or making them **refugees**

Yes, it’s true western governments criticise Russia and Bashar al-Assad. It’s also true that at the UN, diplomats have compared Aleppo to Guernica and Srebrenica. But do official statements make any show of public anger redundant? Aren’t basic human values worth standing up for in the face of atrocities – if only to show solidarity?

Or could it be that we are wallowing in an ocean of “post-truth” politics, where Russian and Syrian government propaganda has made us doubt they are breaking international law? Have we started to believe carpet-bombing can be understood as anti-terrorism? Have we started thinking it would be best for Aleppo to be captured swiftly? There’s a useful quote from Tacitus when that kind of logic sets in: “And when in their wake nothing remains but a desert, they call that peace.”

To understand what’s happening in Aleppo, it’s worth reading about Grozny in the winter of 1999-2000[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\_of\_Grozny\_(1999%E2%80%932000)]. This is the operation Russian forces are drawing on as they carry out their air offensive on eastern Aleppo. Like other journalists who covered that war in the Caucasus, I see clear parallels. Moscow’s strategy to flush out up to 7,000 Chechen rebels from Grozny, once a city of 250,000 inhabitants, was to pound the whole place into oblivion. Videos and pictures of Grozny in 2000 are available online[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dez\_oyWHAy8] – take a look. This is a war of total eradication that bears no resemblance to any western intervention.

The carpet bombing of Grozny was aimed at emptying the city of its people, either by killing them or making them **refugees**. “Safe corridors” were promised by the Russian army at one point, but those promises were just words, if not traps: families who attempted to flee were also targeted[http://news.bbc.co.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/1/hi/world/europe/549893.stm]. The Assad regime has suggested similar corridors would be created in Aleppo, adding ominously that anyone who stays and doesn’t surrender “ will face their inevitable fate[http://mobile.reuters.com/article/idUSKCN126236?feedType=RSS&feedName=topNews&utm\_source=twitter&utm\_medium=Social] ”.

Grozny was encircled, then almost entirely razed to the ground, with an estimated 50,000 people trapped inside, hunkering cold and hungry in basements and tunnels.

After that, Russian ground troops moved in and carried out mass atrocities, shooting survivors in the head and raping women – sinister “mopping up” operations that left a trail of human devastation, especially in the Novye Aldi area, where I saw the traces of those war crimes. Torture centres run by the Russian military[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/oct/15/russia.chechnya] filled up. Mass graves were dug so bodies wouldn’t be found. Incredibly brave local human rights activists such as Natalia Estemirova[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jul/23/chechnya-natalia-estemirova], assassinated in 2009, documented much of this, as did the Russian reporter Anna Politkovskaya[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/oct/08/media.pressandpublishing], killed three years earlier.

Russia and Assad want to capture Aleppo using methods that resemble those used on Grozny. It’s often been said, in the west, that there is no military solution in Syria. But a military “solution” is very much what Moscow and the regime in Damascus are aiming for now – massacring civilians, creating a void that they will then call “pacification”.

I am not saying that demonstrations in London or Paris would stop the tyrants. But if protests were organised, perhaps we’d feel less shame when we look back on these events in the future? Back in 2000, groups did demonstrate in London[http://news.bbc.co.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/1/hi/uk/632026.stm] to denounce “the carnage that the Russians are inflicting on the Chechens”. Jeremy Corbyn was among them. He and many others could now be doing the same for Syrian civilians. Why aren’t they?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Help **Refugees** says ministers have breached duties to unaccompanied children, exposing them to ‘serious risks’

Lawyers for a leading **refugee** charity have begun legal proceedings against the Home Office, arguing that ministers have failed in obligations to give sanctuary to some of the thousands of unaccompanied children seeking asylum in Europe.

Help **Refugees** [http://www.helprefugees.org.uk/] says the home secretary, Amber Rudd, has breached her relocation duties to some unaccompanied children in Europe, by misconstruing or misapplying the May **Immigration** Act under which the government was obliged to take some children into the UK.

Related: UK theatres call for urgent help for child **refugees** in Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/06/uk-theatres-call-for-urgent-help-for-child-refugees-in-calais]

The legal papers state that because of this failure it “is incontestable that the unaccompanied children” whom the legislation is intended to assist “are exposed to serious risks of abuse and exploitation”.

Help **Refugees**’ action comes amid rising concern for the safety of several hundred unaccompanied **refugee** children in Calais, with just one week left before demolition of the unofficial **refugee** camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/26/calais-migrant-camp-must-go-by-end-of-year-francois-hollande] is expected to begin.

Charities are worried[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/01/child-refugees-despair-calais-camp-close] that no plans for rehousing the children in safe alternative accommodation have been announced, and that there has so far been no attempt to begin a systematic registration of the children either by the French or the UK authorities.

Related: Tory MPs urge Amber Rudd to do more to help child **refugees** in Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/03/tory-mps-urge-amber-rudd-do-more-help-child-refugees-calais]

Although most volunteer groups on the ground support the demolition in the abstract, because camp conditions are so poor, they are worried that an eviction without clear plans for how residents will be relocated could make the situation worse, particularly for the children, some of them as young as eight, who are travelling without parents.

Josie Naughton, co-founder of Help **Refugees**, said: “We absolutely think that the camp shouldn’t be there and no human being should live in those conditions, but we need to make sure that the French keep their word so that proper alternative accommodation is provided and that the eviction is carried out as humanely as possible.”

Lily Caprani from Unicef UK said: “We are urgently calling for the UK to make sure comprehensive care plans are in place so that frightened children are not scattered by the bulldozers and facing a winter alone without a home. Unless the authorities do the right thing, it is likely many children will now go missing or attempt more dangerous crossings to reach family in the UK.”

Help **Refugees**’ legal action, which could trigger a judicial review, argues that Rudd has failed in urgent “relocation duties to unaccompanied children in Europe”, particularly under the so-called Dubs amendment to the **Immigration** Act.

Under this amendment, introduced by Alf Dubs, the Labour peer who arrived in the UK as a Kindertransport child **refugee**, the government pledged “as soon as possible” to “make arrangements to relocate to the UK” a number of unaccompanied **refugee** children. Since the act was passed it appears that no children have arrived in the UK under its provisions.

In her speech to the Conservative party conference[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/oct/04/amber-rudd-comes-down-on-immigration-and-foreign-workers-video] earlier this week, Rudd set out a commitment to help some of the children in Calais. “There are vulnerable, unaccompanied children in Calais at risk of people-trafficking and abuse,” she said. “Where those children have a relative in the UK, or it is in their best interests to come to the UK, we are doing all we can to bring them over here.”

But Lord Dubs said he was disappointed that the government was muddling its obligation to reunite **refugee** families. His broader campaign is to persuade the government to take its share of the 80,000 estimated unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in Europe, regardless of whether they have relatives in the UK. “I think it is a real cheat,” he said.

Related: ‘It is a disgrace to Europe’: former child **refugee** Lord Dubs on the Calais camp[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp]

Labour MP Stella Creasy, who has tabled an amendment to the government’s child welfare bill[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/aug/18/call-to-bring-child-refugees-in-calais-under-uk-safeguarding-rules], aiming to give young **refugees** in Calais protection under British safeguarding rules, said she was worried by the slowness of the government’s response.

“Time is running out. Unless we step into the breach it will be a disaster. We haven’t got any more time for saying it is complicated. We need a process now. The government can’t just wait it out and hope the problem goes away,” she said.

Yvette Cooper, chair of Labour’s **refugee** taskforce, has called for Britain and France to take half the unaccompanied children in Calais each. “The foot-dragging and the buck-passing between the French and British governments over the children in Calais is a disgrace. It is quite incredible that there is only a week to go before the camp is cleared but still no plan for the children who are there alone.”

But concern about the fate of the unaccompanied children in Calais is increasingly cross-party. This week 10 Conservative MPs wrote to Rudd urging her to speed up her response to the crisis. Damian Collins, MP for Folkestone and Hythe, who did not sign the letter but visited the camp last week, said he was shocked by what he saw.

“Walking around it you have to remind yourself that you are still in Europe and not on the edge of a warzone,” he wrote in a blogpost[http://www.damiancollins.com/blog/2016/10/my-visit-to-the-calais-jungle/]. “It is clear that no concerted effort has yet been made to find alternative places for the migrants, or to ensure that their asylum claims have been processed.”

The Home Office said it was working with the French government to speed up mechanisms to identify, assess and transfer unaccompanied **refugee** children to the UK, “where this is in their best interests”. It said a UK expert has been seconded to the French interior ministry in Paris, to help with the process.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Profiles of the new shadow home secretary, attorney general, chief whip, shadow Brexit secretary and other key roles

Diane Abbott Diane Abbott is one of Jeremy Corbyn ’s closest supporters and the job of shadow home secretary is the third shadow cabinet post that she has held since he took over as leader a year ago.

Related: Corbyn promotes Diane Abbott in shadow cabinet reshuffle [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/06/nick-brown-labour-frontbench-return-chief-whip-rosie-winterton]

In 1987, Abbott became Britain’s first black female MP. Her record as a rebel Labour MP ensured that she was never offered ministerial office under Tony Blair or Gordon Brown ; she voted against the Iraq war, ID cards, Trident and counter-terrorism legislation, including a high-profile role in the civil liberties’ campaign against 42-day pre-charge detention. Instead, she spent much of the 1990s campaigning on the Commons Treasury select committee and became a familiar personality on television.

Ed Miliband gave her a frontbench job as shadow minister for public health after she secured 7% of the vote in the party leadership contest. She has been highly critical of Labour’s past rhetoric on **immigration** and branded a 2015 election souvenir mug championing “**immigration** controls” as shameful.

Since Corbyn became leader, she has shadowed international development and health. She takes over the shadow home secretary role from Andy Burnham .

Shami Chakrabarti Nominated by Corbyn for a peerage in August, Shami Chakrabarti ’s promotion to Labour’s frontbench as shadow attorney general has been rapid.

The 47-year-old former director of the human rights organisation Liberty was raised in north-west London and studied law at the London School of Economics .

She qualified as a barrister and worked initially as an in-house lawyer for the Home Office. In 2001 – the day before the 9/11 attacks – she moved to Liberty where she came to prominence as a persuasive and determined campaigner, resisting government attempts to impose “repressive” anti-terrorist measures.

Lady Chakrabarti was a panel member of the Leveson inquiry into phone hacking, carried an Olympic flag in the 2012 London opening ceremony and, earlier this summer, completed an inquiry into antisemitism in the Labour party.

Nick Brown This is the third time that Nick Brown has held the job of Labour chief whip, a key role if Corbyn is to stamp his authority on his rebellious MPs.

Brown first held the post in 1997-98 under Tony Blair , before becoming a key “fixer” for Gordon Brown and playing a role in the ousting of Blair. The Newcastle MP loyally served as chief whip to Gordon Brown while he was prime minister but was sacked from the job in 2010 by Ed Miliband , who wanted to be seen to be making a break with the Blair/Brown years.

Miliband replaced him with Dame Rosie Winterton, who became a popular chief whip, holding the job for six years under three different leaders. Now Brown replaces the woman he had to make way for.

Brown is said to have been less hostile than many over the years to the old hard-left Campaign Group of MPs of which Corbyn, John McDonnell and Abbott were leading members for 25 years.

Keir Starmer The former director of public prosecutions is one of the new intake of MPs to be handed jobs in Corbyn’s cabinet, taking the role of shadow Brexit secretary.

He was DPP, the head of the Crown Prosecution Service , for five years to 2013 after a career as a human rights lawyer. Starmer was viewed by some as a natural Labour supporter during his time in office and subsequently chose to stand for election for the party, winning the Holborn and St Pancras seat.

He backed remain during the EU referendum campaign and his appointment as Brexit secretary indicates that Labour will seek to strongly oppose Britain leaving the EU , after criticism that Corbyn was half-hearted in his campaigning on the issue.

He studied law at the University of Leeds and the University of Oxford and was called to the bar in 1987, before being appointed a QC in 2002.

Clive Lewis Another of 2015’s intake, Lewis is moving from defence to shadow spokesman for business, energy and industrial strategy, replacing Jon Trickett . The shift follows a high-profile row over Trident [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/26/labour-clear-on-trident-renewal-says-shadow-defence-secretary-clive-lewis-nato] at the Labour conference, where he announced that the party would not be ditching its support, despite Corbyn’s longstanding opposition to nuclear weapons.

A former BBC reporter and army reservist, Lewis took his Norwich South seat from the Lib Dems after a campaign based on opposition to the privatisation of the NHS .

Nia Griffith The former shadow Welsh secretary becomes shadow defence secretary – a role she had been tipped for [http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/politics/could-nia-griffith-biggest-winner-10686764] thanks to her opposition to Trident.

The Llanelli MP was among the shadow cabinet members to resign in June and backed Owen Smith ’s leadership bid, although she returned to the shadow cabinet in September.

Sarah Champion The Rotherham MP, who resigned from Corbyn’s frontbench in the aftermath of the EU referendum but returned within weeks [http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/sarah-champion-unresigns-labour-shadow-8490897], becomes shadow minister for women and equalities. Since her return to Corbyn’s team in July she had served as shadow minister for preventing abuse and domestic violence.

Champion won Corbyn’s backing at conference after it emerged she had been arrested [http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/my-sadness-bitter-fight-husband-8901636] following a row with her husband. “I know everyone in this room today will want to join me in just simply saying this to Sarah Champion: you have our total, full and absolutely warm support,” he said.

A psychology graduate who was elected to parliament in Denis MacShane’s former seat [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2012/nov/02/denis-macshane-resigns-expenses] in 2012, Champion has been a prominent campaigner on the sexual exploitation of children.

Jo Stevens The Cardiff Central MP becomes shadow Wales secretary, having formerly held a justice brief. Stevens refused to resign from Corbyn’s frontbench in July, calling for party unity, but backed Smith for the leadership.

A former solicitor and another of 2015’s parliamentary intake, Stevens replaces Nia Griffith . Stevens told the BBC : “I’m looking forward to getting stuck into the role working closely with Jeremy and Carwyn [the Welsh first minister, Carwyn Jones ] to ensure Labour continues to be the party that best represents the interests of all people across Wales.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Labour leader also places Shami Chakrabarti as shadow attorney general and barrister Keir Starmer as shadow Brexit secretary

Jeremy Corbyn has made his first major changes since being re-elected as Labour’s leader, appointing his allies Diane Abbott and Shami Chakrabarti to top jobs within the shadow cabinet.

In a sign that he has tightened his control over the party, Abbott, a friend of Corbyn whose constituency neighbours his own, was promoted from being shadow health secretary to shadow home secretary.

Lady Chakrabarti, who was ennobled by Corbyn weeks after completing a controversial report on antisemitism within the party, was confirmed as shadow attorney general.

The Labour leader also appointed Dawn Butler as the shadow minister for black and minority ethnic communities, which means that there are five MPs in the shadow cabinet from the BAME community – the highest ever number.

But in a move that dismayed many MPs, Rosie Winterton, the opposition chief whip, was sacked from her post. She is to be replaced by Gordon Brown ’s former government fixer Nick Brown .

Related: Jeremy Corbyn appoints Diane Abbott as shadow home secretary in reshuffle – live [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/06/prevent-programme-should-be-reviewed-and-overhauled-says-terror-law-watchdog-politics-live]

Brown, the 66-year-old Newcastle upon Tyne East MP, held the post of chief whip between 2008 and 2010, during which time he earned a reputation as a political bruiser.

The barrister Keir Starmer, 54, was named as shadow Brexit secretary, opposite David Davis . The MP for Holborn and St Pancras was director of public prosecutions until 2013. He has been described as a possible future leader of the party.

Clive Lewis , 45, who was shadow defence minister, took on a new role as shadow business secretary following tensions with Corbyn’s office over Trident [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/26/labour-clear-on-trident-renewal-says-shadow-defence-secretary-clive-lewis-nato]. He was replaced by Nia Griffith , a unilateralist who has campaigned against Trident. In October, the Llanelli MP called for a “genuine rethink” on the UK’s nuclear programme. The change will prompt concern from some unions, including Unite and GMB, which have pushed Corbyn to maintain Labour’s current policy of supporting Trident’s renewal.

Other appointments include Sarah Champion, who resigned as abuse prevention minister in July. She returned to be shadow women and equalities minister.

Jo Stevens , the MP for Cardiff Central, was given the post of shadow Welsh secretary.

Butler, the MP for Brent Central, said: “I am very proud that the Labour party now has five MPs in our shadow cabinet from the BAME community – the highest number ever in any cabinet or shadow cabinet.” The others are Abbott, Chakrabarti, Lewis and the shadow international development minister, Kate Osamor .

Jonathan Reynolds , the MP for Stalybridge and Hyde [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stalybridge\_and\_Hyde\_(UK\_Parliament\_constituency)], was appointed to the position of shadow economic secretary to the Treasury, opposite David Gauke .

Lewis replaced Jon Trickett in the business role. Trickett retains his other roles as shadow lord president of the council and Labour’s national campaigns co-ordinator.

Corbyn had promised to unite his party following his re-election as leader last month. Some posts have been vacant since a wave of shadow cabinet resignations in the aftermath of June’s EU referendum, with some MPs taking on multiple portfolios.

It is understood that there will be further announcements over the coming days.

Brown’s appointment was the first move in a major reshuffle of the party following Corbyn’s re-election as leader last month.

It was swiftly followed by the announcement that Abbott, 63, would shadow Amber Rudd ’s role in the home office, overseeing anti-terrorism, **immigration** and the police.

“I am honoured to serve. My first job when I left university was a graduate trainee at the Home Office so my career has come full circle,” she said in a statement.

Abbott’s appointment will prompt criticism from some within the party, particularly in northern seats, who want to see the shadow home secretary take a tougher stance on **immigration**.

Abbott has previously dismissed calls for greater **immigration** controls, saying: “The people that complain about freedom of movement will not be satisfied because what they really want is to see less foreign looking people on their streets.”

Chakrabarti, 47, the former director of Liberty was elevated to the House of Lords just a month after her antisemitism inquiry into the Labour party concluded.

Her peerage was met with criticism from MPs and prominent antisemitism organisations who questioned her independence.

Related: Jeremy Corbyn's reshuffle: the big roles in the shadow cabinet [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/06/jeremy-corbyns-choices-the-big-roles-in-the-shadow-cabinet]

Chakrabarti insisted there was “nothing remotely transactional” about her report when pressed if there were any talks about a peerage before it was completed.

In an attempt to emphasise regional balance in the top team, Corbyn said the appointment of Reynolds meant there were 10 MPs from the north of England on the frontbench.

Winterton played a key role in negotiations between Corbyn and the parliamentary Labour party (PLP) following his victory last month and her sacking was a “shock”, a source said.

The source said Winterton had believed she was still bridge-building between the leader’s office and the PLP and was involved in conversations about the possible return to shadow cabinet elections over the past few days.

On Thursday, her office received a surprise call from Corbyn’s office and was expecting to continue talks about party unity, but was instead removed from office.

“It came completely out of the blue,” the source said. “It’s not where we thought we were at all.”

Some MPs continued to criticise the shadow cabinet for being too allied to Corbyn’s powerbase in London – all the shadows of the four great offices of state are now London MPs – and for failing to embrace his critics.

Related: Owen Smith rules out return to shadow cabinet [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/06/owen-smith-rules-out-return-to-shadow-cabinet]

Following Winterton’s sacking, the Labour MP for Bermondsey and Old Southwark, Neil Coyle , wrote that it was a blow for party unity. “There were plenty of spaces to fill in shadow cabinet if Nick Brown wanted one. Sacking the unifying chief whip shows ‘reaching out’ meant nothing,” he wrote on Twitter .

Middlesbrough South MP Tom Blenkinsop, who has criticised Corbyn’s leadership in the past, tweeted: “Clear Corbyn wants submission not unity. Ignoring wishes of the PLP and just sacking and appointing regardless.”

Several prominent Labour figures posted messages on Twitter thanking Winterton for her work, including former leader Ed Miliband and former deputy leader Harriet Harman .

Tom Watson , the deputy Labour leader, said: “Rosie Winterton held the position of chief whip in very difficult times... It’s a tribute to her tact, diplomacy and patience that she held the position under three different leaders.”

In a statement, Winterton pointedly did not mention Corbyn by name. “It has been an honour to have served as Labour’s chief whip for the past six years under three different leaders. I would like to thank the whips and the parliamentary Labour party for the support they have given me. I wish Nick Brown every success in his new role,” she said.

In a statement, Corbyn said: “I’d like to pay tribute to Rosie Winterton for her six years’ exceptional service as chief whip. She has played an outstanding role, both in her support for me as leader and the Labour party.

Brown decided not to stand again to be Labour’s chief whip in September 2010 after the then incoming leader, Ed Miliband , told him that he would rather seek a new person. Winterton replaced him. He also served as a minister for agriculture, fisheries and food, the north-east, and work and pensions.

With the shadow chancellor, John McDonnell , expected to stay in place and Emily Thornberry likely to retain the foreign affairs brief, the four most senior positions in the shadow cabinet will all be held by London MPs.

A party spokesman said: “Jeremy has today spoken to a number of colleagues in the parliamentary Labour party and will continue to do so throughout the day. He has begun the process of appointing a new frontbench team.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Theresa May ’s response to Brexit has taken ministers beyond their comfort zones. And that’s an opportunity for their opponents

If Ed Balls didn’t have the medium of dance through which to express his feelings, he might be forgiven for wanting to punch a wall right now. So perhaps we can expect a more than usually vigorous turn from the former shadow chancellor on this week’s Strictly Come Dancing [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/01/dont-mock-ed-balls-strictly-come-dancing-smart-politics]. Imagine the frustration of losing a seat last May, only for some of your political thinking to live on, also in May. Theresa May [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-tory-party-conference-video-highlights], that is.

This has been a depressing, frightening week in UK politics; a time when genuinely ugly things have been said, then half-unsaid, but not forgotten. But it’s the worst possible time for progressives to abandon hope. May has not lurched right, or left, or towards the centre ground. She’s done all three.

She’s moved left into the kind of borrow-and-build, state-led economic strategy that Balls would recognise, and into an anti-fat cat rhetoric Ed Miliband absolutely did recognise, judging by his single sardonic tweet [https://twitter.com/Ed\_Miliband/status/783598959222718464] in response to hints of a clampdown on energy prices: “Marxist, anti-business interventionism imho [in my humble opinion]”.

But she’s also moved sharply rightwards on **immigration** [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/05/the-message-of-brexit-was-mixed-now-we-are-told-it-was-simply-a-referendum-on-immigration], something Labour agonised over in the last parliament but couldn’t bring itself to do, even though it was clearly what many working-class voters wanted.

And all the time she’s talking of what she calls the “new centre ground”, although centre of gravity is perhaps closer to the mark; not some balanced ideological midpoint between left and right, but the great confusing expanse of political territory where those labels stop making sense, because public opinion seems to be left-ish on some things (believing big business must be screwing them over) but right-ish on social issues. And if that looks confusing and contradictory from the outside, imagine how it feels on the inside.

This week has revealed a government still interestingly unsure of its ground

May was right to point out this week how many politicians and journalists were wrong about Brexit. But her attack on the dreaded leftie liberal elite disguises the fact that they certainly weren’t alone in getting it wrong. Plenty of outers didn’t see victory coming either, judging by private conversations in the run-up to the referendum, and nor did many of May’s current cabinet.

Not long ago the health secretary, Jeremy Hunt, was earnestly telling us how Brexit would hurt the NHS , and Amber Rudd was socking it to leavers in the TV debate. What a difference a referendum makes. This week Hunt, an instinctive internationalist whose wife is Chinese, was trumpeting plans to train more British-born doctors instead of importing them [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/06/telling-nhs-doctors-go-home-self-harming-madness] – prompting a furious row over whether foreign doctors are being tacitly encouraged to leave.

Rudd, a socially liberal ex-journalist, meanwhile suggested companies be forced to publish data about how many foreign staff they employ [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers]. In a country happily relaxed about **immigration**, that might have sounded more pointless than sinister. In the current climate, she was accused of being one step away from handing out yellow stars.

And yes, it’s scary stuff. But it also falls apart surprisingly quickly when prodded, and therein lies the ray of hope: this isn’t a cabinet of racists. It’s a cabinet peppered with people terrified of being exposed as closet liberal elitists, clumsily second-guessing what people they’d once have regarded as racists think, only without the instinctive feel that true believers often have for when they’re going too far. Push back hard enough, and they give surprisingly fast.

Within hours, May was clarifying that she didn’t actually want to send any foreign-born doctors back, while Rudd was on radio explaining that her plan wasn’t necessarily going to happen – and the odds, given the instant backlash from business [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/government-faces-backlash-from-business-leaders-over-foreign-workers], are certainly against it. (When ministers asked firms to publish minimal and anonymised data about male and female salaries as part of its equality strategy, the furious complaints about red tape and unfair bad publicity nearly killed the plan. If they’re that afraid of a little light feminist critique, imagine how chief executives feel about ending up on some far-right hit list of supposedly “unpatriotic” businesses reliant on Romanians.)

If Rudd wants to see how divisive this idea might prove in the workplace, meanwhile, she could simply look down the cabinet table. Boris Johnson was born in New York, lived there until he was five, and until last year held dual American and British passports. Should May have hired a homegrown foreign secretary? Or should we be embarrassed to live in the sort of country where anyone would raise that question?

The damage is done now, of course. Some people will have heard the dog whistle all right, but missed the dogs being called off later. Sadly, those who have felt unwelcome here since June may simply feel more so. But the whole episode reveals a government still interestingly unsure of its ground, precisely because much of this isn’t naturally its ground; it’s still feeling its way in circumstances most ministers didn’t anticipate.

Related: We are witnessing nothing less than a Tory reformation | Rafael Behr [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/05/birmingham-witnessing-tory-reformation-conservative-conference-brexit]

That means it can be shamed, it can be reasoned with, and now its defences have been tested properly its weak spots are more obvious – as are the places where arrows ping helplessly off its armour. And Labour ought to know, because it’s been there.

There was more than a whiff of Blue Labour – the economically leftwing, socially rightwing, heavily nostalgic movement that was fashionable for a while under Ed Miliband – about May’s agenda this week, and that provides some interesting clues as to where it might get unstuck. Team Miliband liked Blue Labour’s ideas on economic justice but balked at their awkward, uncomfortable messages on **immigration** (with the arguable exception of Balls, who was raising concerns over freedom of movement back in 2010).

Judging by the wild applause for every mention of Brexit in Birmingham, and the silence when May promised to protect workers’ rights, Red Toryism has a similar problem in reverse. But if the 2015 election result is anything to go by, cherrypicking the easy bits and ignoring the harder ones doesn’t work; like trying to dance a waltz without a partner, people can see something’s missing.

Trying to keep both ideologically warring halves of the package together, however, is like trying to waltz with someone who’s trying to make you dance the Charleston. Blue Labour excelled at capturing what angry voters thought, but could never quite turn it into coherent policy. Judging by last week, the Red Tories are about to find out how that feels.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Tory policy on housing remains detached from reality. Where are the plans for more social housing, better private rentals or more council house building?

Compare and contrast two speeches: Jeremy Corbyn ’s to the Labour party conference in Liverpool, and the prime minister’s to the Conservative party conference in Birmingham. Both mention housing, understandably: the housing crisis, which affects every part of the market and has a direct impact on people’s lives and voting priorities, is now impossible for politicians to ignore.

Corbyn mentioned housing nine times, Theresa May , eight, but the content of their messages couldn’t be more different.

Both spoke of fairness but from different angles. Corbyn stated that Labour will build more than 1m new homes – at least half of them council houses – “and we will control private rents, so we can give every British family that basic human right: a decent home.” For Labour, fairness means everyone having the same access to basic needs, and housing is truly one of the most basic but often denied needs, regardless of their position in society.

For May, fairness means “meritocracy”, a theme she returned to throughout her speech. The term, coined by British sociologist Michael Young to satirise a dystopian future in which elites ignore social class and divisions by fetishising intellect and merit, has been adopted wholesale by political elites without any sense of irony.

Young lamented this shift back in 2001 in a paper [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/jun/29/comment]. It is handy for those who wish to comfort themselves over the divisions that remain in society if they can think that the have-nots in modern Britain are not fettered by intersecting oppressions of class, race, poverty and economics, but simply undeserving. Extreme wealth disparities are far easier to justify if those at the top can salve their consciences by convincing themselves they have acquired their comforts on merit.

Related: Council houses change lives: we will build them [https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/sep/29/social-housing-labour-shadow-housing-minister]

May’s speech also made no mention of council housing: Tory Britain is focused on home ownership above all else. As Colin Wiles wrote recently [https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/oct/05/conservative-party-conference-hope-housing-crisis], housing minister Gavin Barwell has made conciliatory noises outside the main speeches about the position of social housing; but in May’s speech it didn’t merit a mention: the sole focus was on home ownership as the aspiration and option for voters.

Barwell also managed to confuse many by claiming council housing increased inequality [http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/tory-council-housing-housebuilding-gavin-barwell-conference-live-2016-a7341946.html]. It’s a muddled argument that claims people are poor because they live in social housing, and not vice versa. In reality, as Labour’s shadow housing minister Teresa Pearce has argued [https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/sep/29/social-housing-labour-shadow-housing-minister], social housing offers security, and opportunity through affordable rents.

Despite May’s claims of centrism, her speech was skewed massively to the right. Her vision of a Britain that “works for everyone” clearly did not include migrants. In the speech itself she blamed migrant workers for pushing down wages, while home secretary Amber Rudd called for firms to list the numbers of foreign workers they employed, and health secretary Jeremy Hunt claimed the Tories would work towards an NHS that only employed medics born in the UK.

It simply isn’t true that **immigration** has negatively affected the cost of housing [https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/jan/25/is-immigration-causing-the-uk-housing-crisis]. In many areas **immigration** has lowered local rents, and since one of Britain’s big problems is the lack of a skilled workforce, without migrant workers house-building would falter significantly. If we cannot build the houses we need now, what hope do we have when Britain becomes a country that tells the many migrant bricklayers and labourers we rely on that they are neither welcome nor needed?

Related: Is **immigration** causing the UK housing crisis? [https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/jan/25/is-immigration-causing-the-uk-housing-crisis]

Many of the Tory pronouncements at conference were detached from reality: rather than attainable and evidence-based policies that can boost people’s quality of life, such as Labour’s plan for more social housing, better private-renting conditions, more local authority building powers, the Conservatives envisaged a rightwing dreamworld.

Aiming for a Britain in which everyone owns a home ignores the fact that right now many have no home to even rent, and far more struggle to pay their rent each month. This isn’t ignorance on the Conservatives’ part: it’s simply ideology. They know a focus on house-building ignores the huge section of British society for whom home ownership is a pipe dream, but they simply don’t care.

Social housing is beneath contempt in the eyes of May and her cabinet, and the people who need it barely worth a moment’s thought.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**For over a decade, Lake of Stars has drawn musicians and visitors from around the world to Malawi’s shores – but this year they were joined by special groups of performers, drawn from the country’s Dzaleka **refugee** camp

For most pilgrims it is a long way to Lake of Stars festival [http://lakeofstars.org/]. This year the event returned to its original site at Chintheche Inn in northern Malawi, seven hours by bus from the capital Lilongwe. Many artists come from further afield still, across Africa and Europe. Alongside them this year were groups of **refugees** making their own journey from Malawi’s Dzaleka [https://lilongwe.usembassy.gov/pressreleases5/us-ambassador-visits-dzaleka-refugee-camp.html] camp.

These included the Amahoro Drummers [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ACYO-\_n9BU4], a traditional Burundian group who perform with the tall karyenda drums balanced precariously on their heads. And yet most of the two dozen drummers have lived in exile their whole lives, member Simon Nzigamasabo tells me. “Maybe 95% of us – including myself – have never seen Burundi,” he says. “I was born in Tanzania in 1985 and learned how to play this drum there. Our leaders in the camps always wanted the children to see a positive side of their country.”

It’s a lesson Nzigamasabo is now teaching his own children. “It’s very important, not only for us but for the world,” he says. “In Burundi, the drum has a lot of meaning. The word ‘drum’ in Kirundi is ingoma, which also means ‘government’.”

Traditionally, the Burundian ritual dance of the royal drum was performed at important feasts and festivals to invoke the power of their monarchy. Such is its cultural significance that in 2014 it was added to Unesco’s list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity, [http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/ritual-dance-of-the-royal-drum-00989] and the Amahoro perform the drumming and accompanying dancing in traditional dress – aside from the occasional fluorescent flash of modern football shorts. Their music is accompanied by heroic poetry interspersed, at least during this performance on the golden sands of Lake Malawi, with a repeated question to their audience: “Are you happy?”

After performing, the Amahoro Drummers left to sign back in at Dzaleka – knowing a missed deadline could mean sanctions

It’s a question they may ask themselves. Their current home at Dzaleka was opened in 1994 to provide sanctuary for those fleeing wars in Burundi, Rwanda [https://www.theguardian.com/world/rwanda] and the Democratic Republic of the Congo [https://www.theguardian.com/world/congo], and is now home to around 25,000 people.

“Life in **refugee** camps is very, very hard,” says Nzigamasabo. “I say that from experience – I was born in one and now I’m 30! I believe it takes courage to be a **refugee**. Thanks to that courage, we’re not here at this festival as **refugees** but as Amahoro.”

The drummers’ performance was one of the highlights of a weekend that sought to bring together musicians from Europe and Africa and included performances from South African Afro-fusion band Freshlyground, Zambian rapper Roberto, and German progressive house DJ Timo Maas, enjoying a change of scenery from Ibiza.

Norwegian jazz-pop band Mooyh [https://soundcloud.com/mooyh] travelled from Oslo to play at Lake of Stars. Guitarist Bernt Isak Wærstad says that the location of the festival site on Lake Malawi more than made up for its remoteness. “The scenery is really beautiful,” he said. “Our bus may have broken down, but if you’re coming to a festival like this you have to take it as a bit of a trip and just enjoy the ride.”

But in stark contrast to their country-hopping fellow performers, the Amahoro Drummers rushed back to Dzaleka after their performance in order to sign back in, knowing a missed deadline could mean sanctions or deportation. As **refugees** they are prohibited from holding jobs or living outside of the camp or travelling outside of the country. Nzigamasabo himself says he supports himself with only a “very, very small” tomato patch, so the shows they can find around Malawi – and the tip bowl they pass around during performances – are crucial. “We have a big challenge,” he explains. “We cannot get permission to perform outside Malawi, despite being offered many opportunities to promote ourselves. I believe we are stars, but being stars cannot take us out of Dzaleka.”

The Amahoro Drummers have become widely known throughout the country in part due to the work of Menes La Plume [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i-7nKdX3KtE], a Congolese rapper and **refugee** who has lived in Dzaleka since 2008. For the last four years he has been working to promote the cultural talents of those living in the camp, arranging events as a way of giving his fellow **refugees** a platform for their art: since 2014 he has run the Tumaini festival [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/17/malawi-tumaini-music-festival-refugee-residents] inside the camp itself. This year’s takes place on 5 November, a sister festival to Lake of Stars itself.

La Plume believes working with the country’s largest festival has helped raise both the profile of artists from the camp and the subject of **refugee** rights. “Lake of Stars is a platform to talk to people about **refugees** in Malawi,” he says, referencing the success of acts who have formed in Dzaleka, including the Amahoro Drummers, modern dance group Salama Africa and the band Etoile de la Paix, who mix rumba, hip-hop and zouk.

Organisers estimate that about 60% of this year’s 2,500 Lake of Stars attendees were Malawian, with others coming from surrounding countries and many travelling from Europe or drawn from the region’s large contingent of NGO workers.

It’s not just about throwing a big party. It’s also about building something that can inspire people.

Festival founder Will Jameson

Alongside the musical attractions, this year’s festival included a “day of ideas”. Speakers including La Plume appeared among talks on gender and leadership and networking opportunities for local students to learn about jobs. “We always intended Lake of Stars to be a platform for tourism and culture but also development,” says festival founder Will Jameson. “That’s come into its own in the last couple of years. It’s not just about throwing a big party – although obviously that’s good – but it’s also about building something that can inspire people as well.”

Jameson estimates that each year the festival generates $1.6m (£1.26m) for the Malawian economy, including spending across the board on hotels and taxis from foreign visitors. However, he says challenges have increased in the 12 years since he started the event. “I think it’s got harder,” he says. “Malawi’s economy is in a bad way. We haven’t increased our ticket prices. It’s 32,000 Kwacha [roughly £35/$44] for three days – if we’d followed the devaluation it should be about 48,000 Kwacha. Times are tough, but we’re still very passionate.”

Having succeeded in bringing British acts including Bombay Bicycle Club [https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2014/may/05/bombay-bicycle-clubs-feel-video-premiere], the Maccabees [https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/aug/09/maccabees-split-british-guitar-rock-indie-future] and Young Fathers [https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/dec/08/best-albums-of-2015-no-9-white-men-are-black-men-too-young-fathers] to the festival in recent years, Jameson is now looking into flipping the model and bringing artists to Europe. “We’re considering doing Lake of Stars in London and either Glasgow or Edinburgh and reversing it by trying to get Malawian artists over to the UK,” he says. “I think the profile of the event is there. It’s big enough that it carries some weight.”

It’s an idea that would turn the long journey to Lake of Stars on its head, and one that excites La Plume – although he more than anyone is aware of the hurdles he will have to overcome to tour internationally. “I’ve been invited to festivals around the world – three in Europe this year – but I couldn’t go because of papers,” he says. “As a **refugee** it’s difficult, but I know there is a demand for what I’m doing and for me as an artist. I see my future in the world.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump: ‘You can do anything’ to women when you’re famousTrump: US government is ‘letting people pour into country to vote’Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton take day off ahead of Sunday debate

block-time published-time 9.40pm BST

TBT:

enltrSexual pervert Anthony Weiner has zero business holding public office.

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) April 10, 2013[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/322079549812785152]block-time published-time 9.38pm BST

Tim Kaine on Trump's comments on women: 'I should be surprised and shocked. I’m sad to say that I’m not' CNN’s Betsy Klein asked Democratic vice-presidential nominee Tim Kaine about Donald Trump’s comments about women, with Kaine responding that the remarks made “me sick to my stomach.”

“It’s just, I mean, it makes me sick to my stomach,” Kaine said. “I don’t like to even say the words that he’s used in the past when he calls women pigs, dogs and slobs. I didn’t like saying it onstage the other night when my mom and my wife sitting in the front row. But this is behavior that is just outrageous, and so that there would be a new story that would have more statements like this, of this kind, I mean, I’m sad to say I’m not surprised. I should be surprised and shocked. I’m sad to say that I’m not.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.39pm BST

block-time published-time 9.28pm BST

Leaked recording: Donald Trump speaking graphically about women, sex and 'pussy' In a 2005 conversation with a television host caught on a hot microphone, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump bragged about attempting to “fuck” married women and kissing women without waiting for their consent, “like a magnet.”

“When you’re a star, they let you do it,” Trump says in the recording, first obtained by the Washington Post[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-recorded-having-extremely-lewd-conversation-about-women-in-2005/2016/10/07/3b9ce776-8cb4-11e6-bf8a-3d26847eeed4\_story.html?postshare=3561475870579757&tid=ss\_tw]. “You can do anything.”

The audio, accompanied by a videotape, was apparently recorded during an interview with Access Hollywood’s Billy Bush in September 2005, eight months after he married model Melania Knauss. Trump and Bush - a cousin of former Trump rival Jeb Bush and now co-host of the Today Show - were on a bus headed to the set of the soap opera Days of Our Lives, on which Trump was set to make a cameo appearance.

The media obtained by the Washington Post includes both audio from inside the bus as well as video shot after the bus arrived on the set.

At the beginning of the audio, Trump relays to Bush a past attempt to seduce a married woman.

“I moved on her and I failed - I’ll admit it,” Trump says.

“I did try and fuck her; she was married,” Trump continues. “And I moved on her very heavily. In fact, I took her out furniture shopping. She wanted to get some furniture. I said, ‘I’ll show you where they have some nice furniture.’ I moved on her like a bitch, but I couldn’t get there. And she was married.”

“Then all of a sudden I see her, she’s now got the big phony tits and everything,” Trump continues. “She’s totally changed her look.”

Trump and Bush then apparently see actress Arianne Zucker outside the bus.

“Your girl’s hot as shit, in the purple,” Bush tells Trump.

“Whoa!” Trump responds. “Whoa! I’ve gotta use some tic tacs, just in case I start kissing her. You know I’m automatically attracted to beautiful - I just start kissing them. It’s like a magnet. Just kiss. I don’t even wait.”

“And when you’re a star they let you do it,” Trump continues. “You can do anything.”

“Whatever you want,” Bush replies.

“Grab them by the pussy,” Trump replies. “You can do anything.”

Bush and Trump, after commenting on the legs of a woman walking near the bus, then emerge in view of the Access Hollywood cameras to greet Zucker.

In a statement upon the recording’s release, Trump described the conversation as “locker room banter” and declared that former president Bill Clinton “has said far worse to me on the golf course - not even close.”

“I apologize if anyone was offended.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.29pm BST

block-time published-time 9.03pm BST

Donald Trump announces national security advisory council Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump’s presidential campaign has announced new additions to his national security advisory council, including senators Tom Cotton, Richard Burr, Bob Corker and Jim Inhofe, congressmen Darrell Issa and Mike McCaul, and former US attorney general/ singer-songwriter[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=woLQI8X2R6Y] John Ashcroft.

“This distinguished group stands behind Mr. Trump because it is imperative that the US has a strong leader to combat terrorism, strengthen its borders and make sure that America is safe,” the campaign stated in a release.

Some of the additions - Cotton and Ashcroft in particular - represent breaks in orthodoxy from the isolationist platform that Trump has crafted, with Cotton especially being the modern face of American neoconservatism.

The new members join the likes of senator Jeff Sessions, General Mike Flynn and Rudy Guiliani on the council.

block-time published-time 8.42pm BST

White House 'confident' that Russian government hacked DNC The US government is “confident” that the Russian government has orchestrated a series of cyberattacks on American political organizations and parties, including the Democratic National Committee, as a way “to interfere with the US election process,” according to the Department of Homeland Security.

“These thefts and disclosures are intended to interfere with the US election process,” said homeland security secretary Jeh Johnson and director of national intelligence James Clapper in a statement.

“Such activity is not new to Moscow-the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. We believe, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, that only Russia’s senior-most officials could have authorized these activities.”

Earlier this summer, Russian hackers released emails procured by breaking into the Democratic National Committee, leading to the resignation of the DNC chair, Debbie Wasserman Schultz[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/24/debbie-wasserman-schultz-resigns-dnc-chair-emails-sanders] on the eve of the Democratic national convention in Philadelphia.

block-time published-time 8.20pm BST

Nuclear launch officer in Clinton ad: Donald Trump 'scares me to death' Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign appears to be taking a page out of the political playbook of Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic president whose infamous Daisy advertisement implied that the election of bellicose Republican rival Barry Goldwater would lead to nuclear war.

In Clinton’s newest ad, titled Silo, a nuclear launch officer addresses the camera at the site of one of America’s nuclear missile silos, telling viewers that the temperament of the president may be the only thing that prevented the launch of the missiles with which he was charged.

“If the president gave the order, we had to launch the missiles - that would be it,” says Bruce Blair in the ad. “Self-control may be all that keeps these missiles from firing.”

As the camera pans up a missile’s side and an air-raid siren blares, the ad then cuts to Donald Trump telling an audience that he would “bomb the shit” out of America’s military foes and telling an interview that he wants to be “unpredictable.”

“The thought of Donald Trump with nuclear weapons scares me to death,” Blair says at the ad’s conclusion. “It should scare everyone.”

The ad is an obvious callback to Daisy, one of the most iconic - and controversial - campaign ads ever aired. In that advertisement, a little girl counting flower petals is vaporized in a nuclear blast, followed by a voiceover from Johnson urging voters to “vote for President Johnson on November 3rd - the stakes are too high for you to stay home.”

block-time published-time 8.02pm BST

Actor and Hillary Clinton supporter Eva Longoria has some harsh criticism for Republican running mate Mike Pence following his dismissal of Donald Trump’s assertion that Mexican **immigrants** are drug-peddling rapists[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jun/16/donald-trump-announces-run-president] as “that Mexican thing.”

“Governor Pence, we are not a ‘thing,’” Longoria says in a new video released by the Democratic National Committee today.

“Could you be a little more specific?” Longoria, a tenth-generation Mexican-American, asks the governor.

“‘That Mexican thing’ contributes to a purchasing power of over a trillion dollars. ‘That Mexican thing’ opens countless small businesses each year. ‘That Mexican thing’ is woven into the tapestry of this nation’s art and music. It’s part of our politics, our culture, our commerce.”

“We are proud American citizens,” Langoria continues. “And most importantly, Governor Pence, will be voting this November.”

block-time published-time 7.43pm BST

Donald Trump will be making an appearance at a Republican Hindu Coalition rally in New Jersey on October 15, an interesting use of the candidate’s time less than a month before the general election considering that rival Hillary Clinton currently leads him by double digits[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/nj/new\_jersey\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5872.html] in the state.

block-time published-time 7.27pm BST

Trump campaign communications advisor Jason Miller says that the $1.5m in cut ad buys will be allayed by purchases in “battlegrounds within battlegrounds.”

enltr1/2 A few media buying updates on our increased media spend, which is growing by an extra $1M. State-by-state levels remain roughly same… https://t.co/eFIzjF3MET[https://t.co/eFIzjF3MET]

— Jason Miller (@JasonMillerinDC) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/JasonMillerinDC/status/784452203360690176]enltr2/2 Our data-driven campaign is shifting resources from over-performing markets to new battlegrounds w/in the battlegrounds. Buy is growing.

— Jason Miller (@JasonMillerinDC) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/JasonMillerinDC/status/784452744358813697]block-time published-time 6.53pm BST

Here’s more detail on Trump’s canceled ads, via Politico:

enltrWhere Trump has cancelled buys next week, per ad tracker: pic.twitter.com/KzLBhI3o3Q[https://t.co/KzLBhI3o3Q]

— Shane Goldmacher (@ShaneGoldmacher) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/ShaneGoldmacher/status/784449564027805696]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.53pm BST

block-time published-time 6.42pm BST

Here’s a colorful tidbit from a Washington Post report just published from inside the Trump campaign.

Trump apparently has it in him to object to accommodations on the grounds that they’re too fancy :

enltrTrump furious that his team booked him at the Ritz instead of Holiday Inn Express, per @costareports[https://twitter.com/costareports] & @PhilipRucker[https://twitter.com/PhilipRucker] https://t.co/uj4Kyq9uPn[https://t.co/uj4Kyq9uPn] pic.twitter.com/bSz6LXBvX7[https://t.co/bSz6LXBvX7]

— Abby D. Phillip (@abbydphillip) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/abbydphillip/status/784448084331880448]Another good snippet (how we read now: paragraph by tweeted paragraph):

enltr @PhilipRucker[https://twitter.com/PhilipRucker] @costareports[https://twitter.com/costareports] you guys were given explicit typographical instructions here pic.twitter.com/oeGXPylfRA[https://t.co/oeGXPylfRA]

— Philip Bump (@pbump) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/pbump/status/784447391529365509] MAJORDOMO Photograph: Team GT/GC Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.45pm BST

block-time published-time 6.30pm BST

Trump campaign mysteriously cancels ads in key markets We’re working to find out more about this. NBC News and the New York Times[https://twitter.com/maggieNYT/status/784439194982682624] report that the Donald Trump campaign is canceling hundreds of thousands of dollars in advertising in what appear to be key markets in states including Ohio, North Carolina, Iowa, Florida, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire and Colorado.

With early voting already happening in Iowa, North Carolina and elsewhere, and Trump needing to make up ground quickly in many – all? – of these states, with only a month to go until the election, this decision to reverse ad reservations is perplexing.

enltrCancelations represent next week's buy, per the sources. Possible they are shifting elsewhere for final three weeks https://t.co/PrQ5U1vtAu[https://t.co/PrQ5U1vtAu]

— Maggie Haberman (@maggieNYT) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/maggieNYT/status/784440364572737536]enltrTrump camp cutting ~$1.5M ads in battlegrnd states nxt wk, Per @mmurraypolitics[https://twitter.com/mmurraypolitics], cuts are in smaller mkts pic.twitter.com/mTryhelWsq[https://t.co/mTryhelWsq]

— Alexandra Jaffe (@ajjaffe) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/ajjaffe/status/784420385395793921]enltrTrump cuts in Florida all in markets where he needs to exceed Romney to win https://t.co/BSoJnvzNqK[https://t.co/BSoJnvzNqK]

— Steve Schale (@steveschale) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/steveschale/status/784447048133308416]undltr???? https://t.co/i4htb30Q3e[https://t.co/i4htb30Q3e]

— Chris Cillizza (@TheFix) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/TheFix/status/784441854720872450]undltrHuh? https://t.co/xYCGMBKFOz[https://t.co/xYCGMBKFOz]

— Julie Pace (@jpaceDC) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/jpaceDC/status/784439696742952960]enltr @maggieNYT[https://twitter.com/maggieNYT] that's....weird

— Christopher Hayes (@chrislhayes) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/chrislhayes/status/784439765567475713]enltrMaybe he won so much he got tired of winning? https://t.co/REJTLQzgoR[https://t.co/REJTLQzgoR]

— daveweigel (@daveweigel) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/daveweigel/status/784443602546073600]enltrIt's a con. https://t.co/Xo3LoieuFK[https://t.co/Xo3LoieuFK]

— jon gabriel (@exjon) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/exjon/status/784441209263534080]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.38pm BST

block-time published-time 6.13pm BST

Independents flock to Clinton – poll A 21-point swing by independent voters after the first presidential debate has bopped Hillary Clinton into a comfortable national lead in the presidential race, new numbers from Quinnipiac University say.

A Q-pac poll just released has Clinton up 45-40 on Trump among likely voters in a four-way race. She leads him 50-44 in a two-way race in the poll. On 26 September the same poll depicted a much tighter race, 47-46 for Clinton.

Women break for Clinton 53-33 in the poll’s four-way race, while nonwhite voters back Clinton 63-18.

But the most significant shift was among independent voters, “who go from 42 - 35 percent for Trump, with 15 percent for Johnson on September 26, to 46 - 32 percent for Clinton, with 10 percent for Johnson today,” the pollster says.

enltrWomen, Non-Whites Give Clinton 5-Point Lead Over Trump; Independent Voters In Big Shift To Clinton #Election2016[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Election2016?src=hash] https://t.co/Cf8wpkM4p2[https://t.co/Cf8wpkM4p2]

— Quinnipiac Poll (@QuinnipiacPoll) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/QuinnipiacPoll/status/784426767465390080]HuffPost Pollster’s average of national polls of a two-way race now has a 6.5-point lead for Clinton:

HuffPost Pollster’s national polling average for a two-way race. Photograph: HuffPost Pollster enltrnew Quinnipiac national poll, by age; 18-34, Clinton +21; 35-49, Clinton ,+8; 50-64, Trump +5; 65 or older, even

— John Harwood (@JohnJHarwood) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/JohnJHarwood/status/784433519762272260]enltrSo maybe stop panicking over millennials and go talk some sense into the fifty-somethings in your life. https://t.co/pPUtv5B3KP[https://t.co/pPUtv5B3KP]

— Teddy Goff (@teddygoff) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/teddygoff/status/784437069049270272]block-time published-time 6.03pm BST

Phone? Cigarettes? Nuclear codes?

enltrWalking to Marine One, Pres Obama suddenly checks his pockets, does a 180 - and scoots back to the Oval Office. pic.twitter.com/7qflAsPsLP[https://t.co/7qflAsPsLP]

— Mark Knoller (@markknoller) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/markknoller/status/784438062742929408]block-time published-time 5.59pm BST

Russia lodges formal complaint at UN over Trump-bashing Diplomats tell The Associated Press that Russia’s government lodged a formal complaint last month with the United Nations over a top UN official’s condemnations of Donald Trump and some European politicians:

The intervention underscores the unusual links between the Kremlin and the Republican presidential nominee.

There is no evidence Trump sought Russia’s assistance, or was even aware of the criticism by Zeid Ra’ad al-Hussein, the U.N. high commissioner for human rights.

But three diplomats say the criticism prompted Vitaly Churkin, Russia’s U.N. ambassador, to issue a verbal “demarche” to U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in a private meeting on Sept. 13.

The diplomats weren’t authorized to speak publicly about the matter and demanded anonymity, fearing possible diplomatic repercussions from Russia, a powerful, permanent member of the U.N. Security Council.

block-time published-time 5.41pm BST

Trump recasts Central Park Five as guilty In stunning defiance of a landmark exoneration of five African America rape suspects originally convicted through racial scapegoating, Donald Trump suggested to CNN Thursday that the so-called Central Park Five are after all guilty.

Five African American youths were convicted and imprisoned in the 1989 rape and beating of a jogger in Central Park. They were exonerated in 2002 after the perpetrator came forward and his identity was confirmed by DNA evidence.

Trump at the time of the crime took out a full-page ad in the New York Times calling for the re-institution of the death penalty in New York.

Central Park Five member recalls Trump: ‘He has not changed’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/feb/17/donald-trump-central-park-five-jogger-death-penalty-new-york-video]Here’s some of our reporting on the case:

The miscarriage of justice is widely remembered as a definitive moment in New York’s fractured race relations. But Trump’s intervention – he signed full-page newspaper advertisements implicitly calling for the boys to die – has been gradually overlooked as the businessman’s chances of winning the Republican nomination have rapidly increased. Now those involved in the case of the so-called Central Park Five and its aftermath say Trump’s rhetoric served as an unlikely precursor to a unique brand of divisive populism that has powered his rise to political prominence in 2016.

Related: Donald Trump and the Central Park Five: the racially charged rise of a demagogue[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/17/central-park-five-donald-trump-jogger-rape-case-new-york]

Here, meanwhile, is Alabama senator Jeff Sessions, a charter member of the Trump fan club, saying that Trump’s ad calling for the blood of innocent youth just demonstrates that the candidate has always liked “law and order”:

enltrSen. Sessions: Central Park Five Ad Shows Trump Has Always Believed In Law And Order https://t.co/iHIM46y33a[https://t.co/iHIM46y33a] via @buzzfeednews[https://twitter.com/BuzzFeedNews]

— Ben Smith (@BuzzFeedBen) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/BuzzFeedBen/status/784432297663721473]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.49pm BST

block-time published-time 5.13pm BST

61% of likely voters in Ohio would like to see Trump's taxes please – poll “Keep the tax returns coming,” tweets the New York Times reporter whose receipt in the mail of Trump’s 1995 taxes revealed that he declared personal losses of $916m that year potentially allowing him to duck federal taxes for years and years afterwards:

enltrLoving all the mail. Keep the tax returns coming. Also accepting transcripts of Clinton's speeches & info on Jimmy Hoffa's whereabouts #USPS[https://twitter.com/hashtag/USPS?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/uOSp7Gg2zH[https://t.co/uOSp7Gg2zH]

— Susanne Craig (@susannecraig) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/susannecraig/status/784143795323539457]Likely voters in Ohio agree 61%-25%, according to a Public Policy Survey of likely Ohio voters released[http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/main/2016/10/tight-race-for-president-in-ohio.html] on Thursday:

Only 35% of voters in the state think Trump pays his fair share in federal income taxes, to 47% who think he doesn’t. Among those who don’t think Trump pays his fair share, he’s trailing Clinton 77-9. A plurality of voters in Ohio- 45%- think they personally pay more in taxes than Trump does to only 34% of voters who think Trump pays more. There continues to be a strong consensus among voters that Trump should release his returns- 61% say he ought to do that, to only 25% who don’t think it’s necessary. Of course one reason for his reluctance may be that releasing his returns could confirm a suspicion that voters have about Trump’s finances- only 35% believe that he’s as rich as he says he is.

PPP’s poll had Clinton leading by a single point, 48-47, in a two-way race in Ohio, with a margin of error of +/- 3.5%.

That eensy-weensy margin comports with the polling averages – although we note that three of the four most recent major polls of Ohio voters have Clinton in the lead.

HuffPost Pollster’s average of polls of a two-way presidential race in Ohio, a must-win for Trump. Photograph: HuffPost Pollster Here’s some further reading via 538: Maybe it’s time for Ohio and Pennsylvania to part ways[http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/election-update-maybe-its-time-for-ohio-and-pennsylvania-to-part-ways/]

block-time published-time 4.57pm BST

Vice president Joe Biden is scheduled to appear soon in Bristol Township, Pennsylvania, in the Philadelphia suburbs, to talk about Hillary Clinton.

Here’s a live stream:

block-time published-time 4.43pm BST

Latino polling group sees unprecedented move toward Clinton Latino voters are preparing to break for Hillary Clinton in the most lopsided way since the advent of reliable records in 1980, according to new surveys by the politics and polling group Latino Decisions[http://www.latinodecisions.com/blog/2016/10/06/ld-vote-predict-2016-latino-voters-poised-to-cast-most-lopsided-presidential-vote-on-record/].

The group predicts a national split of the Latino vote, which comprises many subgroups of voters, of 82% for Clinton and 15% for Donald Trump.

“We are highly confident that—barring any major unforeseen change—Trump’s Latino vote will fall between 9.5% and 20.5%,” the group says. “Today, our model estimates 82% vote for Clinton and we are highly confident that it will be somewhere between 76.5% and 87.5%.”

Clinton campaign manager Robby Mook said Thursday that among Hispanics in Florida, vote-by-mail requests were up 77% compared with the same point in 2012.

Separately, the Clinton campaign released a new video spot featuring Salma Hayek urging Latinos to vote – for Clinton:

esltr"Podemos demostrar que somos una comunidad poderosa. We can prove that we are a mighty community." — @SalmaHayek[https://twitter.com/salmahayek] ? https://t.co/tTgeqxNqYm[https://t.co/tTgeqxNqYm] pic.twitter.com/6eBe5fXQ3n[https://t.co/6eBe5fXQ3n]

— Hillary Clinton (@HillaryClinton) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/784233438261968896](h/t @mikeelliotbarry[https://twitter.com/MikeElliotBarry?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] )

block-time published-time 4.19pm BST

Clinton on hurricane: 'stay safe' The Clinton campaign has released a new statement on hurricane Matthew, issued in the name of the candidate:

My thoughts and prayers are with everyone in the path of Hurricane Matthew, and my heart is broken for the victims and their families in Haiti, Cuba, the Caribbean, and Florida.

This is a serious storm, and it has already caused serious damage. If you get an evacuation order, please follow it immediately. Bring any important documents, medicines, and your pets with you. Listen carefully to instructions from local and national officials. And if you’re not sure what to do, please visit ready.gov[http://ready.gov/] for tips on staying safe.

To all our local campaign staff, volunteers, and supporters: Please take care of yourselves and your neighbors – nothing is more important than that. To our extraordinary first responders and everyone working to prepare for and respond to the storm: We’re so grateful for your courage and sacrifice, especially in times like these.

And to the people of Florida and the Southeast, and everyone in the eye of the storm: Stay safe, and know that America is with you. In times of disaster, we pull together. We’ll have your back every step of the way – today, and in the weeks and months to come.

block-time published-time 3.53pm BST

Trump: 'they’re letting people pour into the country so they can go and vote' To this point, Donald Trump has painted **immigration** mainly as a security threat, and as a threat to American jobs, in both cases counterfactually.

On Friday morning, however, in a meeting with a union representing border patrol agents, Trump floated a new conspiracy theory, saying that **immigration**officials are trying to expand the pool of American voters.

“They are letting people pour into this country so they can go and vote,” Trump said.

Trump directly challenged the media to report his remarks, which followed comments by union vice president Art Del Cueto in a meeting in Trump Tower. The meeting was reported on by a pool of journalists assigned to Trump.

Del Cueto told Trump that “**immigration** is so tied up with trying to get the people who are on the waiting list to hurry up and get them their **immigration** status corrected.”

“Why?” asked Trump.

“So they can go ahead and vote before the election,” replied Del Cueto.

“Big statement, fellas,” Trump said, motioning to reporters. “You’re not going to write it. That’s huge. But they’re letting people pour into the country so they can go and vote.”

Del Cueto has appeared on Fox News as a supportive commentator for segments such as this Bill O’Reilly report titled “Southern Border Chaos.”

Del Cueto has not always been a Trump supporter. He signed a letter[http://www.bpunion.org/index.php/newsroom/press-releases/1787-national-border-patrol-council-statement-on-trump-s-visit-to-laredo] issued by the union in July 2015 objecting to a quickie Trump trip to the border area in Laredo, Texas.

“Trump’s comments deriding the military service of our friend John McCain are disrespectful not just to the Senator but to all veterans, many of whom serve as Border Patrol agents,” the letter said.

The border patrol union endorsed Trump[http://www.bpunion.org/index.php/newsroom/press-releases/1824-national-border-patrol-council-endorses-donald-trump-for-president] in March.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.00pm BST

block-time published-time 3.29pm BST

Evangelicals oppose Trump: 'we cannot ignore this bigotry' A group of 94 evangelical leaders has published an open letter declaring they “will not tolerate the racial, religious, and gender bigotry that Donald Trump has consistently and deliberately fueled, no matter how else we choose to vote or not to vote.”

Significant support from evangelicals help power Trump primary victories from Iowa through the southeast, and Pew research found in July[http://www.pewforum.org/2016/07/13/evangelicals-rally-to-trump-religious-nones-back-clinton/] “that despite the professed wariness toward Trump among many high-profile evangelical Christian leaders, evangelicals as a whole are, if anything, even more strongly supportive of Trump than they were of Mitt Romney at a similar point in the 2012 campaign.”

In a letter posted at change.org[https://www.change.org/p/donald-trump-a-declaration-by-american-evangelicals-concerning-donald-trumpposted%20to%20change.org,%20has], the dissenting group of pastors says, “We believe the candidacy of Donald J. Trump has given voice to a movement that affirms racist elements in white culture—both explicit and implicit.”

The letter continues:

Mr. Trump has fueled white American nationalism with xenophobic appeals and religious intolerance at the expense of gospel values, democratic principles, and important international relationships. He mocks women and the sanctity of marriage vows, disregards facts and the accountability to truth, and worships wealth and shameful materialism, while taking our weakening culture of civility to nearly unprecedented levels with continuing personal attacks on others, including attacking a federal judge based purely on his Mexican heritage, mocking a disabled reporter, and humiliating a beauty pageant winner for her weight and Latina ethnicity—to give just a few examples....

For this reason, we cannot ignore this bigotry, set it aside, just focus on other issues, or forget the things Mr. Trump has consistently said and done.

Read the full letter here[https://www.change.org/p/donald-trump-a-declaration-by-american-evangelicals-concerning-donald-trump].

block-time published-time 3.16pm BST

British bookmaker takes record bet on Clinton to win The British bookmaker William Hill reports that it has accepted “the biggest bet ever staked on either the UK general or US presidential elections” – a 550,000 euro wager ($615,310) on Hillary Clinton to become president, at odds of 4/11 (73% chance of success).

The bettor stands to profit 200,000 euros. If the bettor wins.

enltrBookmaker William Hill reveal they've taken a record €550,000 ($615,000) bet from 46 year old woman on Hillary Clinton to win, odds of 4/11.

— Dan Roberts (@RobertsDan) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/RobertsDan/status/784381604575739905]The Irish bookmaker Paddy Power paid out more than $140,000 to customers who bet that Donald Trump would win the Republican presidential nomination.

William Hill says “the biggest bet ever placed on any political event remains the £900,000 gambled on the outcome of the 2014 Scottish referendum by a client from southwest London who was successful and received a payout of £1,093,333.33.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.17pm BST

block-time published-time 1.24pm BST

Hello and welcome to our live-wire coverage of the 2016 race for the White House. The presidential campaigns issued statements of support for residents of south-east Florida as Hurricane Matthew barreled in[https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2016/oct/06/hurricane-matthew-storm-florida-haiti-live-updates], knocking out power in hundreds of thousands of homes.

“Please know that we are praying for you and everyone in the path,” Donald Trump said last night at a town hall event in New Hampshire. “You’ve got to take care of yourself, you’ve got to get out of the area, you’ve got to listen.”

Hillary Clinton, who was speaking at fundraising events in New York, tweeted: “Hurricane Matthew is a major storm... Stay safe Florida.”

Florida governor Rick Scott, a Republican, rejected an emergency request by the Clinton campaign for more time to register voters once the hurricane passes (the Florida registration deadline is 11 October). South Carolina’s Republican governor, Nikki Haley, extended registration in the state, which also was under hurricane warning, from 8 October to 11 October. The Trump team pulled its negative TV ads in Florida, AP reported, and Clinton’s campaign delayed[http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/oct/6/clinton-delays-weather-channel-ads-matthew/] a planned series of Weather Channel ads.

Debate prep day Neither Trump nor Clinton has any public events scheduled for today, with the second debate coming on Sunday. But Clinton’s army of surrogates will continue its march, with vice-president Joe Biden and senators Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren all deployed, including a double event for Sanders in New Hampshire.

Trump wins debate without opponents Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] prepared for Sunday’s town hall-style debate with Hillary Clinton by insisting he wasn’t preparing for it, reported Guardian politics reporter Ben Jacobs.

At a town hall in Sandown, New Hampshire, questions were written down by an invited audience and then read by moderator Howie Carr, a pro-Trump talk show host in New England.

There was even a timer that kept Trump from talking for more than two minutes at a time.

But the Republican nominee insisting he wasn’t preparing for his next bout with Hillary Clinton. “This has nothing to do with Sunday,” Trump insisted.

He even complained about the media hype around his debate preparations. “Even tonight they said ‘Donald Trump is going to New Hampshire to practice for Sunday’ … it’s like they make you into a child.

“You really think Hillary Clinton is debate prepping for three or four days? She is resting … she wants to build up her energy for Sunday night and that’s fine.”

‘That’s not debate prep, she’s resting’ “And I want to be with the American people. I want to be with the people from New Hampshire, and she wants to rest” – Donald Trump

Trump scoffs at Clinton’s debate preparation – video[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-new-hampshire-hillary-clinton-debate-preparation-video]enltr @TheRickWilson[https://twitter.com/TheRickWilson] @dcexaminer[https://twitter.com/dcexaminer] "Studying is for nerds" - A real presidential candidate

— Andrew Kirk (@AJSKirk) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/AJSKirk/status/784362079490670592] Related: Donald Trump the clear winner in New Hampshire debate featuring only himself[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-the-clear-winner-in-town-hall-debate-featuring-only-himself]

Thanks for reading and please join us in the comments.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Experts question legality under anti-discrimination laws as senior politicians criticise move as ‘baffling’ Help fund our journalism by becoming a Guardian supporter

Leading foreign academics from the LSE acting as expert advisers to the UK government were told they would not be asked to contribute to government work and analysis on Brexit because they are not British nationals.

The news was met with outrage by many academics, while legal experts questioned whether it could be legal under anti-discrimination laws and senior politicians criticised it as bewildering.

“It is utterly baffling that the government is turning down expert, independent advice on Brexit simply because someone is from another country,” said Nick Clegg, the Liberal Democrats’ EU spokesman.

“This is yet more evidence of the Conservatives’ alarming embrace of petty chauvinism over rational policymaking.”

The Foreign Office denied non-British nationals had been barred from the work, saying it had been misunderstood. “The FCO regularly works with academic institutions to assist in its policy research and nothing has changed as a result of the referendum,” a spokesman said.

“It has always been the case that anyone working in the FCO may require security clearance depending on the nature and duration of their work. Britain is an outward-looking nation and we will continue to take advice from the best and brightest minds, regardless of nationality.”

Sara Hagemann, an assistant professor at the London School of Economics who specialises in EU policymaking processes, EU treaty matters, the role of national parliaments and the consequences of EU enlargements, said she had been told her services would not be required. Hagemann tweeted on Thursday:

UK govt previously sought work& advice from best experts. Just told I & many colleagues no longer qualify as not UKcitizens #Brexit[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] @LSEnews[https://twitter.com/LSEnews] — Sara Hagemann (@sarahagemann) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/sarahagemann/status/784000018290270208]

Asked to clarify whether she was responding to speeches at the Conservative party conference[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/oct/06/theresa-may-to-tell-tory-conference-that-mass-migration-threatens-uk-cohesion] pledging tough new **immigration** controls, Hagemann, who is Danish, said she had been informed specifically that she would not be contributing to any further government Brexit work.

It is understood up to nine LSE academics specialising in EU affairs have been briefing the Foreign Office on Brexit issues, but the school was informed by a senior FCO official that submissions from non-UK citizens would no longer be accepted. The staff group concerned were then made aware of the instruction.

Related: Amber Rudd faces backlash from businesses over foreign workers[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/government-faces-backlash-from-business-leaders-over-foreign-workers]

One of the group is understood to be a dual national, with citizenship of both the UK and another EU member state.

The Foreign Office was said to be concerned about the risk of sensitive material being exposed as article 50[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/25/article-50-brexit-debate-britain-eu] negotiations over Britain’s exit from the EU – and subsequent talks on its future trade and other relations with the bloc – start to get under way.

But Steve Peers, a professor of EU law at the University of Essex who has advised the government, said it should be “perfectly possible to get useful input from some of the best-qualified people in the country” without anything sensitive being revealed.

“I don’t really get the security or sensitivity argument,” he said. “Whatever the reasons, this will come across as hostile, narrow and xenophobic.” He tweeted:

One of the best EU political scientists in the country

What kind of know-nothing nativist govt rejects the expertise of all non-citizens? https://t.co/Dm6N0x51Lp[https://t.co/Dm6N0x51Lp] — Steve Peers (@StevePeers) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/StevePeers/status/784157438027108352]

The Foreign Office did not immediately reply to a request for comment.

Legal experts questioned whether the FCO could be in breach of UK public procurement law by requiring the work be carried out by British nationals. Albert Sanchez Graells, a senior law lecturer at Bristol university, said it “definitely” would be if the work was in the context of a services contract.

@DavidAllenGreen[https://twitter.com/DavidAllenGreen] if this was in context of a services contract, most definitely. I am happy to provide free legal opinion on this @LSEnews[https://twitter.com/LSEnews] — AlbertSánchezGraells (@asanchezgraells) October 7, 2016[https://twitter.com/asanchezgraells/status/784390897429573632]

Simon Cox, a migration lawyer at the Open Society Justice Initiative, said it might be possible for the government to legally restrict high-level advisers to British citizens, but added that the way the situation had been handled was “beyond disrespectful, and in a worryingly xenophobic context”.

The LSE said in statement that the government regularly called on its academics for advice, adding: “We believe our academics, including non-UK nationals, have hugely valuable expertise which will be vital in this time of uncertainty around the UK’s relationship with Europe and the rest of the world. Any changes to security measures are a matter for the UK government.”

LSE interim director Prof Julia Black said in an internal school update memo on the matter that the world-renowned university stood by its academic principles of independence. “You may have seen reports in the media that the Foreign Office have advised us that they will be issuing tenders to contract for advisory work, but that only UK nationals will be eligible to apply,” she said in the memo, which was posted on Twitter[https://twitter.com/JakubKrupa/status/784429042418196480].

“Whilst the Foreign Office has long had a rule restricting the nationality of employees or secondees, the extension of the bar to advisory work seems to be new. However, it is for the Foreign Office to determine what its national security arrangements are, and their legality, not for us.

“We are standing firm to our principles of academic independence and valuing our truly international community of scholars. We will continue to stand by our colleagues and we strongly value the work that you all do.”

UK in a Changing Europe, a thinktank on UK-EU relations of which Hagemann is a senior fellow, said it believed there was “a more pressing need than ever before for academic expertise to inform the multitude of difficult decisions to be taken in connection with Brexit” and that it would continue to publish research “whatever the nationality of the author”.

Separately, the Guardian has learned that another EU national – a migration specialist who asked not to be identified – was approached by a private recruitment firm for a Foreign Office post for which she was well qualified, but informed after several conversations that only British citizens would be eligible.

European academics, who make up about 15% of research and teaching staff at British universities[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/sep/25/brexit-may-force-15-of-staff-at-uk-universities-to-leave-warns-group], responded with dismay. Jan Eichhorn, a fellow in social policy at Edinburgh university, tweeted[https://twitter.com/eichhorn\_jan/status/784391714324766720] : “For the first time this makes me question whether it makes sense to continue working at a UK university as an EU policy-focussed academic.”

The government has come under sustained fire over **immigration** since the Conservative conference when the home secretary, Amber Rudd, said it was considering requiring companies to declare the proportion of international staff[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers] in their workforce.

Ministers were said to want to see lists of companies published and those employers with the highest proportions of foreign staff “named and shamed” for not employing British people when they could.

Rudd, who was forced to defend herself on radio against allegations of xenophobia, also announced a crackdown on overseas students and work visas[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/04/rudd-announces-crackdown-on-overseas-students-and-new-work-visas], and pledged to prevent migrants “taking jobs British people could do”.

Theresa May was also accused after her conference speech of stoking anti-**immigrant** sentiment in the country by playing to fears about the impact of foreign workers on jobs and wages.

The prime minister said the EU referendum result legitimised a tougher line on **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/brexit-theresa-may-prioritises-immigration-curbs-over-free-movement] and some people did not like to admit that British workers could “find themselves out of work or on lower wages because of low-skilled **immigration**”.

\* Producing in-depth, thoughtful, well-reported journalism is difficult and expensive - but supporting us isn’t. If you value the the Guardian’s coverage of Brexit, please help to fund our journalism by becoming a supporter[https://membership.theguardian.com/uk/supporter?INTCMP=gdnwb\_copts\_editorial\_mem\_JHlseacademics\_footer].

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Austrian-born photographer was responsible for the distinctive look of the 1971 Michael Caine movie as well as idiosyncratic studies of people and animals

Wolfgang Suschitzky, in many ways, was an example of the **immigrant** success story: a young Jewish man in mid-1930s Vienna who saw the way the wind was blowing and ended up in London – where he proceeded to live a life of demonstrable achievement, both for his own work and as an enabler of others.

I think I first noticed his exotic, Mitteleuropäische -flavoured moniker as the cinematographer on Get Carter[https://www.theguardian.com/film/get-carter], a film now so familiar it’s almost impossible to appreciate what Suschitzky was actually doing. But threaded through Michael Caine[https://www.theguardian.com/film/michael-caine] ’s still-thunderous performance and streams of quotably brilliant dialogue, Suschitzky introduced a bewildering variety of unconventional angles, unlikely framing and shots that became classics.

Suschitzky paid his dues cinematically in the documentary movement of the 1940s and 50s, always a working cameraman, where he learned to be light on his feet and work with whatever came to hand. Amusingly, one of his first essays into fiction film-making, the Oscar-winning short The Bespoke Overcoat[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\_Bespoke\_Overcoat], saw him work with the “other Wolf” – the writer Wolf Mankowitz, another shining example of the fantastic contribution **immigrant** families could make to the cultural life of the UK. (Both Wolfs had children – Peter Suschitzky and Gered Mankowitz – who became renowned practitioners in related fields.)

Related: Wolfgang Suschitzky, photographer and Get Carter cameraman, dies aged 104[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/oct/07/wolfgang-suschitzky-photography-cameraman-get-carter]

My own favourite of Suschitzky’s films is probably The Small World of Sammy Lee, a wonderfully seedy Soho thriller directed by Ken Hughes and starring Anthony Newley. It is due to screen at the London film festival on Wednesday, where Suschitzky was to make an on-stage appearance. Sammy Lee is distinguished by its raw opening shots of early-morning Soho streets, and in the same year Suschitzky shot a now-legendary short film called Snow, directed by Geoffrey Jones[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2005/jun/24/3], that stands as a high-water mark of the impressionist, poetic tradition of British film. As Snow shows, one of Suschitzky’s great abilities was to service idiosyncratic vision; another example was the oddball Les Bicyclettes de Belsize[http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xcpdvm\_les-bicyclettes-de-belsize-opening\_shortfilms], a whimsical French-style musical shot in Hampstead.

When I met Suschitzky in 2007, when appreciation for his work was gathering pace – largely at the behest, to be honest, of Austrian cultural forces – he was not only in incredibly good shape for a 94-year-old, but offered a highly articulate and modest account of himself. (He still sounded furious about the February uprising of 1934, when the Austrian army had shelled communist housing estates in Vienna, which had forced him to reconsider his future.)

Related: Andrew Pulver on cinematographer Wolfgang Suschitzky[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2007/jan/17/photography]

Before he was a cinematographer, he was a remarkable photographer: the series of atmospheric pictures he took in London’s Charing Cross Road[http://www.wolfsuschitzkyphotos.com/gallery\_195922.html] shortly after his arrival are still classics of their kind, both an invaluable documentary record of long-vanished time, but also brilliantly expressive treatments of their subjects, whether bored cafe patrons, sweating street workers or obsessive bookshop habitues. Even after finding more remunerative work in the film industry, he never stopped taking still photographs: he developed an enthusiasm for portraits of children and animals, creating a humane – and humanist – body of work in this area alone. (Among the subjects of his 1940 book Photographing Children was my mother-in-law, then a one-year-old.) It was perhaps revealing that when Suschitzky picked his favourite among his own photographs, it was a doleful picture of London zoo’s famous gorilla Guy[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2009/jul/15/photography-best-shot-wolf-suschitzky], whose discontent leaps off the page.

When I spoke to him, Suschitzky repeatedly described himself as a “lucky man”; presumably, to have found shelter in Britain and a productive and rewarding life. In truth, Britain was lucky to have him.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Troops move into final staging positions south of the city

A ground assault on Mosul, the last major Islamic State stronghold in Iraq, is due to be launched by the end of the month, as Iraqi troops who will lead the attack move into their final staging positions to the south of the city.

Officials in Baghdad expect the push to begin close to 15 October, although US officials who have trained and advised Iraqi forces for the past two years are understood to be less focused on a fixed date and are making plans for the battle to start up to 10 days later.

But, while victory over the terror group appears certain, gnawing doubts remain over what comes next.

While military moves are well advanced, the questions of how to provide for up to 1.3 million **refugees**, or how to re-establish governance in a city brutalised by two years of tyranny is increasingly consuming aid agencies and regional officials, some of whom believe that whatever emerges from Mosul will determine the fate of Iraq.

Sectarian concerns have dominated pre-battle planning, with Shia militias and Kurdish Peshmerga forces who have played vital roles in the war against Isis not slated to enter the largely Sunni Muslim city. The Iraqi military, which is largely made up of Shia soldiers and officers, will take the lead in the battle, with up to three divisions – roughly 45,000 men – advancing from positions near the Qaiyara air base 30 miles south.

Isis is thought to have around 5,000-8,000 members prepared to defend their last redoubt in Iraq, where it all began for the latest incarnation of the group in June 2014, when Isis leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi used the city’s Nouri mosque to declare the establishment of a Caliphate and himself as leader. Ever since, Mosul has been central to the group’s ambitions to spread its ruthless understanding of Islamic law throughout the Arab world and beyond.

Related: Iraqi Kurdish peshmerga ask UK for help against Isis chemical attack[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/04/iraqi-kurdish-peshmerga-fear-isis-chemical-attack-mosul]

An Iraqi security source said: “When you have one million people you have to be precise with each attack; it requires really good intelligence that will slow things down. Anyone who says it is going to take two weeks or two months does not know. We will see early on when the process has started, but we do not want to end up like Ramadi with 80% of the city destroyed, and then mass unemployment because that is a breeding ground for terrorism. You could just end up with a more brutal version of (Isis).”

Officials in Baghdad, Washington and Erbil expect a long and difficult fight, complicated by the widespread laying of mines and explosives – on a much larger scale than seen in other cities seized and then lost by Isis earlier in the war, such as Tikrit, Ramadi and Falluja.

More pressing, though, is how to cater for what will potentially be the largest single **refugee** exodus at any point since mid-2104. Up to 500,000 residents are expected to move into Kurdish controlled areas to the east, while at least 500,000 more could flee to areas controlled by the Iraqi military to the south or west.

Unicef says more than 213,000 people have fled the city since May this year, and more than 3.3 million people have been displaced across Iraq since early 2014.

“More than 700,000 people are likely to require shelter and other life-saving assistance,” said Unicef Middle East and North Africa spokesperson, Farah Dakhlallah. “Families are undertaking terrifying journeys through active conflict zones littered with unexploded ordnance and improvised explosive devices, often at night, sometimes walking up to 60km to escape to safety.”

Unicef says its aid efforts are $13m underfunded. Other agencies report similar shortfalls. Kurdish officials have prepared 20 **refugee** camps near the town of Makhmour southeast of Mosul.

Iraq’s counter-terrorism forces, which performed well in the four-week battle to retake Falluja in June, are expected to lead the fight. Peshmerga units are planning to take up blocking positions to the north and east, where they will also receive and screen **refugees**. The Popular Mobilisation Units, known in Iraq as Hashd al-Shabi, have been confined to a blocking role to the west of Mosul, over concerns that their presence could amplify sectarian tensions that had remained high throughout the post-Saddam years.

Related: Mosul: suspicion and hostility cloud fight to recapture Iraqi city from Isis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/11/mosul-the-city-that-will-define-not-just-iraqs-war-but-its-future]

Those tensions had peaked before Isis swept into the city in June 2014. As the terror group arrived, Iraqi forces who had been dominated by Shia members, whom had **alienated** the local population, quickly surrendered the city. Restoring trust with Baghdad, or re-establishing basic governance looms as the biggest challenge of the post-Isis period.

Iraq’s central government remains weak and has little influence throughout Sunni areas of the country. The US, which maintained a presence in Mosul until 2010, no longer has an occupying presence in Iraq. Barack Obama has made clear that the 6,000 troops his administration has re-deployed are there only to fight Isis and not to provide military muscle in aid of a diplomatic push to hold the country together.

The Iraqi intelligence official said: “There is an agreement about the structure, and the order in which (forces) come in. This is the last battle in Iraq and everyone wants to be included. It was a wise move to let the Shia militia be involved but in designated areas, and under control. I don’t think after two years fighting Isis you can keep out the Shia in the last battle of Iraq.

“If we cannot reassure Sunnis they will fight to the death. There are small elements trying to assassinate (Isis), and trying to make them feel uncomfortable, but it largely depends on the tribes. We are trying to tell the Sunnis inside this is coming, and people reaching out to them and saying they have a second chance.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**New interactive museum will be first building constructed on island in decades and part of $70m will be funded by private donations

In an election year where **immigration** and talks of building a wall between the US and Mexico dominate, the unveiling of plans on Thursday for a new $70m Statue of Liberty museum to be built honoring liberty and mass migration seemed particularly timely.

“Lady Liberty is a symbol of everything America’s about: freedom, hope, possibility and resilience,” said designer Diane von Furstenberg, chair of the fundraising campaign raising money for the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation.

“What she represents out there is everything we love about this country and everything that has to be protected,” said Von Furstenberg.

Related: The Statue of Liberty was built to welcome **immigrants** – that welcome must not end | Dave Eggers[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jul/04/the-statue-of-liberty-immigrants-independence-day]

Designs for the new Statue of Liberty museum, created by the foundation in partnership with the National Park Service, were revealed at a press conference on the grounds of Liberty Island on Thursday morning.

It’s the first building to be constructed on the island in decades and there will be an interactive museum that discusses the ideals of liberty and **immigration**, and will also showcase the original torch, which was replaced in the 1980s.

The Statue of Liberty was a gift from the French government, given in 1886, and visited by 4.3 million people every year. A plaque on the statue reads: “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.”

Mayor Bill de Blasio attended the event, noting that his grandmother came from Italy as a young **immigrant** and passed the statute on her way to Ellis Island. He noted that most **immigrants** “experience some form of exclusion of discrimination” and directly referenced the upcoming presidential election.

“Look at the year 2016, I don’t need to overanalyze it or say anything more too pointed; I can say we’re still trying to figure out who we are in this country. We’re still fundamentally questioning and debating what **immigration** means to us,” said De Blasio.

The mayor said he hoped the museum would help Americans “come to peace with the fullness of what we are”.

And museum “godmother” Furstenberg has been busy convincing her rich and famous friends to cough up $100m in funding to help pay for the museum and Liberty Island renovations.

Her idea was to create an artwork using the original iron bars forged under the supervision of engineer Gustave Eiffel, designer of the Statute of Liberty and another well-known tower in Paris.

Related: New York City unveils Statue of Liberty: archive, 29 October 1886[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/oct/29/new-york-city-statue-of-liberty-1886]

The hand-forged bars will be sculpted into a mural of 50 stars, after the American flag, and appear in the entrance of the museum. Donors can purchase a star – each one costs $2m – and get information about their family history displayed.

“People like what is limited,” said Von Furstenberg, a lucrative designer who knows how to combine business with art.

She reeled off a list of names of friends and companies she’s already had agree to chip in, including billionaire Jeff Bezos, founder of Amazon and owner of the Washington Post, who will donate in honor of his father, a Cuban **immigrant**.

“Then I went to Chanel – Coco Chanel, French, makes sense, right? So I got that. I went to Coca Cola, that was obvious,” said Von Furstenberg.

Former New York mayor Michael Bloomberg – “He was my first call,” said Von Furstenberg – said yes, as did Brian Roberts, the CEO of Comcast; the billionaire Tisch family; and businesswoman Mellody Hobson and her husband, Star Wars creator George Lucas, who will dedicate their star to the late Muhammad Ali.

“I don’t know a lot of people who say no to Diane von Furstenberg. I do not advise it,” said De Blasio.

The museum will be designed by architecture firm FXFOWLE, with their plans showing a raised roof garden that will also serve as a viewing platform of downtown Manhattan.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Committee criticises the restrictions imposed on international organisations and journalists from conducting research into children’s rights on the island

The Nauruan government must take “immediate action” to investigate all allegations of mistreatment, abuse and sexual assault against **refugee** and asylum-seeker children, the United Nations has said in a report card on the Pacific island nation.

The report follows a UN committee on the rights of the child hearing[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/united-nations-to-grill-nauru-over-abuse-of-children-in-australian-run-detention], which reviewed the state of children’s rights in Nauru. Many of its findings, or concluding observations, relate to the **refugee**and asylum-seeker children held or hosted on the island as part of its agreement with Australia to process boat arrivals.

The committee concluded that the Nauruan government had accepted asylum-seeking and **refugee** children from Australia “without taking their best interests into account”.

The memorandum of understanding between the two countries also failed in this respect, it said.

The UN committee also criticised the restrictions on civil society groups and media, and expressed concern that some international organisations had faced intimidation.

Earlier this year, the Guardian revealed thousands of leaked documents[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] from inside the Nauru processing centre, which detailed widespread trauma and abuse among detainees, including children.

Related: UN to question Nauru over abuse of children in Australian-run detention[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/united-nations-to-grill-nauru-over-abuse-of-children-in-australian-run-detention]

The findings were dismissed by the Australian and Nauruan governments as being allegations and historical, despite the reports containing first-hand accounts from employees, up until October 2015.

On Friday, the UN committee called on the Nauruan government to “take immediate action to independently investigate all allegations of ill-treatment, abuse and sexual assault” against asylum seeking and **refugee** children, and Nauruan children.

It noted the efforts made by Nauru to develop a child protection system, but expressed concern at the limited capacity of the police force to investigate allegations of sexual assault and violence against children.

The committee was also concerned about the “inhuman and degrading treatment, including physical, psychological and sexual abuse, against asylum seeking and **refugee** children living in the Regional Processing Centres”, and reports of intimidation and violence against people living in the community.

It criticised the lack of assistance for the recovery of children who “experienced trauma prior to their arrival in Nauru and the subsequent impact of prolonged periods of living in detention-like conditions, which has resulted in many cases of attempted suicide, self-immolation, acts of self-harm and depression”.

Related: The Nauru files: cache of 2,000 leaked reports reveal scale of abuse of children in Australian offshore detention[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention]

It called for compulsory training and mandatory reporting requirements for all professionals working with children, and immediate protection, prevention and rehabilitation measures. Separately, it urged the creation of a national database of domestic violence against children, and thorough assessment of the extent, causes, and nature of the violence in order to develop effective prevention and protection programs.

It noted that despite recent law reform, corporal punishment continued to be widely socially accepted, and was still used in detention-like settings such as the regional processing centre.

The committee expressed serious concern that international organisations and journalists had been restricted from conducting research relating to children’s rights, and that there had been reports of international organisations being subjected to intimidation. It recommended that the Nauruan government involve civil society groups in policy, and build “an environment of trust and cooperation” with NGOs and journalists.

The Nauruan government has increasingly sought to prevent any potential critics from entering the country.

Journalists are now charged a US$8,000 (A$10,500) non-refundable visa application fee, and only two Australian journalists have since been granted access. In September, it refused to allow some members of a Danish political delegation[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/03/nauru-fiasco-serves-to-confirm-danish-groups-suspicions-of-australian-tactics], including members of parliament, who had hoped to visit the processing centre as part of a fact-finding mission on Australia’s **immigration** policy.

Related: Nauru fiasco serves to confirm Danish group's suspicions of Australian tactics[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/03/nauru-fiasco-serves-to-confirm-danish-groups-suspicions-of-australian-tactics]

Last month, the Nauruan president, Baron Waqa, told the United Nations summit on **refugees** and migrants that the processing system gave people protection while also undermining the business model of people smugglers.

Waqa said that while “implementation of this model is not without its issues”, it had a robust and fair determination system, and complied with UNHCR guidance.

The UN committee welcomed the recent ratification by Nauru of the Optional Protocol of the Convention against Torture, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, as well as key pieces of law reform and policy.

However, it was concerned about stalled or minimal efforts at the implementation into domestic law and regulations.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Clinton supporters step up efforts for their candidate as Trump says ‘Nevada’ wrong – and Fox News hosts spar over election‘Trump only goes on Hannity’: Kelly clashes with Fox News colleagueTrump and Clinton return to center stage after lackluster VP debate

block-time published-time 2.38am BST

Today in Campaign 2016 Donald Trump holds up polling data. Photograph: Mary Schwalm/AFP/Getty Images

\* So much for every Republican running away from Trump. House speaker Paul Ryan will campaign with the presidential nominee in his home district in Wisconsin on Saturday, according to a statement from his office. Rather hilariously – no, let’s go with quite hilariously – given Ryan’s chronic bobbling[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/paul-ryan-not-talking-about-trump\_us\_573f1225e4b0613b5129f74b?by8kwc4qjlaexw29] of the Trump question, the statement advises that “all questions related to Mr. Trump should be directed to the Trump campaign.”

\* At the end of the first presidential debate last week, Donald Trump patted himself on the back for not bringing up some unnamed thing relating to the Clinton family, which pretty clearly was Bill Clinton’s infidelities. After the debate, Trump continued to pat himself on the back for not bringing up Clinton’s infidelities, which most political analysts agreed[http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/30/politics/donald-trump-women/] was not a fight that would end well for him. Now Trump has definitively declared – on Page Six of the New York Post[http://pagesix.com/2016/10/05/trump-i-wont-mention-bill-clintons-past-at-next-debate/] – that he will NOT bring up “Bill Clinton’s past”: “I want to win this election on my policies for the future, not on Bill Clinton’s past,” Trump told Page Six via email. “Jobs, trade, ending illegal **immigration**, veteran care, and strengthening our military is what I really want to be talking about.”

\* Trump running mate Mike Pence this morning told CNN that Trump no longer supports a ban on Muslims entering the US but wants a ban on **immigrants** “from countries compromised by terrorism.”

\* “We’re going to suspend **immigration** from countries compromised by terrorism,” Pence said. CNN’s Chris Cuomo does a good job of pushing him: “But governor that is a finessed position,” Cuomo said, pointing out that Pence strongly condemned Trump’s call for a Muslim ban back when he was supporting Ted Cruz. “You condemned those comments. Why do you not condemn them now?” Pence laughed, as if no questions could be sillier. “Well because it’s not Donald Trump’s position now.”

block-time published-time 2.12am BST

Donald Trump’s core supporters may back his views on curbing **immigration** – but they disagree with him over global trade and US involvement in Nato, an opinion poll has found.

Trump has made opposition to the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade deal between the US and Asia a central theme of his populist campaign, but more of his base favour it (49%) than oppose it (46%), according to the 2016 Chicago Council on Global Affairs survey[https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/america-age-uncertainty?utm\_source=homepage&utm\_medium=post&utm\_campaign=ccs-report].

In another surprising finding, despite Senator Bernie Sanders’ vocal criticism of the TPP[http://www.npr.org/2016/07/03/484574128/sanders-centers-platform-fight-on-trans-pacific-trade-deal] during the Democratic primary, some 56% of his supporters back the agreement, as do 74% of Hillary Clinton’s.

The annual survey suggests a gap between the views of those who shout loudest during the presidential election and the more nuanced positions of many Democratic and Republican voters on the ground, most of whom want America to remain engaged with the world.

As expected, **immigration** does seem to be a vote winner for Trump, who has been accused of inciting hatred and violence. “ Trump’s rhetoric on **immigrants**[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/30/trump-comments-mexico-rapists-planned-deposition-video] and **refugees** has most clearly struck a chord with his base,” notes the report, published on Thursday. “On each and every question concerning **immigration**, Trump’s core supporters are the least favorable.”

Related: Trump supporters split on his opposition to TPP, survey shows[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/06/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-tpp-survey]

block-time published-time 1.33am BST

The final question at Donald Trump’s town hall: “What is one of the earliest memories you had as a child?” The question is followed by a “Go, Donald!” from its asker.

He answers this question by discussing the vacancy on the supreme court.

Apparently, despite being spoon-fed handpicked softballs by a sycophantic moderator in a venue packed exclusively with supporters chosen by his campaign, Trump wasn’t that interested in treating tonight like actual preparation for Sunday night’s debate.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.34am BST

block-time published-time 1.31am BST

Pete from Nashua wants to know about social security! Specifically, how Hillary Clinton will bankrupt the programs by extending citizenship to undocumented **immigrants**.

“When they want to do their jobs, and, it’s much more difficult, and who’s gonna come out and endorse Trump?” Trump begins, before meandering into a discussion about the war on drugs. “If I win, and if I become president - first get the nomination, that happened - then become president, I’m gonna promise the people of New Hampshire that we’re gonna stop this crap coming into your state.”

block-time published-time 1.15am BST

Voter registration in Florida will not be extended, despite the arrival of Hurricane Matthew:

enltrRick Scott will not extend reg deadline due to storm, he says at presser, via @MAlexJohnson[https://twitter.com/MAlexJohnson] : "Everybody has had plenty of time to register."

— Alex Seitz-Wald (@aseitzwald) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/aseitzwald/status/784178507052093440]block-time published-time 1.12am BST

Next question, this time from Bob Swanson: Can you assure the American people that you are going to clean house at the FBI, Justice Department, State Department and the FDA?

“One of my favorite questions,” the “moderator” declares.

“What’s happened to the FBI and to the Justice Department at the highest level, honestly I think it’s one of the saddest things that’s happened to this country,” Trump says.

block-time published-time 1.05am BST

Next question: How do you define the income range for “middle class”?

“The middle class has been forgotten in this country,” Trump says, before drifting into talking about China for a spell. “I will tell you, it’s such a great question, because our middle class has been treated so badly by our politicians - it’s been forgotten.”

block-time published-time 1.03am BST

Next question in New Hampshire: What message do you have for Latinos deceived by the biased media to vote for Hillary Clinton?

(Yes, this is seriously a question in Donald Trump’s debate prep.)

“People that are here legally, they don’t want people coming across the border illegally taking their jobs, taking their homes, taking whatever they want to take,” Trump says. “We’re gonna do fantastic with the Hispanics - I believe that.”

“Doing well!” the moderator says.

block-time published-time 12.58am BST

Donald Trump’s “moderator” in the town hall that his campaign insists is not debate prep allows the first question - after noting that there is a two-minute clock he can use or not use, at Trump’s discretion - which asks of Trump whether he will amp up his criticism of Hillary Clinton, after “holding back” in the first debate.

“I think for good reason, I think for good reason,” Trump said. “Let’s see what happens, I mean, let’s see what happens. I think we’re all better off if we can do that.”

block-time published-time 12.46am BST

Donald Trump begins his “town hall” in New Hampshire by pumping his poll numbers in South Carolina – where he’s only five points ahead.

block-time published-time 12.41am BST

Donald Trump speaks at 'town hall' in Sandown, New Hampshire With a friendly moderator and a hand-picked crowd, Donald Trump hopes to prepare for Sunday night’s town-hall debate with Hillary Clinton tonight in New Hampshire. Watch it live here:

block-time published-time 12.18am BST

Donald Trump campaigns in Sandown, New Hampshire Watch it live here:

block-time published-time 11.18pm BST

That’s the wrong building.

enltrLooking forward to a great future... pic.twitter.com/5i1EkvThym[https://t.co/5i1EkvThym]

— Evan McMullin (@Evan\_McMullin) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/Evan\_McMullin/status/784154406635712512]block-time published-time 10.50pm BST

Evan McMullin to announce running mate #NeverTrump spoiler candidate Evan McMullin, who joined the race for the White House in August, will announce the official selection of his running mate with only 33 days to go before the presidential election, according to Buzzfeed News[https://www.buzzfeed.com/mckaycoppins/evan-mcmullin-will-announce-gop-strategist-as-running-mate?utm\_term=.nfLXZXY2NR#.dnxn6nB0a7].

The choice is another little-known Republican: Mindy Finn[https://www.linkedin.com/in/mindyfinn], a Republican consultant who has advised the Republican National Committee and founder of conservative women’s organization Empowered Women whose LinkedIn page describes her as “a media strategist, an early founder of the digital democracy movement, and specializes in brand marketing, issue advocacy and civic reform.”

McMullin is running as an independent conservative alternative to Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/08/republican-evan-mcmullin-presidential-run-trump], backed by some of the Republican nominee’s most determined rightwing opponents.

block-time published-time 10.07pm BST

President Barack Obama is cutting short the sentences of 102 federal inmates as part of his ongoing push to grant clemency[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/03/obama-cuts-short-prison-sentences-commutations] during his final months in office.

The latest round brings to 774 the number of sentences Obama has commuted, including 590 this year. The White House says it is more than the previous 11 presidents put together.

Almost all of those receiving commutations were convicted of drug-related offenses. Most are considered non-violent offenders, although some were convicted of firearms charges in connection with drug crimes.

Many of the recipients had been serving life sentences.

But Obama is not setting them all free right away. Many of those receiving commutations will see their sentences end in October 2018, almost two years into the next president’s term.

block-time published-time 9.45pm BST

Update: Matt Drudge is now a Hurricane Matthew truther.

enltrHurricane Center has monopoly on data. No way of verifying claims. Nassau ground observations DID NOT match statements! 165mph gusts? WHERE?

— MATT DRUDGE (@DRUDGE) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/DRUDGE/status/784130444614705152]block-time published-time 9.43pm BST

For the first time in the history of presidential debates, the American public has the opportunity to vote for some of the questions that will be asked during Sunday night’s presidential debate.

Any one of the top 30 questions voted on the Open Debate Coalition’s website[https://presidentialopenquestions.com/] will be up for consideration - and some of them are making major waves[https://twitter.com/UncleRUSH/status/783872482583404544] on social media:

Which ones do you think should be asked?

block-time published-time 9.36pm BST

As Donald Trump’s campaign urges Floridians in Hurricane Matthew’s path to seek shelter, some of his supporters are apparently wondering whether the entire “strongest Florida storm in more than a century” thing is just a liberal conspiracy:

enltrThe deplorables are starting to wonder if govt has been lying to them about Hurricane Matthew intensity to make exaggerated point on climate

— MATT DRUDGE (@DRUDGE) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/DRUDGE/status/784121449606852608] This is, for the record, insanely dangerous.[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/06/hurricane-matthew-florida-preparations-evacuation]

block-time published-time 9.15pm BST

enltrPEAK TRUMP, asked about Yucca Mountain, read this whole thing: "And I will come very strongly one way or the other. I will have an opinion." pic.twitter.com/0K6H8XPFW0[https://t.co/0K6H8XPFW0]

— Sopan Deb (@SopanDeb) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/SopanDeb/status/783919560189673472]block-time published-time 8.56pm BST

With 32 days remaining until the US election, Hillary Clinton’s campaign is touting its advantage over opponent Donald Trump in the early voting process that is already underway in pivotal battleground states.

“We are certain that more voters are going to cast ballots in this election than any other election in our nation’s history,” Clinton campaign manager Robby Mook told reporters on a Thursday conference call, while predicting a historic show of early voting as well.

Hillary Clinton Photograph: Brian Snyder/Reuters Key swing states such as Nevada, North Carolina and Florida “could be decided before Election Day,” he added, stating the campaign’s objective to create an “insurmountable lead” by encouraging supporters to cast their ballots early.

Citing a 50% increase in vote-by-mail requests in Florida alone, compared with the same point in the race in 2012, Mook said the Clinton campaign was already succeeding in turning out its low propensity voters as opposed to Republicans.

Another significant development working in Democrats’ favor: An uptick in voter registration among African Americans and Hispanics. Vote-by-mail requests among Hispanics in Florida, for example, were up 77% since this juncture four years ago, Mook said.

The trend of more vote-by-mail requests extended to other demographics who have increasingly voted Democrat and might feel **alienated** by Trump, such as Asian Americans. Changes to strict voter ID laws in some battlegrounds, enacted by Republicans and found to disproportionately target minorities, would also help to boost Clinton’s campaign, Mook said.

“We think we have a superior turnout operation than Donald Trump does and early voting is the time when we can really put that to use and exploit that advantage that we have,” Mook said.

Republicans have historically dominated the process of voting early by mail. While Clinton’s campaign acknowledged Democrats were unlikely to overtake their opponents overall in early voting this cycle, they were optimistic about closing the gap.

Mook also said the campaign was requesting that officials in Florida extend its Oct. 11 voter registration deadline in light of Hurricane Matthew. The Category 4 deadly storm, which is making its up up the Florida coast, prompted its governor to declare a state of emergency.

Mook additionally previewed the next presidential debate, slated for Sunday evening in St. Louis, Missouri. While Clinton was near unanimously regarded as the winner of the first debate, Mook said the campaign did not anticipate Trump to be as undisciplined.

“We expect a more focused, more prepared Trump at this debate,” Mook said.

And while Trump has foreshadowed bringing up controversial issues such as Bill Clinton’s previous infidelities, Mook was less convinced. “We do not expect him to come with the personal and harsh attacks he’s been threatening,” he said.

block-time published-time 8.44pm BST

Bernie Sanders blasted Donald Trump as a billionaire who exemplifies a “corrupt American political system” in the Vermont senator’s first visit to Michigan on the campaign trail for Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/hillary-clinton] today.

Bernie Sanders. Photograph: Kelsey Kremer/AP At a local United Auto Workers chapter in Dearborn, the first of four campaign stops across the state, Sanders’ appearance on behalf of Clinton came several months after he eked out a shocking victory in Michigan’s primary election. But in his roughly 50-minute speech, Sanders stressed the importance of electing Clinton, declaring Trump’s policy agenda is “particularly dangerous and un-American”.

The Republican nominee, Sanders said, differs from any candidate in modern history for one reason: “The reason Trump’s campaign is particularly dangerous and un-American is that he has made the cornerstone of his campaign bigotry.”

He continued, “This campaign, what Trump is trying to do trying to win votes by dividing us up, by insulting the Latino brothers and sisters, by insulting the Muslim community, by every day hurling insults at women.”

Sanders said the revelation of Trump’s 1995 tax returns released last week[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/02/donald-trump-income-tax-returns-published] accomplished more in one day “than I have in a year” to illustrate the “corrupt” American economy.

Related: Sanders warns Michigan voters that Trump is 'dangerous and un-American'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/06/donald-trump-michigan-bernie-sanders-clinton-campaign]

block-time published-time 8.25pm BST

Donald Trump has issued a statement regarding the impending landfall of Hurricane Matthew:

Our thoughts and prayers go out to everyone in the path of Hurricane Matthew, namely in Florida, Georgia and the Carolinas, and we encourage everyone to listen to their Governors and local emergency officials urging the evacuations of at-risk coastal communities. These warnings are very, very serious – if your home is in the path of the hurricane and you are being advised to leave, you need to do so right now. Nothing is more important than the safety of your family.

I would also like to offer my thanks to the law enforcement, first responders and power crews making the necessary preparations for the storm and carrying out their plans to help our communities survive and recover in the aftermath.

I also want to extend my personal condolences to those families in Haiti who lost loved ones as this storm tore through their island. The news reports that over a hundred people are feared dead saddens us all, and the United States should offer our assistance to help our island neighbors.

Please stay safe.

block-time published-time 7.55pm BST

Pence says Trump no longer wants a Muslim ban Trump running mate Mike Pence this morning told CNN that Trump no longer supports a ban on Muslims entering the US but wants a ban on **immigrants** “from countries compromised by terrorism.”

Even before Tuesday’s debate, a large part of Pence’s job had become to describe Trump’s policies and views as less extreme than the candidate has described them (see the lengthy Sunday show footage of Pence taking questions about whether Trump still wants a “deportation force”).

“We’re going to suspend **immigration** from countries compromised by terrorism,” Pence says.

CNN’s Chris Cuomo does a good job of pushing him: “But governor that is a finessed position,” Cuomo says, pointing out that Pence strongly condemned Trump’s call for a Muslim ban back when he was supporting Ted Cruz.

“You condemned those comments. Why do you not condemn them now?”

Pence laughs, as if no questions could be sillier. “Well because it’s not Donald Trump’s position now.” Ha. Ha.

enltrWhy isn't Mike Pence condemning Trump's past call for a Muslim ban? "Because it's not Donald Trump's position now" https://t.co/9fAIpGXCd4[https://t.co/9fAIpGXCd4]

— New Day (@NewDay) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/NewDay/status/784014344958930944]enltrThe plan is still to ban **immigration** from Muslim-majority countries, which is based on religion. https://t.co/DQ4M1ZPrzW[https://t.co/DQ4M1ZPrzW]

— Sabrina Siddiqui (@SabrinaSiddiqui) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/SabrinaSiddiqui/status/784023456572645377]block-time published-time 7.40pm BST

Here is a mashup of Hillary Clinton and a bunch of other Democrats pronouncing “Nevada” correctly as Donald Trump, speaking to a Reno crowd last night, did not ( see earlier[https://twitter.com/allinwithchris/status/783828875230912512?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw] ):

enltrHey @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump],

We made this video to help you pronounce Nev-AD-a! https://t.co/T1hQzrqaZx[https://t.co/T1hQzrqaZx]

— Tim Hogan (@timjhogan) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/timjhogan/status/784098942598340610]block-time published-time 7.32pm BST

A debate Wednesday in the interesting – or not[http://www.scpr.org/news/2016/10/05/65368/california-s-us-senate-race-unique-historic-and-ut/] – Democrat-on-Democrat US senate race in California, pitting state attorney general Kamala Harris, who leads in polls[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-california-senate-harris-vs-sanchez], against US representative Loretta Sanchez culminated with congresswoman Sanchez dabbing.

To wit:

enltrToday in 2016 election moments: US Senate candidate Rep. Loretta Sanchez dabbed after her closing statement in tonight's California debate pic.twitter.com/pZWIwiL9hm[https://t.co/pZWIwiL9hm]

— Max Tani (@maxwelltani) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/maxwelltani/status/783893258187509760]enltr @seungminkim[https://twitter.com/seungminkim] this: https://t.co/Ry3PTr8DKu[https://t.co/Ry3PTr8DKu]

— Michael Schwab (@michaelschwab13) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/michaelschwab13/status/784086175824900096]block-time published-time 7.23pm BST

Become a Guardian supporter Since you’re here, we’ve got a quick request. The Guardian is an independent voice in this year’s election. That means no bias or corporate owner influencing our coverage. But in-depth political reporting takes a lot of time, money and hard work to produce. If everyone who reads this blog helps to pay for it, our future will be more secure. Support the Guardian with a monthly payment[https://membership.theguardian.com/supporter?INTCMP=mem\_us\_editorial\_copy\_vpdebate], or a one-off contribution[https://contribute.theguardian.com/home?INTCMP=co\_us\_editorial\_copy\_vpdebate].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.23pm BST

block-time published-time 7.22pm BST

The man who ran Trump tower Here’s an eye-opening Associated Press report: Donald Trump once hired a convicted felon – a man who had tried to help a triple murderer break out of prison – to run Trump tower.

Here’s the top of the report:

Six years after George Gjieli left federal prison, where he’d been sent for trying to break out a triple murderer, Donald Trump gave him a job running Trump Tower, where the billionaire businessman lived and worked.

For a decade, the Albanian **immigrant**, whom federal prosecutors had described as having “utter disdain for the laws of our country,” was the live-in residential superintendent of Trump’s most prized Manhattan high-rise. Meanwhile, he was accused in court papers of coordinating a cash-for-jobs racket inside the building, an Associated Press review has found.

Some of the finest real estate in the world. Photograph: Mark Lennihan/AP Trump’s decision to entrust responsibility of his namesake Fifth Avenue skyscraper to Gjieli adds to a growing public accounting of men with questionable backgrounds whom Trump has hired or partnered with. The AP and others have reported they include a Mafia-linked government informant whom Trump named as a senior adviser and a convicted cocaine dealer whom Trump supported in a letter to a federal judge.

Gjieli, who said Trump wrote him a recommendation letter when he left Trump Tower in 2001, denied taking kickbacks including cash in envelopes delivered to his 29th floor office. In an interview, he called the allegations “bulls-t,” likely made by Romanian building workers harboring generations-old European ethnic rivalries.

The AP uncovered no evidence that Trump knew of money being paid for jobs. His presidential campaign spokeswoman, Hope Hicks, declined to address whether Trump ever conducted a background check before hiring Gjieli. She said Trump wasn’t familiar with the kickback allegations.

“Mr. Trump’s management style has led to the creation of one of the great private companies anywhere in the world,” she said.

Trump himself has said he cares more about his supervisors’ ability to get things done than their tactics or pasts, writing approvingly in his best-selling “Art of the Deal” about a “con man” project manager who likely stole $50,000 annually from the company, including from his secretaries’ funeral fund used to buy flowers.

“Even so, I was probably getting a bargain,” Trump wrote, saying the con man it was not Gjieli was a good manager.

Read the full piece here[http://bigstory.ap.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/84436a9fcb104bfd96c40fe9e2045cae/all-guys-pay-cash-jobs-alleged-inside-trump-tower].

block-time published-time 7.09pm BST

In an unusual development, Trump fliers appearing in mailboxes in Iowa, Colorado and Pennsylvania[https://twitter.com/randomsubu/status/784083391226470400] are listed as paid for by the New York state Republican party. It could indicate that polling in New York has convinced the local GOP that mailing these in-state would be a waste.

Lines are parallel if they are always the same distance apart and will never meet. Photograph: HuffPost Pollster Or maybe the phenomenon represents a jury-rigged coordination among the state parties or some other Trumpian disorganized logic.

enltrTrump campaign mail hitting Iowa mailboxes. Paid for by New York State GOP pic.twitter.com/2QJ2onwgcL[https://t.co/2QJ2onwgcL]

— Jason Noble (@jasonnobleDMR) October 5, 2016[https://twitter.com/jasonnobleDMR/status/783799213767299074]enltrNew Trump flier hitting CO mailboxes. Check out who paid for it. #copolitics[https://twitter.com/hashtag/copolitics?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/nLfTw2JQeu[https://t.co/nLfTw2JQeu]

— John Frank (@ByJohnFrank) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/ByJohnFrank/status/784078106403282944](h/t @bencjacobs[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] )

block-time published-time 6.41pm BST

Trump works to hold Nevada In front of an energetic crowd at the Reno-Sparks convention center in Reno, Nevada, Trump on Wednesday sang a symphony composed largely of old favorites from his songbook: Nafta took up a large part of his speech, with the debates – either his last week[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-first-debate-winner] or his running mate’s on Tuesday – barely mentioned.

Pence, who was widely considered to have bested Kaine in the debate, merited only the barest of nods. “The problems we face as a country are immense – and, by the way, didn’t Mike Pence[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/mike-pence] do a great job?” The line did not get much of a cheer, and he did not mention his running mate again.

Nevada[https://interactive.guim.co.uk/embed/2016/08/state-factboxes/?id=NV]If Trump has suffered in national polling since his debate with Clinton last week, his supporters did not seem to mind. The atmosphere in Reno was almost festive, with the crowd engaging in Trump’s call-and-responses with gusto. “What’s my economic – my economic,” Trump said, pretending to forget, and the crowd shouted back: “Jobs! Jobs!”

Only when Trump asked if there were any Latinos in the room was the Republican candidate met with near-silence. Even the booing of the media – a ritual at Trump rallies – seemed milder and more good-natured than usual.

Read the full piece here[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/05/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-vp-debate] :

Related: Trump and Clinton return to center stage after lackluster VP debate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/05/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-vp-debate]

enltrCan we please get these? pic.twitter.com/eNhhJq8I1a[https://t.co/eNhhJq8I1a]

— Michelle White (@MickyWhiteNV) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/MickyWhiteNV/status/783895328701448193] HuffPost Pollster’s average of polls of a two-way race in Nevada. Photograph: HuffPost Pollster block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.43pm BST

block-time published-time 6.05pm BST

Anywhere but Washington: Maine edition As Hillary Clinton makes history while openly campaigning for gun law reform, the NRA faces possible defeat in a Maine referendum. Paul Lewis and Tom Silverstone travel to Maine, where a push for universal background checks is being bankrolled by billionaire Michael Bloomberg:

How firearm-loving Maine could defeat the gun lobby[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/05/gun-control-reform-maine-hillary-clinton-nra]block-time published-time 6.02pm BST

Trump tells Page Six he won't bring up Bill at second debate At the end of the first presidential debate last week, Donald Trump patted himself on the back for not bringing up some unnamed thing relating to the Clinton family, which pretty clearly was Bill Clinton’s infidelities.

After the debate, Trump continued to pat himself on the back for not bringing up Clinton’s infidelities, which most political analysts agreed[http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/30/politics/donald-trump-women/] was not a fight that would end well for him.

Now Trump has definitively declared – on Page Six of the New York Post[http://pagesix.com/2016/10/05/trump-i-wont-mention-bill-clintons-past-at-next-debate/] – that he will NOT bring up “Bill Clinton’s past”:

“I want to win this election on my policies for the future, not on Bill Clinton’s past,” Trump told Page Six via email. “Jobs, trade, ending illegal **immigration**, veteran care, and strengthening our military is what I really want to be talking about.”

Clinton at the US Open in Flushing, New York, in a September 8, 2000 handout photo. Photograph: HANDOUT/Reuters block-time published-time 5.54pm BST

Battleground states: North Carolina North Carolina[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/northcarolina] has been in the eye of many storms this year. The state of emergency declared by Governor Pat McCrory ahead of the expected arrival of Hurricane Matthew this weekend follows similar civil measures in September when the police killing of a black man set off a wave of angry protests on the streets of the state’s largest city, Charlotte.

Few of the tempests to sweep by in 2016 have defined the national mood quite as much, though, as the political maelstrom battering this state. A vital battleground in the presidential election, North Carolina could determine whether Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] manages to assemble enough angry white voters to make it all the way to the White House. A “bathroom ban” preventing transgender students from using toilets not matching the gender on their birth certificates has reopened the wounds of America’s culture wars, leading to a boycott by college sport authorities and protests from leading employers such as Apple, American Airlines and Bank of America.

But the conservative wave that allowed Republicans to take control of all layers of local government in the state is now threatening to drown the party itself. The fervour stoked by battles over gay rights, voter registration laws, and **immigration** is putting off many moderates[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/donald-trump-nascar-north-carolina-republicans] and could yet see Democrats win presidential, Senate and gubernatorial races here in November.

Related: Battleground states: North Carolina's sharp divides put election on knife-edge[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/06/battleground-states-north-carolina-trump-clinton-sharp-divisions]

What has made such controversies so shocking to many outsiders is that the Tar Heel state had long since stopped conforming to any easy stereotypes of a politically conservative southern backwater. The recent protests against the killing of Keith Lamont Scott in Charlotte took place among gleaming downtown high-rises of the New South – race riots shattering the calm of what otherwise appears a diverse and progressive boomtown at the heart of one of America’s major transport and financial hubs.

Pride in North Carolina’s modern and open economy is still visible, despite the high-profile battles over sexual and racial equality. Drive into the state from the north, and road signs quickly herald its repeated ability to win Nobel prizes, celebrating last year’s award of the chemistry prize to a Turkish American biochemist, Aziz Sancar, based at the University of North Carolina (UNC) in Chapel Hill. He proudly spoke of being a US Muslim at his acceptance speech and told a Turkish newspaper[http://www.yenisafak.com/en/news/aziz-sancar-i-am-proud-of-being-a-muslim-but-i-cannot-say-it-2367444] that Trump should not be allowed to obscure America’s multicultural progress in the eyes of the world.

NC[https://interactive.guim.co.uk/embed/2016/08/state-factboxes/?id=NC] Read the full piece here.[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/06/battleground-states-north-carolina-trump-clinton-sharp-divisions]

block-time published-time 5.30pm BST

'How Howard Stern owned Donald Trump' Here’s a perceptive piece by Virginia Heffernan in Politico, How Howard Stern Owned Donald Trump[http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/10/howard-stern-donald-trump-2016-214322].

It was on shock-jock Stern’s radio show that Trump in 2002 said he supported the Iraq war, discussed the attractiveness of 12-year-old Paris Hilton and made some of his most nakedly sexist and craven pronouncements.

Stern hosting on Sirius Radio in 2006. Photograph: Getty Images Heffernan points out that Trump was really broke in the mid-1990s, perhaps somewhat desperate, and hungry for attention and celebrity. And then Stern used him, she writes:

This much-craved publicity, of course, came at price: Stern has long had a devilish talent for lulling guests into a false sense of security—and then luring them into rhetorical traps. He casts his guests in a burlesque he scripts for them, and cattle-prods them into playing their parts, first fawning over them until they feel like celebrities, then bringing down the hammer of humiliation. He’s a diabolically domineering scene partner. No interviewer has ever been as adroit with treacherous leading questions in the vein of “When did you stop beating your wife?” Stern, in other words, gets people to publicly embrace their worst selves—and say things they live to regret.

That’s exactly what happened with Trump. Today, as the Republican nominee, he may fashion himself as a boss and a master of the universe. But what comes across in old tapes of the show, resurfaced recently by BuzzFeed and other outlets, is that Trump, like many of Stern’s guests, was often the one being played. By nailing him as a buffoon and then—unkindest cut—forcing him to kiss the Howard Stern ring, Stern and his co-anchor, Robin Quivers, created a series of broadcasts that today showcase not just Trump’s misogyny but his ready submission to sharper minds.

Read the full piece here[http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/10/howard-stern-donald-trump-2016-214322#ixzz4MK5DCjOP].

block-time published-time 5.06pm BST

Paul Ryan to campaign with Donald Trump So much for every Republican running away from Trump. House speaker Paul Ryan will campaign with the presidential nominee in his home district in Wisconsin on Saturday, according to a statement from his office.

Rather hilariously – no, let’s go with quite hilariously – given Ryan’s chronic bobbling[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/paul-ryan-not-talking-about-trump\_us\_573f1225e4b0613b5129f74b?by8kwc4qjlaexw29] of the Trump question, the statement advises that “all questions related to Mr. Trump should be directed to the Trump campaign.”

For some reason it’s difficult to find a photo of Paul Ryan and Donald Trump together. Here’s a composite:

Trump, two hands, Ryan, one hand. Composite: AFP & AP Read further: Paul Ryan: So handsome, so sad[https://www.buzzfeed.com/mckaycoppins/paul-d-ryan-so-handsome-so-sad]

block-time published-time 4.56pm BST

Senator Ted Cruz, who courageously refused to endorse Donald Trump onstage at the Republican national convention, only to be called to heel after it became clear that the non-endorsement was hurting him more than Trump – here Cruz phone banks under a bunch of Trump signs. Does this really humiliate Ted Cruz, though? Does anything...

enltrThe final humiliation pic.twitter.com/NvSQGKRAUL[https://t.co/NvSQGKRAUL]

— Liam Donovan (@LPDonovan) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/LPDonovan/status/784031314399887360]block-time published-time 4.51pm BST

State polls look good for Clinton We went looking for good news for Trump in the latest state polls. Instead we found a bunch of strong polls for Clinton. Every arrow seems to point in one direction: Clinton is gaining strength. Note that most of the following state snapshots represent one poll and that you should always consult the averages[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster] before acquitting yourself of an opinion about the state of the race.

Florida:

enltrThe UNF poll--a good one--shows Clinton+3 in Florida two-way, +7 in the two-way https://t.co/CZJV3jpC8z[https://t.co/CZJV3jpC8z]

— Nate Cohn (@Nate\_Cohn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/Nate\_Cohn/status/784026877765844992]North Carolina:

enltrNorth Carolina Is becoming a problem for Trump: https://t.co/RAHINo46OZ[https://t.co/RAHINo46OZ] pic.twitter.com/7ZSKoUzeGi[https://t.co/7ZSKoUzeGi]

— FiveThirtyEight (@FiveThirtyEight) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/FiveThirtyEight/status/784043284758880256]Michigan:

enltrBig lead for clinton in latest Freep poll: https://t.co/mAd9uQzCG3[https://t.co/mAd9uQzCG3] via @freep[https://twitter.com/freep]

— Kathy Gray (@michpoligal) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/michpoligal/status/784028910099005440]Arizona:

enltrTPM Electoral Scoreboard Moves to Clinton 323, Trump 186 as Arizona Moves from Trump to Toss Up https://t.co/TqnIwFS0Je[https://t.co/TqnIwFS0Je] via @TPM[https://twitter.com/TPM]

— Josh Marshall (@joshtpm) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/joshtpm/status/784035035003416576]Iowa:

enltrHey, Iowa back in (light) blue on @FiveThirtyEight[https://twitter.com/FiveThirtyEight] predictor pic.twitter.com/LshT7ojbdW[https://t.co/LshT7ojbdW]

— Iowa Starting Line (@IAStartingLine) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/IAStartingLine/status/784038385090297856]enltrIf the election result matched current RCP averages: Clinton would win, 323 to 215. https://t.co/BCmurahs0D[https://t.co/BCmurahs0D]

— EV Tracker (@ev\_tracker) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/ev\_tracker/status/784032053012475905] Trump campaign manager Kellyanne Conway is first a pollster, and she has an argument to make: the pollsters are missing Trump supporters, who don’t want to tell anyone, much less strangers asking a bunch of nosy questions, about their political opinions. The shy Tory effect.

Could be?

enltrWill Trump's poll-shy fans surprise elites? @CNN[https://twitter.com/CNN] https://t.co/UR7wou2TlS[https://t.co/UR7wou2TlS]

— Kellyanne Conway (@KellyannePolls) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/KellyannePolls/status/784030997427916800]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.53pm BST

block-time published-time 4.15pm BST

Trump loosens Republican grip on senate Uh-oh. A month before the election, incumbent Republican senator Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire, who is up for reelection, has had to make an “I’m not perfect” ad:

Standing Up In a debate on Monday night against challenger Maggie Hassan, the Democratic governor, Ayotte was asked whether Donald Trump would be a good role model for children.

“Absolutely,” she replied. Ayotte, a centrist Republican, has been trying to have Trump both ways all year, saying she would vote for him but not endorse him.

Quickly after the debate, Ayotte sought to walk back her statement about Trump, saying that she had misspoken.

But Hassan is out this morning with an ad seeking to pin her more closely to the top of the ticket:

“Absolutely” A HuffPost Pollster average of polls in the senate race has it tied[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-new-hampshire-ayotte-vs-hassan] :

HuffPost Pollster polling average of the Senate race in New Hampshire. Photograph: HuffPost Pollster An Ayotte loss would be a significant blow to Republican efforts to hold the senate. The Democrats need to flip four seats – and for Clinton to win the presidency – to gain control of the senate. (If the Democrats get four seats, a 50-50 tie would be established, with straight party-line votes thereafter being resolved by the vice president, whoever he may end up being.)

The Democrats look very likely to flip in Illinois and Wisconsin. But they may lose the Nevada seat of retiring minority leader Harry Reid. So they may need at least three more wins from among the five states of Indiana, North Carolina, Missouri, Pennsylvania or New Hampshire. To see a map with further analysis, pay a visit to Sabato’s Crystal Ball[http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/2016-senate/].

Republicans are worried that Trump is screwing up their chances of holding onto Congress, report Jonathan Martin and Alexander Burns today in the New York Times[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/06/us/politics/donald-trump-campaign.html] :

Donald J. Trump[http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/us/elections/donald-trump-on-the-issues.html?inline=nyt-per] ’s support has plunged across the swing-state map over the last 10 days, wiping out his political recovery from September and threatening to undo weeks of Republican gains in the battle for control of Congress. [...]

Mr. Trump has already slipped perceptibly in public polls, trailing widely this week in Pennsylvania and by smaller margins in Florida and North Carolina — three states he cannot afford to lose. But private polling by both parties shows an even more precipitous drop, especially among independent voters, moderate Republicans and women, according to a dozen strategists from both parties who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the data was confidential.

Read the full piece here[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/06/us/politics/donald-trump-campaign.html].

Update:

enltrNew: 30 former GOP members of Congress come out against Trump, saying they won't vote for him. pic.twitter.com/7H3Nyi5pDI[https://t.co/7H3Nyi5pDI]

— Kyle Griffin (@kylegriffin1) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/kylegriffin1/status/784047532833923072]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.28pm BST

block-time published-time 3.45pm BST

Here’s New York Daily News editorial cartoonist Bill Bramhall[https://twitter.com/BillBramhall] on the veep debate:

enltrHere's today's @billbramhall[https://twitter.com/BillBramhall] cartoon: https://t.co/6jDB4vdsnd[https://t.co/6jDB4vdsnd] pic.twitter.com/x1iVC8aCTJ[https://t.co/x1iVC8aCTJ]

— Josh Greenman (@joshgreenman) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/joshgreenman/status/784029606378672128]block-time published-time 3.31pm BST

We really don’t want to know any more about this apparent meeting between comedienne Rosie O’Donnell and the daughter of a man with whom she is engaged in an ongoing and epic flame war – “orange anus,” she called him last month[https://twitter.com/rosie/status/780616540395859968] – except that it happened and they appear to have gotten along just fine. #healing #bless

enltr @IvankaTrump[https://twitter.com/IvankaTrump] in a city of 8 million - we meet face 2 face - i thank u 4 listening - mother 2 mother - on this new years week - my best 2 u

— Rosie (@Rosie) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/Rosie/status/783848742759829510](thx @fahima\_haque[https://twitter.com/fahima\_haque?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] )

block-time published-time 3.25pm BST

How charming is this guy? Trump told Nevada voters last night to please cling to life until Election Day.

“I don’t care how sick you are,” he said, “hang on till November 8th, get out and vote and then, all we’re going to say is, we love you and we’ll remember you always.”

Donald Trump urges terminally-ill voters to hang on until election[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/06/donald-trump-urges-terminally-ill-voters-to-hang-on-until-election-video]The crowd is cracking up. But this is not only in questionable taste – it’s misleading. Dying voters in Nevada, where a large 69% majority of ballots were cast early in 2012, only have to make it until the opening of early voting on 22 October to make their support for Trump known before dying.

The Trump campaign, which isn’t very good at get-out-the-vote, seems rarely to brief the candidate on useful information like this that he might share with voters.

And yes, if you vote early and then die before election day, your vote still counts[https://www.quora.com/If-a-person-votes-early-then-dies-before-the-official-election-day-is-their-vote-counted]. America.

Then Trump spots an Elvis impersonator. Most Las Vegas rally ever.

block-time published-time 1.37pm BST

Hello and welcome to our live-wire coverage of the 2016 race for the White House. It’s 6 October, Barack Obama’s approval rating has touched a new second-term high of 55%, according to a CNN/ORC poll[https://twitter.com/Morning\_Joe/status/783987682288340992], and Hillary Clinton has a growing national lead of at least four points over Donald Trump in one[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-general-election-trump-vs-clinton], two[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/us/general\_election\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5491.html], three[http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/us/elections/polls.html], four[http://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/2016-election-forecast/national-polls/] respected polling averages.

Which makes this new poll from Fairleigh Dickinson University /PublicMind an outlier:

enltrNational poll of likely voters: Clinton 50%, Trump 40% pic.twitter.com/u8LTxz2Vrn[https://t.co/u8LTxz2Vrn]

— Morning Joe (@Morning\_Joe) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/Morning\_Joe/status/783989196939636736]Clinton supporters concerned that she might quit while she’s ahead might take heart in the facts that she continues to raise money, appear with down-ticket candidates at rallies across the country and produce new campaign ads, like two out this morning.

Here’s one directed by Lee Daniels (Monster’s Ball, Precious, The Butler, Empire):

enltrLee Daniels direct new Clinton ad, "What Will You Say", featuring African American stars talking about what's at stake in this election: pic.twitter.com/ODniz2O8gs[https://t.co/ODniz2O8gs]

— Kyle Griffin (@kylegriffin1) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/kylegriffin1/status/783838485585260544] Trump says ‘Nevada’ wrong Like daughter, like father[https://twitter.com/TeeMcSee/status/778980420226605056]. Donald Trump lectured a crowd in Reno, Nevada – a state he needs to win – last night about how to pronounce “Nevada”. But he said it wrong, it’s “Nevada” like a baby’s “dada” not a Tzara’s Dada. They take this very seriously[https://twitter.com/RalstonReports/status/783826804918390784?lang=en] in Nevada.

Here’s Trump spouting nonsense:

enltrTrump explains how to pronounce Nevada - the wrong way. #inners[https://twitter.com/hashtag/inners?src=hash] https://t.co/5ZlOEMEMzv[https://t.co/5ZlOEMEMzv]

— All In w/Chris Hayes (@allinwithchris) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/allinwithchris/status/783828875230912512]nlltrHarry Reid https://t.co/kawy6zSpUv[https://t.co/kawy6zSpUv] pic.twitter.com/NKhUG0iSZ3[https://t.co/NKhUG0iSZ3]

— Farhad Manjoo (@fmanjoo) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/fmanjoo/status/783864562105757698] Trump supporters shout down Holocaust denier Attendees at a Trump rally grew agitated that the media was interviewing the one guy seeking a platform for his theories about the Holocaust:

enltr"You're not speaking the truth for us!" A Trump supporter shouts down alt-right man in Reno. pic.twitter.com/67Y5O1wDzI[https://t.co/67Y5O1wDzI]

— Ali Vitali (@alivitali) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/alivitali/status/783829942438023168] Here’s another Clinton ad out this morning, made from home movie footage:

Top Fox talent spat This is more than just a public fight between top on-air talent at a national news network; this is a civil war inside the most powerful brand in “conservative” news, coming right after the network’s head was cut off, as Fox founder Roger Ailes succumbed to a sexual harassment scandal, but not before the network helped elevate a historically bad, in the judgment of many top Republicans[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/05/07/the-10-republicans-who-hate-donald-trump-the-most-ranked/], presidential nominee.

enltr @megynkelly[https://twitter.com/megynkelly] u should be mad at @HillaryClinton[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] Clearly you support her. And @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] did talk to u. https://t.co/vsQiNMgHut[https://t.co/vsQiNMgHut]

— Sean Hannity (@seanhannity) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/seanhannity/status/783850273420738560] Related: 'Trump only goes on Hannity': Megyn Kelly clashes with Fox News colleague[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/oct/06/trump-only-goes-on-hannity-megyn-kelly-clashes-with-friend-at-10-oclock]

This is going to hit Florida starting as soon as tonight:

enltrHurricane #Matthew[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Matthew?src=hash] is expected to intensify later tonight and Thursday: https://t.co/MdjzkqMQtl[https://t.co/MdjzkqMQtl] #scwx[https://twitter.com/hashtag/scwx?src=hash] #gawx[https://twitter.com/hashtag/gawx?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/Bwr7sfz4gJ[https://t.co/Bwr7sfz4gJ]

— NWS Charleston, SC (@NWSCharlestonSC) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/NWSCharlestonSC/status/783822189980225537]Thanks for reading and please join us in the comments.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.04pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Why would anyone – let alone a health secretary – insult the one third of our doctors who were born abroad by suggesting that they’re only ‘interim’?

A wise government facing the multiple threats of Brexit would strive in every way to mitigate its worst effects. The chancellor dashes to Wall Street [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/06/pound-sterling-chancellor-hammond-wall-street-charm-offensive-business-live?page=with:block-57f5f228e4b0e2a2a25af768#block-57f5f228e4b0e2a2a25af768] today to try to calm markets as the pound falls again [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/06/pound-sterling-chancellor-hammond-wall-street-charm-offensive-business-live] and future investment to Britain is in jeopardy: the idea of Philip Hammond on a “charm offensive” may be a tad improbable – but at least he’s trying.

Related: Pound under pressure as chancellor Hammond launches Wall Street charm offensive – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/06/pound-sterling-chancellor-hammond-wall-street-charm-offensive-business-live]

Not so the prime minister, home secretary and health secretary: in a hole, they keep digging. They are right that **immigration** must be addressed when every poll and focus group showed it was at the heart of the Brexit vote – but what kind of **immigrants**? If there is “good” and “bad” migration, doctors, nurses and care workers [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/jeremy-hunt-promises-to-end-nhs-reliance-on-overseas-doctors-after-brexit] would surely top the “good” list. So would students swelling university coffers [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/04/rudd-announces-crackdown-on-overseas-students-and-new-work-visas], returning home to influential jobs with a fond connection to Britain spreading our soft power round the world. Yet they have picked on both these groups this week in a fit of self-harming madness. The popular anti-**immigrant** fears that stirred EU antagonism were scenes such as the 4,000 people a day now struggling to the EU in boats [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/05/refugee-crisis-italy-more-than-10000-rescued-off-coast-sicily] or the east Europeans packed into slum housing by gang masters serving car-washes and farmers [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/may/11/gangsters-on-our-doorstep].

But why pick on doctors at a time of severe shortage, when some units are closing for lack of qualified medics? Everyone welcomes Jeremy Hunt’s announcement of 1,500 more medical school places by 2018. When we need more doctors, it makes no sense to turn away so many able applicants. Though somehow it has slipped Hunt’s memory that his government cut medical training places by 2% in 2012, and only last year cut the Health Education England budget [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/nov/21/george-osborne-considers-axeing-student-nurse-bursaries] for training.

The puzzle is why anyone would insult the one third of NHS doctors born abroad by suggesting they are only “interim”, as May said. We need both homegrown and foreign staff, all we can find, scouring the world for more. Since the Brexit vote agencies are struggling to recruit nurses and doctors abroad. As ministers refuse to guarantee the right for EU staff to stay, NHS doctors and nurses feel insecure and unwelcome – and many may slip away. Ed Smith, chair of NHS Improvement, the regulator, writes in the Telegraph [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/05/driving-out-foreign-doctors-could-put-patients-at-risk-nhs-watch/] warning of the risk to patients if overseas staff are made to feel “demoralised and diminished”. Simon Stevens, head of NHS England warning of the risk to patients if overseas staff are made to feel “demoralised and diminished”. Simon Stevens, head of recently wrote [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/18/the-radical-blueprint-the-nhs-needs-to-survive-life-after-brexit/] that “It should be completely uncontroversial to provide early reassurance to international NHS employees about their continued welcome in this country.”

Jeremy Hunt’s claim that we will be ‘self-sufficient' in medical staff is nonsense – and he knows it

Hunt’s claim that we will be “self-sufficient” in medical staff is nonsense – and he knows it. These new doctors won’t qualify as consultants until 2030, while everywhere has ageing populations and the WHO estimates a global shortage of 2 million doctors. The number of people in Britain over the age of 85 will double by 2037 – and who is to care for them if we chase away all foreigners?

At the same time, Hunt squanders the British-born we have: around half of medical students don’t go into the NHS when they qualify. Hunt is right to oblige them to pay back with four years’ service to the NHS – but that’s not enough, and it’s only necessary because of all he has done to **alienate** junior doctors instead of wooing them to stay for life. Treasuring them, begging them not to depart for easier work in Australia would be economic prudence. Scaring away the foreign-born doctors will do untold damage.

The NHS has lost a decade in progress, returning to where it was 10 years ago in A&E-waiting and ambulance-response times. Waiting lists for operations are at their highest since 2007.

Related: Theresa May consigns Cameron to history in populist conference speech [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-consigns-cameron-to-history-in-populist-speech]

The social care calamity in local government has helped tip the NHS into crisis – a crisis happening right across the UK, where doctors are needed everywhere. Over 60% of care workers in London are foreign-born, mainly from outside the EU , people May could have banished long before Brexit. But the government knows that if it drives out cheap foreign care-labour it will need to pay higher rates with better conditions to attract British-born staff. Good idea, but will they raise the tax to do it?

Paeans of praise poured from the prime minister in her speech on Wednesday, bidding to be the party of the NHS . But she showed no sign of confronting the NHScrisis. Instead, it was a Go Home message to invaluable NHS and social care staff. She looks and sounds like a safe pair of hands – but we may find her neither as practical nor as competent as she pretends.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**People have claimed that the president of France’s National Front applauded May’s comment “if you believe you are a citizen of the world, you are a citizen of nowhere” on Twitter , but it was not her account

Social media is full of claims that France’s far-right presidential candidate Marine Le Pen has endorsed part of Theresa May’s speech to the Conservative party conference with a handclap on Twitter .

Alastair Campbell and the Labour MP Angela Rayner are among those who have commented about it on Twitter .

Just one problem. It isn’t actually true.

While there’s no doubt that Le Pen would find some common ground with the Conservative party’s sudden focus on the impact of foreign workers on employment [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/government-faces-backlash-from-business-leaders-over-foreign-workers], the account that made the tweet is not Le Pen’s.

Instead it belongs to a 46-year-old FN supporter from Toulouse. “It is funny that British MPs cannot recognise an unofficial account. It’s clearly marked on my profile,” the supporter said in an exchange of messages on Thursday morning.

This hasn’t stopped several news sources claiming the handclap emoji came from Le Pen herself.

May’s speech at the Conservative party conference has attracted considerable criticism for its anti-migrant rhetoric. The Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn, issued a statement saying [http://press.labour.org.uk/post/151380313024/jeremy-corbyn-responds-to-todays-speech-by] : “Conservative party leaders have sunk to a new low this week as they fan the flames of xenophobia and hatred in our communities and try to blame foreigners for their own failures.”

A joint statement from the Scottish National party, Plaid Cymru and the Green party described the Conservative conference as producing [http://www.politics.co.uk/news/2016/10/05/snp-plaid-and-greens-join-forces-to-condemn-tories-toxic-con] “the most toxic rhetoric on **immigration** we have seen from any government in living memory”.

An apparent show of support for May’s views from one of the leading far-right figures of European politics plays perfectly into people’s desire to paint Conservative proposals on **immigration** and foreign workers as a significant and worrying lurch to the right. However, as is often the case, you can’t necessarily believe everything you read on or about social media.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**President writes an ‘unapologetically centrist essay’ for the Economist that reads like an open letter to his successor and a condemnation of ‘crude populism’

Barack Obama has defended free trade and condemned “crude populism” in what is in effect an open letter to his successor in the White House.

Writing in the Economist[http://www-economist-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/ObamaEssay], the president does not mention Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump by name but makes clear that he disagrees with both candidates’ opposition to the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP).

Obama sets out a vision for America’s future based on boosting productivity growth, combating rising inequality, providing meaningful work opportunities and shoring up the economy against financial storms.

In what the Economist describes as “a trenchant, unapologetically centrist essay” entitled “The Way Ahead”, Obama, who leaves office in January, acknowledges that an anxiety over globalisation had taken hold in the US, not unlike the discontent leading to Britain’s vote in June to leave the European Union[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum].

Related: Trump and Clinton's free trade retreat: a pivotal moment for the world's economic future[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/20/trump-clinton-free-trade-policies-tpp]

At home and abroad, he writes, people ask him: “Why have some on the far left and even more on the far right embraced a crude populism that promises a return to a past that is not possible to restore – and that, for most Americans, never existed at all?”

Obama offers what he believes is a reality check: “The world is more prosperous than ever before and yet our societies are marked by uncertainty and unease. So we have a choice – retreat into old, closed-off economies or press forward, acknowledging the inequality that can come with globalisation while committing ourselves to making the global economy work better for all people, not just those at the top.”

In an election year characterised by a wave of anti-trade sentiment from Trump and Democratic primary contender Bernie Sanders, Obama contends that globalisation has been by far a net positive for the American economy.

“Lifting productivity and wages also depends on creating a global race to the top in rules for trade,” Obama contends. “While some communities have suffered from foreign competition, trade has helped our economy much more than it has hurt. Exports helped lead us out of the recession. American firms that export pay their workers up to 18% more on average than companies that do not, according to a report by my Council of Economic Advisers.”

Clinton has joined Trump and Sanders in speaking out against the TPP, although some analysts suspect that, should she win the presidency, she will seek to repackage the deal in a manner that allows her to approve it. Obama pledges to keep pushing for Congress to pass the TPP because, he says, it will level the playing field for workers and businesses.

In an obvious swipe at Trump, Obama writes of the current air of discontent: “The anti-**immigrant**, anti-Mexican, anti-Muslim and anti-**refugee** sentiment expressed by some Americans today echoes nativist lurches of the past – the **Alien** and Sedition Acts of 1798[http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Alien.html], the Know-Nothings of the mid-1800s, the anti-Asian sentiment in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and any number of eras in which Americans were told they could restore past glory if they just got some group or idea that was threatening America under control. We overcame those fears and we will again.”

But he acknowledges that some of the unrest is rooted in “legitimate concerns” about decades of declining productivity growth and rising inequality resulting in slower income growth for low and middle-income families. The financial crisis of 2008 only seemed to increase the isolation of corporations and elites.

“So it’s no wonder that so many are receptive to the argument that the game is rigged. But amid this understandable frustration, much of it fanned by politicians who would actually make the problem worse rather than better, it is important to remember that capitalism has been the greatest driver of prosperity and opportunity the world has ever known.”

Related: Back to the future: economy becomes battle between Reagan and Bill Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/03/2016-economy-donald-trump-hillary-clinton-reagan]

Clinton is attempting a broad church election campaign that embraces some ideas from Sanders, a self-proclaimed socialist[http://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2015/10/13/sanders-democratic-debate-bernie-sanders-democratic-socialist-5.cnn], but also has the centrist Obama as a leading surrogate. During an electrifying primary campaign, Sanders argued for the break-up of the Wall Street banks. But the president urges against quick fix solutions.

“Further progress requires recognising that America’s economy is an enormously complicated mechanism,” he writes. “As appealing as some more radical reforms can sound in the abstract – breaking up all the biggest banks or erecting prohibitively steep tariffs on imports – the economy is not an abstraction. It cannot simply be redesigned wholesale and put back together again without real consequences for real people.”

Obama does, however, devote a section of the essay to widening inequality – a key theme of Sanders and Massachusetts senator Elizabeth Warren[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/eugene-robinson-elizabeth-warren-makes-the-case-on-income-inequality/2014/10/20/ba54c68e-588a-11e4-8264-deed989ae9a2\_story.html?utm\_term=.36595d694337] – and its negative economic and moral consequences. In 1979, he says, the top 1% of American families received 7% of all after-tax income; by 2007, that share had more than doubled to 17%.

“This challenges the very essence of who Americans are as a people. We don’t begrudge success, we aspire to it and admire those who achieve it. In fact, we’ve often accepted more inequality than many other nations because we are convinced that with hard work, we can improve our own station and watch our children do even better.”

He cites technology, education, globalisation, declining unions and a falling minimum wage as factors in growing inequality. “But I believe that changes in culture and values have also played a major role. In the past, differences in pay between corporate executives and their workers were constrained by a greater degree of social interaction between employees at all levels – at church, at their children’s schools, in civic organisations.

“That’s why CEOs took home about 20 to 30 times as much as their average worker. The reduction or elimination of this constraining factor is one reason why today’s CEO is now paid over 250 times more.”

He urges the next occupant of the White House: “In the future, we need to be even more aggressive in enacting measures to reverse the decades-long rise in inequality. Unions should play a critical role. They help workers get a bigger slice of the pie but they need to be flexible enough to adapt to global competition.”

He also calls for increasing the federal minimum wage, expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit for workers without dependent children and limiting tax breaks for high-income households.

Obama further notes that in 1953, just 3% of men between 25 and 54 years old were out of the workforce. Today, it is 12%. In 1999, 23% of prime-age women were out of the workforce. Today, it is 26%.

“Involuntary joblessness takes a toll on life satisfaction, self-esteem, physical health and mortality. It is related to a devastating rise of opioid abuse and an associated increase in overdose deaths and suicides among non-college-educated Americans – the group where labour-force participation has fallen most precipitously.”

Obama proposes increasing access to community colleges and providing wage insurance to those workers who cannot find a job that pays as well as their previous one. He says paid leave and guaranteed sick leave would also encourage flexibility that could lead to more people working.

Championing the achievements of his eight-year presidency, led by preventing the 2008 financial crisis from turning into a great depression, Obama says a foundation was laid for a better future. He suggests that the US should prepare for negative shocks to the economy before they occur and not have to fight for emergency measures in a time of need.

“America must stay committed to working with all nations to build stronger and more prosperous economies for all our citizens for generations to come,” he writes.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ABC journalist stands by wind claim, Sonia Kruger praised by Cosmopolitan and Chris Mitchell’s print ads dry up

The ABC’s political editor, Chris Uhlmann, has doubled down on his controversial claim[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-09-29/rushing-to-renewables-risks-sector’s-reputation:-uhlmann/7888290] last week that South Australia’s heavy reliance on wind generation is linked to the blackout. The former AM and 7.30 host also openly taunted his critics by tweeting his latest analysis with the comment that it “should keep the pitchfork crowd busy for days”.

This should keep the pitchfork crowd busy for days. Knock yourselves out. https://t.co/9iBRdN2UOM[https://t.co/9iBRdN2UOM] — Chris Uhlmann (@CUhlmann) October 5, 2016[https://twitter.com/CUhlmann/status/783797105936654336]

One of the “pitchfork crowd” was journalist Giles Parkinson[http://reneweconomy.com.au/author/giles], who asked in Renew Economy if Uhlmann was the “new face of the anti-wind lobby”.

“The problem with Uhlmann’s line – apart from revealing his own personal prejudice, or ignorance – was that it was still being repeated as gospel by mainstream ABC new reports, on ABC News Radio and local stations, into Thursday morning. Power was still out, the reports said, because wind power ‘was not available’.”

Related: SA blackout due to 'transmission system faults' in extreme weather, report finds[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/05/sa-blackout-due-to-transmission-system-faults-in-extreme-weather-says-report]

The ABC has indeed received complaints, some 180 “comments and complaints concerning aspects of the coverage of the South Australian blackout”, including the analysis by Uhlmann on News 24 and online, a spokeswoman told Weekly Beast.

“Mr Uhlmann first reported on issues relating to the South Australian electricity network and the national energy market on 25 September, a week ahead of the recent system-wide blackout,” she said. “That article and his analysis since the blackout have reported warnings by the Grattan Institute and other respected researchers that the rapid rise of renewables in South Australia has created challenges for the reliability of electricity supply.

“Mr Uhlmann did not attribute the power outage to reliance on renewables. However, he did point out the combination of previous price spikes and the South Australian blackout has put the issues of the security of the electricity network and the structure of the national energy market firmly on the political agenda. That is demonstrably true.”

New Matilda’s Ben Eltham was one of those who complained. He used Twitter to criticise Uhlmann and the ABC’s coverage more generally.

12. A more important point is that Uhlmann's intervention appears to have distorted the way the ABC more broadly has reported on the event— Ben Eltham (@beneltham) September 30, 2016[https://twitter.com/beneltham/status/781679400991334400]

What sparked the ire of Parkinson, Eltham and others was that Uhlmann went on News 24 and radio immediately after the blackout and said that 40% of the state’s power is wind generated and “that has the problem of being intermittent”. In an online piece on the same day he warned that if wind energy goes unchecked “the entire nation might go to black”.

But, unbowed by the critics on Thursday, Uhlmann published a third piece[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-10-06/uhlmann-on-power-blackout-in-south-australia/7906844] in which he likened himself to a heretic who was being burned at the stake for his views and he accused his critics of being hysterical.

“Now to dare suggest that the state’s heavy reliance on wind generation might have made its grid more vulnerable to a blackout is heresy,” Uhlmann wrote.

Uhlmann told Weekly Beast he was disappointed that some people immediately branded him as “anti-renewable or a climate change denier” just because he was pointing out that there are engineering problems associated with wind energy.

Uhlmann: “Why wouldn’t we [at the ABC] be interested in what is going on in the South Australian energy market when there are a number of signals something is awry? And we took this cause up before the current blackout.”

Asked why, as political editor, he was spending so much time on this issue he said: “These are things that I would have thought a journalist would be interested in. This is an absolute legitimate line of inquiry. I find myself in a position where I have to defend myself from organisations like yours and Crikey.”

In the crosshairs We may be the only ones who sniggered but Short and Curly[http://www.abc.net.au/radio/programs/shortandcurly/] did seem a rather strange name to give to a podcast for children about ethics. Produced by ABC Radio for kids to listen to with their parents, the podcast raises issues like “should we ban lollies?” Because “short and curly” always meant just one thing to us we asked the ABC about the origin of the name. Ian Walker – the executive producer of audio, campaigns and collaborations, radio content and digital (actual title) – gave us the following explanation: “The Short and Curly of the title relates to the kind of questions the show asks; questions that make your brain hurt and ethical conundrums for kids. The show is aimed at children aged seven to 12 for listening with their parents. The kids we’ve been working with say they find the name catchy and cute and we have not been aware of any complaints or problems with it. Parents so far have thanked us effusively for making a podcast that the whole family can listen to.”

Turning the page on Kruger It was back in July when TV presenter Sonia Kruger called for an end to Muslim **immigration** to Australia[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/18/tv-host-sonia-kruger-calls-for-end-to-muslim-migration-to-australia], saying she agreed with the US presidential candidate Donald Trump’s stance on **immigration**.

So we were more than a little surprised when Cosmopolitan magazine nominated her for woman of the year. In the magazine’s September issue there is a glamorous shot of Kruger and no mention of her **immigration** remarks.

“The fabulous 50-year-old brings style – and often a sensible opinion to the talent show,” Cosmo said. Is that an endorsement of her views, we wondered.

“She’s also the arch-commentator to her co-star David Campbell on Today Extra and despite being mum to 18-month-old Maggie she somehow manages to appear bright and bushy-tailed no matter what time of day she’s on our screens,” Cosmo said.

But far from endorsing Kruger the Bauer-owned magazine was quick to distance itself from her views. “Cosmopolitan would like to make it clear the nomination of Sonia Kruger[http://www.cosmopolitan.com.au/news/sonia-kruger-8681] in the ‘fun fearless female women of the year awards’ was made for the September issue of the magazine and before her comments on **immigration** and other issues were made. The political, professional or personal views of any nominee are in no way endorsed or supported by Cosmopolitan. This applies to remarks made by Ms Kruger. Our readers will decide which of these nominees deserves to win.”

Incredibly the decision on nominees for the September issue was made before Kruger made her remarks back in July. That is one hell of a lead time for a magazine that hit the news stands in October.

Memoirs and memos

The prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, launched Chris Mitchell’s book on Friday with what he called an “uncontroversial speech” about his love of newspapers and the challenges facing the media[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/sep/30/chris-mitchells-last-front-page-splash-and-the-pm-makes-his-headline]. The PM did, however, characterise the former editor-in-chief of the Australian as a “tough guy” who has a “very big heart”.

While there were many references to Rupert Murdoch – simply “Rupert” – at the launch, Mitchell’s relationship with News Corp may not be all that rosy following revelations he betrayed confidences in the book[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/sep/12/chris-mitchell-memoir-reveals-six-figure-pay-rise-after-giving-rupert-murdoch-ultimatum]. The generous print ads promoting Mitchell’s book stopped appearing in the Australian last week, which may reflect the company’s displeasure with some of the stories in the book – in particular that Lachlan Murdoch was rightwing and showed no compassion for Australians on death row[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/sep/13/rupert-murdoch-hurt-by-closeness-of-wendi-deng-and-tony-blair-editor-reveals].

And then there was that very pointed memo issued by News Corp Australia boss Michael Miller about the values of “trust and confidences”.

“We know, and respect, that private conversations and confidences will remain just that – private and confidential,” Miller reminded editors in an internal note. Miller also highlighted News’ own code of conduct for journalists, which says a promise of confidentiality to a source must be honoured. “Our greatest asset is our reputation and we should be mindful in our dealings each day of how we can burnish that reputation,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Sterling has hit $1.2634, lowest since 1985, as Philip Hammond flies to New York to reassure US banks about BrexitHammond’s Bloomberg interviewSterling slides againExpert: Here comes the sterling crisisEl-Erian: I’d hate to be Hammond todayIntroduction: Chancellor heads to Wall Street

block-time published-time 6.05pm BST

European markets edge lower With investors cautious ahead of the US non=farm payroll numbers on Friday, markets slipped back once more. Brexit concerns and continuing weakness in the pound added to the nervousness, amid growing anxiety about whether the UK would stay in the single market. Things were not helped by a profit warning from budget airline easyJet. The final scores showed:

\* The FTSE 100 finished down 0.47% or 33.29 points at 6999.96

\* Germany’s Dax dipped 0.16% to 10,568.80

\* France’s Cac closed down 0.22% at 4480.10

\* Italy’s FTSE MIB was the exception, up 0.09% at 16,491.62

\* Spain’s Ibex ended down 0.24% at 8757.4

\* In Greece, the Athens market slipped 0.20% to 574.22

On Wall Street, the Dow Jones Industrial Average is currently down 19 points or 0.1%.

Meanwhile the pound is down 0.85% at $1.2640 - off its worst level of $1.2623 - and 0.42% lower against the euro at €1.1324.

On that note it’s time to close for the evening. Thanks for all your comments, and we’ll be back tomorrow.

block-time published-time 5.51pm BST

IMF and World Bank defend free trade At the IMF and World Bank meeting, there has been a strong defence of globalisation. Larry Elliott reports:

The leaders of the International Monetary Fund [https://www.theguardian.com/business/imf] and the World Bank [https://www.theguardian.com/business/worldbank] have launched a strong defence of open markets and free trade, as concern grows that the Brexit vote and calls for protectionism in the US presidential election represent a backlash against globalisation.

Christine Lagarde[https://www.theguardian.com/world/christine-lagarde], the IMF’s managing director, said international trade had been a force for good in the past few decades but that without a more equal division of the benefits of growth there was a risk of barriers going back up.

As part of a concerted push back against protectionism, the World Bank’s president, Jim Yong Kim[https://www.theguardian.com/business/jim-yong-kim], said China had lifted 700 million people out of poverty as a result of trade and opening its economy to competition.

Kim said the UK’s vote to leave the European Union[https://www.theguardian.com/world/eu], the US presidential race and looming elections in Europe were adding to uncertainty. “These are all risks. Uncertainty is normally very bad for most developing countries.”

Outlining her global policy agenda, Lagarde said: “Policymakers should act and use a balanced mix of all policy levers to revive demand and raise productivity, and ensure the gains from technology and globalisation – which have led to unprecedented global welfare gains in recent decades – are shared more broadly.

“A retreat from globalisation and multilateralism is a serious risk at a time when international cooperation and coordination are as critical as ever.”

The full story is here:

Related: IMF and World Bank launch defence of open markets and free trade[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/06/imf-and-world-bank-launch-defence-of-open-markets-and-free-trade]

block-time published-time 5.21pm BST

Carney - May's comments not an attack on Bank Following UK prime minister Theresa May criticising the Bank of England’s quantitative easing programme and chancellor Philip Hammond’s subsequent comments backing Mark Carney to stay on at the Bank of England, the governor is defending himself in Washington.

He said he agreed with the spirit of May’s comments on QE and admitted monetary policy had “distributional consequences” but said it was not the job of the central bank to offset those.

And he said May’s comments were absolutely not an attack on the Bank’s independence.

As a reminder, this is what May said:

Because while monetary policy – with super-low interest rates and quantitative easing – provided the necessary emergency medicine after the financial crash, we have to acknowledge there have been some bad side effects.

People with assets have got richer. People without them have suffered. People with mortgages have found their debts cheaper. People with savings have found themselves poorer.

A change has got to come. And we are going to deliver it.

block-time published-time 4.49pm BST

FTSE 100 closes below 7000 - just Just days after all the excitement about the UK’s leading index soaring through the 7000 barrier and heading towards a new high, it has sagged back below that level with a bit of a whimper.

It has closed down 33.29 points at 6999.96 as the uncertainty over Britain’s exit from the European Union continued, with the trade off between migration controls and remaining in the single market still unresolved. Fears of a hard Brexit continued despite chancellor Philip Hammond maintaining the government would seek the right Brexit for both the UK and EU.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.51pm BST

block-time published-time 4.31pm BST

Better than expected US weekly jobless claims - coming ahead of Friday’s non-farm payroll numbers - have renewed talk that the Federal Reserve would have leeway to raise interest rates, and thus helped push the dollar higher.

That of course means the pound continues to be pressured, as if there were not enough negative noises around the UK currency. Jasper Lawler, market analyst at CMC Markets, said:

There were three G’s selling off in markets; the Great British pound, gilts and gold. An apparent shift in UK politics under the wing of Teresa May towards an interventionist and anti-business agenda was not received well in markets. The pound slid again in what has become a relentless barrage of selling, UK government bonds were sold and the FTSE 100 underperformed its European peers.

Comments from the German chancellor have also been taken as another sell signal for the pound.

enltrGerman chancellor #Merkel[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Merkel?src=hash] warns Britain over #Brexit[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] terms. #TDI2016[https://twitter.com/hashtag/TDI2016?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/9beIvuzFYe[https://t.co/9beIvuzFYe]

— DW - Business (@dw\_business) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/dw\_business/status/783980361374167040]Connor Campbell at Spreadex said:

It seems that we are firmly back in Brexit-dominating territory – even the mildest squawkings from the news-wire are causing pain for the pound. Today it was the turn of Angela Merkel to make sterling’s life even more difficult, the German leader resolute in her claim that freedom of movement is a must if Britain wants to stand any chance of remaining in the single market.

This, alongside seemingly the very idea that Chancellor Phillip Hammond has had to make a trip to Wall Street to reassure US banks about London’s position as a financial hub post-Brexit, has led the pound to its latest 31 year nadir against the dollar and a 5 year low against the euro.

At the moment the pound is down 0.8% at $1.2646 and 0.47% lower against the euro at €1.1319.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.34pm BST

block-time published-time 4.12pm BST

Philip Hammond has also been on CNBC, reports Reuters:

Any future decision on whether the British government should approve another round of quantitative easing to spur the economy will be taken “carefully and cautiously,” finance minister Philip Hammond said on Thursday.

“I approved a round of quantitative easing back at the beginning of August as a response to the shock that the economy had felt, but we are conscious of the impacts that QE has and we will use it carefully and cautiously,” Hammond, who is currently in New York, said in a television interview with CNBC.

On Wednesday British Prime Minister Theresa May said low interest rates and quantitative easing have bad side-effects.

block-time published-time 3.49pm BST

And Reuters:

British finance minister Philip Hammond said on Thursday that he would focus on increasing the country’s economic output by improving productivity, but that overall growth could slow as Britain barred most low-skilled European Union migrants.

“What we need to drive is a growth in GDP per capita. We need to see our economic expansion coming from an improvement in productivity, not simply from bringing ever larger numbers of low skilled people into the economy,” Hammond said in an interview with Bloomberg TV in New York.

Economic data earlier on Thursday showed British productivity continued to lag other countries after several years in which growth has been driven by a growing workforce, which includes higher numbers of EU migrants.

Hammond also said Britain’s government was looking at the costs and benefits of remaining in a customs union with the EU, as being outside would have “frictional costs” for manufacturers such as carmakers.

block-time published-time 3.47pm BST

Here’s[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-06/brexit-has-long-term-benefits-u-k-chancellor-hammond-says] Bloomberg’s take on their interview with chancellor Philip Hammond:

The U.K. will use Brexit to build on historic trading relationships outside of the EU, Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Hammond told Bloomberg TV in New York.

“We want to get the right Brexit for Britain,” Hammond told Bloomberg Editor-in-Chief John Micklethwait.

He described the U.K. as “mid-Atlantic in the way it does business,” and said capitalism faced problems across the developed world.

“We have a problem, not just a British problem but a developed world problem, in keeping our populations engaged and supportive of our market capitalism economic model,” Hammond said.

Hammond, who is on a visit to U.S. to meet Wall Street bosses and attend meetings of the International Monetary Fund, said he would make protecting London’s financial sector a priority for him.

“It will be one of the U.K. government’s objectives to ensure that parts of the financial services sectors that are Europe-facing are able to continue doing business in Europe.”

enltrThere are long-term economic advantages to @Brexit[https://twitter.com/Brexit], Philip Hammond says https://t.co/KAo4N8YKEB[https://t.co/KAo4N8YKEB] pic.twitter.com/xhHqLjzm6a[https://t.co/xhHqLjzm6a]

— Bloomberg TV (@BloombergTV) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/BloombergTV/status/784039441073483776]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.55pm BST

block-time published-time 3.43pm BST

Philip Hammond may not want to disclose whether he thinks the value of sterling is too high or too low, but he might be pleased to know it has come off its lows of the day.

The pound is currently at $1.2646, down 0.8% on the day but above the new 31 year low of $1.2623 it reached earlier.

block-time published-time 3.39pm BST

Hammond backs Carney Question: Should Mark Carney (one of Britain’s best known foreign workers) stay on longer as Bank of England governor?

I think the governor is doing a good job. The bank is fulfilling its remit very effectively. It helped us recover from the financial crisis and helped us smooth the shock that came on 23rd June.

It is Mark Carney’s decision...I would welcome his decision to stay if that’s the decision he makes.

And there the interview ends.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.54pm BST

block-time published-time 3.36pm BST

Question: isn’t UK economy doing ok?

Media is focussing on backward data. UK economy was stronger than we thought.. but the concensus of forecasters is suggesting growth will slow as we go through period of negotiation until we have certainty over our position with EU.

Business investment is the key focus. Business postpones decisions if climate is uncertain. We want to bring back certainty as soon as we can.

block-time published-time 3.34pm BST

Question: Investment outside London?

We have a productivity problem in UK, and one of drivers is regional disparity. We are hugely underinvested in transport links [in northern region].

We will continue to support Northern powerhouse and other regions.

On infrastructure, lot is done by private sector. In public sector, we have an opportunity to borrow cheaply and we have further capacity for targeted investments in productive infrastructure. But with our debt to GDP ratio we cannot have unrestrained programme of public spending.

After shock of Brexit decision there will be a period of uncertainty, we have to support the economy through that.

block-time published-time 3.31pm BST

Question: Sterling gone down since Brexit. Does UK economy work at this level?

We don’t target exchange rate level. Market makes its judgement, and that can change quickly.

The market determines the appropriate level and we are committed to free floating exchange rate system.

block-time published-time 3.29pm BST

UK government is pro-business - Hammond Question: Theresa May seemed more critical of business than previous PMs. Is government anti-business?

Absolutely not. We are pro-business.

But we [Western economies} have a problem in keeping populations supportive of capital market model. People feel economy is not working for them, they are losers. We have to re-engage those people who feel they do not have a stake any more.

We have to address signs of a sizeable amount of people becoming disenchanted.

We have to deal with rogue operators. We have examples in UK of companies abusing market power, abusing workers. We have to deal with that.

PM said there is a limit to the power of government but doesn’t mean they have no power at all. They have to make sure markets work properly. Sending out strong message that best way to make people free and prosperous is to have a free liberal economy.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.57pm BST

block-time published-time 3.26pm BST

Question: is there any economic advantage to Brexit?

In the long term yes and outside the EU we will build on historic trading links. Our economy is more mid-Atlantic than Europe.

block-time published-time 3.24pm BST

One reaction so far:

enltrOffhand review from one American hedge fund manager about Hammond's talk: "well, he's a good \*politician."

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784030741449629696]block-time published-time 3.21pm BST

Question: EU will say you either get migration controls or single market. From conference it appears migration is more important.

Hammond: I don’t agree. There will be discussions and there will have to be give and take on both sides... if there is a solution that is advantageous to both sides. We don’t delude ourselves our European partners owe us any favours.

They still want access to UK market.

It has to be a win-win solution.

But we have to realise the Brexit vote said implicitly that we should not have freedom of movement in way we had in the past. That is about control, not saying people from Europe cannot come into the UK.

This is a negotiation, we both have our starting positions and will discuss it.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.22pm BST

block-time published-time 3.18pm BST

We have an economy heavily integrated with the EU after forty years.

One of things we have to do is analyse benefits and costs of being in a customs union.

block-time published-time 3.17pm BST

Question: could we not have a longer transition period that 2 years?

No doubt the process of negotiation is something we will begin to discuss. The arrangements for UK’s exit, and arrangements for future relations.

No one thought Article 50 would be used, it does not answer a lot of the questions.

block-time published-time 3.15pm BST

On passporting, allowing banks etc to trade across Europe:

There are different options, passporting, equivalents. It will be one of our objectives that financial services companies doing business in Europe can continue to do so.

block-time published-time 3.13pm BST

Problem is not highly skilled workers coming to UK - Hammond On the number of foreign workers being limited:

The problem is not highly skilled workers, banks, surgeons.. coming to the UK. The issue is people with low skills competing for entry level jobs.

Our economy is growing but GDP per capita is not. Have to drive that. We will need some low skilled people but our demographics are different to elsewhere in Europe. We have population still growing before **immigration**.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.11pm BST

block-time published-time 3.10pm BST

Financial services key part of economy - Hammond Hammond’s interview is live, and begins with Brexit and the worries of financial firms about what it will mean for them.

He says we don’t recognise a distinction between hard and soft Brexit. It has to be the right Brexit for UK and EU.

On financial services, he says it is an important part of the UK economy.

We’ll place high priority on right solution.

There are some specific needs and issues we have to understand.

On euro clearing, he said ECB tried before to force clearing to take place within EU, and the court said it had no power to make such a rule.

When Britain leaves EU, there will be countries not in euro but in EU requiring protection of single market. So not clear ECB could require euro clearing to be moved.

Hammond Photograph: Bloomberg TV block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.58pm BST

block-time published-time 3.01pm BST

And after Theresa May’s comments seen as critical of the Bank of England, Hammond seems more positive on governor Mark Carney:

enltrHammond @business[https://twitter.com/business] says BoE's Mark Carney will make decision in due course about whether to continue. He says he wud welcome Carney to stay.

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784029875497734144]block-time published-time 2.59pm BST

Philip Hammond’s interview should be available to watch here [http://www.bloomberg.com/live/europe] shortly.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.02pm BST

block-time published-time 2.56pm BST

And on the state of the UK economy following the Brexit vote:

enltrHammond says Britain's econ has "suffered a significant shock" from Brexit. Micklethwait challenges him. Hammond says media using old data

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784028901433602048]enltrHammond cites forecasts predicting slower economic growth during Brexit negotiations. He's most focused on lagging business investment

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784029230191509504]block-time published-time 2.55pm BST

enltrHammond believes UK could drive productivity by investing in infrastructure, increasing borrowing for "carefully targeted invstmnts"

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784028453905567746]block-time published-time 2.52pm BST

And following the UK productivity figures earlier[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/06/uk-productivity-back-at-pre-financial-crisis-level-office-for-national-statistics] :

enltrHammond says "we have a very big productivity problem in the UK" which he pins on regional inequities, not "harvesting" cities outside UK

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784028130608574464]enltrHammond believes UK could drive productivity by investing in infrastructure, increasing borrowing for "carefully targeted invstmnts"

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784028453905567746]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.53pm BST

block-time published-time 2.50pm BST

Interviewer John Micklethwait tackles Theresa May’s criticism of business in her Conservative party conference speech on Wednesday:

enltrMicklethwait says Theresa May has been more critical of business than PMs recently. Hammond says new govt is "pro-business" "pro free trade"

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784026888897433601]enltrUK's Hammond says it is "developed world problem" for "liberal capitalist" nations to respond to failures of globalization to local workers

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784027176538673153]block-time published-time 2.47pm BST

So Hammond is reinforcing the comments made by Theresa May over the weekend, which suggested **immigration** controls would take priority over remaining in the single market. ( Those comments of course started this week’s slide in the pound.)

enltrUK's Hammond says implicit in the Brexit referendum was "there has to be controls over how people from the European Union come into the UK."

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784026262775926784]block-time published-time 2.44pm BST

enltrHammond says he expects EU will say "the 4 freedoms are indivisible."

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784025965852786688] Earlier [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/06/pound-sterling-chancellor-hammond-wall-street-charm-offensive-business-live?page=with:block-57f61062e4b08ebe3d55759c#block-57f61062e4b08ebe3d55759c] German chancellor Angela Merkel said that Europe’s four freedoms of movement – for labour, capital, services and goods – could not be split up.

If Europe didn’t stick to the position that full access to the internal market is conditioned on freedom of movement, Merkel said, each member state would start doing what it wanted.

block-time published-time 2.41pm BST

enltrUK's Hammond @business[https://twitter.com/business] says Article 50 was inserted without focus on detail because no one thought they would have to use it....

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784025075116871680]enltr...which means the UK has to create this process from scratch with the EU, Hammond suggests. https://t.co/O6Gb9qlHZj[https://t.co/O6Gb9qlHZj]

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784025244591857664]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.42pm BST

block-time published-time 2.37pm BST

enltr. @business[https://twitter.com/business] editor Micklethwait asks Hammond what abt **immigration** as an economic booster, which it is. Hammond replies UK wants to depend...

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784024032555458560]enltr...entirely on increasing productivity of existing workers rather than relying on **immigration** for growth. (My Q: why give up ANY growth?)

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784024202340884481]block-time published-time 2.36pm BST

UK chancellor Philip Hammond is speaking at Bloomberg and journalist Heidi Moore is tweeting the highlights:

enltrView from Bloomberg HQ before Philip Hammond, UK Chancellor of the… https://t.co/9YmofpMxXg[https://t.co/9YmofpMxXg]

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784020997729124352]enltrRoom waiting for Philip Hammond https://t.co/3X3QHohv4Q[https://t.co/3X3QHohv4Q]

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784021318656286723]enltrHammond: "When Britain leaves the Union, there will still be countries that don't use the euro and still...function within the single mkt"

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784023258253422592]And on whether euro-clearing activities would move out of the City of London after Brexit, he said:

enltrHammond: "if the ECB were to try its hand again to dictate the euro clearing process, would be a LEGAL process."

— Heidi N Moore (@moorehn) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/moorehn/status/784023583777587200]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.40pm BST

block-time published-time 2.32pm BST

IMF managing director Christine Lagarde has been giving her press conference ahead of the fund’s meeting in Washington. And in the wake of UK prime minister Theresa May calling for the benefits of globalisation to be shared by all, Lagarde said:

enltrNow is not the time to push back globalisation, says @Lagarde[https://twitter.com/Lagarde]. What with Brexit & US election, that’s the overarching theme of IMF meetings

— Ed Conway (@EdConwaySky) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/EdConwaySky/status/784016885926993924]block-time published-time 2.13pm BST

The value of British government debt is falling today, matching sterling’s selloff.

This has pushed up the interest rate, or yield, on 10-year gilts to 0.89%, from 0.82% yesterday.

That implies it would cost the government more to issue new debt.

enltrGilt yields up, GBP down. Not pleasant.

— Duncan Weldon (@DuncanWeldon) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/DuncanWeldon/status/784017965083688960]block-time published-time 1.44pm BST

America’s labour market continues to improve.

Just 249,000 US citizens filed new claims for unemployment benefit last week, down from 255,000.

That’s the lowest since April, and means the ‘four-week moving average’ of new claims has hit its lowest level in over 40 years;.

And that’s likely to help the US dollar strengthen, and mean more pain for the pound.

enltrThe 4-week moving average of U.S. initial jobless claims just hit its lowest level since 1973 https://t.co/eXgKcy6Of7[https://t.co/eXgKcy6Of7]

— Joe Weisenthal (@TheStalwart) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/TheStalwart/status/784008369988366336]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.53pm BST

block-time published-time 1.42pm BST

Over in Germany: Deutsche Bank has announced plans to cut 1,000 jobs in its domestic market, as part of a restructuring plan.

This takes the total of jobs being cut to 9,000, including 4,000 in Germany itself.

The restructuring is meant to cut Deutsche’s costs, and help it build up its capital reserves.

There’s still no word on the ongoing negotiations with the US authorities over a fine for mis-selling toxic mortgage-backed securities before the 2008 crisis.

enltrWhile you were lunching: Deutsche Bank announces extra 1,000 jobs to go in Germany https://t.co/NcgIqV3q6G[https://t.co/NcgIqV3q6G] @CNBCi[https://twitter.com/CNBCi]

— Louisa Bojesen (@louisabojesen) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/louisabojesen/status/784009834890989568]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.51pm BST

block-time published-time 1.32pm BST

Over in New York, traders are expecting Twitter’s shares to tumble when trading begins in one hour’s time.

Twitter’s shares are down 17% in pre-market trading, after the Recode website reported that Google is unlikely to bid for the social media platform[http://www.recode.net/2016/10/5/13179604/sources-google-will-not-make-a-twitter-bid-and-apple-also-an-unlikely-suitor].

enltrTwitter shares now down nearly 17% after Recode reports that Disney and Google won't bid for it https://t.co/y4xbLHykKA[https://t.co/y4xbLHykKA] pic.twitter.com/k4hTGoFoq1[https://t.co/k4hTGoFoq1]

— CNBC Now (@CNBCnow) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/CNBCnow/status/784008064210989058]block-time published-time 1.24pm BST

The pound’s still falling... down a whole cent today at $1.2640.

block-time published-time 12.59pm BST

Naeem Aslam, c hief market analyst at Think Markets UK, reckons sterling is being hit hard by speculators who are determined to drive it lower.

He says further losses are a real possibility:

Bears are out for blood and they want to squeeze every single drop out of this trade. Although this is the most crowded trade on the street today, but it is not preventing them to keep piling up their bets.

My biggest worry is that short squeeze can happen soon as we are approaching towards an important level of support which is at $1.25. However, if the selling pressure remains this aggressive, we could easily break this support and we could be looking at the level of $1.22.

enltrSo pound is now 1.266 against the dollar. Incredible stuff.

— Mark Scott (@markscott82) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/markscott82/status/783998059474739200]block-time published-time 12.36pm BST

Pound hits another 31-year low A wave of selling has just swept the pound down to a fresh 31-year low against the US dollar, just $1.2664.

That’s the weakest level since June 1985, and means sterling has lost more than three cents since Theresa May pledged to trigger article 50 by March 2017.

Here’s some chart action from the Financial Times’s Katie Martin:

enltrFor it was written, in the very specialised vomiting camel technical formation.

Sterling chucking up again.

$1.2663 pic.twitter.com/y8VTb16maP[https://t.co/y8VTb16maP]

— Katie Martin (@katie\_martin\_fx) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/katie\_martin\_fx/status/783992454479478784]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.21pm BST

block-time published-time 12.32pm BST

El-Erian: I'd hate to be Hammond today Mohamed El-Erian, chief economic adviser to German investment giant Allianz, says Philip Hammond faces a very tricky mission today.

Speaking on Bloomberg TV, El-Erian says Hammond will have to justify Theresa May’s conference speech yesterday:

I would hate to be the chancellor right now. He has a hard job explaining what his prime minister just said.

Hammond has three tasks, El-Erian adds:

He has to explain the notion of hard Brexit, explain PM’s comments about the rootless international elite and the harm they create, and explain the criticism of the Bank of England.

Wall Street may find some of this surprising, El-Erian adds, given that (in his view) the UK has benefitted a lot from globalisation, and the government has benefitted from the Bank of England’s stimulus programme.

Without low interest rates and QE, May would be facing an economic mess, he concludes.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.32pm BST

block-time published-time 12.21pm BST

Sterling is coming under more pressure, falling by 0.6 of a cent to $1.2690, close to yesterday’s 31-year low.

enltrBritish pound back below $1.27 https://t.co/VblPM7fe7Z[https://t.co/VblPM7fe7Z] pic.twitter.com/yUxWg8d7je[https://t.co/yUxWg8d7je]

— Bloomberg Markets (@markets) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/markets/status/783988801416880128]block-time published-time 11.14am BST

Paresh Davdra, chief executive of foreign exchange firm RationalFX, says chancellor Hammond may get a sceptical reception from Wall Street bankers today:

Philip Hammond’s visit to Wall Street later today[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/06/pound-sterling-chancellor-hammond-wall-street-charm-offensive-business-live?page=with:block-57f5f228e4b0e2a2a25af768#block-57f5f228e4b0e2a2a25af768] will see the Chancellor try to convince the US’s biggest banks that Britain is open for business. It comes weeks after the Prime Minister’s own talks with Wall Street bankers and is the latest in a series of international visits from UK ministers in an attempt to allay fears over Brexit and drum up support for new trade. Although previously met with scepticism due to the uncertainty surrounding the UK’s exit from the EU, Hammond’s visit will be the first since the likelihood of a ‘hard’ Brexit by early 2017 was confirmed.

The Chancellor is expected to tell Wall Street that the UK is still a financial hub for global business. The challenge he will face will be in reassuring banks that the UK is indeed still a safe-bet investment in a week that has seen the pound plunge to a new three decade low against the dollar on the prospect of ‘hard’ Brexit and businesses within the City of London warn that it could cost the city £38 billion. Whilst a timetable for Brexit makes Hammond’s job easier in some respects, it remains to be seen if Wall Street can be convinced by him.”

block-time published-time 11.13am BST

The pound has dropped by 0.25% today but is still clinging onto the $1.27 level.

That’s above yesterday’s 31-year low, despite worries about a hard Brexit.

Theresa May’s broadside at ultra-low interest rates appears to be propping up sterling.

The pound vs the US dollar since 1980 Photograph: Thomson Reuters block-time published-time 10.42am BST

Over in Greece, the unemployment rate has dropped to a four-year low, but remains far too high.

The Greek jobless rate dipped to 23.2% in July from 23.4% in June – the lowest since March 2012, but more than double the eurozone average after years of austerity.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.44am BST

block-time published-time 10.25am BST

The pound continues to bob around the $1.273 mark, as traders wait for news of Philip Hammond’s meetings in New York.

That’s about half a cent above the 31-year low struck on Wednesday.

Angela Merkel’s comments about freedom of movement being intrinsic to the EU haven’t eased concerns about a ‘hard Brexit’.

And Theresa May’s attacks on the wealthy ‘global elite’ have also left City investors feeling vulnerable.

Chris Turner, the head of currency strategy at ING, explains:

May has pushed her party way across the centre ground – taking issue with self-serving individuals and businesses and appealing to the non-metropolitan voter.

That does not bode well for financial services in Brexit discussions.

( Thanks to Reuters for the quote )

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.43am BST

block-time published-time 9.59am BST

Merkel: Brexit negotiations won't be easy Newsflash from Berlin: the German chancellor Angela Merkel is telling industry leaders that Brexit is a “watershed moment” for the EU.

Merkel also says negotiations won’t be easy and will determine what access each side has to the other’s market. Talks cannot start until Britain triggers article 50, she says.

The chancellor also warns that Europe’s four freedoms of movement – for labour, capital, services and goods – can’t be split up.

If Europe doesn’t stick to the position that full access to the internal market is conditioned on freedom of movement, Merkel says, each member state will start doing what it wants.

enltrIn speech to German industry, #Merkel[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Merkel?src=hash] as clear as she's ever been about link between single market access & free movement pic.twitter.com/0FLhygyWZf[https://t.co/0FLhygyWZf]

— Noah Barkin (@noahbarkin) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/noahbarkin/status/783953883903254528]Earlier today, Germany reported that factory orders jumped by 1%[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-06/german-manufacturing-orders-surge-as-domestic-demand-rebounds], thanks to a surge of domestic orders. This suggests that Europe’s largest economy isn’t being dragged back by Brexit fears (yet, anyway).

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.46am BST

block-time published-time 9.52am BST

City traders are speculating about how long Mark Carney will remain as Bank of England governor, after Theresa May attacked the Bank’s loose monetary policy stance yesterday.

Carney is expected to decide by the end of 2016 whether to do five years at the Bank (the original plan), or sign up for an extra three years. He arrived in July 2013.

May’s criticism could, perhaps, encourage Carney to exit gracefully in 2018 after all. Or he might decide that London remains the place to be, as the Brexit story plays out.

May surprised the City by telling the Conservative party conference that ultra-low interest rates and quantitative easing had disproportionately helped the rich.

Charalambos Pissouros, a senior analyst at IronFX Global, told Reuters that this could signal a change of approach to monetary policy:

In our view, this suggests that once (BoE chief) MarkCarney’s term is finished at the BoE, he may be replaced by someone more hawkish on policy.

One of the prime minister’s advisers has hinted that the government is considering using the fiscal levers of spending and borrowing to generate growth.

George Freeman told Newsnight :

We have to think about, with money available at nought percent (how to)... drive an industrial strategy, get infrastructure built. We need to make sure we are looking at all the mechanisms to making sure that money flows properly.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.47am BST

block-time published-time 9.18am BST

Analyst: on the road to a sterling crisis Fears that the City will lose its EU ‘passporting rights’ have undermined the pound since June’s referendum.

Britain is already running a sizeable current account deficit of about 6% of GDP, due to the persistent gap between imports and exports.

So if London financial companies are locked out of the EU, Britain will suffer a fall in ‘invisible earnings’. That could be compounded by a drop in physical exports, depending on the trade terms that Britain agrees with the rest of the world.

Desmond Lachman, a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, fears that the current account deficit will get even worse, pushing the pound down. He writes:

There appear to be at least two reasons to believe that market fears about the consequences of a hard Brexit for continued large capital flows to the UK are not misplaced. The first is that, were the UK no longer to have ready access to Europe’s single market for its exports, it would lose its attractiveness as a location for foreign companies’ European investments. This was precisely the point that the Japanese government made at the September G20 meeting in China – when it publicly warned its UK counterparts of the likelihood that Japanese companies would relocate out of the UK in the event of a hard Brexit.

The second reason is that a hard Brexit would almost certainly result in the loss of the ‘financial passport’ that City of London financial institutions currently enjoy for accessing the European market. A Financial Conduct Authority report in September suggested that as many as 5,500 UK financial firms could be affected by such a loss of passport rights. Major international banks including JP Morgan Chase and Goldman Sachs have warned that, if the City loses its financial passport, they will need to conduct at least part of their European operations from outside the UK.

A key point that those in favour of a hard Brexit overlook is that a rapid drying up of foreign capital flows to the UK would have dire consequences for domestic living standards. A further currency dip would raise import costs and increase inflation. Moreover, there is a likelihood that domestic economic policy would need to be tightened – both to contain inflation and to make room for a large narrowing in the external current account deficit that foreigners would no longer be prepared to finance. UK households would be forced to reduce their consumption levels painfully, while businesses would be forced to cut back on their investment plans, to the detriment of future UK growth prospects.

More here[http://www.omfif.org/analysis/commentary/2016/october/on-the-road-to-a-sterling-crisis/] .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.49am BST

block-time published-time 9.00am BST

HSBC has knocked up a handy chart showing some of the possible relationships that Britain could have with the EU ( and what it is giving up ):

enltrLost in #Brexit[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] options? Here's a great recap table, made by HSBC. https://t.co/DhGA8k5wvM[https://t.co/DhGA8k5wvM] pic.twitter.com/pqGS2q268F[https://t.co/pqGS2q268F]

— Maxime Sbaihi (@MxSba) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/MxSba/status/783933535459676160]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.47am BST

block-time published-time 8.43am BST

Philip Hammond needs to reassure Wall Street[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/06/pound-sterling-chancellor-hammond-wall-street-charm-offensive-business-live?page=with:block-57f5f228e4b0e2a2a25af768#block-57f5f228e4b0e2a2a25af768] that London still wants to be a major financial centre, says the currency expert Kit Juckes of Société Générale.

He’s concerned that the pound hasn’t managed even a small rally this week, even though the latest economic data has been quite encouraging:

The FX market, for one, needs a lot of reassurance. Sterling really ought to have managed some sort of short-covering rally in the last day or two, as the market slowly gives up all hope of a further rate cut in 2016.

From here, in the absence of new news and with the major (depressing from the currency’s point of view) speeches from the Conservative party conference behind us, the fall in the pound versus the US dollar will probably be slow. But steady...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.50am BST

block-time published-time 8.37am BST

Politics, eh?

enltrItem 1 on FT website - "Theresa May takes swipe at rootless capitalist elite". Item 3 - "Hammond in Wall Street charm offensive".

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/783931185261150208]block-time published-time 8.14am BST

Weak pound hits easyJet's profits Ouch! Shares in easyJet have fallen by 6% in early trading, and the Brexit vote is party to blame.

The budget airline has told shareholders that it expects pre-tax profit to fall[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/06/easyjet-set-for-annual-profit-fall-year-extraordinary-events] by about 28% this year, due to the slump in the pound, recent terror attacks and industrial action.

My colleague Angela Monaghan has the details:

The British airline said currency movements would cost the company £90m in the full year, largely because of the the sharp fall in the value of the pound since the Brexit vote on 23 June.

EasyJet reports in pounds, but mosts of its costs are in dollars and euros. It buys fuel in dollars and pays air traffic costs and landing charges on its many European routes in euros.

enltrEasyjet says fall in sterling will cost it £90 million. Share down 6%

— Simon Jack (@BBCSimonJack) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/BBCSimonJack/status/783928943422373888]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.52am BST

block-time published-time 8.07am BST

The Wall Street Journal has a grim chart this morning showing how the pound is close to its weakest level (when measured against a basket of currencies):

enltrSterling is at a 31-yr low against the dollar. Trade weighted, it's worse: £ has barely ever been lower. https://t.co/FDxB4iCtes[https://t.co/FDxB4iCtes] pic.twitter.com/Z76xW0cppC[https://t.co/Z76xW0cppC]

— Mike Bird (@Birdyword) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/Birdyword/status/783924225656647680]enltrLooking at £/$ understated the huge depreciation of sterling over the last 35yrs. Down ~45% since 1981.

— Mike Bird (@Birdyword) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/Birdyword/status/783924503080538112]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.52am BST

block-time published-time 8.03am BST

London’s stock market has opened without drama, with the FTSE 100 index gaining 10 points to 7,041. That’s about 63 points below its record closing level.

Bank shares are among the risers, after officials from the International Monetary Fund tried to downplay worries[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/deutsche-needs-a-convincing-case-to-win-over-investors-says-imf] about Deutsche Bank’s financial health yesterday.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.53am BST

block-time published-time 7.53am BST

Hammond to meet with Wall Street bankers today Philip Hammond and his wife, Susan Williams-Walker, arrive on day four of the Conservative conference. Photograph: Carl Court/Getty Images The chancellor, Philip Hammond, is scrambling to New York today in an attempt to reassure America’s biggest banks about Brexit.

He is due to meet with Wall Street powerbrokers (the kind of elite savaged by Theresa May yesterday[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/mays-conservative-party-conference-speech-key-points-analysed] ).

He will say London plans to keep its position as the world’s leading financial centre once the break from the EU is complete.

Hammond will arrive hot from the Tory conference and is expected to say:

One of Britain’s great strengths is the ability to offer and aggregate all the services the global financial services industry needs. This has not changed as a result of the EU referendum and I will do everything I can to ensure the City of London retains its position as the world’s leading international financial centre.

Whether it’s British employers or US firms who support thousands of highly skilled jobs in the financial sector, we are listening and taking the time to understand the issues thoroughly, in advance of opening negotiations with the EU.

We will continue to welcome the best and brightest talent and organisations from around the world, including the US. While the government has not finalised its future approach to our relations with the EU, the government’s position is clear; we want the best deal for trade in UK goods and services, including our world leading financial services industry.”

He’ll be meeting with top executives from Citi, BNY Mellon, Morgan Stanley, Goldman Sachs and others with operations in the City.

A report this week warned that a ‘hard Brexit’ could wipe out 70,000 jobs and cost £10bn in tax receipts. That’s the worst-case scenario, if City firms lose their passporting rights, which let them sell services across the EU.

Wall Street executives will want to hear that their concerns are taken seriously, following Theresa May’s attack on “citizens of the world” yesterday. They could also press Hammond on the idea that UK-based companies should provide a list of any foreigners[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-business-proposals-foreign-workers-tory] on their books...

enltrHammond travels to New York to reassure banks over #Brexit[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] https://t.co/UpoepcqfiN[https://t.co/UpoepcqfiN] via @johnainger[https://twitter.com/johnainger] pic.twitter.com/DRxJbUmK3H[https://t.co/DRxJbUmK3H]

— Forward Guidance (@ecoeurope) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/ecoeurope/status/783904779063943168]enltr"So, when we said rootless global elite... we didn't mean you". https://t.co/2luddI0D1Y[https://t.co/2luddI0D1Y]

— Duncan Weldon (@DuncanWeldon) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/DuncanWeldon/status/783911661442895872]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.09am BST

block-time published-time 7.38am BST

The agenda: Brexit fears weigh on the pound Good morning, and welcome to our rolling coverage of the world economy, the financial markets, the eurozone and business.

Concerns over Britain’s exit from the EU continue to weigh on sterling this morning.

The pound has sidled back to the $1.271 mark in early trading, close to the 31-year lows plugged yesterday.

Against the euro, sterling is close to a five-year low at €1.135. This week’s tumbles have already forced Britain to surrender the title of fifth-largest economy (in local currency terms) to France.

Yesterday, the prime minister, Theresa May, promised to build a “global Britain” after Brexit[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-consigns-cameron-to-history-in-populist-speech], telling the British public: “Come with me and we’ll write that brighter future.”

But is the UK going to lose its prized membership of the single market, in return for **immigration** controls?

Analysts at PNC Bank explain why this is a worry:

May’s position substantially increases the possibility that the UK will give up its right to export financial and other services to EU markets in exchange for control over **immigration** – a “hard Brexit”.

The UK’s exports of services to the EU account for more than 4% of the UK’s GDP, so trade barriers to them would cause a serious negative shock to the British economy.

Also coming up today.... Global policymakers are gathered in Washington for the International Monetary Fund’s annual meeting.

World investors are pondering whether America’s central bank might raise interest rates in November, following strong service sector data yesterday.

They’re also wondering whether the European Central Bank could start to “taper” its bond-buying programme soon.

enltrGood morning from Berlin. Asia stocks up on solid US data & weaker Yen. Samsung at all-time high. Bonds & Gold hit by stimulus taper fears. pic.twitter.com/j9fnBxmQTX[https://t.co/j9fnBxmQTX]

— Holger Zschaepitz (@Schuldensuehner) October 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/Schuldensuehner/status/783880562763243520]In the City, budget airline easyJet, defence firm BAE Systems and furniture group DFS are reporting results.

On the economic front, Germany has just reported a 1% jump in factory orders (more on that shortly). And at 1.30pm, we get the latest US weekly unemployment figures. That will set the scene for tomorrow’s monthly jobs report.

We’ll be tracking all the main events through the day...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.12am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Plebiscites pare down complex issues to binary choice but in times of flux they serve political ambition and please the disaffected voter

The problems with referendums are well known: they reduce often complex questions to a binary choice; they are a demagogue’s dream, allowing populists free rein to fan fears, distort realities and appeal to emotions; voters can see them as a chance to voice their unhappiness about something else entirely.

And yet referendums are on the rise. In June, the EU referendum for Britain; last week, in Hungary, a referendum concerning **refugees** and migrants[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-vote-on-refugees-will-not-take-place-suggest-first-poll-results] ; in Colombia, one about a peace deal to end the country’s 50-year armed rebellion[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/colombia-referendum-rejects-peace-deal-with-farc] ; and this December Italians will be given a vote on constitutional reforms.

Related: Why Colombians voted against peace with the Farc | Isabel Hilton[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/03/why-colombians-voted-against-peace-farc-president-santos-better-deal]

As often as not referendums do not produce the result the politicians intend. So what explains their popularity?

A sharp increase in referendums is typical in periods of change and political uncertainty, according to Matt Qvortrup, professor of applied political science at Coventry University and author of Referendums Around the World. He estimates that, from roughly 10 a year worldwide in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, the rate is now “approaching 50 a year”.

Referendums were much in vogue after the French and Russian revolutions, in the aftermath of the second world war, and after the fall of communism, he said. “We see referendums when the political party system is in flux, when politicians feel unsure of who their supporters are and what they think.”

For politicians a referendum is “a way of kicking an issue into the grass”, a fairly safe means of resolving a problem that, in an election, might prove a major vote loser.

Related: The trouble with democracy[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/nov/08/trouble-with-democracy-david-runciman]

A lost referendum is rarely fatal. Before David Cameron stepped down after the UK’s Brexit vote, only one European prime minister – in Norway[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norwegian\_European\_Communities\_membership\_referendum,\_1972], in 1972 – had resigned after ending up on the wrong side of a plebiscite.

From the 70s to the 90s, Qvortrup said, politicians largely felt confident about who was voting for them and why. Large, mainstream, parties of the centre left and right dominated the political scene and most voters trusted them to make decisions. In many countries that is no longer the case; politics are becoming increasingly fragmented, and voters sceptical and disaffected.

Research by Sören Holmberg, a Swedish academic, had shown that voters in the 1970s agreed with up to 90% of their chosen party’s platform, Qvortrup said. But today that figure was 60%. Moreover, referendums are often confidence votes and statistics show the longer a party has been in power the less support it can expect in a plebiscite.

Most voters do not want too much of a good thing. Having “hired” politicians in much the same way as they hire an estate agency, Qvortrup suggested, the public expects their houses to be sold for them at the right price, without being constantly quizzed about the details.

Related: 'The question was stupid': Hungarians on the **refugee** referendum[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/04/the-question-was-stupid-hungarians-on-the-refugee-referendum]

But the recent return of the referendum may also fit with a move away from the “package deal”, he added. People, he said, were now more individualist than before. “We expect to be able to compile our own playlists, in politics too.”

All these factors help explain the disruptive votes in several recent referendums: in Britain and Colombia, where governments lost; and in Hungary, where although those who did vote overwhelmingly supported the government not enough voters turned out to make the referendum valid.

Referendums should, Qvortrup said, be confined to really big questions, “irreversible decisions that will really impact people’s lives”, and be held only in rare and exceptional circumstances. Otherwise, politicians should simply be bolder, present their really significant policies at elections, and accept the outcome as a mandate or a rejection. Referendums, were “kind of the chicken option”, he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Duncan Haldane and Sir Fraser Stoddart call for scientists to be given protected status for visas, and highlight the role of EU funding in attracting elite scientists

Two British laureates who were awarded Nobel prizes this week have warned that government policies linked to Brexit risk turning elite scientists away from British laboratories.

Duncan Haldane, who was awarded the Nobel prize for physics on Tuesday[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/oct/04/david-thouless-duncan-haldane-and-michael-kosterlitz-win-nobel-prize-in-physics], said that he had been considering returning to Britain from his post at Princeton University, New York, but that this would be unlikely if access to prestigious research grants from the European Research Council (ERC) was cut off.

“I was seriously considering coming back a few years ago,” he said. “It was suggested it might be possible to get one of these €5m ERC grants. That’s much better support than I can get here. These grants are specifically aimed at bringing established people back. Without that it makes it more difficult for people to come back.”

“I wouldn’t be going back just to kill myself eating high table dinners at a college,” he added. “The ERC made it much more attractive.”

Haldane called for scientists to be given a protected status for visas, although he told the Guardian that he did not share some scientists’ broader fears about a potential future clampdown on **immigration** in Britain. “There is clearly a need to be able to attract the top scientists and it goes without saying that complicated paperwork is going to put people off,” he said.

A second scientist, Sir Fraser Stoddart, the Scottish chemist who was awarded the Nobel prize on Wednesday[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/oct/05/nobel-prize-chemistry-2016-jean-pierre-sauvage-jean-pierre-sauvage-bernard-feringa-nano-machines], said that government plans to crackdown on **immigration** could be a deterrent for the best British scientists as well as those from abroad. “I am very disturbed by the talk coming out of the UK at the moment,” he said. “Anything that stops the free movement of people is a big negative for science.”

He said that he has even advised young scientists to consider looking outside the UK in the future, due to fears that British science may enter a period of decline.

“I would have a plan B if I was a young scientist in Britain,” he said. “It’s not going to be good news for British science. There are a lot of things that, particularly as a Scottish person, you can’t make your mind up about. But there’s no doubt in my mind about this. I do feel very strongly about it.”

Haldane’s move the US in the 1980s was prompted by the Thatcher government squeezing funding for curiousity-driven scientific research. “There was a depressing atmosphere in British science at the time because of stupid government ideas that one should do something ‘useful’,” he said.

“They wanted to fund research into turbulence in North Sea gas pipes - an idea that I found pretty depressing.”

Fraser moved from Birmingham to the University of California Los Angeles in 1997, where he succeeded a past Nobel laureate, Donald Cram, in a prestigious chemistry professorship.

In her conference speech in Birmingham on Wednesday, the prime minister cited Britain’s Nobel successes in science as a source of national pride. “[Britain is] a successful country - small in size but large in stature - that with less than 1% of the world’s population boasts more Nobel laureates than any country outside the United States… with three more added again just yesterday – two of whom worked here in this great city.”

UK universities currently get about £1.2 billion research funding a year from the EU. Switzerland and Israel both “buy in” to allow their scientists access to ERCgrants, but Swiss participation is in jeopardy because of proposals to limit free movement of EU citizens into the country.

Stoddart said that in his own research group, at Northwestern University, Illinois, he had scientists and students from more than a dozen different countries. “We get on extremely well regardless of background,” he said. “We have this unity based on shared pursuit of science.”

Stoddart said that early in his career, at Sheffield University, he faced some criticism for recruiting from abroad. “I got colleagues saying ‘Don’t you know that our people are better?’” he said. But he argues that recruiting from a wider pool and bringing in talent from abroad raises everyone’s standards - an approach that is now widely accepted in the scientific world.

“When you get people from Messina or Madrid moving to a cold place like Sheffield, they’re serious about science,” he said. “It’s better for everyone.”

Sir Martin Rees, emeritus professor of physics at the University of Cambridge, and the Astronomer Royal, said: “The UK scientific scene is now much stronger than it was [in the 1980s] - thanks in part of the strengthening of science on mainland Europe. But there is a serious risk, aggravated by the tone of Amber Rudd’s deplorable speech on Tuesday[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/04/rudd-announces-crackdown-on-overseas-students-and-new-work-visas], that there will be a renewed surge of defections, weakening UK science and causing us to fail to recoup our investments over the last 20 years.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Despite women and people of colour dominating poetry slams, it’s still white men who get most of the paying gigs and festivals

When it comes to the diverse range of people championing poetry[https://www.theguardian.com/books/poetry] in the UK, we seemingly have a lot to celebrate this National Poetry Day. Although the well-known poets of old are typically white men of the middle or upper classes, the most famous poets in the UK today are often women, people of colour, or both. Carol Ann Duffy[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/carol-ann-duffy] is poet laureate; mixed-race Glaswegian Jackie Kay is the current makar for Scotland[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/mar/15/jackie-kay-becomes-the-new-makar-scotlands-national-poet]. I work in schools, getting young people to write poems themselves, and the number one poet whom children of all backgrounds tell me they have read or listened to is Benjamin Zephaniah[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/benjaminzephaniah] – a writer whose work explicitly deals with issues of race, class and heritage.

Related: Poetic justice: the rise of brilliant women writing in dark times | Rhiannon Lucy Cosslett[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/28/poetry-women-race-news-voices]

Alongside this, and for better or worse, poetry has in many ways hit the mainstream. Last week, BBC2 had poet and musician Kate Tempest performing her new album Let Them Eat Chaos[http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b07yc9ms/performance-live-kate-tempest] on Saturday night TV, alongside black poets David J Pugilist and Isaiah Hull[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7\_CL6c3qTXc], and mixed-race writer Deanna Rodger[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/video/2014/sep/10/spoken-words-london-landlords-young-renters-deanna-rodger-video]. The week before, Hollie McNish[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/hollie-mcnish] – whose pro-**immigration** poem Mathematics has more than two million YouTube views to date – was recently commissioned to narrate a simple but effective advert for Nationwide building society[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=elD6SAPivk4] in that most primetime of primetime TV slots: midway through The X Factor.

Poetry and music crossovers are also increasingly popular: black writer and DJ James Massiah[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/video/2014/sep/03/spoken-words-james-massiah-brixton-village-gentrification-video] has just appeared on Massive Attack’s new single, Dear Friend, while British-Somali Muslim Warsan Shire[https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2016/apr/27/warsan-shire-young-poet-laureate-beyonce-lemonade-london] was part of the creative team behind Beyoncé’s critically acclaimed visual album Lemonade. Just this week, Nigerian-born Caleb Femi[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/oct/03/poet-caleb-femi-named-first-young-peoples-laureate-for-london] became the new young people’s laureate for London, following three years of women – two of them black – in the same role.

Youth unites these new stars of the poetry world, and today more than ever young people from a variety of backgrounds have got the tools to write and share their own words. Writing and mentoring schemes such as SLAMbassadors UK[http://slam.poetrysociety.org.uk/], Barbican Young Poets[https://www.barbican.org.uk/education/young-people/young-poets] and the Roundhouse Poetry Collective[http://www.roundhouse.org.uk/whats-on/2014/roundhouse-poetry-collective/] (as well as the Roundhouse’s annual poetry slam) have become almost a rite of passage for young poets, a way for them to take their first guided steps into the poetry scene. The accessibility of the internet and the way it has revolutionised not just how poetry is shared but also what “counts” as poetry shouldn’t be underestimated either, with YouTube now host to thousands upon thousands of spoken-word videos from across the globe.

Unlike a lot of other creative artforms, poetry has managed to diversify itself from the inside – up to a point. While it might be obvious that the future of poetry is diverse, many people fail to recognise that the present is too. Over the past year, Private Eye magazine has published cutting remarks about various women of colour in poetry – attributing half-Chinese Sarah Howe’s win of the acclaimed TS Eliot prize[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jan/11/ts-eliot-prize-poet-sarah-howe-wins-with-amazing-debut] to her good looks, and implying a kind of nepotism[https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2016/sep/30/forward-prize-backward-reading-who-grumbles-if-white-writers-win-awards] because British-Caribbean poet Malika Booker was head of the panel that chose two Caribbean women as Forward prize recipients. Despite the last three Forward prize winners being of Afro-Caribbean heritage, this idea that people of colour succeeding in poetry is not merely rare but suspect is both common and false.

Related: Finding minority writers isn't 'racial nepotism'. It's the cure for bigotry | Anjali Enjeti[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/09/finding-minority-writers-isnt-racial-nepotism-its-cure-bigotry]

The poetry world is also not immune to the racism and sexism that is in the literary scene as a whole. Despite women and people of colour dominating the open mics and poetry slams that keep the scene alive, it is noticeable that you see more men and white people booked for paying gigs and festivals, and more still actually being published – and I don’t accept that white men are simply better writers. Saying that, they are rarely working class, with classism also a huge but often forgotten problem in poetry. The literary establishment needs to not just encourage and promote more writing from working-class writers, young and old, but also move past assumptions that working-class young boys, for example, won’t want to write poems. The seemingly endless debates about what counts as “proper” poetry and what is “merely spoken word” are fuelled by a need to define and control the artform, and do little more than **alienate** the people who enjoy poems under, or identify with, this label.

In the closing lines of Jackie Kay’s In My Country[http://www.poetryarchive.org/poem/my-country], the poet is defiant about where she comes from: “‘Here. These parts.’” Writers from all backgrounds deserve the right to feel as strongly about their place in British poetry, regardless of where we may appear to come from. Diversity is not a dirty word, and ensuring that female, working-class and non-white poets are both writing and performing can only serve to make an already wealthy scene even richer.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PM condemned by Jeremy Corbyn for ‘fanning the flames of xenophobia’ and blaming foreigners for her party’s failures

Theresa May has signalled that she will use the Brexit vote as a mandate to break decisively with David Cameron’s brand of Conservatism, pledging to intervene on behalf of working class voters and crack down on **immigration**.

In a populist speech to her party’s conference in Birmingham, the prime minister painted June’s referendum result as a “quiet revolution” that should force politicians to tackle public concerns, repeatedly telling delegates that “change must come”.

May said she saw the referendum result as a political turning point, which legitimised a tougher line on **immigration** and more state intervention in the public’s lives. She told her party: “It’s time to remember the good that government can do.”

Related: The Guardian view on Theresa May’s conference speech: actions not words will decide | Editorial[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/05/the-guardian-view-on-theresa-mays-conference-speech-actions-not-words-will-decide]

The Brexit vote was a message from people who “were not prepared to be ignored any more”, she said. “Because in June people voted for change. And a change is going to come.”

She faced an angry backlash, however, from opposition politicians including the Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn, and Scotland’s first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, who accused her of stoking anti-**immigrant** sentiment by playing to fears about the impact of foreign workers on jobs and wages.

Corbyn said she was “fanning the flames of xenophobia and hatred in our communities and trying to blame foreigners” for her party’s own failures. Sturgeon said May’s speech and the policies she laid out were “the most disgraceful display of reactionary rightwing politics in living memory”.

Anticipating such criticism, May said in her speech that some people did not like to admit that British workers could “find themselves out of work or on lower wages because of low-skilled **immigration**”.

Business leaders also reacted angrily to a proposal the home secretary, Amber Rudd, made on Tuesday to force firms to reveal what proportion of their workforce are **immigrants** in a bid to “name and shame” businesses that fail to take on British staff.

Carolyn Fairbairn, the director general of the CBI, said: “We have been a magnet for talent for many years. We should be proud of our ability to attract the best, and this approach that appears to be around shaming companies for doing that is one that our members are very, very concerned about.”

Related: Will Theresa May’s speech appeal beyond Tory conference? Our panel’s verdict | Jonathan Freedland, Polly Toynbee, Anne McElvoy, Joseph Harker, Giles Fraser[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conference-panel-verdict]

In a speech designed to set out her core beliefs, May offered a deliberate rejection of the legacy of Thatcherism. “There is more to life than individualism and self-interest”, she said, drawing on the story of the triathlete Alistair Brownlee who gave up his chance[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/sep/19/alistair-brownlee-jonny-world-triathlon-series] to win the final race in the world series in Mexico to help his heat-dazed brother Jonny over the line. “We succeed or fail together.”

May also criticised the jet-setting global elite, tax-avoiding multinationals and sharp practice by company executives. “So if you’re a boss who earns a fortune but doesn’t look after your staff, an international company that treats tax laws as an optional extra, a household name that refuses to work with the authorities even to fight terrorism, a director who takes out massive dividends while knowing that the company pension is about to go bust: I’m putting you on warning. This can’t go on any more,” she said.

The prime minister appealed to disaffected Labour voters, arguing that the party had fled from the centre of British politics. She said the Conservatives were now “the party of the workers, the party of public servants, the party of the NHS”.

She mocked the splits and abuse between Corbyn and his MPs, winning huge cheers by adopting her former description of her own party to describe Labour: “You know what some people call them? The nasty party.”

Related: Tory conference – the Eurocidal maniacs have found their ‘Theresa Bae’[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/tory-conference-the-eurocidal-maniacs-have-found-their-theresa-bae]

Concluding her 59-minute speech, May told delegates she was offering “an agenda for a new modern Conservatism that understands the good government can do, that will never hesitate to face down the powerful when they abuse their positions of privilege, that will always act in the interests of ordinary, working class people”.

She promised to take action in the coming months in a number of areas, including building more homes, preventing energy firms from exploiting customers, upgrading the broadband network and closing the gap between fast-growing London and the less prosperous regions of the UK. She did not, however, spell out details.

A Downing Street spokesperson said the government would also introduce measures to help savers hit by record low interest rates, after being forced to clarify remarks in the speech that appeared to criticise the Bank of England’s policy of quantitative easing.

May had said: “While monetary policy, with super-low interest rates and quantitative easing, provided the necessary emergency medicine after the financial crash, we have to acknowledge there have been some bad side effects.”

That appeared to break the convention, established since the Bank of England was given independence in 1997, that politicians refrain from commenting on the direction of monetary policy.

The Downing Street spokesperson insisted: “Quantitative easing is a matter for the independent Bank of England. That remains the case.”

May was preceded on stage in a packed conference hall by a crowd-pleasing speech from the Scottish Tory leader Ruth Davidson, who struck a more emollient tone on migration, telling foreign-born workers who have settled in Scotland: “This is your home and you are welcome here.”

The Liberal Democrat leader, Tim Farron, rejected the idea that May was shifting to the centre ground, calling her rhetoric “utterly divorced from her party’s actions over the last few days”.

He said: “The Conservatives are reckless, divisive and uncaring. They are the fence-building, snooping-on-your-emails, foreign-worker-listing party and that is something that most people will be repulsed by.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A high-minded ideal intended to make the EU more popular will instead define the UK’s post-Brexit relationship with Europe

On a scorching afternoon, a small group of tourists are queuing on a pretty, wooded hillside to get their photo taken. There is no stunning view or dramatic scenery, only a stone pillar and three flags, belonging to Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium. This is the place where three countries meet, an epitome of the dream of a borderless Europe, where you can cross the three frontiers in two steps.

“For our generation it is normal to cross the border,” says Michael, a 24-year old architecture student at the University of Aachen, who is visiting with his mother and a friend. “I feel more European than German and I like the fact that I can go and work in the Netherlands or Belgium if I want to.”

Down in the valley on the Dutch side lies Vaals, a bustling market town of 10,000 people. Almost half the population (44%) were born in another country: one third are Germans, but people have moved here from all over Europe; last year the town took in 30 Syrian **refugees**.

“We are living in a European region and people cross the borders without really thinking of it,” says Reg van Loo, Vaals’ mayor. Apart from a few road signs and buzzing text messages (telecoms are national), there is little to show you are crossing a border.

For some EU leaders this remains the European dream. “Borders are the worst invention ever made by politicians,” Jean-Claude Juncker, European commission president, and Luxemburger, declared in August[http://www.alpbach.org/en/forum2016/programme-2016/keynotes/], just as checks were being tightened across the continent.

Borders are the worst invention ever made by politicians

Jean-Claude Juncker

But in living memory, Europe’s borders were far more tightly controlled. In the aftermath of the second world war, Vaals was a hotbed for smugglers. Packets of coffee and cigarettes were lobbed over border fences into a ruined Germany, as locals sought to cash in on shortages. By the 1970s the Dutch were driving across the border, car boots laden with undeclared West German hi-fis and cameras. “Vaals has always been a very plural place,” Van Loo says, describing how 18th-century Catholics and Protestants of all denominations could worship in the town when it was forbidden elsewhere.

Yet this dream of freedom to live and work anywhere in the European Union has been called into question like never before since the Brexit vote. Britain is set to become the first country to leave the EU, in a hostile rejection of one of Europe’s most cherished dreams.

Free movement of people, a high-minded ideal that was intended to make the EU more popular, has instead become the wedge that will split the UK from its continental partners.

In her first major speech on Brexit[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/may-on-collision-course-with-backbenchers-seeking-soft-brexit], Theresa May, the UK prime minister, made clear the UK wants to control **immigration** as she set the course for a sharp break with the EU that may also limit Britain’s trade with its neighbours.

We are not leaving the EU only to give up control of **immigration** again

Theresa May, UK prime minister

British governments have always been cheerleaders for free movement of goods, services and capital, while underestimating the continent’s attachment to the same privilege for people. David Cameron thought he could persuade the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, to grant him limits on EU migrants. He was wrong[http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-29874392] : the former prime minister did get an emergency brake[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/07/david-camerons-emergency-brake-wins-fans-across-the-continent] to ban EU migrants from getting immediate access to benefits, but this was dismissed as useless by Conservative backbenchers set on leaving the EU.

Since Cameron’s renegotiation, it has been clear the EU would not budge on free movement of people. Martin Schulz, the president of the European parliament, said last month that the EU’s four freedoms – people, services, goods and capital – were inseparable, echoing a consensus among EU leaders that shows no sign of cracking. “I refuse to imagine a Europe where lorries and hedge funds are free to cross borders but citizens are not,” Schulz said.

Merkel on Wednesday made her clearest statement yet – saying full access to the single market could only come in exchange for signing up to the four freedoms. “Anything else would amount to a systemic challenge for the entire European Union,” she told the BGA trade association.

Free movement runs through many fundamental questions for the EU, says André Sapir, a professor at the Bruegel thinktank and influential former adviser to the European commission: the relationship between western and eastern Europe, how the EU manages an unprecedented influx of **refugees**, as well as attitudes to Turkey and its long-stalled hopes of joining the EU.

“We are not simply making a deal with the UK. The number of dimensions here is endless,” Sapir said. “If you start putting brakes on this now, in a sense, you are going back on the original EU project. It is one thing the UK leaving, it is another one to start tinkering with the EU as we know it.”

Free movement was part of the European idea from the start, when six countries embarked on integration nearly 60 years ago at the Conservatori palace in Rome. The Treaty of Rome and its four freedoms created the fledgling European Economic Community that became today’s EU.

But free movement was not carved on stone tablets and initially was restricted to workers. Damian Chalmers, professor of EU law at the London School of Economics, describes the original provision as an afterthought tacked on to please the Italian government. Of the three biggest founding members, France had got farm subsidies and Germany had abolished tariffs for its industrial goods. The Italian government, grappling with the poor southern part of the country, wanted a payoff, says Chalmers, describing Italian workers who moved north as the “central-eastern Europeans of the 1950s”.

Free movement of workers did not become free movement of citizens until 1993, following another treaty, signed at Maastricht, a city deep in EU heartland that is a short distance from Vaals.

After Maastricht, Europeans could not only work abroad but study or retire in other EU countries. Amid the surge in optimism following the fall of the Berlin wall, Brussels hoped that citizenship would give the European project the mass appeal it had always lacked.

“The people you talk to in Brussels see [free movement] as central to the dream of a people’s Europe, that is not just about multinationals,” said Chalmers.

But still, not many people felt starry-eyed about the EU, or much inclined to live abroad. Few EU nationals chose to move to another country, a fact that caused handwringing in the Brussels beltway around the turn of the century. Policymakers, about to embark on a single currency, fretted that Europe could never match the United States for labour mobility if a person from Manchester wouldn’t move to Munich.

That all changed when10 central and eastern European countries joined the EU in two waves in 2004 and 2007 (as well as the Mediterranean islands of Malta and Cyprus). By 2014, around 5% of the EU’s working-age population was born in another member state, compared with just 1% in 2000. In the UK, the figure was 7% of the working-age population.

Post the Brexit vote, Britain now wants to stop Europeans arriving. May told her Polish counterpart that the Brexit vote was “a very clear message”[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/28/theresa-may-on-brexit-tour-of-eastern-europe] on demands to reduce EU migration – a message that has gone down badly in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The four central European countries, known as the Visegrád 4, have vowed to block any future deal with the UK [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/17/eastern-bloc-countries-will-uphold-citizens-rights-to-live-in-uk] that limits the free movement of their citizens.

But senior EU diplomats think the Visegrád 4 will prioritise their compatriots already in the UK rather than future movers. “ Poland and Hungary will fight for their citizens already there, not for the future, because they could use the workforce back home,” one senior European diplomat told the Guardian.

The diplomat pointed out that central Europe was dependent on EU money to keep public works programmes going. “I think they will be ready to make a concession,” he said. “They are saying citizens’ rights are important but behind the scenes c’est le fric [it’s the cash].”

The Brexit negotiations will turn on these kind of trade-offs, a complex haggle over soaring principle and sharp-elbowed self-interest involving 28 governments and three EU institutions.

But this does not mean the British government will get the “maximum freedom” to trade that May promised Conservative party activists.

Sapir, the economist, is one of five high-powered policymakers who argued the EU should allow the UK generous access to the single market, without the fourth freedom. Unlimited free movement of people is not essential for economic integration, they wrote in a Bruegel paper[http://bruegel.org/2016/08/europe-after-brexit-a-proposal-for-a-continental-partnership/], rather it is the element that makes the single market a political project. Yet in Brussels, Paris and Berlin, the blueprint was almost regarded as heresy. It might make economic sense, but it is “politically naive”, one senior EU diplomat said.

And once the herculean task of Brexit is done, one curiosity for historians will be how far British voters’ discontent chimed with the anxieties of their neighbours. Brussels has recently acceded to France’s demand for reform of EU labour laws to make it harder for companies to hire cheap workers from eastern Europe and undercut locally agreed minimum wages.

French anxieties about cheap workers or German worries about integrating **refugees** do not exactly reflect the British rejection of migration, but there are common threads. “In the name of austerity we have cut holes in our safety net to such a degree that many feel that the open economy is to their detriment in the short term and offers no prospects in the long term,” one senior EU official said.

Even in the self-styled heart of the EU region, people feel anxious and detached from the EU. Van Loo, a self-described “Europe-minded mayor”, says the EUneeds to change, become less bureaucratic and allow greater regional variation. Many Dutch people share the British view that “everything that is going wrong is because of membership of the European Union”, he says, a stance that troubles him.

Despite these doubts, he does not think these anti-EU forces ever will sweep away the free flow of people in his three-country neighbourhood. “We will always find a way to cross the borders.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hundreds of thousands of Afghans, banished from Pakistan, find destruction, violence and hardship in their homeland

Almost 40 years ago, Allah Noor took his family to a safe haven in Pakistan, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Last week he returned, to a country at war.

At the crack of dawn, when his family crossed the border to Afghanistan on a truck heaving with all their possessions, they were greeted by the roar of fighter planes returning from nightly bombing missions. A white surveillance blimp hovered above.

Related: Afghan exodus from Pakistan could be 'catastrophic' without urgent aid[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/04/afghan-exodus-from-pakistan-could-be-catastrophic-without-urgent-aid]

Noor’s family is among more than 100,000 Afghans who have been coerced out of Pakistan since July[http://reliefweb.int/report/pakistan/pakistan-afghan-refugees-and-undocumented-afghans-repatriation-january-august-2016]. Pakistan’s government has ordered all Afghan migrants and **refugees** to leave – about 3 million people. Roughly 250,000 of their number have left so far this year, according to figures from the World Food Programme[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/04/afghan-exodus-from-pakistan-could-be-catastrophic-without-urgent-aid], in the biggest eviction of Afghans in decades.

Whole neighbourhoods are being uprooted, often second- or third-generation **refugees** with little connection to Afghanistan. Many arrive in their place of origin to find no help from international agencies[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/04/afghan-exodus-from-pakistan-could-be-catastrophic-without-urgent-aid].

Pakistani authorities have raided homes, and returning families have spoken of police harassment and arbitrary arrests.

The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Ocha, expects 600,000 Afghans to have returned by the end of the year. With another 250,000 people newly displaced by the Afghan conflict, the UN warned last month[http://www.un.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=54868#.V\_R6rZN95E4] of a looming humanitarian crisis. Yet the response from international aid agencies has been slow and insufficient.

Noor’s family of 18 left after months of intimidation by police, who came to their house near Peshawar almost every day to order them to leave.

The family’s truck crossed the Afghan-Pakistan border post at Torkham.

Slipping out of the bottleneck of decorated jingle trucks, they passed Jalalabad airport, which since 2001 has been occupied by the US military with its jets and drones[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/01/deadly-drone-strike-afghanistan-isis-civilians].

Noor, 62, is the family’s only adult male. Two sons live in Saudi Arabia and the UK.

In the back of the truck sat burqa-clad women, squeezed among a thicket of possessions: beds, a rusty floor fan, a child’s bicycle and piles of firewood for winter. In the middle of it all, a gaggle of geese bounced with the harsh movements of the truck.

It was a punishing, day-long ride. “Where are you going?” children shouted from the roadside, as the truck circumvented Jalalabad and steered toward Noor’s native Laghman province.

Noor said that his village had been totally destroyed. “There might be peace for a month now and then,” he reflected, “but there is still fighting in our village.” He had to find a new plot of land, a school for the children, and then wait for remittances from his sons abroad.

Related: EU signs deal to deport unlimited numbers of Afghan asylum seekers[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/03/eu-european-union-signs-deal-deport-unlimited-numbers-afghan-asylum-seekers-afghanistan]

Still, the Noor family is relatively lucky. Upon arrival, they received $3,600 (£2,825) from the UN’s **refugee** agency, the UNHCR, for the nine family members who were registered as **refugees** in Pakistan. The remaining nine were ineligible for the $400 cash grant[https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0ahUKEwj48pC2\_sPPAhXIOxQKHYecD-MQFgg0MAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Freporting.unhcr.org%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2FUNHCR%2520Repatriation%2520of%2520Afghan%2520Refugees%2520from%2520Pakistan%2520SB%2520-%2520Sept-Dec.%25202016%2520--%252019SEPT16\_0.pdf&usg=AFQjCNFGpLPhAKXE0t9GfumZf3di1YHqfA&sig2=naL2OATdRCte0YFmCUXfAw&cad=rja] because they were undocumented, as are about two-thirds of returnees.

Due to inadequate funding, the International Organisation for Migration is only able to provide the most vulnerable of undocumented returnees, about 30%, with tents, kitchen utensils, food and other basic needs.

In September, Ocha launched a flash appeal[https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/Afghanistan/afg\_2016\_flash\_appeal.pdf] for $152m to assist the returning families.

The influx of returnees has caught international agencies by surprise, and the response has been hampered by inertia, according to Will Carter, head of programme with the Norwegian **Refugee** Council, one of the main organisations assisting in Nangarhar.

In addition, he said, the response is skewed. The UNHCR receives the vast majority of funds but only assists people registered as **refugees** in Pakistan.

“The difference in survival chances is jarring, and frankly it’s bizarre that an agency mandated to protect **refugees** appears to care for just half of them. It’s callous,” said Carter.

The UNHCR argues it is only mandated to help registered **refugees**. The agency is also responsible for distributing personal registration cards to **refugees** in Pakistan, which they have not done since 2007.

Alexander Mundt, assistant representative for the UNHCR in Afghanistan, said children of **refugees** could easily have registered with the agency over the past nine years. He added that “people with a credible fear of persecution” were also able to apply for individual **refugee** status.

“I think we did what we could, and were more than generous,” he said. “It is not a bottomless pit of money.”

Mundt admitted, however: “There is no way we can keep up with [the number of **refugees**], and we don’t encourage people in the millions to approach the UNHCR.”

He conceded that the recent UN cash grants to returnees had contributed to some inequality. “But I wouldn’t assume that every person returning in is dire need,” he added.

Among the undocumented returnees is Taj Bibi, a mother of six who was widowed four months ago. Her oldest son, Amanullah, is 14. Bibi had lived in Pakistan since the jihad in the 1980s but was forced out barely two months after her husband died in a motorcycle accident.

“Our life was very good there – my husband could make a salary,” she said from behind a curtain in her tent in Nangarhar’s Behsud district, where she relies on aid and help from neighbours. “We will live the rest of our life here,” she said.

Aid workers say about 75% of returnees crossing the Torkham border settle in Nangarhar province. Here, unemployment is endemic, even for those who never left, but the area is also beset by insurgent groups, including Islamic State[https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/descent-into-chaos-why-did-nangarhar-turn-into-an-is-hub/].

“This is creating so much desperation among families who have lost everything. It makes them easy recruitment targets for Taliban and even Daesh [Isis],” said Timor Sharan, senior Afghanistan analyst with the International Crisis Group.

For decades, Pakistan has been a safe haven for Afghans, with whom they share a cultural kinship. Yet the large Afghan **refugee** communities are difficult to monitor, and Pakistani authorities have claimed[https://timesofislamabad.com/afghan-migrants-used-for-terrorism-and-narcotics-smuggling-nasir-janjua/2016/05/17/] they harboured militants and criminals.

The Pakistan government has periodically threatened to send Afghans back, but it is unclear what triggered the recent crackdown.

Some have speculated[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\_pacific/long-settled-afghan-refugees-in-pakistan-face-an-unsettling-future/2016/09/23/ad53b532-7f3c-11e6-ad0e-ab0d12c779b1\_story.html] that Pakistan is using Afghans as pawns in a dispute with the US. Noor, meanwhile, thought the harassment had more to do with the Afghan government’s recent diplomatic outreach to Pakistan’s rival.

“Ever since Afghanistan began improving relations with India, they called us ‘sons of India’”, he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Kurds believe their harsh treatment by the Turkish state, particularly since July’s failed coup, is being ignored by the outside world

Ahmet stood on a roof in the district of Sur in Diyarbakir and watched as two bulldozers razed his family home. Dust clouds rose into the sky as another wall collapsed. “This is the second time that I watch them demolish my house,” the 33-year-old said softly.

The first time, Ahmet was nine years old. In the 1990s, when the conflict between the Turkish state and the outlawed Kurdistan Workers’ party (PKK) was at a peak, soldiers burned down his village. Together with thousands of people displaced from the region, his family moved to Sur. “We had to leave everything behind. I did not even have shoes when we arrived in Diyarbakir,” he recalled.

He looked down at his feet. “This time I was at least able to save them.”

Violence in Turkey’s predominantly Kurdish south-east has surged after a ceasefire between the country’s ruling Justice and Development party (AKP) and the PKK fell apart last July[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/26/turkey-peace-process-kurds-splinters-car-bomb-kills-soldiers], leaving the three-year peace process in tatters and reviving a conflict that has cost more than 40,000 lives since 1984.

In the summer of last year, Kurdish activists announced local administrative autonomy for several Kurdish cities and districts, including Sur. Ankara, unnerved by the possibility of Kurdish self-rule along the lines of that which exists on Turkey’s borders with Syria and Iraq, responded with a ferocious crackdown. Blanket curfews were imposed for months.

Related: Stop the press: Turkey's crackdown on its media goes into overdrive[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/29/stop-the-press-turkey-crackdown-journalists-overdrive-since-coup]

In Sur alone more than 100 people were killed as Turkish security forces used tanks and heavy artillery against Kurdish militants who dug trenches and set up booby traps. The violent clashes across the region have laid waste to entire neighbourhoods, displacing more than half a million people in a country that already hosts 2.7 million Syrian **refugees**.

After the failed coup in July, the conflict is deepening. On Monday, the Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, extended the country’s state of emergency, imposed after the coup attempt[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/20/erdogan-bans-academics-from-travel-holds-first-post-coup-security-meeting-ankara-turkey], into next year. Administrators were appointed to dozens of Kurdish-run municipalities, with Ankara accusing the elected mayors of supporting the PKK.

Displaced once more, Ahmet and his family rented a small apartment in another Diyarbakir district after the police ordered them to leave their home in Sur in November, just before the curfew. He now makes about 500 Turkish lira (£130) a month selling liquorice syrup, a local delicacy. He has no plan for the coming winter.

The Turkish government has announced urban renewal plans for Sur[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/feb/09/destruction-sur-turkey-historic-district-gentrification-kurdish] and is offering residents the chance to buy flats in high-rise blocks on the outskirts of Diyarbakir city. Homeowners have been told they will receive compensation for their ruined houses, but nobody knows how much. Ahmet is unimpressed.

“All I want is my house,” he said. “I don’t want the government to give me money, or sell me a house. I’d rather pitch a tent on the ruins of my old home in Sur.”

He is stunned by the worldwide silence in the face of the Kurds’ situation in Turkey. Pointing towards the ruined city centre, where bulldozers pushed the rubble of his house into a heap, he said: “It looks like Syria here. What about human rights? Do they not apply to us?” Like many Kurds in Turkey, Ahmet feels abandoned by the EU, which last year struck an agreement with Ankara[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/08/eu-turkey-refugee-deal-qa] to stem the numbers of **refugees** coming to Europe. “They have sold us for the **refugee** deal,” he said.

Related: Fear and paranoia still stalk Turkey two months after the failed coup | Liz Cookman[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/15/two-months-failed-coup-turkey-divided-erdogan]

Although the attacks on the police and military strongholds in the region continue, the military operation in Sur was declared finished in March. Most shops along the main road have reopened, but half of the historic centre remains closed. Several streets are blocked by police fences and large plastic sheets. Blast walls blockade most of the gates of the old city walls. Turkish flags hang off buildings and minarets. Armed police vehicles patrol the streets.

“The Turkish state behaves like an occupier here,” said one owner of a teahouse. A few metres away, a cheese seller sat in his half-empty stall. He is now unable to afford the more than 20 different types of cheese he used to sell, as most of his customers have left the district. His house was demolished. A close family member is in pretrial detention on charges of PKK membership.

“Maybe I should be grateful,” he said. “So many young people have died here, what is jail compared to that?” He thinks building trenches and barricades was wrong. “We will not find a solution like that. And many Turkish governments have tried violence. They destroyed our villages, burned down our forests. Now our cities are in ruins as well. Dialogue is the only way. [President Erdogan] could end this war with a single sentence.” He sighs. “We are really tired. We want Erdogan to end this conflict.”

The government, however, does not show much enthusiasm for reopening peace talks, with the prime minister, Binali Yildirim, repeatedly saying there will be “none of this solution nonsense”. And, after the bloody coup attempt, the crackdown on the Kurds has intensified.

“I am Kurd, but also a citizen of this country,” said the cheese seller, who did not want his name to be published. “In Diyarbakir people also went out into the streets on the night of July 15 to protest against the coup. I don’t like Erdogan, but when I saw him on the screen of a mobile phone on TV, I prayed for him. When he called on people to protest the putschists, we did.

“We have lived through several military coups here and they have always been terrible for us Kurds. This time the plotters did not succeed and we are happy about that,” he said. “But it still feels as if the junta is in power now.”

The AKP has extended the post-coup purges of Turkish society to the Kurds, not limiting the scope to followers of the US-based cleric Fethullah Gülen[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/16/fethullah-gulen-who-is-the-man-blamed-by-turkeys-president-for-coup-attempt], whom the government blames for the coup attempt. Erdogan argues that Gülenists and the PKK are one and the same. “That’s absurd,” said one Diyarbakir-based journalist. “Gülen has repeatedly raged against the peace process.”

However, the government is exercising the full extent of the legal powers granted to it under the state of emergency. Based on an emergency decree passed in July, Ankara pulled the plug on 23 predominantly pro-Kurdish channels and radio stations last week[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/30/turkey-closes-20-tv-and-radio-stations-post-coup-clampdown], arguing that they “posed a threat to national security” and “supported terrorism”. Among the shut TV stations is a children’s channel that translated cartoons such as SpongeBob Squarepants and The Smurfs into Kurdish.

“This spells the end to critical and objective broadcasting in Turkey,” said Remzi Budancir, the editor of the Kurdish-language news channel Azadi TV in Diyarbakir. “And an end to proper reporting from this region. All journalists here are either looking for other jobs or hope to leave the country. Even if we would be able to work unhindered, there are no more outlets left in which to publish our work.”

Related: US providing light arms to Kurdish-led coalition in Syria, officials confirm[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/29/syria-us-arms-supply-kurds-turkey]

The crackdown is not only against the media. Only days before the start of the new school year the education ministry suspended about 11,000 teachers in the Kurdish region on charges of supporting the PKK. More than 4,000 of them worked in Diyarbakir schools.

“Teachers were suspended because they attended union meetings and demonstrations,” said one teacher from a neighbouring province. “Tens of thousands of children are again deprived of an education, putting them at further disadvantage.”

Just before the Muslim festival Eid al-Adha, the Turkish government appointed administrators to 24 Kurdish-run municipalities, including Sur. Since then, more elected mayors in the region have been removed from their posts. Ankara accuses local politicians of supporting the PKK. Süleyman Soylu, the interior minister since September, said the government could not allow “terrorists” to hold municipal office. The pro-Kurdish People’s Democratic party (HDP) spoke of a “coup”.

Idris Baluken, the HDP MP for the city of Bingöl, criticised the measure. “Many voters in the region will not accept this. Why do we even hold elections if a politician who gets up to 80% of votes can be removed at the government’s whim?”

At the beginning of September, Yildirim announced that the government would invest £2.6bn in reconstructing the conflict-hit Kurdish south-east, with plans including 67,000 flats, hospitals, factories, sports stadiums and police stations.

But Ahmet was not convinced. “Investment is always good. But you know how often we have heard this? Many Turkish governments have promised us flats and factories, but nothing has changed.” He shook his head. “We are not beggars. It is wrong to treat the Kurdish issue as a question of money. We do not want their charity. We want our rights.”

Some names have been changed

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The party can no longer rely on its traditional supporters, who are being enticed by Theresa May’s Tories and Ukip. It needs new ways to tap into anti-establishment fury

Politicians[https://www.theguardian.com/politics] used to pretend the working class didn’t exist; now they zealously compete for working-class affection. “We’re all middle class now”[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/7053761/Were-all-middle-class-now-darling.html] was New Labour’s mantra in the 90s and 00s. “Class is a communist concept,” declared Margaret Thatcher[http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/111359]. “It groups people as bundles and sets them against one another.” Class is no longer banished to the fringes of politics: it is becoming a defining concept once again.

Related: Most Britons regard themselves as working class, survey finds[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jun/29/most-brits-regard-themselves-as-working-class-survey-finds]

The movement that unexpectedly catapulted Jeremy Corbyn into the Labour leadership places class at its heart. Ukip seeks to position itself as the party of the English and Welsh working class. Ukip “represents the concerns of most working-class men and women”, declared Mark Reckless after his short-lived victory in the 2014 Rochester and Strood byelection[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/11244841/Ukips-Mark-Reckless-wins-Rochester-and-Strood-by-election.html]. And now it’s the Tories’ turn: they have shed the patronising formulation of “hard-working families doing the right thing” in favour of an audacious claim to be “ squarely at the service of ordinary working-class people[http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/theresa-promises-economic-cultural-revival-11983589] ”. The return of class politics is an opportunity for Labour – and also a looming existential crisis.

Labour was founded to be the political arm of the working class. Social democracy across the western world existed to offer these wealth creators political representation, and to reorder societies otherwise run in the interests of industrialists and landlords. But the party emerged when working-class Britain toiled as steelworkers, miners, factory workers, personal servants. The workforce was dominated by men, and it was overwhelmingly white. Communities centred around places of work.

The left in general had a clear message: the problems and insecurities you experience are byproducts of a society that puts profit ahead of your needs and ambitions. Those responsible for injustice are those with power. Injustice is a collective failing that needs a collective solution.

It is all more complicated these days. The rise of the new right in the 1970s promoted individualism as the antidote to a supposedly suffocating collectivism. The mass sale of council housing[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jan/04/end-of-council-housing-bill-secure-tenancies-pay-to-stay] was intended to promote individual over collective identity: “embourgeoisement” – or becoming bourgeois – as Margaret Thatcher’s “mad monk” Keith Joseph put it.

Trade unions – which gave organised power to a large swath of working-class Britain – were battered by government policies, mass unemployment and industrial defeat. The old industrial working class gave way to a more fragmented service-sector workforce. University-educated public-sector workers and middle-class professionals grew in number: they abhorred the social conservatism of the Tories, but had a different set of values and priorities to traditional working-class Britain, introducing a new tension in Labour’s electoral coalition.

How the end of the cold war was spun – total victory for free-market capitalism – led to a collapse in the left’s vision and confidence. Mass **immigration** diversified working-class Britain – indeed, it is working-class communities that tend to be the most ethnically mixed – but also led to unchecked resentment. New Labour’s failure to undo the social dislocation of Thatcherism – for example, overseeing a continued collapse in manufacturing jobs, and improving existing housing but failing to build more – led to growing frustrations. The left had no clear, accessible explanation about growing social insecurities: anti-**immigration** resentment filled the vacuum.

It’s now clear that a return to class politics was inevitable. A financial elite plunged the country into its worst economic crisis since the 1930s, suppressing the living standards of millions who shared no blame for it. A Conservative government dominated by public school millionaires introduced policies that damaged the lives of those from strikingly less privileged backgrounds. Workers suffered the longest real fall in wages since the 19th century[https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/jul/27/uk-joins-greece-at-bottom-of-wage-growth-league-tuc-oecd], while the richest 1,000 Britons experienced a doubling in wealth. And then the Brexit vote happened: who can credibly claim “we’re all middle-class” in its aftermath? Working-class Britain is not homogeneous, and millions of working-class people – particularly from black and minority ethnic backgrounds – voted to remain. But there is no escaping the fact that middle-class professionals were the only demographic with majority support for remain[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/07/north-poor-brexit-myths], or that those on lower incomes plumped decisively for Brexit.

And here is the danger, one that has long caused me deep concern.

Six years ago, in the book Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2011/jun/08/chavs-demonization-owen-jones-review], I wrote: “The danger is of a savvy new populist right emerging, one that is comfortable talking about class and offers reactionary solutions to working-class problems. It could denounce the demonisation of the working class and the trashing of its identity. It could claim that the traditional party of working-class people, the Labour party, has turned its back on them.

“Rather than focusing on the deep-seated economic issues that really underpin the grievances of working-class people, it could train its populist guns on **immigration** and cultural issues. **Immigrants** could be blamed for economic woes; multiculturalism could be blasted for undermining ‘white’ working-class identity.” It doesn’t seem far between that and a populist prime minister who says: the enemies of working-class Britain are **immigration** and a metropolitan liberal elite with contempt for their patriotism and values.

Related: Angry remain voter? Now you know how working-class people feel | Dreda Say Mitchell[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/07/angry-remain-voter-working-class-division-britain]

Economic liberalism never really grew roots in Britain. Theresa May knows this and, rhetorically at least, as she reinforced in her speech yesterday, she is abandoning support for it in favour of an active state. This could be lethally effective. It also underlines why the old New Labour approach – the wedding of economic and social liberalism – is irrelevant.

That is of little comfort to today’s Labour leadership. University-educated middle-class professionals may take to Twitter to vent, but it is their cultural distance from working-class communities that May seeks to exploit. Thatcherism attracted working-class support with carrots such as right-to-buy; today Mayism seeks to bind together an electoral coalition with resentment of **immigration** and metropolitan elites. May’s government is seeking a harsh Brexit that is set to damage the living standards and security of working-class people. If Labour doesn’t present a clear and compelling alternative vision, then frustration at the reality of Brexit will be funnelled into even more intense anti-**immigration** anger.

Jeremy Corbyn toyed with progressive patriotism in his leader’s speech[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/29/jeremy-corbyn-conference-speech-labour-leader-panel] ; he should persist with that and he must be positive. For as Labour thinker Jon Cruddas has pointed out, the party wins when it presents an optimistic vision of national reconstruction.

There is anti-establishment fury. It underpinned the Brexit result and Labour must tap into it. But unlike the Tories, it must direct this towards the correct targets, the vested interests who are really holding Britain back.

Labour was born of class politics, whose re-emergence is an opportunity. But if Labour fails to grasp it, be sure that the populist right will.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The born-again Brexiteers of the Conservative party have a plan – unfortunately it’s as lo-tech and whimsical as the chocolate biscuit mill in Bagpuss

To the Conservative party conference – or Lannisterfest, to use its street name. The event took place in Birmingham and there was only one question on everyone’s lips: which idiot put the word COUNTRY in the platform backdrop? “A COUNTRY THAT WORKS FOR EVERYONE,” it read. But the first rule of political backdrops is that you never put the word COUNTRY in. If you do, it’s as if you’re actively begging photographers to crop out the last two letters and position the speaking minister’s head to obscure the O, which duly happened with Jeremy Hunt [https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=jeremy+hunt+cunt+photo&espv=2&biw=1408&bih=640&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiMmL6Ql8PPAhWFkCwKHRQLAp0Q\_AUIBigB#tbm=isch&q=jeremy+hunt+conference&imgrc=0GjHOY5v1lZOaM%3A], Liam Fox [https://twitter.com/Peston/status/783034000801685601] and various other of the leading countries. Forgive me – various other of the country’s leaders.

I am, of course, only kidding. The actual big question here was what Brexit meant to various senior Tory figures, and the big answer was still: whatever they want it to. Leaving the European Union remains a political Rorschach blot, in which some will see freedom of movement/a bat, and others will see exit from the single market/the female reproductive organs.

Either way, everyone at conference was either a Brexiteer or a Brexiteer-come-lately. With about two exceptions, no one cared to admit to ever having been a remainer. I haven’t seen this much shameless Tory revisionism since Nelson Mandela [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/06/follow-nelson-mandela-laugh-rightwing-fawning] died and everyone declared mistily that he had always been their political hero, with several presumably hoping photos of them wearing Hang Mandela badges would never surface.

Someone once said that if Labour conference made you wonder why you were a member of the Labour party, the Conservative conference answered the question. For the vast, vast majority of Britons who pay subscriptions to neither party, though, attendance at any of these things is a mystery.

So who goes to Tory conference? There are the party big beasts, of which there are ever fewer, and a cavalcade of junior ministers who would be less anonymous if they were in a witness protection programme, and who loiter around the Sky News mobile studio making pretend mobile phone calls in the hope a producer will recognise them and give them three minutes’ seatwarming before Michael Fabricant comes along. There are also lots of local councillors who clap all references to themselves, paying members who must know the parliamentary party would rather staple its eyelids to the floor than risk them voting in a leadership election, and approximately 2,000 young men in the same suit who look as if they doodle “Theresa Bae” on their exercise books and regard American Psycho as reasonable masturbation material. If you’re tempted to go next year, it costs 520 of your rapidly nose-diving pounds, excluding hotel rooms, meals and crystal meth.

Related: Bending reality like a spoon: the week Labour entered The Matrix [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/28/labour-party-conference-bending-reality-like-spoon-matrix-jeremy-corbyn-momentum]

The speeches were, in the main, so neuron-stealingly dull that they confirmed suspicions that Theresa May is trying to make her government deliberately boring, in order that as few people as possible can bear to pay attention to all the impossible things it has to do, and all the unpleasant things it wants to do.

About 2,000 young men in the same suit look as if they regard American Psycho as reasonable masturbation material

The only thing approaching cut-through will have been the relentless **immigrant**-bashing and May’s own much-applauded effort mugging off the cossetted elite in favour of the left behind, even though she must know that every fringe event here was simply a prosecco reception with a platitude attached. Hers wasn’t the greatest hypocrisy, of course – that honour surely belonged to the home secretary, Amber Rudd [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/amber-rudd], who wants companies to be forced to disclose how many foreign staff they employ, even though it took a data leak to reveal [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/21/bahamas-leaks-reveal-amber-rudd-involvement-offshore-firms] that at least two Bahamas-based firms employed her as a director.

In the conference exhibitors hall, the high-end merchandising opportunities appeared to have been conceived as a self-satire: there were two tailors measuring up for handmade suits, no fewer than four “bespoke jewellery” stalls, and various opportunities to buy art. As far as other attractions went, simulators were big this year. There was a motor-racing one just outside the main conference venue, a pheasant-shooting one inside, and a terrifyingly realistic one in the main hall where Liam Fox was the international trade secretary.

Clearly, the chancellor of the exchequer, Philip Hammond, must have said something during his time-bending eternity on the podium. But what? I dimly recall him droning on about [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/03/the-guardian-view-on-philip-hammonds-conference-speech-missed-opportunity-for-a-new-strategy] “The Northern Powerhouse, the Midlands Engine … Two great projects that can be emulated across Britain. Indeed, I suspect the limiting factor may only be our ability to think up snappy titles for new regional projects …” How about the Wessex Cobblers Generator? The East Anglian Doctor Incinerator? Mainly, though, if you wanted to safely hide the exact sequence of numbers for the nuclear codes, inside a Hammond speech would be the place to start.

Elsewhere, not content with plastering their slogan “A country that works for everyone” over all available surfaces within the cordon sanitaire, the Tories rolled it out to new shores of meaninglessness. Andrea Leadsom called for “an environment that works for everyone”. James Brokenshire hosted an event entitled: “A Northern Ireland that works for everyone.” In some cases, the centrally installed software simply malfunctioned. “We must make breakfast … Brexit a success,” floundered the leader of the Welsh Conservatives.

There was, however, one notable trend. Back even when he was London mayor, Boris Johnson had a failsafe shtick that was aped by the likes of Liz Truss, and which he was still flogging this week. We’re so perfectly placed as a global trading nation, this runs, that “we sell tea to China, TV aerials to Korea and, my friends, we export French knickers to France!” This riff has now also been nicked wholesale by those we might politely term lesser orators. Consider Liam Fox – pushing for such a hard Brexit that it was like a Viagra ad every time he opened his mouth – who declared (for the third time in a week) that the UK sold “tea to China, wine to France, and boomerangs to Australia”. Fox had taken the stage right after Leadsom, Britain’s luckiest escape, who had trilled wide-eyed: “We’re selling coffee to Brazil, sparkling wine to France and naan bread to India.” We were even, Andrea smiled excitedly, selling “bottled English countryside air for up to £80 a go”.

Look, no one wants to let daylight in on tragic. But even cursory research reveals that the coffee claim amounts to a very small hill of beans we import from Brazil, then process and export back to Brazil in a deal worth the titchiest fraction of the coffee we buy in. The boomerang triumph can be traced back to a single company in Leighton Buzzard whose own general manager is at pains to stress “Boomerangs are obviously not exactly a huge market” [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-37510315], while the naans-to-India bit is a reference to one baker in Dunstable [http://www.dunstabletoday.co.uk/news/business/our-naan-is-so-good-we-re-taking-it-to-india-1-2193427] who has invested in a factory outside Mumbai. Less than 2% of wine exported to France is English – around £940,000 worth – while we import £881m of the French stuff. Arguably, the crowning achievement of this vision of a post-Brexit trade bonanza is the guy selling the £80 jars of “fresh air” to the Chinese. He turns out to be a self-styled “air farmer” [http://www.aethaer.com/] with a website so pretentious it reads like a Chris Morris hoax, and who will only admit to having flogged around 300 units of his nonsensical product [https://www.buzzfeed.com/jimwaterson/fart-in-a-jar-and-sell-it-at-twice-the-price?utm\_term=.ylA9DZn2w#.ilMbqWreE].

So those are your big bucks post-Brexit beacons, ranging from a boomerang-maker who would very much like you to commute your expectations, to some hipster chancer who has sold fewer than 300 empty jars to Chinese ironists. What the hell do you say? Other than: is that the plan, secretaries of state? Please tell me that isn’t the actual plan, because if it is the plan, then I changed my mind. I want the blue pill [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RhlXqYiTz2Q]. In the name of sweet oblivion, GIVE ME BACK THE FUCKING BLUE PILL.

Even the Department for International Trade wanted a piece of the inaction, enlivening Monday morning by tweeting out an exciting trade opportunity [https://twitter.com/tradegovuk/status/782860452325982208]. “France needs high-quality, innovative British jams,” this read, “& marmalades.” Unfortunately, our highest profile exponent of marmalade is an illegal **immigrant** bear likely to fall foul of the next Home Office clampdown. He will join the foreign NHS doctors, whom May seemed to put on notice of expulsion just as soon as we train up some British people. Let the prime minister be very clear, foreign doctors: you are now saving lives in the last chance saloon.

Ramming home this theme was Fox, who positively relished uncertainty over the post-Brexit right of EU citizens, declaring: “That’s one of our main cards.” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/liam-fox-refuses-to-guarantee-right-of-eu-citizens-to-remain-in-uk] Suggesting our other cards are the eight of cups, The Hanged Man, Master Bones the Butcher’s Son and Grant Shapps’ business card.

If only he had told May sooner about our great hand, because she had already knit herself into the noblest of Tory traditions by chucking away her single negotiating advantage to appease her own Eurocidal maniacs [https://www.ft.com/content/7b78f276-8940-11e6-8cb7-e7ada1d123b1]. May began the week by stating that the UK government would definitely trigger Article 50 before the end of March next year. My theory is that she’ll do it on the exact night that month when the clocks go forward, when the next day always seems so much longer and brighter, and there is a psychological sense that you are emerging into sunnier times. Call it the BST bounce, and hope it gets you through to the Wednesday.

Biggest Tory conference star among the faithful? At present, Johnson’s magic mirror still tells him he is the fairest of all, but the suspicion must be that one day he will see Ruth Davidson’s face smiling insolently back at him. The Scottish Tory leader is very much the coming draw, inevitably chosen to warm up for May’s climactic speech, but whose open distaste for Johnson saw her gift us three of the more amusing slapdowns of the summer. The first was during the Question Time that came live from Wembley, when she interrupted some military posturing by Boris to sniff: “ I think I’m the only one on this panel who’s ever worn the Queen’s uniform.” [http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/7-times-ruth-davidson-told-8252001] The next saw her decline to even break stride as a reporter asked her about Boris crashing out of the race to succeed David Cameron , only smiling lightly that, “Leadership is hard. It’s not for everyone.” And the third was Davidson’s majestically off-colour joke to a Westminster reception, which characterised the post-result landscape thus: “Labour is still fumbling with its flies while the Tories are enjoying their post-coital cigarette. After withdrawing our massive Johnson …” I’m not saying the Tory crowds don’t still love Boris. But all the above moments do slightly remind me of the bit in Blades of Glory [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h1kWwatV9U8] where Will Ferrell throws off his jacket and growls at his privileged blond rival: “Step aside, homeschool. There’s a new sheriff in town.”

Still, at least that’s all the aggro the Tories have to worry about. On Sunday, when May pre-emptively shafted the Brexit negotiations, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn ’s only media intervention was a tweet [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/783223886229938176] : “@LabourFilmFest is coming to the North West for the 1st time. Find out about the great films they’re showing...” On Monday, as Fox and Leadsom painted a vision of UK trade slightly more lo-tech and whimsical than the chocolate biscuit mill in Bagpuss, Corbyn’s only media comment was a tweet: “@LabourFilmFest is coming to the North West for the 1st time. Find out about the great films they’re showing...” On Tuesday, as Rudd suggested rounding **immigrants** up on to lists and Fox informed EU residents that they were a bargaining chip, the Labour leader’s only media comment was a tweet: “@LabourFilmFest is coming to the North West for the 1st time. Find out –” Well, as Harry Hill would say, you get the idea with that one. It was only on Wednesday, when the clamour from Labour competents for something – anything – became so overwhelming, that he finally slid out a muddled written statement. No wonder you couldn’t move for Tory secretaries of state guaranteeing things till 2020 – aid money for Wales, farm subsidies, science funding … It all felt the setup to a spectacular joke, when three minutes after the election they pull the rug and explain just how deeply in the mire we are. Ah well. Other than that, Jeremy, how was the movie?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UK services companies say new business picked up in September, easing fears that June’s referendum has triggered a downturnUS service sector improves in September... but jobs figures disappoint - ADPTheresa May: Monetary policy has got to changeServices sector records solid growthPound hits yet another 31-year lowHard Brexit could cost £10bn in City taxComing up: IMF ’s Financial Stability Report

block-time published-time 5.12pm BST

European markets end mixed A mild recovery in the pound after better than expected UK service sector numbers saw the FTSE 100 drift back after Tuesday’s - failed - attempt at a new record. Meanwhile talk that the European Central Bank might begin tapering its bond buying programme took the wind out of European markets, with most ending lower. But strong US services data lifted Wall Street, albeit also prompting renewed talk of US rate rises this year. The final scores in Europe showed:

\* The FTSE 100 finished down 41.09 points or 0.58% at 7033.25

\* Germany’s Dax dipped 0.32% to 10,585.78

\* France’s Cac closed 0.29% lower at 4489.95

\* Italy’s FTSE MIB added 1.03% to 16,476.58

\* Spain’s Ibex ended up 0.11% at 8778.3

\* In Greece, the Athens market slipped 0.66% to 575.37

On Wall Street, the Dow Jones Industrial Average is currently up 129 points or 0.71%.

As for the pound, it is up 0.17% at $1.2748 against the dollar and 0.19% higher at €1.1378.

block-time published-time 4.19pm BST

After Tuesday’s attempt at a new peak, the FTSE 100 continues to flounder as the day wears on. Chris Beauchamp , chief market analyst at IG, said:

Today has seen a reversal of yesterday’s action, when the FTSE 100 soared (at least in the morning) as others fell back. Now, we have Wall Street advancing, and European markets paring losses, while the FTSE 100 languishes towards the bottom end of the day’s range. Having been such a boon in recent days, the pound has perhaps hindered the index today, although sterling has recovered only a fraction of the ground lost since the beginning of the week...

The US ISM non-manufacturing index hit a level not seen since November 2015, further boosting the cause of those expecting a Fed rate hike this year. US markets seemed happy to rally on the news, making up for the losses suffered yesterday. 2140 has held yet again for the S&P 500, putting the index in a good position to challenge the all-time highs once again. A bounce in oil prices undoubtedly helped, after stockpiles dropped once again.

block-time published-time 4.14pm BST

Back with the IMF , and in a new report it says global debt has hit a new record. Jill Treanor reports:

Global debt levels have reached a record $152tn (£119tn) according to the International Monetary Fund – more than double the size of the global economy at 225% of annual global output.

The Washington-based fund said that two-thirds of the debt – approximately $100tn is held by the private sector, or companies and households. The IMF warns that debt “can carry great risks [at] excessive levels”.

The Fund’s report shows that the overall debt level has not decreased since the the financial crisis and recession of 2007-09, despite the fact that the most severe downturn of the post-war era was the consequence of too much reckless borrowing.

The IMF says that debt as a proportion of GDP has never been higher.

The full story is here:

Related: World debt has hit record high of $152tn, says IMF [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/world-debt-has-hit-record-high-of-152tn-says-imf]

And here is analysis from our economics editor Larry Elliott, who says governments must heed the ticking debt timebomb:

Related: Governments must heed IMF warning of $152tn global debt timebomb [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/governments-imf-global-debt-timebomb-international-monetary-fund-economy]

block-time published-time 3.46pm BST

Oil prices are moving even higher after a surprise decrease in US crude stocks.

itltrEIA Weekly Oil Inventories (Sep 30)

Crude -2.98 Mln v +1.50 Mln exp, prev -1.88 Mln

Cushing +0.57 Mln v +0.36 Mln exp, prev -0.63 Mln

— Sigma Squawk (@SigmaSquawk) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SigmaSquawk/status/783677861135802369]Brent crude is currently up 2% at $51.93 while West Texas Intermediate has jumped 2.3% to $49.84.

block-time published-time 3.39pm BST

Elsewhere the International Monetary Fund has weighed in on Deutsche Bank , saying it was one of the banks which needed to convince investors its business model was viable in a low interest rate environment. The bank’s shares have fallen sharply on concerns about its balance sheet and the consequences of a possible $14bn fine by the US Department of Justice .

At the IMF meeting in Washington, the fund’s monetary and capital markets deputy director Peter Dattels said ( quotes from Reuters ):

Deutsche Bank ... is among banks that need to continue to adjust to convince investors that its business model is viable going forward and has addressed the issues of operational risk arising from litigation.

He said the German authorities were closely monitoring Deutsche Bank ’s health and that the European financial system remained resilient.

block-time published-time 3.32pm BST

And the non-farms?

enltr #US [https://twitter.com/hashtag/US?src=hash] : Strong or weak jobs report for September on Friday? Markit #PMI [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMI?src=hash] 's and #ISM [https://twitter.com/hashtag/ISM?src=hash] 's tell two different stories... pic.twitter.com/tN4cOH4el1 [https://t.co/tN4cOH4el1] 's tell two different stories...

— Danske Bank Research (@Danske\_Research) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Danske\_Research/status/783673258210103296]block-time published-time 3.18pm BST

But which should investors look at most, the Markit or ISM figures?

enltr #US [https://twitter.com/hashtag/US?src=hash] : Should markets listen to the weak Markit #PMI [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMI?src=hash] 's or the strong #ISM [https://twitter.com/hashtag/ISM?src=hash] 's? They send two different signals about US Q3 #GDP [https://twitter.com/hashtag/GDP?src=hash] growth pic.twitter.com/8n26iaQ6mw [https://t.co/8n26iaQ6mw] growth

— Danske Bank Research (@Danske\_Research) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Danske\_Research/status/783672169511387136]block-time published-time 3.16pm BST

Despite these strong service sector figures Dennis de Jong, managing director at UFX.com, believes a US rate rise before December is unlikely:

After slipping to a six-year low in August, the news that September’s ISM non-manufacturing PMI has rebounded strongly will be welcomed by Fed Chair Janet Yellen .

The US economy has been sending out mixed signals in recent months, and the uncertainty has not been helped by the speculation swirling around a long-anticipated interest rate hike.

Today’s positive figures make the case for a rate rise stronger but, as we enter the final weeks of the presidential race, the general consensus is that it is unlikely we will see any movement before December.

But the surveys could be an indicator for Friday’s jobs figures:

enltrRobust #ISM [https://twitter.com/hashtag/ISM?src=hash] PMIs could edge softer than fcast #ADP [https://twitter.com/hashtag/ADP?src=hash] data and point to #Nonfarm [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Nonfarm?src=hash] data and point to #payrolls [https://twitter.com/hashtag/payrolls?src=hash] above 170K

— Ken Odeluga (@Ken\_CityIndex) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Ken\_CityIndex/status/783671986690134016]block-time published-time 3.13pm BST

Anthony Nieves, chair of the ISM’s non-manufacturing survey committee, said:

The comments from the respondents are mostly positive about business conditions and the overall economy. A degree of uncertainty does exist due to geopolitical conditions coupled with the upcoming U.S. presidential election.

And here are some of the comments highlighted by the ISM:

\* “Somewhat flat month of overall pricing conditions; however, labor cost and availability remains a concern.” (Accommodation & Food Services)

\* “Business is showing a moderate unexpected uptick over last month. YTD business volume is moderately under forecast.” (Management of Companies & Support Services)

\* “Macroeconomic issues like Brexit and reduced travel from South America impact summer travel.” (Arts, Entertainment & Recreation)

\* “Sales ahead of plan. Net income below plan. Costs running higher than plan. In addition, continued low interest rates impact investment results.” (Finance & Insurance)

\* “Affordable Care Act, changes in Medicare and Medicaid causing problems across much of the healthcare and insurance industries. Acquisition helping our company, but also lost a large client that will impact our financials for the next year.” (Health Care & Social Assistance)

\* “Solid steady growth.” (Professional, Scientific & Technical Services)

\* “Business is [at] an annual high.” (Public Administration)

\* “Sales continue [at an] increased pace from last month.” (Retail Trade)

\* “We are watching the effects of the Hanjin Shipping issues with regard to cost and availability of Asian imports.” (Wholesale Trade)

block-time published-time 3.03pm BST

The Institute for Supply Management service sector survey is also positive, even more so in fact.

Its non-manufacturing PMI came in at 57.1 in September, showing a strong rebound from 51.4 in August and well above estimates of a figure of 53. This is the highest level since October 2015 and the biggest rise in the index since February 2011.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.08pm BST

block-time published-time 2.59pm BST

US service sector improves in September The first of the US service sector surveys shows a better than expected performance in September.

The Markit services final purchasing managers’ index came in at 52.3 compared to an initial reading of 51.9 and a figure of 51 in August. This is the highest level since April.

Markit’s final composite PMI figure for September was 52.3, up from the first reading of 52 and August’s 51.5.

enltrMarkit: " the economy is growing at an

annualized rate of only 1%"

— zerohedge (@zerohedge) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/zerohedge/status/783666645906628608]enltrMarkit: " Across both manufacturing and services the surveys point to the smallest monthly gain in jobs since April 2010"

— zerohedge (@zerohedge) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/zerohedge/status/783666703641305088]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.01pm BST

block-time published-time 2.49pm BST

Wall Street opens higher With oil prices continuing to rise - West Texas Intermediate is up 1.9% at $49.63 a barrel - US markets are heading higher.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average is currently up 99 points or 0.5% while the S&P 500 and Nasdaq Composite both opened around 0.3% higher.

block-time published-time 2.34pm BST

Breakdown of job numbers Photograph: ADP, Moody's Analytics block-time published-time 2.32pm BST

The ADP report still shows a strong jobs market, said Mark Zandi, chief economist of co-complier Moody’s Analytics:

The current record of consecutive monthly job gains continued in September. With job openings at all-time highs and layoffs near all-time lows, the job market remains in full-swing. Job growth has moderated in recent months, but only because the economy is finally returning to full-employment.

But Ahu Yildirmaz, vice president and head of the ADP Research Institute, said:

Job gains in September eased a bit when compared to the past 12-month average. We also observed softening this month in trade/transportation/utilities, possibly due to a continued tightening U.S. labor market and lackluster consumer spending.

ADP jobs report Photograph: ADP, Moody's Analytics block-time published-time 2.24pm BST

US jobs data disappoints Ahead of more key US data - services surveys later and the non-farm payrolls on Friday - came the monthly private sector jobs figures, and they have proved disappointing.

According to payrolls processor ADP, US private employers added 154,000 jobs in September, below the 166,000 figure expected by economists. This was the smallest increase since April. August’s number was revised down from a 177,000 increase to 175,000.

But previewing the ADP numbers Michael Hewson, chief market analyst at CMC Markets, suggested they were no real guide to the non-farm numbers:

In the US the warm up act for Friday’s non-farm payrolls report is the ADP Payrolls report for September. Sadly this report has given little indication in recent months of being any sort of bellwether to its bigger brother, being remarkably stable in and around the 175k level for the last 4 months [before September].

block-time published-time 2.16pm BST

Utility shares have been weak all day on reports that Theresa May might hit out at the charges the companies make on consumers, and sure enough she said:

Where companies are exploiting the failures of the market in which they operate, where consumer choice is inhibited by deliberately complex pricing structures, we must set the market right...

It’s just not right that two thirds of energy customers are stuck on the most expensive tariffs.

So SSE is down 1.5%, National Grid is nearly 2% lower and water companies United Utilities , Severn Trent and Pennon are down between 2% and 3% (although a downbeat note from RBC Capital is not helping the last three).

block-time published-time 2.07pm BST

By attacking ultra-loose monetary policy, Theresa May might actually have put a floor under the pound.

Sterling is still hovering around $1.272, up from this morning’s 31-year lows. Investors may have concluded that it’s a little harder for the Bank of England to ease monetary policy again in November. Especially when the economic data is still better than feared.

Kathleen Brooks , research director at City Index, explains:

May certainly doesn’t mince her words, and since she spoke we have seen a slight uptick in the pound versus both the dollar and the euro.

The FTSE 100 is also off of its lows of the day, although it still remains comfortably above 7,000. This may seem counter-intuitive, but ultra low interest rates are not great for the banking sector, so May’s words could boost this sector and thus the pound and the FTSE 100 at the same time.

Of course, the BOE is independent, so May’s government should not be able to change policy. But her words could be enough to ease some of the downward pressure that has been building on the pound and could be enough to trigger a mini rally, potentially back above 1.28 in GBP/USD.

block-time published-time 1.56pm BST

Theresa May ’s speech, and her criticism of the Bank of England’s monetary policy [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/05/brexit-fears-pound-lows-dollar-euro-service-sector-imf-business-live?page=with:block-57f4e550e4b08ebe3d557055#block-57f4e550e4b08ebe3d557055], has gone down rather badly with that beacon of free market ideology, the Adam Smith Institute .

Director Sam Bowman sounds like a man whose eyebrows got a thorough workout during the PM’s speech, saying:

[There isn’t] any evidence that clamping down on EU **immigration** [http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/brexit05.pdf)] will help British workers, but we will have to borrow more if **immigration** falls because they pay in more than they cost. Or that quantitative easing [http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/publications/Documents/quarterlybulletin/qb120306.pdf] has made us worse off – the evidence suggests that without it the post-crisis recession would have been deeper and longer.

“Mrs May’s speech was the opposite of pragmatic. We call on the Prime Minister to abandon her ideological attachment to interventionist economic policies, look at the evidence, and accept that it tells us that markets, not the state, are the solution to our problems.”

block-time published-time 1.47pm BST

IMF sounds alarm over ultra-low interest rates The International Monetary Fund Headquarters in Washington, D.C. Photograph: Zach Gibson/AFP/Getty Images Newsflash: The International Monetary Fund has warned that pension funds and insurance groups could be wiped out by the current era of ultra-low interest rates.

From Washington, our economics editor Larry Elliott reports:

Insurance companies and pension funds are at risk of becoming insolvent if ultra-low interest rates [https://viewer.gutools.co.uk/commentisfree/2016/aug/14/lower-interest-rates-failed-spending-retirement] persist for a prolonged period, the International Monetary Fund has warned.

After almost eight years in which central banks have kept borrowing costs at record lows in an attempt to boost growth, the IMF said an over-reliance on monetary policy could have unwanted side-effects.

It used its half-yearly health check of the global financial system to advise that the calmer-than-expected conditions since the Brexit [https://viewer.gutools.co.uk/politics/eu-referendum] vote might not last.

While short-term risks had abated over the past six months, the IMF said big challenges remained – including the impact of record-low interest rates on pension funds and insurance companies [https://viewer.gutools.co.uk/business/2016/may/25/negative-interest-rates-the-case-against-john-maynard-keynes], the fragility of banks, rapid credit growth in China and the heavy indebtedness of the corporate sector in emerging countries.

“The solvency of many life insurance companies and pension funds is threatened by a prolonged period of low interest rates,” the IMF said in its global financial stability report (GFSR).

Here’s Larry’s piece:

Related: Low interest rates 'pose solvency risk to insurers and pension funds' [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/low-interest-rates-pose-solvency-risk-to-insurers-and-pension-funds]

This makes Theresa May ’s intervention on monetary policy even more intriguing....

block-time published-time 1.10pm BST

Theresa May will have pleased many older Brits by attacking the Bank of England’s stimulus programme [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/05/brexit-fears-pound-lows-dollar-euro-service-sector-imf-business-live?page=with:block-57f4e550e4b08ebe3d557055#block-57f4e550e4b08ebe3d557055].

She’s absolutely right that QE has driven up assets prices; the whole idea is that central banks mop up ‘safe’ assets such as government bonds, and encourage investors to move money into risky things.

Great if you own a house, a trust fund or a Canaletto... less good if you’re relying on the income from savings.

But.... central banks have been driven into ever-deeper stimulus efforts by the failure of the global economy to bounce back from the 2008 crisis. And governments must take some blame.

In the UK, George Osborne ’s austerity budgets relied heavily on the Bank of England propping up demand with record low interest rates.

European central bankers have been dropping heavy hints for months that fiscal policy needs to do more work, and that they’re running short of ammo.

Perhaps May has got the message.....

enltrMay on monetary policy interesting - a political economy shift. Previous preferred macro mix of tight fiscal/easy money being dropped.

— Duncan Weldon (@DuncanWeldon) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DuncanWeldon/status/783628264472543233]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.12pm BST

block-time published-time 12.45pm BST

May: Monetary policy must change Wowzers.... Theresa May has just fired a broadside at the Bank of England over its stimulus programme.

She’s addressing the Tory faithful in Birmingham now, and (in between outlining her Brexit vision and promising a clampdown on tax dodgers), she blasted the era of ultra-low interest rates and bond-buying.

May declared:

While monetary policy with super low rates and quantitative easing have provided emergency medicine, we have to acknowledge some of the bad side effects. People with assets have got richer, while people without have not…

A change has got to come, and we are going to deliver it because that’s what a Conservative government can do.

That sounds like a serious intervention into monetary policy, frankly, aimed at governor Mark Carney ( who, as a Canadian, may already be concerned about the Tory’s attacks on firms who hire foreign workers )

Our Politics Liveblog has all the details:

Related: Theresa May speech to Tory conference: 'we will take centre ground' - Politics live [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conservative-conference-theresa-mays-speech-politics-live]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.14pm BST

block-time published-time 12.38pm BST

Passengers sit inside the Athens’ Eleftherios Venizelos airpor. Photograph: John Kolesidis/REUTERS Over in Greece, air traffic control workers have called a strike in protest at proposals to reform their industry.

The shake-up is part of the country’s bailout programme, and due to be debated by MPs later this week.

Reuters has the details:

Greek air traffic controllers plan to walk off the job over four days from October 9th, grounding flights in protest at changes to their job descriptions under reforms pursued by the country’s foreign creditors.

Their union said on Wednesday they would stage 24-hour strikes on October 9th and 10th, and October 12th-13th inclusive. All but emergency and search-and-rescue flights along with flights through the Athens Flight Information region would be suspended.

Walkouts by Greek air traffic controllers, a department considered an essential service, have in the past been deemed illegal by Greek courts and been cancelled. The announcement on industrial action coincided with the submission of draft legislation to parliament on Tuesday evening seeking to introduce changes to the structure of the civil aviation department.

So any Brits who can still afford to fly to Greece following the pound’s tumble may have a problem (unless the courts step in...).

block-time published-time 12.13pm BST

How low could the pound go, as Britain rattles towards triggering article 50 next March (or earlier).

Koon How Heng, a senior foreign-exchange strategist at Credit Suisse , believes sterling could easily hit $1.25, or lower...

He told CNBC that he still has “a very negative view on sterling”.

“Officially, our forecast for sterling dollar is at 1.25.

“We would think it’s going to head lower. It’s probably going to go down the tubes.”

enltr"Down the tubes" https://t.co/Pxu7nE7XcN [https://t.co/Pxu7nE7XcN]

— Jasper Lawler (@jlawler\_CMC) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jlawler\_CMC/status/783625286629883904]block-time published-time 11.55am BST

There’s a subdued feeling on City trading floor today, after the FTSE 100 failed (just) to hit a new alltime high yesterday.

The blue-chip index has shed almost 0.6%, or 40 points, to 7034 - despite Tesco soaring higher after impressing investors with its financial results today [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/tesco-supermarket-sales-rise-profits-tumble].

The top risers and fallers on the FTSE 100 today Photograph: Thomson Reuters And the smaller FTSE 250, which did hit a record high last night, has lost 0.7%.

European stock markets are also in the red, today, following reports that the European Central Bank might wind back its bond-buying stimulus programme.

Currently, the ECB is creating €80bn of new money each month to buy new bonds. Bloomberg says that policymakers have considered tapering it -- steadily trimming the monthly purchases.

Although the ECB denies discussing tapering, the prospect of the easy money tap being turned down has depressed the markets.

Joshua Mahony, market analyst at IG, explains:

The bullish sentiment that drove yesterday’s sensational rise in the FTSE has been dampened today, with markets largely responding to the fears that perhaps the seemingly unlimited ECB QE could be limited after all. Rumours of exit plans being drawn up at the ECB highlight the growing feeling that Draghi & co are facing up to a exhaustion of monetary policy policies and effectiveness.

block-time published-time 11.04am BST

Bank of England deputy governor on the Brexit vote Bank of England deputy governor Ben Broadbent has weighed in on the Brexit issue, saying June’s vote has caused rather less economic damage than feared.

In a speech this morning, Broadbent says:

There’s little doubt that the economy has performed better than surveys suggested immediately after the referendum and, although we aimed off those significantly, somewhat more strongly than our near-term forecasts as well.

Why? Broadbent suggests the UK economy had more ‘underlying momentum than expected’. Second, the housing market may hold be better than feared.

And there’s also the possibility that the weak pound is supporting the economy.

Broadbent says:

The foreign exchange market attempts to price long-run risk and, to my mind, the currency fell after the referendum for fear of what the result might ultimately mean for the UK’s access to global markets.

But if that is a risk for the longer term, once the UK’s new trading arrangements come into force, those arrangements are for the time being unchanged. Against that backdrop, the fall in the exchange rate will help to support activity, cushioning the impact of greater uncertainty. While that was expected, the effect could be coming through faster than we’d anticipated.

The speech also takes a good look at the impact, and causes, of record low bond yields (a massive headache for pension funds), and the wider issue of economic uncertainty. It’s online here [http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/publications/Documents/speeches/2016/speech929.pdf].

enltrReally good speech by @bankofengland [https://twitter.com/bankofengland] Ben Broadbent https://t.co/5Tibyb4COl [https://t.co/5Tibyb4COl]

— Chris Giles (@ChrisGiles\_) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ChrisGiles\_/status/783598802099986432]block-time published-time 10.25am BST

This isn’t how Theresa May would like her first conference as Tory leader to be remembered.

But it appears that the slump in the pound vs the euro this week means Britain has fallen to sixth place in the list of the world’s biggest economies, behind our old friends France.

The FT’s Chris Giles has crunched the numbers, and explains:

International Monetary Fund estimates of the size of economies in 2016 [http://www.imf.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/en/News/Articles/2016/10/03/AM2016-NA100416-WEO] puts the UK at £1,932bn with France weighing in at €2,228bn, putting the UK ahead so long as a pound buys more than €1.153.

At the start of the week, the prime minister, chancellor, foreign secretary and Brexit secretary all boasted that Britain would get a good deal in EU talks because Britain was the fifth-largest economy in the world. At that stage their words could be justified with sterling worth €1.16 at the end of last week.

The paradox of the tough talk — with suggestions that Britain will leave the single market and clamp down heavily on **immigration**[https://www.ft.com/content/f1da69d8-8a33-11e6-8cb7-e7ada1d123b1] — has been to pull the rug from under sterling, leaving it at a post-Brexit low of €1.14 [https://www.ft.com/content/a97ac984-89fd-11e6-8cb7-e7ada1d123b1] on Wednesday and below the point at which it is the fifth-largest economy.

enltr£ fall vs euro, during Conservative conference, relegates UK to worlds 6th biggest economy behind France, calcs @FT [https://twitter.com/FT] https://t.co/Pl4DF6LtsY [https://t.co/Pl4DF6LtsY]

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/783595821703000064]The pound is currently hovering around €1.134, having hit a five-year low this morning.

block-time published-time 10.13am BST

The encouraging service sector PMI has given the poor old pound a bit of relief.

Sterling has now struggled back from its early morning selloff, [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/05/brexit-fears-pound-lows-dollar-euro-service-sector-imf-business-live?page=with:block-57f4a073e4b0d9ed530ef1b6#block-57f4a073e4b0d9ed530ef1b6] and is now back around $1.2740 against the US dollar.

block-time published-time 10.06am BST

We’ve now had three months worth of PMI data, since the UK referendum.

And they suggest that the economy did deteriorate in July, before bouncing back in August and September.

enltrUK PMIs for Q3. Given the hard data for services for July showed growth, this picture could turn out to be a slight underestimate of reality pic.twitter.com/s6i8agBbdC [https://t.co/s6i8agBbdC]

— Rupert Seggins (@Rupert\_Seggins) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Rupert\_Seggins/status/783587130949963777]block-time published-time 10.01am BST

David Noble, CEO at the Chartered Institute of Procurement & Supply, is also encouraged by September’s service sector report.

Policymakers were offered much-needed positive news for September after the recent Brexit upheaval, as the service sector reported the fastest increase in new business since February this year. Though the overall activity index still remained below its long-term average and had dipped slightly compared to August, it reflected a modest revival of fortunes for services businesses.

But although firms took on more workers in September, “disquiet” around Brexit still remains, Noble says:

The sector concentrated on stabilising rather than forging ahead with confidence, as optimism stayed below the long- term average.”

block-time published-time 9.50am BST

Fears that Britain could be falling into recession have faded, following today’s service sector data [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/05/brexit-fears-pound-lows-dollar-euro-service-sector-imf-business-live?page=with:block-57f4ba20e4b0afec6ad16f7b#block-57f4ba20e4b0afec6ad16f7b].

Chris Williamson, chief business economist at IHS Markit, believes the UK has regained “modest growth momentum”

“Across the three sectors [Services, Construction and Manufacturing] the pace of economic growth signalled was the strongest since January, fuelling greater job creation as companies shrugged off short-term Brexit worries and enjoyed the benefits of a weaker currency.

“The improvement suggests the economy has regained a growth rate of approximately 0.3% after recovering from the initial shock of the EU referendum in late-June. If July’s low is included, the PMI surveys point to a mere 0.1% expansion of GDP in the third quarter, but this probably overstates the weakening in the rate of growth.

block-time published-time 9.38am BST

UK Services sector beats forecasts Breaking: Britain’s services sector grew faster than expected last month, as firms shake off the shock of June’s Eu referendum.

The Service Sector PMI, produced by data firm Markit, has come in at 52.6.

That shows slightly slower growth than August (52.9), but comfortably ahead of estimates.

Markit reports that:

\* Activity rises but growth rate eases slightly

\* New business grows at fastest rate since February

\* Largest input cost rise since February 2013

Service sector firms reported that new business rose at the fastest pace since February, as customer enquiries picked up and confidence recovered.

There was also “rising demand from overseas clients” linked to the weak pound.

However, there are also worries that the slump in sterling is driving up import costs.

Markit says:

The UK service sector continued to recover from July’s EU referendum-induced shock,

However, future expectations remained very low by historical standards and the survey recorded the sharpest increase in service sector input prices in over three-and-a-half years.

More to follow....

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.39am BST

block-time published-time 9.29am BST

Britain’s car industry seems to have ridden out the Brexit storm, so far anyway.

New car registrations in the UK rose 1.6% in September to hit a new record, according to new data from the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders .

But SMMT chief executive Mike Hawes warns that the industry could yet be damaged:

“The ability of the market to maintain this record level of demand will depend on the ability of government to overcome political uncertainty and safeguard the conditions that underpin consumer appetite”

block-time published-time 9.17am BST

Report: Hard Brexit could cost 70,000 City jobs How bad would a ‘Hard Brexit’ be?

Well, according to a new report, 70,000 financial services jobs could be lost if the UK leaves the single market. Up to £10bn of tax revenue could be wiped out too -- if British firms lost the ability to sell services across the European single market.

The key is whether Britain retains its ‘passporting’ rights, which currently allow City firms to operate in every EU country without separate licences or offices on the ground.

The report, by consultancy group Oliver Wyman for TheCityUK lobby group, says that Britain would only suffer a ‘modest reduction’ in activity, if it retained access to the single market.

In this scenario, revenues are predicted to decline by up to £2BN (2% of total wholesale and international business), 4,000 jobs would be at risk, and tax revenues would fall by less than £0.5BN per annum.

However, losing access to the single market would be much more serious...

Under conditions where the UK moves to a third country arrangement with the EU , without any regulatory equivalence and its relationship with the EU is defined by terms set out under the World Trade Organization , up to 50% of EU -related activity (£20BN in revenue) and an estimated 35,000 jobs could be at risk, along with £5BN of tax revenues per annum.

When taking into consideration the knock-on impact to the whole financial services ecosystem – the possibility of shifting of entire business units, or the closure of lines of business due to increased costs it could almost double the effect of Brexit.

The Conservatives are promising a hard line on **immigration** -- so it’s hard to see how they can restrict the movement of people into the UK, while retaining the movement of capital out of it...

enltrWednesday's i front page:

'British jobs for British workers' #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/CUkC6b82MB [https://t.co/CUkC6b82MB]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/783405020205162496]block-time published-time 9.08am BST

Eurozone private sector growth hits 20-month low Just in: growth in the eurozone’s private sector slowed in September, suggesting Europe’s economy may have hit a soft patch.

The monthly Eurozone Service sector PMI, from Markit, has dropped to 52.2, from 52.8 in August. That shows the slowest growth in activity since December 2014.

And the wider ‘composite’ measure, including manufacturing, shows growth slowed to its weakest since January 2015.

Growth picked up in France (hurrah!), but dipped in Germany, Ireland and Spain (boo)

block-time published-time 8.59am BST

It’s fairly unusual for a party conference to move the currency markets.

But there’s no doubt that the news from the Conservative’s meet-up in Birmingham this week has weakened the pound.

Jeremy Cook of World First, the currency trading firm, says:

It’s another day and another set of fresh post-Brexit lows for sterling against the majority of its trade partners. Trade weighted sterling has been lower than it is now – following the UK’s withdrawal from the ERM in the early 90s and as the Global Financial Crisis hit in 2008 – but Britain’s exporters must be praying that this Conservative Party Conference lasts another 6 weeks.

block-time published-time 8.43am BST

Has Tesco turned the corner? Shares in the supermarket chain have jumped by 8% this morning, after its latest financial results.

Investors are cheering a chunk rise in operating profits (but not in pre-tax levels), from £372m to £515m, and sales growth across the business. On the downside, the pension deficit has more than doubled this year....

Related: Tesco sales rise again but profits tumble [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/tesco-supermarket-sales-rise-profits-tumble]

block-time published-time 8.41am BST

Britain’s currency has effectively been devalued by 15% against major rivals since June 23rd.

enltrTotal fall in sterling/dollar from the referendum night high to today's low ($1.2685) is -15.56%. -18.8% in yen, -14% in euro.

— Mike Bird (@Birdyword) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Birdyword/status/783570899123527680]block-time published-time 8.27am BST

Some analysts are predicting the pound could suffer further shunts downwards, as the EU exit negotiations begin in earnest.

In today’s Financial Times , Koon Chow, macro and forex strategist at UBP, says:

“The pound’s drop is likely to be a series of spaced out depreciations, with the trigger for weakness being each piece of new information on the economic sacrifice that the UK government is willing to take on the path to Brexit.”

enltrPound slipping again this morning, GBPUSD below 1.2700. Has now lost 15% since 23 June high: pic.twitter.com/27uB5vOVvW [https://t.co/27uB5vOVvW]

— David Jones (@JonesTheMarkets) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JonesTheMarkets/status/783566654018027521]block-time published-time 8.13am BST

London’s stock market has also dropped in early trading, even through a weak pound is good for some companies.

The FTSE 100 index, which nearly hit a record high yesterday, has dropped by 18 points to 7056.

And the UK-focused FTSE 250 has also dipped by around 0.2%

block-time published-time 8.09am BST

Analyst: Brexit fears may be bone deep Sterling is continuing its “slippery decline” this week as ongoing Brexit uncertainties haunt investor attraction towards the currency.

So says FXTM research analyst Lukman Otunuga, who reckons investors aren’t taking comfort from recent solid economic data.

Brexit jitters may be bone deep consequently ensuring the Sterling remains depressed until the article 50 invoke date.

Although sentiment towards the UK economy continues to be uplifted as domestic data repeatedly beats, the persistent uncertainty and unknowns over how the Brexit negotiations will take place have seriously soured investor appetite towards the Sterling.

block-time published-time 8.04am BST

This chart shows how sterling has hit new 31-year lows this morning, below $1.27.

The pound vs the US dollar since 1980 Photograph: Thomson Reuters block-time published-time 8.00am BST

The pound has now lost almost three cents against the US dollar this week (and it’s only Wednesday morning).

Theresa May knocked the wind out of sterling on Sunday, when she announced she’d trigger article 50 in March 2017, raising the chances of a hard break from the EU .

enltrThis week: Sterling decided Brexit means Hard Brexit.

— Duncan Weldon (@DuncanWeldon) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DuncanWeldon/status/783558617157013504]block-time published-time 7.51am BST

The pound is falling again.... Fears over Britain’s looming exit from the European Union are hitting the pound again this morning.

Sterling has slipped to a fresh 31-year low against the US dollar, falling below $1.27 for the first time since 1985.

The pound is currently changing hands at $1.26932, down 0.25% today, extending yesterday’s selloff [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/04/uk-stock-markets-soar-as-sterling-slumps-to-record-low].

Sterling has also slid to a new five-year low against the euro in the last few minutes. It’s now worth just €1.1321, meaning one euro is worth 88.3p.

So what’s happening?

Simply put, the pound is being rattled by worries about a ‘hard Brexit’. That could see UK firms lose access to the single market as the government priorities control over **immigration**.

block-time published-time 7.37am BST

The agenda: UK service sector in focus Good morning, and welcome to our rolling coverage of the world economy, the financial markets, the eurozone and business.

Two down, one to go. After solid data from Britain’s manufacturing and construction sector this week, it’s time to find out how the services sector performed in September.

Markit’s services report, released at 9.30am, is expected to show steady growth. Economists expect the PMI to come in at 52.1, down from 52.9 in August. That would show another month of solid growth, despite the shock of the Brexit vote in June.

And given that the manufacturing and construction PMIs both beat forecasts this week, perhaps services will do to.

Analysts at RBC Capital Markets suspect we MAY learn that Britain’s economy is growing faster than thought.

The September Markit/CIPS services PMI for the UK is due this morning. So far both the manufacturing and construction sector PMIs have surprised very clearly to the upside.

A repeat in the services sector would reinforce the upside risks to our Q3 GDP growth forecast of -0.1% q/q which materialised after last week’s strong news on output in the service sector in July.

The eurozone’s service sector gets its own healthcheck too, at 9am.

Also coming up today... The International Monetary Fund will release its Global Financial Stability Report at 1.45pm BST, highlighting the main dangers to the world economy.

The Eurozone sovereign debt markets could be lively, following a report that the European Central Bank has been considering whether to ‘taper’ its bond-buying stimulus programme.

Supermarket chain Tesco is reporting results this morning; profits are down by a quarter, but like-for-like sales are up 0.6% in the last six months.

enltrTesco's profits fall by 28% as it keeps up battle for market share. https://t.co/Y2zy82flZx [https://t.co/Y2zy82flZx] pic.twitter.com/LRjnAXaKRS [https://t.co/LRjnAXaKRS]

— fastFT (@fastFT) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/fastFT/status/783552925708738560]And Ben Broadbent , deputy governor of the Bank of England, is giving a speech at 9.30am in London.

We’ll be tracking all the main events through the day...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.40am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the developments on the final day of the Conservative conference in Birmingham, including Theresa May’s keynote speechConservative party policy announcements - Full list10 things we’ve learnt from the Conservative conferenceMay’s speech - Snap verdictMay’s speech - Verdict from the Twittercommentariat

block-time published-time 4.56pm BST

We’re wrapping up this live blog now - here’s the latest reads and reactions from the last day of Conservative party conference.

\* May promises her ‘party of workers’ will govern for whole nation [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-conference-interventionist-government-for-workers] - It’s time to remember the good that government can do,’ PM tells Tory conference, in break with Thatcherism

\* Theresa May draws line under Cameron era with return to small-c conservatism [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-draws-line-under-cameron-era-with-return-to-small-c-conservatism] - analysis by political editors Heather Stewart and Anushka Asthana

\* Theresa May’s Conservative party conference speech [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/mays-conservative-party-conference-speech-key-points-analysed] – key points analysed by Rowena Mason

\* This is what Theresa May’s Tory Britain will look like [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/this-is-what-theresa-mays-tory-britain-will-look-like] -

What the country has learned about the new prime minister’s plans this week, from Brexit to human rights

\* Will Theresa May’s speech appeal beyond Tory conference? [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conference-panel-verdict] Our panel’s verdict.

\* The Eurocidal maniacs have found their ‘Theresa Bae’ [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/tory-conference-the-eurocidal-maniacs-have-found-their-theresa-bae] - Marina Hyde’s sketch from Tory conference

\* ‘Change has got to come’ [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-tory-party-conference-video-highlights] – video highlights of May’s speech

Thanks for reading.

block-time published-time 4.49pm BST

The theme of May’s speech – and the headlines on all the major news websites – was the refrain “a change is gonna come”.

The phrase is familiar from the civil rights anthem by Sam Cooke.

I was born by the river in a little tent

Oh and just like the river I’ve been running ev’r since

It’s been a long time, a long time coming

But I know a change gonna come, oh yes it will

The first is not the most accurate description of Theresa May’s upbringing in the vicarage, but the second two lines are more poignant for the political landscape. May used the phrase “change is going to come” eight times in the speech.

“Great changes can occur. And be in no doubt, that’s what Britain needs today. Because in June people voted for change. And a change is going to come,” she said.

Sam Cooke’s A Change is Gonna Come block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.54pm BST

block-time published-time 4.42pm BST

May devoted a few minutes of her speech to praising the Brownlee brothers, the triathletes who won Olympic medals at the Rio Olympics. It was the brothers’ latest race, in Mexico, where Jonny Brownlee was helped over the line by his brother, which really inspired the PM.

Britain’s Alistair Brownlee, right, helps his brother Jonny to get to the finish line during the Triathlon World Series event in Cozumel Mexico Photograph: Delly Carr/AP Seeing his brother’s struggle, he didn’t pass on by. As other competitors ran past, he stopped. Reached out his hand. And gently carried him home.

And there in that moment, we saw revealed an essential truth. That we succeed or fail together. We achieve together or fall short together.

And when one among us falters, our most basic human instinct is to put our own self-interest aside, to reach out our hand and help them over the line.

That’s why the central tenet of my belief is that there is more to life than individualism and self-interest.

This would normally be the point where the celebrity or athlete mentioned in a politician’s speech pops up to say they support a different party, but May’s speechwriters have done their homework this time. The Brownlee brothers are true blue.

In an 2012 interview with the Guardian, the brothers reveal they voted for Cameron in the 2010 election.

Did they vote in the last election? Jonny “Er, yeah … errrr, I think I voted Conservative.”

Alistair: “I’m a Conservative. I don’t believe there should be too many rules. There should be lower taxes.”

Related: The Saturday interview: Alistair and Jonny Brownlee [https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2012/aug/11/saturday-interview-alistair-jonny-brownlee]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.44pm BST

block-time published-time 4.26pm BST

David Allen Green, the barrister and legal commentator, has this to say on May’s attack on “activist, leftwing human rights lawyers”.

enltrAt least Theresa May now blaming human rights lawyers for legal reversals instead of blaming cats is some kind of improvement.

— David Allen Green (@DavidAllenGreen) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DavidAllenGreen/status/783646621498273792]And this is from Oliver Lewis, human rights barrister at Doughty Street chambers.

enltrOf all the problems this country faces, we're the biggest threat. #facepalm [https://twitter.com/hashtag/facepalm?src=hash] @DoughtyStPublic [https://twitter.com/DoughtyStPublic] https://t.co/yJzJANcN3g [https://t.co/yJzJANcN3g]

— Oliver Lewis (@olewis75) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/olewis75/status/783688836761186304]Adam Wagner, human rights barrister and the founder of the RightsInfo blog, has this handy reminder too.

enltrTheresa May complains about human rights "left wing lawyers" but the European Convention was driven by Conservatives https://t.co/ZMv1ljya5b [https://t.co/ZMv1ljya5b]

— Adam Wagner (@AdamWagner1) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AdamWagner1/status/783633285142482944]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.43pm BST

block-time published-time 3.55pm BST

Winners and losers What can we glean from May’s speech about who she will prioritise and what is in her line of fire? Here’s the most obvious winners and losers.

Winners British workers

May promised her government would be on the side of British workers, ruling out a bonfire of employment rights post-Brexit, reiterating her leadership race commitment to putting employees on company boards and attacking company bosses who “earn a fortune but don’t look after your staff.”

Rural Britain

Broadband is a priority which May mentioned in her speech, and one her spokeswoman said had been discussed in cabinet meetings and committees. It’s in rural, and traditionally Tort, areas where connectivity is poorest and expect to see some concrete new policy on this in coming weeks and months.

BT Openreach engineers working on a broadband internet fibre cabinet in the street. Photograph: Alamy Stock Photo Savers

May said it was clear current low interest rates were not working for everyone, and there were gentle hints that the government may be preparing to rethink quantitive easing, a policy that would be attractive to savers. May said though QE had been good after the financial crash, the government would “acknowledge there have been some bad side effects.” Monetary policy like this however, is really the domain of the Bank of England .

Losers Foreign workers

May has made it clear she wants to prioritise voter concerns about **immigration** in her Brexit negotiations. Her speech will have unnerved many overseas workers, including doctors, whom the Prime Minister suggested may only be allowed to stay in the UK for a limited period. Firms have already started a huge backlash against a proposal floated by Amber Rudd to make companies list the number of foreign workers they employ.

Green Party banners during the **Refugees** Welcome march. Photograph: Sophie Baggott/REX/Shutterstock Energy companies

May strongly hinted she wanted to tackle high energy bills, without a firm proposal. But her words about energy companies have been seized on as potentially a move towards Ed Miliband-style energy price caps. Her official spokeswoman did not rule out even tougher action, but said firmer policy announcements would follow.

Human rights lawyers

One of the biggest cheers in the hall came as May attacked “activist, left-wing human rights lawyers.” The focus of her anger was abuse claims against British troops, which defence secretary Michael Fallon had announced earlier would be protected against claims arising from the ECHR for future conflicts.

Tax avoiders

Nothing concrete yet, but May has seized on another Labour soundbite, it’s patriotic to pay your taxes. “Whoever you are you – however rich or powerful – you have a duty to pay your tax. And we’re going to make sure you do,” she said. Exactly how she will remains to be seen.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.09pm BST

block-time published-time 3.39pm BST

Here are three more blogs on Theresa May’s speech that are worth reading:

\* James Kirkup at Telegraph says there was an element of Trump-style “post-truth politics” in what May said about **immigration**. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/05/on-immigration-and-jobs-theresa-may-employs-the-post-truth-polit/]

Jeremy Corbyn is right about the economy: the game is rigged in favour of the rich and business is screwing you. So vote Conservative.

Nigel Farage is right about **immigration**: foreigners are taking your jobs and making you poorer. So vote Conservative.

That’s my condensed summary of Theresa May’s fascinating speech to the Conservative party conference.

\* James Forsyth at Coffee House says the speech was “an attempt to seize the moment created by Brexit and Labour’s lurch to the left”. [http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2016/10/theresa-mays-carpe-brexit-speech/]

\* George Eaton at the Staggers says May’s speech should worry Labour. [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/10/theresa-mays-tory-interventionism-should-terrify-labour]

May’s framing of the Tories as “the workers’ party” was one attempted by Cameron. But her predecessor’s class and ideological incoherency (banal Thatcherism, shire Toryism, modish liberalism) made his performance far less persuasive. May’s palpable sincerity and conviction are her greatest strengths.

That’s all from me, Andrew Sparrow, for the day. A colleague will be taking over for the rest of the day.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.56pm BST

block-time published-time 3.33pm BST

This is from the New Statesman’s George Eaton.

enltrMay, Corbyn, Sturgeon and Farron all economic interventionists. Libertarians homeless.

— George Eaton (@georgeeaton) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/georgeeaton/status/783674439472930816]block-time published-time 3.25pm BST

And here is Tom Baldwin, Ed Miliband’s former communications chief, responding to Jonathan Freedland’s point about how much Theresa May borrowed from Miliband. (See 3.21pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conservative-conference-theresa-mays-speech-politics-live?page=with:block-57f50bd5e4b0e2a2a25af3c1#block-57f50bd5e4b0e2a2a25af3c1]

enltrGiven the number of our lines Theresa May has now borrowed, used and abused, quite a lot of it WAS written by Ed Miliband @Freedland [https://twitter.com/Freedland] #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] https://t.co/Ccl5aPkS3X [https://t.co/Ccl5aPkS3X]

— Tom Baldwin (@TomBaldwin66) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/TomBaldwin66/status/783642010129403904]block-time published-time 3.21pm BST

Here is the panel verdict on Theresa May’s speech from Guardian comment, with contributions from Jonathan Freedland [https://www.theguardian.com/profile/jonathanfreedland], Polly Toynbee [https://www.theguardian.com/profile/pollytoynbee], Anne McElvoy [https://www.theguardian.com/profile/anne-mcelvoy], Giles Fraser [https://www.theguardian.com/profile/gilesfraser] and Joseph Harker [https://www.theguardian.com/profile/josephharker].

Related: Will Theresa May’s speech appeal beyond Tory conference? Our panel’s verdict | Jonathan Freedland, Polly Toynbee, Anne McElvoy, Joseph Harker, Giles Fraser [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conference-panel-verdict]

And here is an extract from Jonathan’s piece:

Theresa May delivered a speech [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/mays-conservative-party-conference-speech-key-points-analysed] that could have been co-written by Ed Miliband and the editor of the Daily Mail. It was a fusion of two usually opposed political outlooks into a single message – one that aimed to command, and hold, the centre ground for the Conservative party. To that end, it brazenly sought to colonise territory that used to belong to Labour – thereby shoving that party to the very margins.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.55pm BST

block-time published-time 3.18pm BST

Downing Street has clarified Theresa May’s comments about quantitative easing ( see 2.42pm [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conservative-conference-theresa-mays-speech-politics-live?page=with:block-57f50348e4b0e2a2a25af394#block-57f50348e4b0e2a2a25af394] ), my colleague Heather Stewart reports.

enltrNo10 clarifies QE remarks: May will "put her govt at the service of those who have found themselves poorer as a result of monetary policy".

— Heather Stewart (@GuardianHeather) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianHeather/status/783664881639849985]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.54pm BST

block-time published-time 3.15pm BST

Here is Tom Watson, the Labour deputy leader, on Theresa May’s speech.

enltrThat Theresa May speech just wasn't very clear. She basically said "we have a plan for Brexit but we won't tell anyone what it is."

— Tom Watson ? (@tom\_watson) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tom\_watson/status/783640155034877952]enltrMay's contradictions:1.Opportunity for all but bring in secondary moderns 2.Doesn't matter where you were born but name all foreign workers

— Tom Watson ? (@tom\_watson) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tom\_watson/status/783641712208084993]The government isn’t quite planning to get firms to “name” all foreign workers. Watson is referring to the Times splash, headlined “Firms must list foreign workers”, which is about the proposal to force firms to say what proportion of their workers are foreign (see 9.37am [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conservative-conference-theresa-mays-speech-politics-live?page=with:block-57f4b9c8e4b0afec6ad16f7a#block-57f4b9c8e4b0afec6ad16f7a] ).

enltrFinally, recognising market abuses is very welcome but what is Mrs May actually going to do about it?

— Tom Watson ? (@tom\_watson) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tom\_watson/status/783642577023148032]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.54pm BST

block-time published-time 3.08pm BST

Here is the Guardian’s Politics Weekly podcast, with Anushka Asthana, Rowena Mason, John Crace and Andrew Gimson discussing the Tory conference.

Related: Brexit Britain: Theresa May's plan – Politics Weekly podcast [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/audio/2016/oct/05/brexit-britain-theresa-mays-plan-politics-weekly-podcast]

block-time published-time 3.06pm BST

Ukip says May to blame for the problems she is trying to solve Ukip’s leadership crisis has not stopped them sending out a response to Theresa May’s speech. This is from the Ukip MEP Tim Aker:

Theresa May tried to pass herself off as the Iron Lady, when we actually got Tinfoil Theresa. No substance, no mandate, no direction.

Actions speak louder than words and Theresa May can’t change her record. She increased net **immigration** to a third of a million while telling voters it would be less than 100,000. She voted remain and is trying to convince the country she was leave’s biggest champion. The Tories must think the country is stupid not to notice. It wasn’t long ago Theresa May wanted to bomb the road to Damascus, not walk it.

Theresa May spent her time in government putting the pinch on working people. Her support for austerity and open borders have cut wages for the poorest, increased pressure on school class sizes and added to the housing crisis. Her record is precisely the reason Britain voted to leave the EU and Britain has two more years of uncontrolled **immigration** and billions in payment to the EU on her watch. It’s as if, on her watch, nothing changed.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.12pm BST

block-time published-time 3.02pm BST

Here is the Unite general secretary, Len McCluskey, on Theresa May’s speech.

This was a speech which failed to take responsibility for the past six years of Tory government, of which the prime minister was a leading figure, and the policies which have resulted in a country that works just for the privileged while ordinary people increasingly struggle to make ends meet.

There was no mention of the soaring use of foodbanks or the explosion in precarious work, nor the damage being wrought on communities by cruel Tory cuts over these past six years.

So prime minister Theresa May should not be surprised if her sudden concern for working class communities is met with angry scepticism, and the promise to take on the vested interests her party represents is seen as laughable.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.08pm BST

block-time published-time 2.54pm BST

Morwenna Ferrier, our fashion writer, has sent us this on Theresa May’s choice of dress:

Recycling clothes – as Theresa May has done with her asymmetrical-necklined aubergine dress – used to be sinful, shameful and downright embarrassing; the 1%’s walk of shame, if you will. Then the royals and Flotus did it, beautifully and strategically (at public events), to make a point: we are at one with you.

If, like the proletariat, we choose to spend around £1,500 on a dress (which May may have done – this looks suspiciously like Roland Mouret, May’s go-to designer), we should wear it again. Especially if we plan to discuss David Cameron’s plan to scrap a tax cut for the rich.

The last time Theresa May wore this dress outside parliament, Andrea Leadsom had beaten Michael Gove and the leadership contest had just got … interesting. Choosing to re-wear a dress when addressing your party as a chosen leader during another sticky time is a savvy move, not least because the dress is purple, which is historically the colour of royalty. And whether we like it or not, she’s in charge.

Theresa May on 7 July. Photograph: Jack Taylor/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.07pm BST

block-time published-time 2.48pm BST

TUC welcomes May's commitment to putting workers on company boards The TUC has put out a statement about Theresa May’s speech [https://www.tuc.org.uk/economic-issues/industrial-issues/tuc-welcomes-theresa-may%E2%80%99s-commitment-workers-boards], with a positive headline. It is welcoming her renewed commitment to putting workers on company boards. Here is the full statement from Frances O’Grady, the TUC general secretary.

We’re pleased Theresa May has renewed her commitment to having workers on company boards. This is a good first step towards building a fairer economy.

However, we are still miles away from having a country that works for the many. UK workers suffered the biggest fall in wages of any developed country after the crash. Those working in the public sector and private sector urgently need a pay rise.

Working people also need assurances that their jobs won’t be put at risk by Brexit. Our relationship with the single market is crucial for protecting livelihoods across the country.

We need to manage migration better and get tough on employers who undercut pay. But any new deal must also protect jobs and future workers’ rights.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.06pm BST

block-time published-time 2.45pm BST

Here is Dave Prentis , the Unison general secretary, on the speech.

enltrTheresa May talks about those who face stagnating pay. If she cares about that she should end the public sector pay freeze

— Dave Prentis (@DavePrentis) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DavePrentis/status/783621484237512704]block-time published-time 2.42pm BST

This is from Sky’s Faisal Islam.

enltrThis is the most extraordinary bit of May speech.... Taking Back Control of.... @bankofengland [https://twitter.com/bankofengland] ?? It only just cut rates and upped QE - pic.twitter.com/YMQpo9InqY [https://t.co/YMQpo9InqY] ?? It only just cut rates and upped QE -

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/783662376574943234]block-time published-time 2.41pm BST

Here are some statistics about Theresa May’s speech from the Press Association.

\* The most common phrases were “change has got to come” and “everyone plays by the same rules”, each mentioned seven times.

\* There were 10 references to “Labour” but no namecheck for Jeremy Corbyn.

\* “The good that government can do” was mentioned five times, while “a country that works for everyone” came up four times.

\* “Brexit” was referenced four times.

\* The phrase “Brexit means Brexit” was not used once.

\* “Working class” was mentioned seven times. In his speech last week at the Labour conference, Corbyn did not once mention “working class”.

\* David Cameron received one namecheck from Theresa May, as did George Osborne.

\* The former Labour prime minister Clement Attlee was mentioned once. It is the first time a Conservative leader has mentioned Attlee in a conference speech since Margaret Thatcher in 1986.

\* Totalling just over 7,100 words, the speech was the longest delivered by a Tory leader at conference since David Cameron’s in 2007.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.45pm BST

block-time published-time 2.37pm BST

This is from Pat McFadden, the Labour MP and an Open Europe spokesman, on May’s speech. Open Britain is campaigning for Britain to stay in the single market. McFadden said:

The centrist language the prime minister used in her speech cannot cover up the direction towards hard Brexit which has been signalled this week.

She praised a series of sectors and firms all of whom have warned her about the dangers of leaving the European single market and customs union.

There is no point in talking up industrial strategy when your central economic direction threatens industry’s capacity to export freely to its biggest market.

block-time published-time 2.32pm BST

CBI and IoD express concerns about May's speech The business groups the CBI and the Institute of Directors have both raised doubts about aspects of Theresa May’s plans.

The CBI backs May’s vision [http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/our-response-to-the-prime-minister-s-speech/] but is unhappy about her plan to put workers on company boards. This is from Carolyn Fairbairn , its director general:

The CBI welcomes the government’s consultation on business practices and will take this opportunity to understand and respond to the true concerns of society.

Government must build on the great things so many firms are already doing and not impose approaches that look good on paper, but don’t make a difference in practice. Placing workers or consumers on boards can be a solution for some firms, but may not be the only or even best way of changing company culture.

But the IoD has effectively accused May of treating business leaders like “pantomime villains”. This is from James Sproule, the IoD’s director of policy:

Plans to ‘name and shame’ companies who employ foreign workers, aside from adding to bureaucracy, send precisely the wrong message. The prime minister should instead listen to her own advice and remember that, in Britain, it doesn’t matter where you were born. Make no mistake, Britain is at its best when it is open and offering a home to the world’s brightest and best who want to study and build a better life for themselves, while contributing to the British economy.

As a longstanding trailblazer for good corporate governance, the IoD welcomes the prime minister’s focus on how corporate leadership can aid economic and social success. Business leaders are not pantomime villains, evading taxes and employing cheap labour from abroad out of some destructive desire to do Britain down, and for every Mike Ashley or Philip Green there are hundreds of thousands of hard-working entrepreneurs who are more likely to remortgage their homes than own a super yacht. Those people will now be watching the autumn statement and the chancellor like a hawk, expecting more measures to promote enterprise and investment than we saw in this speech.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.34pm BST

block-time published-time 2.22pm BST

Corbyn accuses Tories of encouraging xenophobia and hatred And this is from Jeremy Corbyn, the Labour leader.

Conservative party leaders have sunk to a new low this week as they fan the flames of xenophobia and hatred in our communities and try to blame foreigners for their own failures.

Drawing up lists of foreign workers won’t stop unscrupulous employers undercutting wages in Britain. Shutting the door to international students won’t pay young people’s tuition fee debts, and ditching doctors from abroad won’t cut NHS waiting lists.

The Conservatives will instead foster division and discrimination in our workplaces and communities.

Once again they are making false promises on **immigration** they can’t deliver. Instead of turning people against each other, ministers should take action now to deal with the real impact of migration.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.32pm BST

block-time published-time 2.20pm BST

Farron says the Tories are moving to the right Here is Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, on May’s speech.

Regardless of the rhetoric, the Conservatives have moved to the right. The prime minister’s words about a pitch to the centre-ground are utterly divorced from her party’s actions over the last few days. The Conservatives are reckless, divisive and uncaring. They are the fence-building, snooping-on-your-emails, foreign-worker-listing party and that is something that most people will be revulsed by.

Her opening speech prompted the pound to hit a 31-year low. Our NHS needs a new deal to secure its future and yet we heard nothing, and the chancellor shelved George Osborne’s confused and damaging spending plans but has left us nothing but a blank sheet of paper.

I was surprised though that the prime minister did not take the time to thank the one person who helped create her agenda: not David Cameron, but Nigel Farage.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.32pm BST

block-time published-time 2.17pm BST

Sturgeon says May's policies are 'repellent' This is from Nicola Sturgeon, the SNP leader and Scottish first minister:

Theresa May’s speech comes as the Tories signal they are poised to target foreign workers in the most disgraceful display of reactionary rightwing politics in living memory.

It is an appalling, regressive, and hugely troubling development which will leave many people in Scotland – and across the rest of the UK and beyond – wondering, with real concern, what kind of country the Tories want us to be.

The prime minister has claimed that she is seeking out the middle ground of politics. The repellent reality of the policies planned by her party could not be more different.

Theresa May’s vision of Brexit Britain is a deeply ugly one: a country where people are judged not by their ability or their contribution to the common good but by their birthplace or by their passport.

It is a vision the Scottish government wants no part of, and one which we will never subscribe to. Ours is a vision of an inclusive, tolerant and just society, and we will do everything in our power to shape Scotland in that way.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.29pm BST

block-time published-time 2.15pm BST

Labour says May's vision is 'small, mean and nasty' Commenting on the speech for Labour, Jon Ashworth, the shadow minister without portfolio, said:

Theresa May was heavy on rhetoric about being on the side of ‘fairness’ and ‘opportunity’ but it’s all we got was more of the same failed Tory approach which has seen the slowest economic recovery since 1920, tax breaks for the top while VAT goes up for the rest, tuition fees trebled, 19,000 police axed and an NHS in crisis with patients waiting longer and hospitals in financial meltdown.

She talked about building a “great meritocracy” but their only answer is a leap backwards to the bad old days, promoting grammar schools which benefit only a few, while the many suffer under the Tory teacher crisis which is pushing thousands of children into oversized classes.

Where we did see shifts it was appropriating Labour policies. She talked about workers on boards, limited action to deal with energy prices and has abandoned the surplus target which we consistently warned would not be met. Labour will be watching closely to ensure these aren’t just more empty promises from a prime minister who has left the British economy with no fiscal framework and is pressing ahead with cuts to in-work benefits, and local authority funding. That’s not on the side of ordinary working class people; it’s the same old Tories helping just the privileged few.

This week was about Theresa May finally outlining her vision. It’s now clear what that vision is not optimistic about the future but small, mean and nasty. This is not a shift to the centre ground but a shift to the right.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.31pm BST

block-time published-time 2.11pm BST

Theresa May’s speech was deliberately lacking concrete policy but her spokeswoman said new policies on energy companies, housing, high-speed broadband, regional growth and pubs would be made in the coming weeks and months. The spokeswoman said:

What she is doing is identifying the problems and saying there is a determination to address them. She is setting out an agenda for the things that we will be looking at; the further detail will come from the departments.

Broadband access in particular will be under the spotlight, and has been raised repeatedly at cabinet and other committees, the spokeswoman said. Corporate governance is also a key policy area where announcements will be made in the coming months.

In the speech, May appeared to be pointing the finger at specific companies and individuals – Facebook , Google and the responsibility of billionaire Philip Green for the BHS pensions’ crisis, or Mike Ashley for working conditions of Sports Direct employees.

That was predictably denied by May’s team. The spokeswoman said:

She’s not picking out individuals. She knows people at home think it’s one rule for one and one for another. They go away with massive profits and people don’t see the benefits. She feels there’s a further gap than ever between big business and workers.

The spokeswoman refused to directly deny May had taken the playbook of former leader Ed Miliband and repackaged it for the Conservatives.

This is being quite pragmatic. It’s looking at problems and saying that’s what I’ll look at, not saying that’s a Labour or Conservative thing to do.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.30pm BST

block-time published-time 2.04pm BST

Here is the full text of Theresa May’s speech. [http://press.conservatives.com/post/151378268295/prime-minister-the-good-that-government-can-do] It is entitled The good that government can do.

block-time published-time 2.00pm BST

May's speech – verdict from the Twitter commentariat And this is what political journalists and commentators are saying about the speech.

Generally, people think it was a significant act of re-positioning.

From ITV’s Robert Peston :

enltrNot socialism, not even socialism-lite, but a repudiation of Thatcher by @theresa\_may [https://twitter.com/theresa\_may] in serious shift to left https://t.co/RS6tUO6Waa [https://t.co/RS6tUO6Waa] in serious shift to left

— Robert Peston (@Peston) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Peston/status/783640156175798272]enltrSo @theresa\_may [https://twitter.com/theresa\_may] has today parked her tanks firmly on lawns of fracturing UKIP and Labour #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash] has today parked her tanks firmly on lawns of fracturing UKIP and Labour

— Robert Peston (@Peston) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Peston/status/783642491845222400]From the Guardian’s Rafael Behr :

enltrThe function of this speech is to redefine the referendum result as instruction to do everything May wants to do. It's a mandate-grab.

— Rafael Behr (@rafaelbehr) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rafaelbehr/status/783621580635181056]enltrMay just inverted an old Ed Miliband attack line against Cameron. Standing up for the weak; standing up to the strong.

— Rafael Behr (@rafaelbehr) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rafaelbehr/status/783623470085267456]enltrParadox of May: she can only make this big pitch to represent unprivileged because Brexit and won't be able to deliver it because Brexit.

— Rafael Behr (@rafaelbehr) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rafaelbehr/status/783624261919531008]From the Independent’s John Rentoul :

enltrTheresa May's impressive pitch for the centre ground: Sean O'Grady & I analyse the Big Speech @Independent [https://twitter.com/Independent] FB video https://t.co/tWYfQ1BmmJ [https://t.co/tWYfQ1BmmJ] FB video

— John Rentoul (@JohnRentoul) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JohnRentoul/status/783643815823409152]From the Sunday Times ’ Tim Shipman :

enltrMay's speech in summary: Labour now nasty party, Tories on centre ground, government good, tax dodgers bad, things must change

— Tim Shipman (@ShippersUnbound) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ShippersUnbound/status/783633873800466432]From the Daily Mirror’s Jason Beattie

enltrSnap vedict on Therea May's speech: a clever but deceitful pitch for the Labour vote https://t.co/mxPBMAZtId [https://t.co/mxPBMAZtId]

— Jason Beattie (@JBeattieMirror) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JBeattieMirror/status/783643511346307072]From Huffington Post’s Paul Waugh :

enltrBiggest big ticket item of all in May speech is clear hint she'll decommission the QE bazooka. Aides say AutumnStatement will signal change

— Paul Waugh (@paulwaugh) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh/status/783645745912156160]From the Telegraph’s Ben Riley-Smith :

enltrSpot the difference: Theresa May 2016 vs Ed Miliband 2013. Interchangeable? pic.twitter.com/FNAWjtt6xn [https://t.co/FNAWjtt6xn]

— Ben Riley-Smith (@benrileysmith) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/benrileysmith/status/783639268220608512]From the Sunday Times ’ James Lyons :

enltrMay is defining herself not just against Cameron but also Thatcher

— James Lyons (@STJamesl) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/STJamesl/status/783633436149944320]From the Financial Times’ Sebastian Payne :

enltrTearing up British politics as we know it - my snap verdict on Theresa May’s speech https://t.co/SjuzYwtxt1 [https://t.co/SjuzYwtxt1] via @FT [https://twitter.com/FT] via #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] via pic.twitter.com/hnUccEbU2X [https://t.co/hnUccEbU2X] via

— Sebastian Payne (@SebastianEPayne) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SebastianEPayne/status/783650658574561281]From the Herald’s Iain Macwhirter :

enltrMay bolting social democratic working class rhetoric to anti-**immigrant** populism. A Frankenstein monster, perhaps. But audacious. #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash]

— Iain Macwhirter (@iainmacwhirter) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/iainmacwhirter/status/783632695129739264]enltrWho'd have thought it would be Theresa May who delivered the last rights to neoliberalism. #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash]enltrWho'd have thought it would be Theresa May who delivered the last rights to neoliberalism.

— Iain Macwhirter (@iainmacwhirter) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/iainmacwhirter/status/783634520176222209]From Newsnight’s Emily Maitlis :

enltrThis speech deeply depressing for the untalented and chronically lazy.. #may [https://twitter.com/hashtag/may?src=hash] meritocracy #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] meritocracy

— emily m (@maitlis) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/maitlis/status/783630636435247104]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.11pm BST

block-time published-time 1.52pm BST

enltr #TheresaMay [https://twitter.com/hashtag/TheresaMay?src=hash] 's speech: most-used words #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash] 's speech: most-used words pic.twitter.com/swgjuzwo6L [https://t.co/swgjuzwo6L] 's speech: most-used words

— Press Association (@PA) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PA/status/783647182238916608]block-time published-time 1.37pm BST

And here is my colleague Rowena Mason with 15 key points from the speech, and her analysis of their significance.

Related: Theresa May's Conservative party conference speech – key points analysed [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/mays-conservative-party-conference-speech-key-points-analysed]

block-time published-time 1.33pm BST

Here is my colleague Peter Walker ’s story on the speech.

Related: May promises her 'party of workers' will govern for whole nation [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-conference-interventionist-government-for-workers]

block-time published-time 1.31pm BST

Theresa May's speech – snap verdict: Theresa May’s speech – snap verdict: Passionate, uplifting, brave – the leader’s speech was brilliant. But that was the Scottish leader, Ruth Davidson, whose speech introducing Theresa May was one of the best of the whole conference season. As for Theresa May’s, it was rather more questionable.

What was certainly bold was May’s decision to cast herself as the leader of a “quiet revolution” (see 11.51am [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conservative-conference-theresa-mays-speech-politics-live?page=with:block-57f4daf8e4b0e2a2a25af297#block-57f4daf8e4b0e2a2a25af297] ). Taking the EU referendum vote as her starting point, she said it was not just a vote to leave the EU but a protest against an economic and political system rigged in the interests of the elite to the detriment of ordinary people. She is not necessarily wrong, and this analysis is not unlike Jeremy Corbyn’s, but May then set out to use it to make the case for her own brand of pragmatic, populist, “one nation” Conservatism. What she had to say about tax-dodgers (and, even more pointedly, tax-dodging accountants), corporate responsibility, market failure and industrial intervention was provocative in Tory terms, and yet another indication of how far the party has come from the days of Margaret Thatcher. Edward Heath coined the term “the unacceptable face of capitalism”, and May has placed herself firmly in the Heath/Major/Blair centrist tradition. It’s Christian democracy – or perhaps Anglican democracy, given that May’s father was a vicar.

Yet there was nothing in the speech to show that May is willing to match her rhetorical courage with action. If she really thinks working people are losing out under the tax system, she could abandon George Osborne’s inheritance tax cut. If she is serious about intergenerational fairness, she could shelve the “triple lock”. And if she accepts that housing policy needs to change so that people can get on to the ladder, she could rip up planning laws and send the bulldozers on to the green belt. But of course that wouldn’t go down well in Maidenhead (her constituency), or with the Daily Telegraph, or with the Conservative party at large.

May said at one point that government was about “action … about doing something”. But caution seems to be more her watchword. We’re still waiting for a decision about Heathrow.

Ultimately this speech will be judged by whether May can deliver on the heady ambitions that she set herself. It is not inconceivable; in some respects her record as home secretary was radical. But she would have been much more convincing today if she had backed her rhetoric with at least one announcement to show that change is real.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.58pm BST

block-time published-time 12.46pm BST

This is an agenda for a Conservatism rooted in the centre ground.

That is what this government is about, she says. Doing things, not being someone.

This is not always glamorous or exciting. But it is a noble calling, she says.

At Downing Street she passes the portraits of former prime ministers, men and one woman.

She says figures like Churchill and Attlee and Thatcher remind her of the good government can do.

Our nation has been shaped by those who have stepped up to be counted.

We face such a moment today.

Not every generation is called to step up, she says. But this is our generation’s moment.

We have a chance to shape our future here in Britain, she says.

That is the opportunity we have been given.

So come with me, and we will make that brighter future, she says.

Together, let’s seize the day.

And that’s it. The speech is over. I will post a snap verdict, reaction and analysis shortly.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.51pm BST

block-time published-time 12.42pm BST

May says she wants the first new grammar schools to open for 50 years.

block-time published-time 12.41pm BST

May says she wants to build a country that works for everyone, not just the privileged few.

block-time published-time 12.40pm BST

May thanks the Olympic team for doing their country proud.

It was a memorable moment for British sport, she says.

But one moment stood out more than any other. It was when Alistair Brownlee stopped in the race in Mexico to help carry his brother home.

That revealed an essential truth: we succeed or fail together.

That is why the central tenet of her belief is that there is more to life than the individual.

This is the moment May is referring to:

Alistair Brownlee gives up chance to win race and helps brother Jonny [https://www.theguardian.com/sport/video/2016/sep/19/alistair-brownlee-gives-chance-win-helps-brother-jonny-video]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.41pm BST

block-time published-time 12.37pm BST

May says she wants Britain to be a great meritocracy. That is what she has always believed in, she says.

United, Britain can achieve great things, she says. That was shown at the Rio Olympics.

block-time published-time 12.36pm BST

May criticises politicians who opposed grammar schools for others while using them for their own children.

That is why ordinary working class people think it is one rule for one group, and another rule for the elite.

That is a scandal, she says.

We, the Conservative party, must bring it to an end.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.38pm BST

block-time published-time 12.35pm BST

Mays says she wants everyone to have access to a good school place.

We have come a long way, she says. But we need to go further. There are 1.25 million children in schools that are not good enough. This particularly affects children in the Midlands and the north.

She says she wants more universities to set up schools. And she wants private schools to do more to help state schools. She wants more faith schools. And, where there is demand from parents, where they will take pupils from all backgrounds, the government will lift the ban on new grammar schools.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.37pm BST

block-time published-time 12.32pm BST

May says she was proud of introducing the Modern Slavery Act. And she reformed policing.

But injustices remain. If you are from a black Caribbean background, you are seven times more likely to be excluded from school.

And it is not just people from minority backgrounds who are affected. White working class boys are less likely to go to university than any other group.

That is why she established an audit of fairness and discrimination in the public sector, she says.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.37pm BST

block-time published-time 12.30pm BST

May says Britain is not a fair country at the moment.

A society that works for everyone is one that is based on fairness, she says.

Everyone should have access to the housing ladder, and access to a good school place.

But if you cannot work, you need support.

That is why it was important that Damian Green announced the end to some mandatory retesting for some people on disability benefits.

block-time published-time 12.28pm BST

May says she wants Britain to be a country where it does not matter where you came from, or who you are, or your colour, or whether you are gay or straight – all that should matter is how hard you are willing to work.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.36pm BST

block-time published-time 12.28pm BST

May says she wants to hear no more “of Labour’s absurd belief that they have a monopoly of compassion”.

Let’s put an end to their sanctimonious pretence of moral superiority. Let’s make clear that they have given up the right to call themselves the party of the NHS , the party of the workers, the party of public servants.

The Conservative party truly are the party of the workers, the party of public servants, the party of the NHS , she says.

We believe in good that government can do.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.36pm BST

block-time published-time 12.25pm BST

May says the NHS should unite us.

But at every election, Labour try to use it to divide the country. They say the Tories will cut it, although the Tories always increase its funding. And they say the Tories will privatise it, although private sector involvement in the NHS increased most under Labour. And Labour is the only party to cut NHS spending, which it did in Wales, she says.

block-time published-time 12.24pm BST

May says the NHS is one of the finest health systems in the world.

It reflects our sense of fairness.

We all support it, she says. And she means all. There is cross-party support for the NHS .

So let’s say thank you to doctors and nurses, she says.

block-time published-time 12.23pm BST

May says Conservatives back business.

But no one succeeds without relying on services paid for by the taxpayer.

So if you are a tax-dodger, we are coming after you.

And if you are a firm helping people dodge tax, we are coming after you too, she says.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.26pm BST

block-time published-time 12.22pm BST

May says the way a small number of businesses behave fuels the concerns people have.

Most businesses are well run, she says.

But the actions of a few tarnish the reputations of everyone.

She says too often those supposed to hold firms to account come from the same social group. That is why she wants workers and consumers on boards.

And the government is holding a review to ensure workers’ rights are protected in the modern economy.

That’s right, she says. A Conservative government wants to enhance workers’ rights.

block-time published-time 12.20pm BST

May says there have been some bad side-effects from the action taken after the crash. People with savings have become poorer.

Change must come, and we are going to deliver it, she says.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.26pm BST

block-time published-time 12.19pm BST

We also need to take big and controversial decisions about infrastructure.

The government will press ahead with HS2.

And it will soon make a decision on airports.

And it is why the government signed up to Hinkley Point.

We can make these big decisions because the economy is strong, she says.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.25pm BST

block-time published-time 12.17pm BST

May says we need to build more homes.

That means using the power of government to repair the market, she says.

block-time published-time 12.17pm BST

May says she understands people’s frustration.

But when government does not act, faith in capitalism falls.

The Conservative party will always believe in free markets.

She says from Edmund Burke onwards, the Tories have always thought that if you value something, you should be able to reform it.

If markets do not work, they should change.

It is not right that so many people in rural areas cannot get a decent broadband service.

It is not right that people are stuck on the highest energy tariffs.

And it is not right that the housing market does not work for people.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.25pm BST

block-time published-time 12.15pm BST

May praises Andy Street, the Tory West Midlands mayoral candidate. She describes him as an action man for Birmingham.

block-time published-time 12.14pm BST

May says the government will identify those sectors of the economy of strategic importance, and protect and help them.

Foreign investment in the north has increased at double the rate for the rest of the country, she says.

She says the West Midlands is the only part of the country with a trade surplus with China.

block-time published-time 12.12pm BST

May says she wants to help those who give something back.

She wants to tackled structural problems like the shortage of affordable homes, the need for infrastructure, the need to rebalance the economy.

If we want that change, we need the vision and determination to see it though, she says.

That is why Greg Clark and Philip Hammond are working on an industrial strategy.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.15pm BST

block-time published-time 12.11pm BST

May says the Tories will defend the armed forces.

And never again will they let those “activist, leftwing human rights lawyers” harass our armed forces, she says.

block-time published-time 12.10pm BST

May says now is the time to build a bold, new future.

Britain must crack down on modern slavery, ratify the Paris climate change agreement, always defend free trade and always stand up for national defence.

block-time published-time 12.09pm BST

May says it is too early to say what the outcome will be.

It will be a tough negotiation. There will be some give and take, she says.

She says it would be counter-productive to give a running commentary.

But she wants firms to continue to trade with Europe.

We are not leaving to give up control of **immigration** again, and to come under the jurisdiction of the ECJ.

We will become an independent country, she says.

And we will become a global Britain.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.15pm BST

block-time published-time 12.07pm BST

May says the government needs to do what people voted for, and take Britain out of the EU.

It took that typically quiet resolve for people to defy the threats and vote for leave.

Article 50 will be triggered no later than March.

There will be a great repeal bill.

Then UK laws will be made in Westminster, and judges will sit not in Luxembourg, but in UK courts.

People said they wanted these things. This Conservative government is going to deliver them.

block-time published-time 12.06pm BST

May says she wants to see a confident, global Britain.

A country that is prosperous and secure.

That is what she means by a country that works for everyone.

block-time published-time 12.05pm BST

May says if we accept that, we can build a united Britain.

The main lesson she takes from Labour is that Labour is not just divided, but divisive.

It is keen to pit one against another, she says.

It stands for fighting among themselves, trying to end careers, tolerating antisemitsm.

You know what some people call them: the nasty party.

NOTE: That’s a neat, self-referential joke about the famous speech May gave when she was Conservative chairman, and told her party conference that the Tories were still seen as the nasty party.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.10pm BST

block-time published-time 12.03pm BST

May says a change has got to come.

It is time to remember the good government can do.

It may not have all the answers, but it can be a force for good, she says.

She says it is time to reject the ideological templates provided by the socialist left and the libertarian right.

Government should support free trade.

But it should not accept one set of rules for some, and another for everyone else.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.09pm BST

block-time published-time 12.01pm BST

May says she is in government “to stand up for the weak, and to stand up to the strong”.

She talks about how commentators talk about the public.

Just listen to the way a lot of politicians and commentators talk about the public. They find their patriotism distasteful, their concerns about **immigration** parochial, their views about crime illiberal, their attachment to their job security inconvenient. They find the fact that more than 17 million people voted to leave the European Union simply bewildering.

block-time published-time 12.00pm BST

May says “division and unfairness is all around”.

Between the old and the young.

Between London and the rest of the UK.

Between the rich and powerful, and the rest.

May says the Tories want people to be able to get on.

But she says the Tories recognise that people owe obligations to society.

Firms should train young people.

And people should pay their fair share of tax.

Too many people in positions of power behave as if they have more in common with international elites than the people they pass on the street.

May says if you are international, you belong nowhere.

She criticises those who take money from companies while they know the company pension scheme will go bust.

I am putting you on warning... A change is going to come.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.09pm BST

block-time published-time 11.57am BST

May says Britain is a country based on strong bonds of citizenship.

She talks about how people contribute to society, including those in the services.

We are a country “small in size, but large in stature”, she says.

Britain has great institutions. And we are one United Kingdom.

May says she will also fight to preserve the United Kingdom “and will never let divisive nationalists drive us apart”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.08pm BST

block-time published-time 11.55am BST

Now we need to change again, May says.

She says the referendum vote was not just about leaving the EU.

It was about a sense that the world works well for the privileged few, but not for them.

She says if you knock on almost any door, you will find the roots of that revolution laid bare.

What happens if you cannot get on to the property ladder? Or get your kid into a good school. Or if your pay has stagnated, while prices have gone up

She says the wealthy did not lose out after the financial crisis, but ordinary working families.

If you are on low wages because of **immigration**, life does not seem fair.

It seems your life has been sacrificed in the interests of others. So change has got to come.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.59am BST

block-time published-time 11.52am BST

May runs through some of the achievements of David Cameron’s government.

And it is right to pause to say thank you to the man who made that possible, she says.

He challenged the Tories to change, saying they could win that way. And he was right. They did change, and they did win.

David Cameron, thank you.

That gets a strong round of applause.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.59am BST

block-time published-time 11.51am BST

May says the Brexit vote was 'a quiet revolution' May says a “quiet revolution” took place in the country three months ago.

Millions of people said they were not prepared to be ignored.

\* May says the Brexit vote was “a quiet revolution”.

block-time published-time 11.50am BST

May says a vision is nothing without the determination to see it through.

You need to put the hours in and the effort too. But if you do, great things can happen, great changes can occur.

But that is what will happen. People voted for change in June, and change has got to come, she says.

block-time published-time 11.49am BST

May says today she wants to set our her vision for Britain, and to explain what a country that works for everyone means.

And she wants to set the party and the country on the path towards the new centre ground.

Everyone should have the chance to be all they want to be, she says.

block-time published-time 11.48am BST

May starts by saying some big questions were hanging in the air when the Tories came to Birmingham:

Do they have a plan for Brexit? We do.

Are they ready to see it through? We are.

Can Boris Johnson say on message for four days? Just about, she jokes.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.49am BST

block-time published-time 11.47am BST

Theresa May's speech Theresa May is taking the stage now.

block-time published-time 11.41am BST

Here is the full text of Ruth Davidson’s speech [http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2016/10/full-text-ruth-davidsons-conservative-party-conference-speech/].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.44am BST

block-time published-time 11.40am BST

This, from the Economist’s Jeremy Cliffe, is spot on.

enltrAfter several days of middling-to-poor oratory at #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash], Ruth Davidson's speech really is a class act.

— Jeremy Cliffe (@JeremyCliffe) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JeremyCliffe/status/783617249395503104]block-time published-time 11.38am BST

Davidson is now winding up.

Conference, I’m an old-fashioned Tory.

I believe – unselfconsciously - in God, and country and community.

I believe in personal freedom, personal choice and personal responsibility.

I believe in small but effective government.

In service, in duty, in decency.

In Britain.

We are about to enter a period of great upheaval.

There will be obstacles to overcome, orthodoxies to challenge and, yes, some old thinking to be set aside.

But the prize will justify the journey.

I want us to be able to look back - five years from now - and say; we did all that we could, and we did it for the right reasons.

That we were guided by the values we hold dear.

…To know that we reached out across this country; to every town, city and community; to those who share our beliefs and those who don’t.

…That we shone a light on darkness.

…brought hope, created opportunities and widened horizons.

block-time published-time 11.37am BST

Davidson says **immigrants** living in the UK are welcome here Davidson says **immigrants** living in the UK are welcome here.

We must not forget our own party’s history and values.

I once listened to Sir John Major tell of his childhood in Brixton – then an area where many new arrivals to Britain set up their first home.

And he talked of his Conservative values and those of his neighbours – and said there is nothing as Conservative as pulling your loved ones close and striking out to build a better future for your family.

So as we have difficult – but necessary - debates on how we manage borders in future, let us not forget that behind discussions of numbers and rules and criteria, there lies people and homes and families.

And for those who have already chosen to build a life, open a business, make a contribution, I say this is your home, and you are welcome here.

block-time published-time 11.36am BST

Davidson says the UK is “a shining light of democracy, liberty and hope”.

One of the reasons I love this country so much and have fought so hard to keep it together is because I know it is a force for good in this world.

I’ve seen – up close - British troops protect civilians in war.

I’ve met the Scottish charities working to make the world land mine free

I’ve watched our businesses trade and support nations abroad

And I’ve seen our universities collaborate the world over to make vital breakthroughs in medical science.

That strong, proud, virtuous internationalism that has so shaped our national character cannot be cowed by the challenges of the day.

block-time published-time 11.35am BST

Davidson addresses what changing the rules means.

That means tackling the causes of poverty – like poor education, addiction and dependency– not forever mopping up the consequences.

It means a house-building revolution so couples in their thirties have the chance of buying their own home – not renting out for ever.

And it means being unashamedly pro-family –giving parents the support they need to bring up their children, so they can do what every parent wants

Ensuring their child a better life than that they’ve had for themselves.

All easy to say, and none of it easy to do. But you know the old saying

If you want something said, ask a man.

If you want something done, get a woman.

And in Theresa May, we have a prime minister who I know is absolutely determined to act and to face down these challenges. And she’s just the woman for the job.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.45am BST

block-time published-time 11.34am BST

Davidson says many people feel the system does not work for them.

I’m a Conservative; I believe in hard work and just rewards.

But let’s be honest: too often in these last few years, working hard just hasn’t been enough.

The want-to-work mother trapped at home because she can’t afford the cost of childcare…

The older worker - out of a job or looking to change career – who hits an age barrier when it comes to training opportunities…

The tenant imprisoned in a drug-riddled neighbourhood. No way out and nobody there to help.

They aren’t strangers to us; they are our neighbours, our families, our friends.

These are people who do play by the rules, but it’s STILL not enough.

So it’s up to us to change those rules…

block-time published-time 11.33am BST

Davidson says the Tories must earn the trust of the people.

It’s our job to show them that we understand their anxieties, that we share their concerns.

…That we’ve got a plan to improve lives and that we’ve got the conviction, the drive and determination to see it through.

And we mustn’t do it to fulfil some cynical electoral tactic.

Yes, of course we want their support in the ballot box, but much more importantly we want to earn that most precious thing - trust.

We need them to know that they have a voice that will be listened to.

block-time published-time 11.32am BST

Davidson says the Tories should not welcome the demise of Labour.

Now I know the temptation is to celebrate what could be the effective demise of Labour as a functioning political party. It’s tempting and I do understand that.

But it would be utterly wrong.

Because the truth is that Labour’s retreat from reality under Jeremy Corbyn has left millions of people across our country feeling disenfranchised.

Ordinary people who don’t expect miracles…

…Just a job that pays them fairly.

…A good local school.

…A neighbourhood that’s free of crime and drugs.

Labour has turned its back on these ordinary, decent people; so it’s up to us to act.

block-time published-time 11.29am BST

Davidson says the Conservatives are back on the mainstream of Scottish politics.

But old alliances and old certainties are crumbling.

Labour’s broad church has shrunk to a rickety pew, she says.

She says Labour does not understand how ridiculous it looks to the outside world.

Labour held a ghettoised women’s conference. She says Harriet Harman and other speakers lined up to say Theresa May was not a proper feminist.

But May has done more for women than any pink buses that Labour has launched, she says.

Theresa May has broken barriers her entire life – first female Conservative party chairman, longest serving home secretary – male or female - since Henry Matthews in 1892, and only the second female prime minister in our country’s history.

And she’s made sure that all along the way, she’s helped women as she goes.

Increasing female participation in politics by setting up Women to Win.

Cracking down on domestic abuse and passing new laws on modern slavery, female genital mutilation and forced marriage.

She’s done more for women than your pink bus, Harriet.

And, right now, there are girls and young women across this country that are looking to Number 10 Downing Street, and who see that gender is no barrier to advancement. That with hard work, application, commitment, there is nothing they can’t do.

What do the Conservatives do for women? We empower them to be leaders.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.47am BST

block-time published-time 11.26am BST

Davidson says she will oppose any attempt by the SNP to have a second referendum on independence.

If the SNP want to pick a fight, they should pick a fight on issues like low school standards, she says.

block-time published-time 11.21am BST

Davidson says she wants to see Conservatives winning in every community in Scotland.

enltrScottish conservatives back as fighting force again - @RuthDavidsonMSP [https://twitter.com/RuthDavidsonMSP] pic.twitter.com/VOnmAM9BB0 [https://t.co/VOnmAM9BB0]

— Nick Eardley (@nickeardleybbc) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/nickeardleybbc/status/783612608804974592]block-time published-time 11.19am BST

Ruth Davidson's speech Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Conservative leader, is speaking now.

She says that when she took over the Scottish leadership, the media described the party in Scotland as a corpse.

But now the Scottish Conservatives are back as a fighting force, she says.

block-time published-time 11.18am BST

Patrick McLoughlin introduces Natalie Evans, who became leader of the Lords in the summer. He says she will be the youngest person in the Lords until next week. She is 40.

Evans used to run the New Schools Network, a charity that promotes free schools. Nick Timothy , Theresa May’s co-chief of staff, also worked there for a while.

Evans says the Conservatives are a party that believes in aspiration, and that anyone can rise to the top if they work hard.

block-time published-time 11.08am BST

The final session of the conference is now getting under way.

Patrick McLoughlin, the party chairman, is speaking now, thanking those involved in organising the event.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.48am BST

block-time published-time 11.04am BST

Here is my colleague Jessica Elgo t’s story on the backlash Amber Rudd is facing over her proposal to force firms to reveal how many foreigners they employ.

Related: Amber Rudd defends proposal to make firms reveal foreign staff numbers [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers]

block-time published-time 10.55am BST

The BBC’s Laura Kuenssberg has been tweeting about Theresa May’s speech.

enltrBig chance for May to spell out her philosophy today - the concept of the 'good state'

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/783571045701869568]enltrOne cabinet minister tells me 'we've talked for too long about what we don't like, now we're talking about what we do like, what's good'

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/783571226044276736]enltrObstacle to May's ambition to be PM 'for everyone', to borrow their slogan, is govt's pursuing policies some see as divisive

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/783571538851266560]enltrMay will also hint at introducing price controls on energy companies, altho there wont' be detailed policy announcements in the speech

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/783571957182763008]enltrGreg Clark said a couple of days ago, 'we have a duty to act' in response to some vulnerable customers getting whacked by high bills

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/783572376357339136] Ed Miliband, who was criticised by Tories when he proposed freezing energy bills when he was Labour leader, has posted a rather good response to those final tweets on his own Twitter feed.

enltrMarxist, anti-business interventionism imho https://t.co/xPzn61iqTk [https://t.co/xPzn61iqTk]

— Ed Miliband (@Ed\_Miliband) October 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Ed\_Miliband/status/783598959222718464]block-time published-time 10.51am BST

Burnham says Tory conference becoming 'increasingly xenophobic' Andy Burnham, the shadow home secretary, has also put out a new statement attacking Amber Rudd’s proposals to restrict the number of foreign workers coming to the UK. He was particularly critical of the suggestion that companies could be forced to declare who many foreigners they employ. (See 9.37am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conservative-conference-theresa-mays-speech-politics-live?page=with:block-57f4b9c8e4b0afec6ad16f7a#block-57f4b9c8e4b0afec6ad16f7a] He said:

The tone of the Conservative conference has become increasingly xenophobic. Theresa May has presided over the return of the nasty party. Whether it’s doctors, migrants or Europe, the Tories are blaming anyone but themselves for their failure.

The idea of British companies producing lists of foreign workers runs counter to everything that this country has ever stood for. It would be divisive, discriminatory and risks creating real hostility in workplaces and communities.

block-time published-time 10.37am BST

10 things we've learned from the Conservative conference Theresa May’s speech later this morning may turn out to be the most revealing of the party conference but after three days quite a lot has already emerged about the state of the Conservative party. Here are 10 things we’ve learned.

1. Brexit will be at the harder end of the scale. This was signalled in Theresa May’s speech on Sunday and – judging not least by the market reaction – it is the most important takeaway from the whole conference. Ministers still seem uncertain as to exactly what they want, but the Norway/Switzerland models (soft Brexit) are out and, although May is not planning to simply walk away and slam the door (the hardest possible Brexit), she will prioritise getting control over **immigration**over single market membership. Brexiteers strongly object to the terms hard/soft on the grounds that they are loaded, because hard implies bad (clean/dirty is one alternative formula they prefer), but this terminology is not unreasonable. Economists believe disengaging from the single market will have negative consequences.

2. The Conservative party is largely united behind May on Brexit, but it is complacent about the risks. From what has been said in the conference hall, and on the fringe, you could easily forget that the party was split down the middle on the EU four months ago, because now the Tories seem remarkably unified. According to a ConservativeHome poll [http://www.conservativehome.com/thetorydiary/2016/10/brexit-members-survey-todays-conservativehome-conference-newspaper-in-full.html], 76% of members back the harder Brexit May is offering. But there is a considerable disconnect between Toryworld, where many members are convinced that all forecasts about Brexit being bad for the economy are just wrong, and reality, where May’s speech sent the pound tumbling. Two figures who are not complacent are May herself, who has been warning about “bumps in the road” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f373d4e4b01506cbf24feb#block-57f373d4e4b01506cbf24feb], and Philip Hammond, the chancellor, who used his speech on Monday to try to warn his party about potential bad news ahead.

3. City and business opinion does not matter to the Tory leadership as much as it used to. Traditionally the Conservative party has been quite deferential towards the City and business, but now the tone is different. “City delegates stranded on Planet Tory for the duration of the party conference report the atmosphere has turned toxic,” the Financial Times’ Lombard column reports [https://www.ft.com/content/7133664a-8a29-11e6-8aa5-f79f5696c731]. A Bloomberg story saying the City would get no special favours in the Brexit negotiations [http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-03/may-said-to-downgrade-city-in-brexit-shock-for-financial-sector] caused alarm (even though it was denied) and then Amber Rudd, the home secretary, announced a crackdown on work visas, which prompted a strong business backlash [https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/home-affairs/immigration/news/79577/business-backlash-against-amber-rudds-fresh-immigration]. In government Hammond is fighting to protect business interests in the Brexit talks although, in a perceptive Facebook post [https://www.facebook.com/pestonitv/posts/1703845213273550], ITV’s Robert Peston says the conference shows “the Treasury, in the May government, is less powerful than it’s been for many decades.”

4. May seems serious about defining herself as a centre-ground politician, although so far there is little policy evidence to show that she will be very different from her predecessor. It is commonplace for political leaders serious about power to argue that they represent the centre ground, or that the centre ground has moved towards them, but May is finding it easier to make this case than David Cameron because for most his premiership the centre ground was taken by his coalition partners, the Lib Dems. However, so far, we have yet to see a big policy shift that makes this real. When Nick Robinson challenged her yesterday to show her commitment to working people by axing inheritance tax cuts (which only help the wealthy), or higher public sector pay, May ducked for cover [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f36c6be4b0643b5d843d5b#block-57f36c6be4b0643b5d843d5b].

5. The Tories aren’t very worried about Labour, but that has not stopped them annexing some of Jeremy Corbyn’s policy territory. In some respects, competitive party politics is quite simple: all you have to do is attack your opponents’ bad ideas, pinch their good ones, and make sure you have the sense to tell which is which. The Tories have done that this week, hijacking some of the soundest aspects of the Corbyn agenda – a slower timetable for balancing the budget, reviewing whether employment laws suit the modern workplace, and a migration impact fund. Some Labour figures think that, if the Tories are on their turf, that will help Corbyn, but that is not necessarily so because, on the economy and **immigration**, the Tories are more trusted than Labour. The Tory MP Robert Halfon gave an interesting speech [http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/jeremy-corbyn-labour-leader-tories-should-be-worried-and-not-celebrating-robert-halfon-minister-mp-a7342636.html] saying his party should worry about Corbyn’s ability to inspire young voters, but he has been a lone voice and generally the Conservatives are not taking the threat from Corbyn seriously at all.

6. Next year’s most important election may well be the West Midlands mayoral one. Labour is expected to win the mayoral elections in Greater Manchester and Liverpool city region next year quite easily, but the contest in the West Midlands could turn out to be gripping. The Tories have used the conference to promote their candidate, the outgoing John Lewis boss Andy Street, and Street say he just needs a 4% swing from the general election results to win. Given that the West Midlands is one of the regions where general elections are often decided, this will be a key test for Corbyn’s Labour versus May’s Conservatives.

7. The Tories have ditched the Cameron era quite ruthlessly. There is little gratitude in politics. Ministers have been acknowledging David Cameron in their speeches, but their tributes have barely gone beyond the polite and, outside the conference hall, it’s more a case of “Dave who?”. In the atrium there is a display featuring pictures of Tory prime ministers from Robert Peel to John Major, from which Cameron is notably absent. The people most closely associated with his administration, such as George Osborne and Michael Gove, have not turned up and, in a final indignity, Sir Craig Oliver, Cameron’s former communications chief, had to pay the extortionate business attendee rate [http://www.independent.co.uk/david-camerons-former-aide-charged-1500-for-conference-ticket-after-publishing-attack-book-on-a7334966.html] to get a pass to be allowed entry into the conference building.

8. Being foreign secretary has not changed Boris Johnson. Diplomacy is normally associated with a certain amount of gravitas, and before the conference it was not clear whether Johnson would adopt a serious tone, or whether we would get the usual faux-spontaneous, rambling, semi-frivolous standup routine. In the event we got the latter. It was actually a very good speech [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f13f37e4b015be6383371c#block-57f13f37e4b015be6383371c], probably the best anyone has delivered so far (not least for the use of the word “funkapolitan”), although what the mandarins at King Charles Street and Johnson’s fellow foreign ministers made of it is anyone’s guess.

9. The Tories who backed the Vote Leave campaign are not willing to defend its key claims. One of the TV highlights of the conference has been Sky’s Darren McCaffrey trying to get the Tory Vote Leave leaders to defend their claim that Brexit would free up £350m a week for the NHS [https://twitter.com/SkyNews/status/783193789158481920?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw]. The Vote Leave NHS promise was disowned some months ago, but this week we’ve seen further evidence that Vote Leave’s Brexit forecasts were misleading. Rudd said she was not planning to increase **immigration** from the Commonwealth as EU **immigration** falls [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/03/conservative-conference-philip-hammond-confirms-osbornes-austerity-timetable-has-been-dropped-politics-live?page=with:block-57f25d97e4b0ff53b531bb7e#block-57f25d97e4b0ff53b531bb7e] (leavers forecast the opposite), and Brexit ministers are backing away from the claim that there will be no trade-off between controlling **immigration** and enjoying the full benefits of the single market. (Admittedly, some of the worst remain economic forecasts have failed to materialise too, but the person most associated with those claims, George Osborne, is out of the picture.)

10. An early election looks less and less likely. May has been saying for some time that she has no plans for an early election, but in an interview on Sunday [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f04384e4b0ab0063086f3f#block-57f04384e4b0ab0063086f3f] she went further then before, saying an early election would generate “instability”. Just as significantly, it has become clear from what has and has not been said around the conference that there is little appetite in the party for an early poll.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.40am BST

block-time published-time 10.35am BST

SNP, Greens and Plaid Cyrmu issue joint statement condemning Tories's stance on **immigration** The SNP leader and Scottish first minister Nicola Sturgeon, the Green co-leaders Caroline Lucas and Jonathan Bartley and the Plaid Cymru leader Leanne Wood have released a joint statement this morning condemning the Tories for their stance on **immigration**. Here it is in full.

The countries of the United Kingdom face a spiralling political and economic crisis. At the top of the Conservative party, the narrow vote in favour of leaving the EUhas now been interpreted as the pretext for a drastic cutting of ties with Europe, which would have dire economic results - and as an excuse for the most toxic rhetoric on **immigration** we have seen from any government in living memory.

This is a profoundly moral question which gets to the heart of what sort of country we think we live in. We will not tolerate the contribution of people from overseas to our NHS being called into question, or a new version of the divisive rhetoric of ‘British jobs for British workers’. Neither will we allow the people of these islands, no matter how they voted on June 23rd, to be presented as a reactionary, xenophobic mass whose only concern is somehow taking the UK back to a lost imperial age. At a time of increasing violence and tension, we will call out the actions of politicians who threaten to enflame those same things.

This is not a time for parties to play games, or meekly respect the tired convention whereby they do not break cover during each other’s conferences. It is an occasion for us to restate the importance of working together to resist the Tories’ toxic politics, and make the case for a better future for our people and communities. We will do this by continuing to work and campaign with the fierce sense of urgency this political moment demands.

The statement has also been signed by Steven Agnew, leader of the Greens in Northern Ireland, Patrick Harvie, co-convener of the Scottish Greens, and Alice Hooker-Stroud, leader of the Welsh Greens.

block-time published-time 9.52am BST

Communities secretary Greg Clark joked last night to a meeting of liberal Tories that Theresa May had been great for progressives because Boris Johnson “spends most of his time out of the country”.

At a midnight reception for the Tory Reform Group, members of the group cheered as Clark, who was a remain campaigner teased his cabinet colleague. “It’s been a great year for the TRG and particularly a great summer as there are more TRG MPs than there are Liberal Democrats,” he said. “Damian Green in the cabinet! And Boris spends most of his time out of the country!”

TRG, of which Green is vice-president, is associated with the more pro-EU wing of the party, and describes itself as the “home of One Nation Conservatism”, with patrons including Sir John Major and Sir Malcolm Rifkind. Ken Clarke is the group’s president.

During the boisterous reception, Clark also ridiculed the Welsh Tory leader Andrew RT Davies for accidentally saying we must “make a success out of breakfast” instead of Brexit.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.29am BST

block-time published-time 9.39am BST

Conservative conference policy announcements – full list Here is a roundup of all the main policy announcements made at the conference so far.

Saturday

\* Matthew Taylor, head of the RSA thinktank and former head of the No 10 policy unit under Tony Blair, appointed to lead an independent review of employment practices in the modern economy. [https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/oct/01/theresa-may-hires-former-tony-blair-policy-boss-to-review-workers-rights] Announcing the move, Tory HQ said: “Signalling the importance she attaches to extending workers’ rights – and ensuring they keep pace with these developments – the prime minister today launches an independent review of modern employment practices.

\* People with the most severe health conditions who receive employment support allowance, a disability benefit, to be exempt from having to undergo regular health assessments to continue receiving payments. [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/01/dwp-scraps-retesting-for-chronically-ill-sickness-benefits-claimants]

\* Free training to be offered to adults who lack basic digital skills. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/government-plans-to-make-the-uk-one-of-the-most-digitally-skilled-nations]

\* A £220m investment to help life science companies and universities develop viable business projects. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/220-million-for-cutting-edge-new-technology]

\* A £1.3bn investment with BAE Systems to enable construction work to begin on the generation of submarines carrying Trident nuclear missiles. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/building-to-start-on-new-nuclear-submarines-as-government-announces-13-billion-investment]

Sunday

\* A “great repeal bill” to abolish the European Communities Act 1972, and to convert existing EU law into British law. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/01/theresa-may-to-propose-great-repeal-bill-to-unwind-eu-laws]

\* Up to £750m for Afghanistan from the international aid budget between 2017 and 2020.

Monday

\* A series of measures intended to boost housebuilding, including a £3bn housebuilding fund. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/03/conservative-conference-philip-hammond-confirms-osbornes-austerity-timetable-has-been-dropped-politics-live?page=with:block-57f22f53e4b015be63833a73#block-57f22f53e4b015be63833a73]

\* Confirmation that the Treasury has abandoned plans to get the budget into surplus by 2020.

\* A guarantee to organisations bidding for multi-year funding from the EU that the Treasury will pay the remainder if their funding gets cut as a result of Brexit.

\* Funding for the transport component of the Midlands Engine for Growth worth £12m.

Tuesday

\* A commitment to let the military opt out from the European convention on human rights (ECHR) during future conflicts. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/03/plan-uk-military-opt-out-european-convention-human-rights]

\* The opening of 25 cadet units in state schools, with 150 planned in total. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/150-army-cadet-units-open-state-schools-michael-fallon]

\* Government funding for 1,500 extra places at medical school a year from 2018, with the intention of the NHS no longer being reliant on foreign staff by 2025. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/up-to-1500-extra-medical-training-places-announced]

\* A crackdown on migrants coming to the UK to study and work. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/04/rudd-announces-crackdown-on-overseas-students-and-new-work-visas]

\* The establishment of a £140m controlling migration fund. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f39356e4b0a497243b6d6b#block-57f39356e4b0a497243b6d6b]

\* A £60m investment in “opportunity areas” – places where educational attainment is poor and where new partnerships will be formed to boost opportunities for pupils. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/social-mobility-package-unveiled-by-education-secretary]

\* £14m for the 10 most challenging prisons and a campaign to recruit ex-servicemen and women as prison officers. [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/04/liz-truss-to-launch-recruitment-drive-for-ex-forces-prison-officers]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.44am BST

block-time published-time 9.37am BST

Rudd defends plans to curb number of foreign workers coming to UK Amber Rudd, the home secretary, was on the Today programme this morning defending the plans she announced yesterday to restrict the number of foreign workers coming to the UK. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers] She said some firms were not doing enough to employ local people.

The purpose of this review is to look at whether they are doing enough to train people locally when they could be able to do that. There are record levels of employment, which is great, but there are still one in 10 18- to 24-year-olds unemployed and I want businesses to think first about locally training people where possible. For instance, I went and visited a factory quite recently where they recruit almost exclusively from Romania and Poland, where they have people who have experience in factories building these sofas that they have. They didn’t even consider training locally – there was a local college they could have worked with, but they choose to recruit outside the UK. We set policies to encourage businesses to make a profit and be successful, but also to have a responsibility to local employment and we’re asking them to join us on this journey so they don’t automatically go abroad where it’s cheaper perhaps and sometimes they feel more efficient.

According to the Times, one of Rudd’s proposals is for firms to have to publish figures showing what proportion of their workforce is foreign. Rudd told Today that this was just a proposal and that it would not definitely be implemented.

The business I mentioned to you would have shown it had 80-90% non-UK citizens working there. But it’s not something we’re definitely going to do, it’s one of the tools we’re going to use as a review to see if we can use it as a way of nudging people to do better behaviour.

Amber Rudd. Photograph: DAVID HARTLEY/REX/Shutterstock block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.30am BST

block-time published-time 9.16am BST

This morning we learn that Nigel Farage may still be technically leader of Ukip [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/nigel-farage-says-he-may-technically-still-be-ukip-leader], even though the party announced a new leader last month. There is no danger of anything like that occurring in the Conservative party. This conference has shown that Theresa May has total control of her party and today, in her keynote speech concluding the event, May will have the chance to tell her party and the country what she stands for. She is still a relatively unknown quantity as a leader, and this will be the speech that defines her in the public mind for the years ahead.

Some extracts from the speech have been released in advance. The Guardian has headlined on May saying she wants to seize a “new centre ground”. Here is our story, [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/theresa-may-brexit-conservative-party-conference-speech-tories-centre-ground] and here is our front page.

enltrWednesday's Guardian:

May calls on Tories to seize centre ground #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/1x6cRkhfE3 [https://t.co/1x6cRkhfE3]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/783413075529433088]Other papers have headlined on her attack on the liberal elite.

enltrWednesday's Daily Mail:

May savages liberal elite #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/XM3UIWDcG6 [https://t.co/XM3UIWDcG6]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/783417835494240256]enltrWednesday's Telegraph front page -

May: it is wrong to sneer at patriotism #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/ifX3EIJYAM [https://t.co/ifX3EIJYAM]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/783414103750606849]After May’s speech, there is not much else today. Here is the agenda.

10am: Conference opens with speeches from Tory MPs.

10.30am: Speeches from Natalie Evans, the leader of the Lords, and Ruth Davidson, leader of the Scottish Conservatives.

Around 11am: Theresa May’s speech.

If you want to follow or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow].

I try to monitor the comments below the line but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.49am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The prime minister has crushed the Cameroons. But sidelined Tory remainers won’t be silenced for long

Theresa May’s task as prime minister is simple. The good ship Brexit[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum] has left harbour. Storms of unknown ferocity lie ahead. Hatches must be battened and crew encouraged. The Tory faithful, pro-Brexit but suspicious of endless backsliding by their leaders, need reassuring. Nothing else of substance matters, only reassurance.

Related: Will Theresa May’s speech appeal beyond Tory conference? Our panel’s verdict | Jonathan Freedland, Polly Toynbee, Anne McElvoy, Joseph Harker, Giles Fraser[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conference-panel-verdict]

May gave that reassurance on Wednesday. She is unscrutinised by the public and is the most opaque of politicians. She duly had to plead with her party to come with her on the “quiet revolution”, entrusted to her government by the voters, to fashion a new “global Britain”. She was unequivocal. They should “stop quibbling” and withdraw Britain from the European Union. It should become again a “fully sovereign and independent country”, outward-looking and embracing free trade. As for filling in the details, that was for the “give and take” and wait and see. It was hardly satisfactory, but it served its purpose.

May’s other ambition was harder to articulate. It was to carve out a Mayism distinct from a Cameronism[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-draws-line-under-cameron-era-with-return-to-small-c-conservatism], to put her own stamp on a government for which the electorate did not vote. Her desire for that most tedious of cliches, change, in “a country that works for everyone”, was beyond banality. It is one of those political phrases that reads the same in any word order. In comparison, Tony Blair’s “third way”[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2003/feb/10/labour.uk1] and David Cameron’s “big society”[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-10680062] seem like white papers. May’s constant reference to “everyone … ordinary people … working people… working-class people” bordered on a speechwriter’s tic.

We know May wants to be cut from a different cloth from Cameron. We are told of her supposed puritanism. She is Thames Valley lowland, not Cotswolds upland. The sofa has been removed[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3715490/Now-Mrs-ditches-Dave-s-cosy-sofas-table-study-PM-fulfils-pledge-rid-sofa-government-swapping-furniture-No10.html] from her office and replaced with a table, politics as Ikea catalogue. May’s ruthless culling of the Cameroons was clearly an emotional release, but it suggests a lack of tolerant collectivism. One chumocracy has gone, but only to make way for new chums.

May claims to oppose privilege, and believes in fairness, justice, hard work[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/11/theresa-may-tory-leadership-pitch-andrea-leadsom] and love of country. Who would not? There was certainly a mischievous, leftwing tinge to her remarks. She ridiculed Labour as the new “nasty party” and must be the first Tory in decades to demand we should “remember the good that government can do”. She is certainly the first to speak in favour of taxation, if only to threaten tax dodgers, multinationals and “citizens of the world and of nowhere” – a felicitous phrase. May attacked the “liberal elite”, people who “patronised the electorate” over **immigration** and Brexit. We might forget that she too voted for remain. She clearly has “remorse issues”.

Of all vacuities, Tory centrism is the most empty. May ruined her pitch by then advocating the brutal divisiveness of selective schools at 11[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/07/thatcher-grammars-poison-theresa-may-tories]. Her belief that this “gives every child access to a good school place” is bereft of intellectual coherence. She must also have approved home secretary Amber Rudd’s “naming and shaming”[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers] of foreigners in employment. What this odious idea has to do with fairness and openness to free trade is a mystery. These are presumably bones tossed to the party faithful[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/10-tory-voters-on-may-brexit-and-where-the-party-goes-from-here] on the spur of the moment, to be later forgotten. We must hope so.

The trouble here is that so many of the decisions taken by May and her colleagues over recent weeks belie the rhetoric of her speech. Yes, the relaxing of rules on disability benefits[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/01/disability-and-illness-test-u-turn-is-a-small-victory-but-the-fight-goes-on] was kind. But on obesity policy[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/19/theresa-may-climbdown-obesity-junk-food-industry-public-health], party fundraising[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/02/theresa-may-3150-lunch-democracy-for-sale-lobbyists], elected mayors[https://www.theguardian.com/public-leaders-network/2016/aug/23/conservative-party-politics-policy-devolution-mayors-theresa-may] and **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/brexit-theresa-may-prioritises-immigration-curbs-over-free-movement], Downing Street has shown itself to be vulnerable to the same lobbyists and headline-seekers that dogged Cameron and George Osborne.

May made a weak, indeed catastrophic, decision on Hinkley Point[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/15/theresa-may-accused-backing-down-hinkley-point-c-deal]. She is capitulating to pressure for the pointless HS2[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/nils-pratley-on-finance/2016/sep/19/hs2-rail-project-jobs-bonanza-high-speed-rail-industry-leaders], rather than pushing rail investment to the north. She seems likely to do the same on Heathrow. These hard choices mock her professed eagerness to boost under-privileged regions, the powerless and the poor. They suggest the Downing Street apparatchiks cannot tell good infrastructure from bad, or disentangle private gain from public interest. If this is the template for Brexit, it augurs chaos.

May is gambling. She feels she is on a roll. She shows no sign of humility towards her lack of a personal mandate. She is cruelly dismissive of the legacy of the man, David Cameron, who holds that mandate, and who put her where she is. She may regard the June referendum as trumping the 2015 election, but she too “lost” that referendum. And however it is spun, the referendum was on Brexit, not a government as a whole.

Related: We are witnessing nothing less than a Tory reformation | Rafael Behr[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/05/birmingham-witnessing-tory-reformation-conservative-conference-brexit]

May won a rousing conference reception. She had made friends. But a shrewd politician knows that more important is her choice of enemies. Hovering in the wings are those who, in Thatcher’s day, were the “wets”, the dispossessed ancients, the unrepentant remainers. May knows she has a small majority in parliament. She is defying constitutional propriety by trying to give MPs as little say in the Brexit process as possible. She must hope this show of constituency enthusiasm will scare remain MPs into obedience.

That may not work. The Cameroons and the remainers may be crushed and silent, but when the going gets tough, they may become what John Major called “the bastards”. May could yet find herself having more trouble with her own backbenchers than those opposite. She and Jeremy Corbyn may find they have something in common.

Brexit never merited the overarching importance it has acquired. The actual risk to trade in tariff-sensitive goods with Europe is minimal to the British economy – however much noise the manufacturers like to make. Markets are showing themselves masters of realpolitik. They are the true shock-absorbers of policy.

But EU withdrawal is iron in the soul of current British politics. Even if we spend a decade getting over it – and perhaps then half-reverse it – withdrawal there must be.

May was wise to leave no one in any doubt of this. But she must now be Brexit’s master mariner. She has taken control of the bridge and has calmed the nerves of the crew. So far so good. But as to what lies ahead, for the country or for her, all is unknown.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**From listing foreign workers to installing consumers as boardroom directors the Tory plans have seen a mixed response

Conservative governments usually enjoy a close relationship with big business – but a string of proposals outlined by Theresa May’s new government look likely to put her on a collision course with leaders of small and major companies alike.

Pay May has criticised the “irrational, healthy and growing gap” between what companies pay their workers and their bosses. Some business groups back that – saying the widening gap is damaging the reputation of business. But some top bosses will resent interference. Advertising CEO Sir Martin Sorrell, who earned £70m last year, has repeatedly defended his pay.

Related: 10 Tory voters on May, Brexit and where the party goes from here[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/10-tory-voters-on-may-brexit-and-where-the-party-goes-from-here]

Shareholder votes on pay Currently shareholders have a binding vote on general pay policies every three years, but only an advisory vote on actual annual payouts. May has talked about[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jul/11/theresa-mays-plans-curb-boardroom-excess-receive-mixed-reaction] making that a binding vote. The Confederation of British Industry is likely to oppose any such change, because the current system is “a good balance”.

Workers and consumers on boards May’s speech to the Conservative party on Wednesday repeated her calls for workers and consumers to be installed as boardroom directors. The idea has been welcomed by unions but employers are less keen. The Institute of Directors said such a move should not be compulsory while fund manager Legal & General has suggested annual meetings between staff representatives and boardroom bosses[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/boardroom-bosses-advised-meet-workers-justify-pay-practices-legal-general-inequality] as an alternative.

Lists of foreign workers Home secretary Amber Rudd’s call for companies to publish lists of the nationality of workers has not gone down well in business. Adam Marshall, director general of the British Chambers of Commerce, said having a global workforce should not be seen as a “badge of shame”[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/05/government-faces-backlash-from-business-leaders-over-foreign-workers]. The Federation of Small Businesses said employers would be turned into “**immigration** offices”.

City’s access to the single market May said she wanted to give UK firms “maximum freedom to trade with and operate within the single market” but also wanted control over **immigration**. City employers say a “hard Brexit” – without EU access – could put up to 35,000 jobs at risk as well as up to £5bn of annual tax revenue according to consultants Oliver Wyman.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**For all the talk of being the party of the workers, the only ones the Tories seem to care about are white English people

In an asymmetrical neckline, Theresa May[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/theresamay] declares her asymmetrical vision. Asymmetrical because there is no balance between so many of her pronouncements; indeed, some are quite contradictory. There is no point at which opposing views are squished together into some kind of Blairite compromise. Nor is it the economy, stupid: it’s about identity. It is a rightwing power grab that hopes to scoop up those who have just about managed to vote Labour in the past.

It is new and it is scary and, although May is the unelected head of a government with a small majority, she is acting as if she has a huge mandate to fundamentally change the nature of the UK. It is not enough that we are leaving Europe, she is attempting to nail down the Tories as the party of the workers, absorb Ukip[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ukip], intervene in business via the state, and hit the left where it hurts them personally. She is reclaiming the notions of fairness, compassion and moral superiority. Right now, the left is in one of its death spirals of vicious piety. So here is May, the toffs tossed away, to talk of meritocracy and ordinariness. She embodies the notion that, what you don’t have in charisma, you can make up for in long hours. But as she draws people into her big tent, we can already see that it is more of a gazebo and it’s invite only. The decked-out monstrosities of Bake Off[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/the-great-british-bake-off] have a lot to answer for: a version of the 50s with gays, **immigrants** and cake – woo! A fantasy that has now been flogged off.

These are new bakes indeed. Chancellor Philip Hammond’s dismantling of deficit targets[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/03/the-guardian-view-on-philip-hammonds-conference-speech-missed-opportunity-for-a-new-strategy] is part of repairing the failing neoliberal structures, so May talked of tax avoidance and workers’ rights. But this comes at a cost and that cost is social: the dismantling of a liberal consensus. This means hatred of difference, spreading fear, inflexible uniformity, the assertion of one kind of citizenship over another, a puritanical stifling of joy.

May’s vision rewrites the relationship between the state and business, and also insists on the social over the individual. But in this radical garb, she and her ministers found the enemy within. Those who voted remain have overcompensated by offering up suspicion and exclusion of all “foreigners”. Those who take our jobs – even the ones who save our lives – must be listed, and instructed where to be. This is appalling. British workers do have British jobs and won’t work in the fields for £3.50 an hour. Meritocracy is a local policy, it turns out. It is for white English people, though it calls Englishness British, as always. Add to the enemy list of foreigners, human rights lawyers and the liberal elite. We wait in vain for health and safety gone mad. The Tories take on the culture war as the economy shrinks. This xenophobia may result in actual bloodshed.

It is as if the message of Brexit was not mixed, as if it was simply a referendum on **immigration**. It was more than that. May dismays by playing only one chord. So we now have members of the elite – being PM is fairly elite – and leaders of parties such as Ukip (Farage was leader when I started writing this sentence, but may not be when I have finished) saying they don’t mind being poorer if there are fewer **immigrants**, but they are never going to be poor, of course.

Yet the walling-in of economies to protect us from globalisation (government is in partnership with the state, the talk of responsible capitalism) is, as the IMF says, not simply a British reaction. May’s version is a closing down and a direct challenge not just to economic neoliberalism, but to liberalism as the dominant discourse. She pitches the chattering classes, the liberal elite, against ordinary people. The liberal elite sneer at patriotism, at ordinary people’s views on **immigration** and crime. There is some truth in this, although ordinary people are not a monolith.

I now live in a liberal elite bubble made easier for me by social media, which allows me to chat with people who mostly think more or less like me. But because identity is hybrid, a base part of me remains horrified by how narrow-minded this elite is. Those who would lead the masses disdain them. The liberal elite will lead its sheeple out of its Jeremy Kyle-induced pit of despair and into the uplands of good wine, laughing at comedians on Radio 4 and voting the correct way. May is right to say these people do not have the monopoly on compassion. Many are hypocrites. Just after the Brexit vote and the election, there was a total empathy vacuum. The liberal elite boasted it didn’t know anyone who voted Tory or Brexit because these people were thick, immoral. What a lovely socialist and internationalist reaction.

So May will strike home with this. But for all her lefty drag, where she and her ministers have been so divisive is on **immigration** and race. While the Scottish Tory leader, Ruth Davidson[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ruth-davidson], has welcomed **immigrants**, May cannot even countenance Scottish independence – what she calls divisive nationalism.

This move to the centre works only if the centre is white and Scotland keeps quiet. Nicola Sturgeon[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/nicola-sturgeon] has provided the best opposition to this nasty fear and loathing. For May is sowing all kinds of division. The centre can’t hold when it cannot keep the union together.

The dots are not joined here at all. The language of belonging matters. The redrawing of these new boundaries is being done in the language of the left, but it is the most extreme move to the right I have seen in my lifetime.

“Stop the world I want to get off” turns into: “If you believe you are citizen of the world, you’re a citizen of nowhere.” A slight affront to the easyJet generation, a death sentence if you are on a dinghy in the cold sea. This is no move to the centre but a plunge into dark, dangerous waters.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Senior figures in business world criticise proposal to force companies to disclose how many foreign workers they employ

Theresa May’s government is facing a growing backlash over a proposal to force companies to disclose how many foreign workers they employ, with business leaders describing it as divisive and damaging.

The proposal was revealed by Amber Rudd[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/amber-rudd], the home secretary, at the Conservative party conference[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/toryconference] on Tuesday as a key plank of a government drive to reduce net migration and encourage businesses to hire British staff.

However, senior figures in the business world warned the plan would be a “complete anathema” to responsible employers and would damage the UK economy because foreign workers were hired to fill gaps in skills that British staff could not provide. One chief executive of a FTSE 100 company, whose workforce includes thousands of EU citizens, said it was “bizarre”.

The proposals, which are subject to consultation, have also been questioned from within the Conservative party. Lord Finkelstein, the Conservative peer, told the BBC it was a “misstep”, while Tory MP Neil Carmichael, chairman of the House of Commons education select committee, said the policy was “unsettling” and would “drive people, business and compassion out of British society and should not be pursued any further”.

Jeremy Corbyn, the Labour leader, said: “Conservative party leaders have sunk to a new low this week as they fan the flames of xenophobia and hatred in our communities and try to blame foreigners for their own failures.

“Drawing up lists of foreign workers won’t stop unscrupulous employers undercutting wages in Britain. Shutting the door to international students won’t pay young people’s tuition fee debts, and ditching doctors from abroad won’t cut NHS waiting lists.”

Rudd was forced to defend the proposals on Wednesday, insisting they were not xenophobic and that she had been careful about the language used. The home secretary told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme that some companies were “getting away” with not training British workers and “we should be able to have a conversation about what skills we want to have in the UK”.

Rudd said that forcing companies to reveal their foreign workforce was “not something we are definitely going to do” and was part of a wider review of **immigration** and employment practices. But a Home Office source said Rudd was not backing away from the proposal[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers] and it would be put out for consultation despite the backlash from businesses.

Adam Marshall, the director general of the British Chambers of Commerce, said that having a global workforce should not be seen as a “badge of shame”.

He added: “Most companies do their utmost to train their workers, engage with local schools and colleges, and look for local hires before going to the overseas market – which is often an expensive and bureaucratic step.

“Businesses shouldn’t be penalised or questioned for recruiting from overseas when they have specific skills needs. Many would be very concerned if their specific circumstances were boiled down to percentages, or used to suggest that they’re somehow not doing their bit here at home.”

Manufacturers warned that foreign workers should not be regarded as a “simple statistic”.

Tim Thomas, the director of employment and skills policy at the EEF, the manufacturers’ organisation, said: “The concept of businesses reporting the number of workers who are not UK nationals will be a complete anathema to all responsible employers. Ironically, at a time when the government says it wants to extend opportunity to all and promote inclusion, this proposal will be divisive and damaging to the UK’s diverse and multicultural workforces.

“The object, it seems, is to shame those employers with a proportion of non-UK workers above some hypothetic and arbitrary level. Workers, whether UK, EU or global contribute greatly to UK industry and should be welcomed and not regarded as a simple statistic.”

Small businesses could be turned into “**immigration** officers” by the proposals, the Federation of Small Businesses said.

Mike Cherry, the national chairman of the FSB, said: “Fundamentally, the UK has been a global magnet for talent and this must be considered by ministers. The ability to hire the right people for the right job is paramount, and we will be championing this in the upcoming consultation.

“We also do not want to see small business owners turned into **immigration** officers nor encumbered by new bureaucracy.”

The Institute of Directors said businesses focused on the skills of workers rather than their nationality. Seamus Nevin, head of employment and skills policy at the IoD, said: “This is a concerning proposal from the government. The notion that employers prefer foreign workers to UK-born is wrong. Employers don’t discriminate by nationality – all that matters is the talent available.

“**Immigrants** are not like-for-like substitutes. They fill skills gap that cannot be filled domestically. Therefore it is hard to understand what government expects this ‘naming and shaming’ policy will achieve.”

Bosses in the technology industry warned that the plans could jeopardise the fledgling sector in Britain.

Russ Shaw, founder of Tech London Advocates, said: “This reactionary call to restrict access to global talent goes against everything we are doing to build a global tech hub that rivals Silicon Valley. One out of every three UK tech employees was born overseas, and their hard work and commitment has played an essential role in making London the capital of European tech.”

Trade union leaders also criticised the government’s “anti-**immigrant** sentiment” at the party conference in Birmingham.

Kamaljeet Jandu, GMB national equalities officer, said: “The UK government must not get swept away on a raft of anti-**immigrant** sentiment while looking for new scapegoats for their economic mistakes. Instead, it must focus on actually improving the lives of working people in this country after Brexit.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Republican vice-presidential nominee Mike Pence says he’s sick of hearing about all the times Donald Trump called Mexican **immigrants** ‘criminals’ and ‘rapists’ – but we’re pretty sure our readers have more to say‘That Mexican thing’: Mike Pence’s defense of Trump’s rhetoric goes viral

Senator, you whipped out that Mexican thing again.

– Republican Mike Pence, during Tuesday’s vice-presidential debate against Democrat Tim Kaine

A lesson from the 2016 election season: call the biggest group of **immigrants** to the US a group of “rapists” and “criminals” and it turns out: your opponents will bring it up over and over again.

Republican Mike Pence is sick of hearing[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/05/that-mexican-thing-mike-pence-vice-presidential-debate] about Donald Trump’s comments – but we have a feeling our readers have more to say. Show us what “that Mexican thing” actually looks like to you. Upload your images – family photos? A meal? An original meme that gets it just right? – through GuardianWitness by clicking the “Contribute with GuardianWitness” button above. We want to see your interpretation.

You can also use the GuardianWitness smartphone app[https://witness.theguardian.com/apps] or the Guardian app[http://preview.gutools.co.uk/global/ng-interactive/2014/may/29/-sp-the-guardian-app-for-ios-and-android] and search for “GuardianWitness assignments”.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Applause for German chancellor’s comments to business leaders suggests UK cannot expect to preserve trade links

Angela Merkel has significantly stiffened her Brexit stance, telling an audience of German business leaders that any exception to the EU’s single market rules would represent “a systemic challenge for the entire European Union”.

The German chancellor’s remarks reflect an apparent toughening of positions in European capitals after Theresa May announced on Sunday that the UK[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/may-on-collision-course-with-backbenchers-seeking-soft-brexit] would begin formal divorce talks by the end of March and indicated it was heading for a “hard Brexit”.

Merkel appealed to German firms to show a united front with EU governments in negotiations over Britain’s departure from the bloc, urging them support the principle of “full access to the single market only in exchange for signing up to the four freedoms”.

If any one single country is allowed an exception “you can imagine how all countries will put put conditions on free movement with other countries”, she said. “And that would create an extremely difficult situation.”

The applause for Merkel’s comments put a further question mark over the argument of British pro-Brexit politicians that German businesses will inevitably pressure their government to preserve their trade links with the UK and resist tariffs.

Markus Kerber, the leader of Germany’s largest industry group, said last week that trade[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/german-business-leader-warning-brexit-trade-uk], investments and single market solidarity with the rest of the EU were more important than the volume of business German companies do with Britain.

Joseph Muscat, the prime minister of Malta, which will hold the EU’s rotating presidency when Britain triggers article 50 of the Lisbon treaty to launch the two-year exit process, told the Guardian that May had made it plain that “controlling **immigration** will be her number one priority”.

That made her subsequent statement that she also wanted British business to have the maximum opportunity to operate within the single market[http://news.sky.com/story/theresa-may-moves-to-allay-hard-brexit-fears-after-pound-slump-10605390] “problematic, to say the least,” he said.

The four freedoms – free movement of goods, capital, services, and people – cannot be decoupled, Muscat said: “That cannot be negotiated … These principles are the basis for everything the EU does.”

Brexit was “not just an accounting exercise” for the EU 27, he said, adding that Britain’s deal had to be be “fair, but it has to be inferior. The idea that Britain can come back with a superior deal, or even the same deal, is not acceptable.

“Of course, if your priority is controlling **immigration**, it may not be a worse deal. But it must be inferior in terms of the whole package. There can be no membership with caveats.”

He said his impression from contacts with UK officials was that Britain aimed to negotiate “by chapters – sovereignty, the single market, freedom of movement”. There was resistance to that, he said. “The other members want to see these addressed together.”

The tone of Merkel’s remarks in particular stands in sharp contrast to the conciliatory language coming out of Berlin in the immediate aftermath of the referendum, when leading politicians pleaded for London to be given more time to think through the consequences of the vote.

Jens Spahn, a senior member of her Christian Democrat Union party, confirmed the tough line, including no pre-negotiations before article 50 is triggered.

“We cannot grant any special treatment even before negotiations. Then we would have 27 special agreements tomorrow. Then there won’t be a European Unionany more,” he said. “We have to negotiate really hard, we have to remain tough.”

The EU 27 would take four or five weeks to confirm a common position on Brexit once Britain had triggered article 50, Muscat said, after which day-to-day talks would be handled by the European commission’s chief negotiator, Michel Barnier, and his German deputy, Sabine Weyand.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Security council agrees, in surprisingly quick decision, that former Portuguese PM will succeed Ban Ki-moon at start of 2017

António Guterres, the former Portuguese prime minister, will be the next UN secretary general, after the security council agreed he should replace Ban Ki-moon at the beginning of next year.

In a rare show of unity, all 15 ambassadors from the security council emerged from the sixth in a series of straw polls to announce that they had agreed on Guterres, who was UN high commissioner for **refugees** for a decade, and that they would confirm the choice in a formal vote on Thursday.

“Today after our sixth straw poll we have a clear favourite and his name is António Guterres,” the Russian UN ambassador, Vitaly Churkin, told reporters with his 14 council colleagues standing behind him.

“We have decided to go to a formal vote tomorrow morning at 10 o’clock, and we hope it can be done by acclamation.”

The announcement came as a surprise. Many observers had expected the selection process to go on late into October as the major powers struggled to promote their favourite candidates. And some thought that Russia, currently holding the presidency of the security council, would block Guterres, as Moscow had said it wanted an eastern European in the top UN job.

As the UN’s **refugee** chief, Guterres persistently appealed to the conscience of the international community over the worst **refugee** crisis since the second world war, and he vowed to carry on being a spokesman for the downtrodden if he became UN secretary general.

“I am totally committed because of what I felt as head of UNHCR for 10 years,” he said during a debate between candidates chaired by the Guardian this summer. “You can’t imagine what it is to see levels of suffering that are unimaginable.”

The fact that he was promising to be an activist on humanitarian causes also makes Guterres victory surprising, as both Russia and China in particular have been resistant to outspoken activists in top UN posts. Also there was widespread sentiment this year that it was time for a woman to run the organisation for the first time in its 71-year history and there were several strong female candidates in the contest.

The abrupt end to the contest was a humiliating blow for the European commission’s vice-president, Kristalina Georgieva, who made a belated entry to the race last week. Her candidacy only lasted a few days.

The contest to replace Ban as secretary general began in April with public hearings in the UN general assembly, the first time candidates for the job had had to make their pitch in public. The new transparency was a result of a groundswell of pressure from civil society activists, in the 1 For 7 Billion movement.

“This is a testament to the new open process,” said Natalie Samarasinghe, executive director of the United Nations Association – UK and one of the founders of the 1 For 7 Billion movement. “When we looked at the candidates likely to prevail at the start of the race, he wasn’t a strong contender. He became one because of the open process.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**What the country has learned about the new prime minister’s domestic policy this week

Theresa May indicated the direction she hopes to take the country in through a series of policy announcements during the Conservative party conference – from the timing of serving notice to quit the European Union through plans to end the NHS’s reliance on foreign doctors and the creation of army cadet units in schools.

Here’s a full list:

Article 50 to be triggered by the end of March May pledged she would trigger article 50, starting the two-year EU withdrawal process, by the end of March[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/01/theresa-may-to-propose-great-repeal-bill-to-unwind-eu-laws].

The remarks were welcomed by the European council president, Donald Tusk, who said the EU would now act “to safeguard its interests”.

May signalled control of **immigration** would be the priority. “Let me be clear, we are not leaving the European Union[https://www.theguardian.com/world/eu] only to give up control of **immigration** again and we are not leaving only to return to the jurisdiction of the European court of justice.”

A “great repeal bill” to get EU law on to the British statute book May laid out plans for a “great repeal bill”[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/theresa-may-great-repeal-bill-eu-british-law], so four decades of EU legislation would become part of British law – and could then be unpicked by governments. However, she insisted the government wanted to protect workers’ rights currently guaranteed under EU law.

Ditching George Osborne’s surplus target The chancellor, Philip Hammond, confirmed he would jettison the target for the UK economy[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/philip-hammond-to-set-out-his-stall-for-balanced-budget-at-tory-conference] to be in surplus by 2020. Hammond said the “task of fiscal consolidation must continue” but said there was a case for “targeted high-value investment in economic infrastructure”.

A total of 1,500 new places for trainee doctors to end the reliance on foreign doctors Hunt promised medical schools in the UK will be allowed to offer up to 1,500 extra training places a year[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/jeremy-hunt-promises-to-end-nhs-reliance-on-overseas-doctors-after-brexit], and released figures showing one in four NHS[https://www.theguardian.com/society/nhs] doctors were trained abroad. Medical schools will be allowed to lift the cap on training places, as long as they take steps to attract students from deprived backgrounds.

UK will derogate from the European convention on human rights for British troops in future conflicts The defence secretary, Michael Fallon, announced controversial plans for the military to opt out from the ECHR, criticised by human rights groups. May said the change would “put an end to the industry of vexatious claims that has pursued those who served in previous conflicts”.

New army cadet units launched in state schools, starting in “Trojan Horse” school Fallon announced 150 new army cadet units for state schools[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/150-army-cadet-units-open-state-schools-michael-fallon], with the first launched on Tuesday at the Birmingham school at the centre of the “Trojan horse” row[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/apr/14/ofsted-hails-trojan-horse-schools-remarkable-progress] over alleged attempts to introduce a hardline Islamist ethos.

Rockwood Academy, Fallon said, was “a phoenix from the ashes of a Trojan horse school that is now instilling British values”.

Huge new restrictions on overseas students, including two-tier visa rules for poorer quality universities and courses The home secretary, Amber Rudd, said the Home Office would consult on the new student **immigration** system. Proposals include a multi-tiered student visa system[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/04/rudd-announces-crackdown-on-overseas-students-and-new-work-visas], under which rights to bring in families and their right to work, post-study jobs or coming to the UK without passing an English language test, would be tied to the quality of the course and the university.

Firms could be pushed to declare the number of foreign employees Rudd set out a consultation paper on how to encourage businesses to hire British staff, but denied a proposal to make firms list numbers of foreign employees was intended as a “badge of shame”.[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/amber-rudd-defends-proposal-to-make-firms-reveal-foreign-staff-numbers] She admitted it was “not something we’re definitely going to do”.

EU migrants’ rights are one of “main cards” in negotiations In a much-criticised pronouncement, the international trade secretary, Liam Fox, said the uncertain status of EU nationals in the UK was “one of our main cards” in the Brexit negotiations.

Fox said the government would “like to be able to give a reassurance to EU nationals in the UK, but that depends on reciprocation by other countries”.

£3bn for a new homebuilding package The homebuilding fund is a repackaged version of an existing scheme – less than half of the money is new.

A third of the £3bn is short-term loan funding to push for 25,500 new homes before 2020, and an incentive to build faster.

The remaining £2bn is longer-term funding intended to lead to the creation of up to 200,000 more homes, particularly on brownfield sites.

Drive to recruit more prison officers from ex-service personnel A campaign will try to recruit ex-armed forces staff as prison officers, and the justice secretary, Liz Truss, pledged to publish a prison safety and reform plan that will detail “the most far-reaching reforms of our prisons in a generation”.

Landlords could be prosecuted for letting to illegal **immigrants** Landlords renting property to people with uncertain right to remain could end up going to prison, Rudd said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Three days of speeches in Birmingham have given us a much clearer picture of the state of Theresa May’s Tory party

Theresa May’s speech on Wednesday may turn out to be the most revealing of the party conference but after three days quite a lot has already emerged about the state of the Conservative party. Here are 10 things we’ve learned.

1: Brexit will be at the harder end of the scale. This was signalled in Theresa May’s speech on Sunday and – judging not least by the market reaction – it is the most important takeaway from the whole conference. Ministers still seem uncertain as to exactly what they want, but the Norway/Switzerland models (soft Brexit) are out and, although May is not planning to simply walk away and slam the door (the hardest possible Brexit) she will prioritise getting control over **immigration**over single market membership. Brexiters strongly object to the terms hard/soft on the grounds that they are loaded, because hard implies bad (clean/dirty is one alternative formula they prefer), but this terminology is not unreasonable. Economists believe disengaging from the single market will have negative consequences.

Related: Conservative conference: Theresa May's speech - Politics live[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/05/theresa-may-speech-tory-conservative-conference-theresa-mays-speech-politics-live]

2: The Conservative party is largely united behind May on Brexit – but it is complacent about the risks. From what has been said in the conference hall, and on the fringe, you could easily forget that the party was split down the middle on the EU four months ago because now the Tories seem remarkably unified. According to a ConservativeHome poll,[http://www.conservativehome.com/thetorydiary/2016/10/brexit-members-survey-todays-conservativehome-conference-newspaper-in-full.html] 76% of members back the harder Brexit May is offering. But there is a considerable disconnect between Toryworld, where many members are convinced that all forecasts about Brexit being bad for the economy are just wrong, and reality, where May’s speech sent the pound tumbling. Two figures who are not complacent are May herself, who has been warning about “bumps in the road”[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f373d4e4b01506cbf24feb#block-57f373d4e4b01506cbf24feb], and Philip Hammond, the chancellor, who used his speech on Monday to try to warn his party about potential bad news ahead.

3: City and business opinion does not matter to the Tory leadership as much as it used to. Traditionally the Conservative party has been quite deferential towards the City and business but now the tone is different. “City delegates stranded on Planet Tory for the duration of the party conference report the atmosphere has turned toxic,” the Financial Times’ Lombard column reports.[https://www.ft.com/content/7133664a-8a29-11e6-8aa5-f79f5696c731] A Bloomberg story saying the City would get no special favours in the Brexit negotiations[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-03/may-said-to-downgrade-city-in-brexit-shock-for-financial-sector] caused alarm (even though it was denied), and then Amber Rudd, the home secretary, announced a crackdown on work visas that prompted a strong business backlash.[https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/home-affairs/immigration/news/79577/business-backlash-against-amber-rudds-fresh-immigration] In government, Hammond is fighting to protect business interests in the Brexit talks although, in a perceptive Facebook post,[https://www.facebook.com/pestonitv/posts/1703845213273550] ITV’s Robert Peston says the conference shows “the Treasury, in the May government, is less powerful than it’s been for many decades”.

4: May seems serious about defining herself as a centre-ground politician – although so far there is little evidence to show that she will be very different from her predecessor. It is commonplace for political leaders serious about power to argue that they represent the centre ground, or that the centre ground has moved towards them, but May is finding it easier to make this case than David Cameron because for most his premiership the centre ground was taken by his coalition partners, the Lib Dems. However, so far, we have yet to see a big policy shift that makes this real. When Nick Robinson challenged her on Tuesday to show her commitment to working people by axing inheritance tax cuts (which only help the wealthy), or higher public sector pay, May ducked for cover.[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f36c6be4b0643b5d843d5b#block-57f36c6be4b0643b5d843d5b]

5: The Tories aren’t very worried about Labour – but that has not stopped them annexing some of Jeremy Corbyn’s policy territory. In some respects competitive party politics is quite simple; all you have to do is attack your opponents’ bad ideas, pinch their good ones, and make sure you have the sense to tell which is which. The Tories have done that this week, hijacking some of the soundest aspects of the Corbyn agenda: a slower timetable for balancing the budget, reviewing whether employment laws suit the modern workplace, and a migration impact fund. Some Labour figures think that, if the Tories are on their turf, that will help Corbyn, but that is not necessarily so because, on the economy and **immigration**, the Tories are more trusted than Labour. The Tory MP Robert Halfon gave an interesting speech saying his party should worry about Corbyn’s ability to inspire young voters,[http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/jeremy-corbyn-labour-leader-tories-should-be-worried-and-not-celebrating-robert-halfon-minister-mp-a7342636.html] but he has been a lone voice and generally the Conservatives are not taking the threat from Corbyn seriously at all.

6: Next year’s most important election may well be the West Midlands mayoral one. Labour is expected to win the mayoral elections in Greater Manchester and Liverpool city region next year quite easily, but the contest in the West Midlands could turn out to be gripping. The Tories have used the conference to promote their candidate, the outgoing John Lewis boss Andy Street, and Street says that he just needs a 4% swing from the general election results to win. Given that the West Midlands is one of the regions where general elections are often decided, this will be a key test for Corbyn’s Labour versus May’s Conservatives.

7: The Tories have ditched the Cameron era quite ruthlessly. There is little gratitude in politics. Ministers have have been acknowledging David Cameron in their speeches, but their tributes have barely gone beyond the polite and, outside the conference hall, it’s more a case of Dave who? In the atrium there is a display featuring pictures of Tory prime ministers from Robert Peel to John Major from which Cameron is notably absent. The people most closely associated with his administration, like George Osborne and Michael Gove, have not turned up and, in a final indignity, Sir Craig Oliver, Cameron’s former communications chief, was forced to pay the extortionate business attendee rate to get a pass to be allowed entry into the conference building.[http://www.independent.co.uk/david-camerons-former-aide-charged-1500-for-conference-ticket-after-publishing-attack-book-on-a7334966.html]

8: Being foreign secretary has not changed Boris Johnson. Diplomacy is normally associated with a certain amount of gravitas, and before the conference it was not clear whether Johnson would adopt a serious tone, or whether we would get the usual faux-spontaneous, rambling, semi-frivolous standup routine. In the event we got the latter. It was actually a very good speech[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f13f37e4b015be6383371c#block-57f13f37e4b015be6383371c], probably the best anyone has delivered so far (not least for the use of the word “funkapolitan”), although what the mandarins at King Charles Street and Johnson’s fellow foreign ministers made of it is anyone’s guess.

9: The Tories who backed the Vote Leave campaign are not willing to defend its key claims. One of the TV highlights of the conference has been Sky’s Darren McCaffrey trying to get the Tory Vote Leave leaders to defend their claim that Brexit would free up £350m a week for the NHS.[https://twitter.com/SkyNews/status/783193789158481920?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw] The Vote Leave NHS promise was disowned some months ago, but this week we’ve seen further evidence that Vote Leave’s Brexit forecasts were misleading. Rudd said she was not planning to increase **immigration** from the Commonwealth as EU **immigration** falls[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/03/conservative-conference-philip-hammond-confirms-osbornes-austerity-timetable-has-been-dropped-politics-live?page=with:block-57f25d97e4b0ff53b531bb7e#block-57f25d97e4b0ff53b531bb7e] (leavers forecast the opposite) and Brexit ministers are backing away from the claim that there will be no trade-off between controlling **immigration** and enjoying the full benefits of the single market. (Admittedly, some of the worst remain economic forecasts have failed to materialise too, but the person most associated with those claims, George Osborne, is out of the picture.)

10: An early election looks less and less likely. May has been saying for some time that she has no plans for an early election, but in an interview on Sunday[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f04384e4b0ab0063086f3f#block-57f04384e4b0ab0063086f3f] she went further then before, saying an early election would generate “instability”. Just as significantly, it has become clear from what has and has not been said around the conference that there is little appetite in the party for an early poll.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Tim Kaine and Mike Pence went head to head for the first and last time this year. Here’s how they performed

Richard Wolffe:[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/richard-wolffe] Both Pence and Kaine beat their bosses

Mike Pence likes to shake his head in disbelief. It’s a nice touch, much like the permanently pained look on his face.

But at Tuesday’s vice-presidential debate, it wasn’t entirely clear why Pence was so unhappy. Was he opposed to every word coming out of Tim Kaine’s mouth? Or was he just dismayed at his own situation?

It’s not easy campaigning as Donald Trump’s running mate. You can’t admit the obvious: that your presidential candidate is hiding his tax returns, stoking racism and spooking allies around the world.

So you have to deny Trump’s quotes, or accuse your opponent of hurling insults. But most of all, you have to look affable while your running mate looked irascible.

In that sense, Pence succeeded in beating his boss. The problem is: so did Kaine.

If Kaine had one job, it was to repeat as loudly and frequently as possible all the dumb and offensive words that have tumbled out of Trump’s curled lips.

Related: VP debate fact-check: Mike Pence and Tim Kaine's claims reviewed[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/04/vice-president-debate-fact-check-mike-pence-tim-kaine]

It wasn’t a pretty night for the Democratic veep pick. He interrupted too often and smiled too little. He was forced to repeat Trump’s worst insults. He looked and sounded too hot, where his rival looked and sounded too sincere.

But in truth, neither man seemed comfortable in their designated role. Like two insurance salesmen getting drunk at their annual trade conference, Kaine and Pence were just trying too hard.

Kaine tried to beat Pence into submission with pesky facts. Pence tried to smother his facts with a syrupy version of Ronald Reagan. “You can roll out the numbers and the sunny side,” Pence said, “but people in Scranton know different.”

It would be easy to dismiss Kaine-Pence as a sideshow. But given the likelihood that either President Clinton or President Trump gets impeached, we might have just seen the only debate with the ultimate winner of the 2016 election.

Kate Aronoff:[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/kate-aronoff] Kaine was all interruption, no inspiration

This was a disappointing night for the Clinton campaign. While Pence kept his cool, Kaine tried to imitate Joe Biden’s interruption-heavy performance against Paul Ryan in 2012 – without half his charisma. Kaine’s biggest downfall, though, may not have been about tone.

Compared to Kaine, Pence told a compelling – if terrifyingly cynical and blatantly false – story of a country that has lost its way, and how he and Trump intend to restore it. “Make America Great Again” might be one of the best political slogans of the past decade. But Trump owes its creation to people such as Margaret Thatcher and Reagan, who worked to spread the neoliberal gospel that’s now seeped into both parties. That evangelizing project has been incredibly successful, with each candidate airing concerns about government spending, personal responsibility and the limits of American coffers.

There were glaring emissions tonight, too. Despite a series of increasingly brutal projections about the likelihood of catastrophic global warming, talk of climate change was limited to a few coded words at the debate’s start, like the mythical “war on coal” and “clean energy jobs of tomorrow.” A cringe-worthy conversation about criminal justice reform somehow managed not to breach mass incarceration. And a brief discussion of reproductive rights – one that should have been up top given Pence’s deplorable record on the issue – got shunted to the very end.

The Democratic party has spent the past several decades pivoting around terms of debate set by the right. Kaine’s loss in tonight’s debate showed just how much work the Democrats – and the social movements pushing them – need to do to recenter the conversation.

More than the “intelligence surge” Kaine and Clinton keep pushing, the Democratic party needs a surge in imagination, to do more than play defense against attacks from across the aisle and propose transformative solutions, in line with the pain many Americans today are facing. That was sorely missing tonight.

Carla Sorey-Reed:[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/carla-sorey-reed] Pence is a prettier, more practiced Trump

Kaine and Pence had a relatively balanced debate – no knockouts. Two experienced politicians dispatched to further the rhetoric of their campaigns and defend the candidates at the top of the ticket. Neither disappointed.

At the start, when asked what made him a good candidate for the vice-presidency, Kaine faltered. Looking down, he rushed a heavily scripted first answer, told through the filter of Clinton’s point of view, that took too long and strained to connect back to the question. Kaine directed his entire answer off camera, which greatly reduced his engagement with the television audience.

Pence restated Trump’s conservative positions, doubling down on wealth and whiteness for the win. Pence tried to spin away from Kaine’s points on policy, using plain speak – the common language of the Trump campaign. When Kaine pushed Pence on social security, all that Pence could offer was: “There they go again. We’re going to meet our obligations to seniors.”

It was on the topics of policing, **immigration** and women that the difference between the men and their campaigns was made most clear. Both men told personal stories of the national divide across policing. “Implicit bias” was the lightning rod for the discussion. Kaine spoke of “community policing” and “building bonds of understanding” while Pence seemed annoyed with the topic and impatiently attempted to dress down his opponent by saying “… enough of seeking every opportunity to demean law enforcement broadly by making the accusation of implicit bias every time tragedy occurs”. A frightening reality check for minorities.

On **immigration**, Pence offered more thinly veiled hate with “too often with criminal **aliens** in the country, it’s bringing heartbreak”. If only Kaine had challenged him right then and there. As the debate went on, Kaine grew stronger, relying less on prepared statements and messages, and listening and responding in real time.

In the words of Kaine: “From the fullness of the heart, the mouth speaks... Donald Trump is showing you who he is.” Pence speaks the same, only prettier and more practiced. Let us not be fooled.

Related: Kaine and Pence: two Catholic-inspired visions with little else in common[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/04/vp-nominees-tim-kaine-mike-pence-catholic]

Jamie Weinstein:[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/jamie-weinstein] Pence kept his cool – and won by a landslide

Kaine attempted to act like a bulldog Tuesday night but instead came across as a nipping chihuahua.

The senator from Virginia entered the first and only vice-presidential debate intent on making the mild-mannered Pence defend his running mate’s most outrageous statements. But unlike Trump, Pence apparently isn’t prone to chasing shiny objects.

Constantly interrupting Pence and speaking at a mile a minute, Kaine tried for the life of him to get Pence to discuss Trump’s racist attack on Indiana Judge Gonzalo Curiel, Trump’s proposal to ban Muslims, Trump’s praise of Vladimir Putin, Trump’s call to deport all illegal **immigrants**, and so on and so forth. Whatever the accuracy of Kaine’s attacks on Trump – and make no mistake, they were often accurate – Kaine’s style was excessive. By throwing out so many issues in one breath, he made his rhetorical assault hard for viewers to follow. He also made it easy for Pence to ignore him with a shake of the head – a nonverbal “there you go again”.

Kaine’s constant “I know it all” interruptions might be considered the 2016 version of Al Gore’s groans. It made him come across as a thoroughly unlikable figure.

By contrast, Pence was calm and cool. He methodically hammered home the Trump campaign’s positive themes – let’s get America’s economy moving again, let’s put American workers first, let’s bring back American jobs, let’s project strength in the world, America needs change.

Sure, these are broad themes, but presented in Pence’s confident manner, they resonate. Like Kaine, Pence had his share of canned lines. Unlike Kaine, he was able to deliver them in a way that made them appear sincere and sometimes even heartfelt. Performance matters.

Pence won the debate by a landslide, and it’s hard to imagine there will be many in the media who will even attempt to claim otherwise. The only question is how his running mate’s fragile ego will react when all those who panned his debate skills praise Pence’s.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Alan Yuhas fact-checked the statements of the vice-presidential nominees at the first presidential debate at Longwood University in Farmville, Virginia

Mike Pence: ‘Norwood University’ In his opening statement, Pence misstated the name of the university hosting the debate. It is Longwood University, not Norwood.

He also said that Barack Obama has raised more taxes to extraordinary levels This isn’t quite right. There were two major changes to the tax code in Obama’s two terms: the 2012 expiration of tax cuts created by George W Bush (with extensions for people making less than $400,000 a year), and levies to fund the Affordable Care Act (including a penalty for not having health insurance, a 10% tax on tanning services and a 3.8% tax on investment income for top earners).

Obama also enacted temporary cuts meant to spur investment and help Americans in the depths of the financial crisis, but all in all tax rates for most Americans have not changed much since Bush’s presidency, according to a report[https://www.cbo.gov/publication/51361] by the nonpartisan congressional budget office. Under Bush, the top tax rate was 35%; under Obama, the wealthiest Americans pay 39.5%.

Pence: The Obama administration has ‘stifled the economy’ Obama took office in the depths of the 2008 financial crisis, and the economy has crawled back into recovery over his two terms, with employment nearly down to pre-crisis levels. It’s arguable that his policies have restricted some growth, but the economy has held to a steadily upward track.

This summer the OECD gave its stamp[https://www-oecd-org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/eco/surveys/United-States-2016-overview.pdf] of approval to the US economy, saying in a report: “the US economy has rebounded: output has surpassed its pre-crisis peak by 10%, robust private-sector employment gains have sharply reduced unemployment, fiscal sustainability has been largely restored and corporate profits are high.”

Related: Vice-presidential debate live: Mike Pence and Tim Kaine face off[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/oct/04/tim-kaine-mike-pence-vice-presidential-debate-elections-live]

Pence: ‘The Clinton Foundation accepted foreign donations while she was secretary of state … She kept that pay-to-play process in’ Pence is correct that the foundation took donations from foreign governments, and that the charity did not disclose every contribution – in violation of an agreement to identify donors that it made with the Obama administration. But no one has yet produced evidence of a quid pro quo exchange between the Clinton Foundation and its donors.

Pence: ‘It was a failure of the secretary of state’ to acquire a status of forces agreement with Iraq The argument that Hillary Clinton’s failure to secure an agreement with Baghdad over keeping American troops in Iraq ignores several key facts, including that the Bush administration similarly failed. It also ignores that Isis’s first segments[http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/19/world/middleeast/in-rise-of-isis-no-single-missed-key-but-many-strands-of-blame.html] formed[http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/11/world/middleeast/us-actions-in-iraq-fueled-rise-of-a-rebel.html] out of the post-invasion civil war[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/11/-sp-isis-the-inside-story] in Iraq, while Bush was president; that the group took root in Syria’s civil war, where the US did not intervene until 2014; that Obama withdrew American forces in 2011 under the timeline[http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/12/20081214-2.html] agreed on by Bush and Baghdad[http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/22/world/middleeast/united-states-and-iraq-had-not-expected-troops-would-have-to-leave.html]. Pence also voted for the Iraq war, and unlike Clinton has not expressed regret for the vote.

Donald Trump supported the destabilizing invasion of Iraq in 2002[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/24/donald-trump-fact-check-foreign-policy-taxes-business] and supported “surgical” intervention[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/24/donald-trump-fact-check-foreign-policy-taxes-business] to remove Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, though he now claims otherwise. He also supported withdrawal from Iraq in 2007 and 2008[https://www.buzzfeed.com/andrewkaczynski/trump-cites-iraq-withdrawal-he-passionately-supported-to-say?utm\_term=.xhMYJNVWN#.qpgXZWm3W].

Tim Kaine claims that the Bush-era tax cuts were a direct cause of the financial crisis The tax cuts signed by Bush lowered taxes on income, capital gains and dividends, and had several provisions to help married people, parents and the poor. They greatly benefited the wealthy, and unsurprisingly became a symbol of the way inequality in the US has yawned[http://takingnote.blogs.nytimes.com/2016/06/21/the-united-states-of-inequality/] into a chasm[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/28/upshot/todays-inequality-could-easily-become-tomorrows-catastrophe.html] between the rich[http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/09/06/upshot/up-geo-inequality.html] and everyone else. But while inequality may be[http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/22/weekinreview/22story.html] a destabilizing [http://www-economist-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/blogs/freeexchange/2010/08/income\_inequality] force[http://www.neweconomics.org/press/entry/rising-inequality-risks-another-financial-crisis-new-study] in the economy[http://www-economist-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/blogs/freeexchange/2010/08/income\_inequality], the tax cuts themselves were not one of the factors that drove the 2008 crisis.

Related: Tim Kaine v Mike Pence: what to know about the vice-presidential candidates[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/04/mike-pence-tim-kaine-facts-vp-debate-trump-clinton]

A lack of regulation on Wall Street, on the other hand, ranks among the more important causes of the crisis, whose causes include rampant, feckless mortgage lending, irresponsible bundling of those mortgages, and carelessness by ratings agencies and central bankers.

Kaine: ‘15m new jobs’ gained in the Obama administration Kaine is cherry picking statistics, and the 15m figure is not correct in context. Since Obama took office in January 2009 the US has created 10.8m private-sector jobs[http://data.bls.gov/timeseries/CES0000000001], according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Kaine is counting back from the depths of the economic recession, in early 2010, which would erase a full year off of Obama’s presidency.

Kaine: ‘The debt explosion on the Trump side is much much bigger than anything on the Clinton side’ Kaine is correct, according to conservative and nonpartisan thinktanks alike. Clinton’s proposed tax plan would add $191bn to the debt over the long term, according to the [http://taxfoundation.org/sites/default/files/docs/TaxFoundation-FF496.pdf] Committee for a Responsible Budget[http://crfb.org/papers/promises-and-price-tags-preliminary-update], a conservative thinktank. The Tax Policy Center, however, estimates that she would add $1.1tn in revenue[http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/publications/analysis-hillary-clintons-tax-proposals] in a decade, though much of that would be offset by increased spending. The Tax Foundation estimated that Trump’s plan would add $5.3tn to the debt[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/economics/2016/09/26/donald-trump-would-boost-debt-more-than-hillary-clinton-report-says/].

Kaine: Even Richard Nixon released his taxes Richard Nixon did not release his tax returns while running for president in 1960 or in 1968 – he released them in 1973, after his second term began. In 1968 Nixon only gave a limited glimpse of his to a magazine writer and only released the returns under pressure from the Watergate inquiry. He released the returns despite an audit by the IRS, which Trump has repeatedly claimed is his reason for not releasing returns.

You can look at Nixon’s returns at the Presidential Tax History Project[http://www.taxhistory.org/www/website.nsf/web/presidentialtaxreturns]. You can look at Trump’s 1995 returns at the New York Times. If you can somehow see Trump’s later returns, feel free to send copies along to our offices at 222 Broadway, New York.

Kaine: Trump and Pence want to privatize social security Neither Clinton nor Trump has proposed privatizing social security. Pence, on the other hand, supported[http://thehill.com/capital-living/meet-the-lawmaker/20999-house-conservatives-oppose-add-ons] a 2005 plan[http://money.cnn.com/2016/07/15/news/economy/trump-pence-social-security/] that would have modified the program into a private system.

Pence: ‘He’s created a business that’s worth billions of dollars’ There is no direct evidence that Trump’s business is worth billions of dollars – the only tax return publicly available, published by the New York Times[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/02/us/politics/donald-trump-taxes.html] last weekend, shows that he reported a $916m loss in 1995. Trump could prove the worth of his business by publishing his returns. Forbes estimates Trump is worth $3.7bn[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/04/donald-trump-net-worth-forbes-400], far lower than his claimed $10bn.

Kaine: Trump would let states decide whether to be rid of the minimum wage Kaine is correct insofar as Trump has a position on minimum wages, if he’s talking about the federal minimum wage, specifically.

Trump has changed his position on the minimum wage at least three times, including within the span of a single interview. On 26 July, when Fox News host Bill O’Reilly asked him[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MQMK8Iv7tiE] where he would set a federal minimum wage, he repeated a stance from May[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/08/federal-minimum-wage-trump] that the US does not need one: “There doesn’t have to be.”

He then immediately changed his position: “Well, I would leave it, and raise it somewhat.” A day later in Florida he said he wanted a $10 an hour minimum wage, up from the current level of $7.25, and confirmed to a reporter: “federal”. He has most consistently said that states should decide a minimum wage.

Kaine notes, correctly, that black people are more likely than white people to be arrested and given long sentences. They are also more likely to be shot by police[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/31/the-counted-police-killings-2015-young-black-men].

Pence: Clinton and Kaine support ‘open borders’ Neither ticket supports “open borders”, which the US does not have. Pence appears to be using the word to denigrate Barack Obama’s support for **immigration** reform and protection for some undocumented people from deportation. But Obama has deported a record more than 2.5 million people since he took office[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/21/latino-immigrants-us-war-on-terror-study], including a record 438,421 people in 2013[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/10/02/u-s-deportations-of-immigrants-reach-record-high-in-2013/], and increased border patrol staff to a record 21,444 agents in 2011[https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/publications/performance-accountability-financial] ; his policy could not reasonably be described as “amnesty” or “open borders”.

Clinton supports reform to let people pass background checks and pay backtaxes in order to stay in the US, and she supports Obama’s executive actions to shield some migrants, such as people who were brought to the US as children. Like Obama, she supports the deportation for people with criminal records.

Kaine: Trump has ‘called Mexicans rapists and criminals … He attacked an Indiana-born federal judge and said he was unqualified … He said African Americans are living in hell’ Kaine is right that Trump has broadly characterized **immigrants** in derogatory terms, but Trump also almost always gives himself a way out. On 16 June 2015, when he announced his candidacy, Trump said: “They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.”

Trump’s claim is patently false, as we[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/26/donald-trump-fact-check-immigration-inner-cities] and fellow[http://www.npr.org/2016/08/31/492096565/fact-check-donald-trumps-speech-on-immigration] fact-checkers[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2016/09/01/fact-checking-donald-trumps-immigration-speech/] have repeatedly[http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2015/jul/09/donald-trump/donald-trump-says-mexican-government-forces-many-b/] shown, since most migrants leave their homes for work or family and the Mexican government has nothing to do with their emigration. Statistics on crime by non-citizens mostly suggest that Mexican migrants – more of whom are leaving the US than entering – don’t affect overall crime rates.

Trump has i ndeed called judge Gonzalo Curiel unqualified[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/05/donald-trump-muslim-judges-face-the-nation] because the American judge is “Mexican”, and said that African Americans are “living in hell”.[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/28/living-in-hell-milwaukee-segregation-donald-trump]

Pence: Clinton called half of our supporters ‘deplorable’ At a fundraiser[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/10/hillary-clinton-trump-supporters--bigoted-deplorables] Clinton said: “To just be grossly generalistic, you could put half of Trump’s supporters into what I call the basket of deplorables”. This group, she said, included “racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic” people. She later regretted[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/10/hillary-clinton-basket-of-deplorables-donald-trump] the generalization of “half”.

Polling suggests that Trump’s supporters are more likely[http://www-economist-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/united-states/21706341-political-science-refashions-itself-deal-republican-nominee-trump-and] than other voters to express negative sentiments[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-race-idUSKCN0ZE2SW] about minorities. Polls also show lower but significant such sentiment among supporters of Clinton. Her generalization pointed to real racial animus, ignored it among her own supporters and showed how difficult it is to attach a number to racism, even while separate polling[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/18/sharp-differences-over-who-is-hurt-helped-by-their-race/] shows racism[http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2016/06/27/on-views-of-race-and-inequality-blacks-and-whites-are-worlds-apart/] is affecting millions[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/27/blacks-with-college-experience-more-likely-to-say-they-faced-discrimination/] in widespread[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/29/roughly-half-of-hispanics-have-experienced-discrimination/] and systemic ways[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/01/racial-gender-wage-gaps-persist-in-u-s-despite-some-progress/].

Trump’s complaint contradicts his own past remarks. In 2012, after Mitt Romney was lambasted for dismissing 47% of Americans[http://takingnote.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/09/18/the-47-percent/], Trump agreed, telling Fox News[http://news.yahoo.com/video/trump-romney-dont-apologize-47-025517267.html] : “You do have a large percentage of people that feel they’re entitled.” Last year he similarly dismissed half of all Americans, telling Fox[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2015/06/18/donald\_trump\_eventually\_50\_of\_americans\_are\_not\_going\_to\_be\_able\_to\_carry\_the\_other\_50.html] : “We have a society that sits back and says, ‘We don’t have to do anything.’ Eventually the 50% cannot carry, and it’s unfair to them, but cannot carry the other 50%.”

Kaine: Trump hasn’t apologized to anyone Trump has expressed regret for having said “ the wrong thing[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/19/donald-trump-tries-out-a-new-campaign-tactic-saying-sorry] ” but not said what that thing was or whom he had caused “personal pain”.

Kaine: Trump supports the mass deportation of 11 million people During a 10 November debate[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDUADNTpAh0] Trump expressed support for Dwight Eisenhower’s Operation Wetback, the forcible deportation of hundreds of thousands of migrants[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/08/06/annotated-transcript-the-aug-6-gop-debate/], sometimes under inhumane circumstances. He was pressed on this support in an interview with O’Reilly, who himself called the operation “ really brutal[http://www.politico.com/story/2015/11/donald-trump-immigration-deportation-215783] ”.

“Well, well, I’ve heard it both ways. I’ve heard good reports, I’ve heard bad reports,” Trump told the Fox News host. “We would do it in a very humane way.”

But Trump has given mixed messages since his early calls[http://www.cbsnews.com/news/donald-trump-60-minutes-scott-pelley/] for mass deportation, and he has used the phrase “deportation force”[http://www.msnbc.com/hardball/watch/trump-vows-to-deport-11-million-people-564859459935]. In August of this year, he appeared to have doubts,[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/27/donald-trump-immigration-policy-deportation] until finally promising “no amnesty” and a “humane” removal [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-vows-to-deport-millions-during-first-hour-in-office-in-hardline-speech] of migrants.

Kaine: The nuclear deal with Iran has prevented Tehran from developing weapons The nuclear deal with Iran was finalized in July 2015, three years after the end of Clinton’s term as secretary of state, and it does not completely remove Iran’s nuclear program. It removes a reserve of medium-enriched uranium, cuts into its low-enriched uranium, and allows access to international inspectors.

Kaine also appears to exaggerate how quickly Iran could have developed a bomb. During negotiations, intelligence officials and analysts said they believed Iran was two to three months[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/14/world/middleeast/iran-nuclear-deal.html] away from bomb capabilities[http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/world/middleeast/iran-nuclear-deal-is-reached-after-long-negotiations.html]. The terms of the deal extend that “breakout” ability to a year, and have restrictions extending over 10, 15 and 25 years.

Pence: The US doesn’t know who Syrian **refugees** are and should block them The government has a fairly clear idea about how many people are in the US without legal authorization. Using data from the census, Department of Homeland Security, Office of **Refugee** Resettlement and surveys and analysis from Mexico and Latin American countries, the DHS[https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics-publications] and nonpartisan Pew Research[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/11/19/5-facts-about-illegal-immigration-in-the-u-s/] have each been able to estimate the number and arrived at similar figures in recent years: around 11.3 million to 11.5 million people. The margin of error for these figures is generally around a million people at most, not 20 million people as Trump says.

Pew and the DHS both try to account for deaths, under-counted groups, arrivals and departures, and have adjusted their calculations based on decades’ worth of research. Both have found that net migration has stabilized in recent years, and that more undocumented Mexicans are leaving[http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/11/19/more-mexicans-leaving-than-coming-to-the-u-s/] the US than entering it. In other words, recent net migration into the US has hovered near its lowest levels of the past 20 years.

Kaine: Blocking Syrian **refugees** is unconstitutional On Monday, the seventh circuit court of appeals accused Pence of baseless “nightmare speculation” and compared the governor’s attempt to block **refugees** to an attempt to exclude black people from his state, Indiana. Pence tried to deny 174 **refugees** resettlement aid, and the case was taken to court.

“The governor of Indiana believes, though without evidence, that some of these persons were sent to Syria by Isis to engage in terrorism and now wish to infiltrate the United States in order to commit terrorist acts here. No evidence of this belief has been presented, however; it is nightmare speculation,” Judge Richard Posner wrote in the opinion[http://media.ca7.uscourts.gov/cgi-bin/rssExec.pl?Submit=Display&Path=Y2016/D10-03/C:16-1509:J:Posner:aut:T:fnOp:N:1838881:S:0]. Pence lost the case.

Before he became Trump’s running mate, Pence did not support his call to ban Muslims from entering the US[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/07/donald-trump-ban-all-muslims-entering-us-san-bernardino-shooting].

Calls to ban Muslims from entering the U.S. are offensive and unconstitutional.— Governor Mike Pence (@GovPenceIN) December 8, 2015[https://twitter.com/GovPenceIN/status/674249808610066433]

Kaine: ‘A Republican FBI director’ concluded that there was no reasonable prosecutor who would charge Clinton with wrongdoing FBI Director James Comey was Bush’s deputy attorney general, and a registered Republican, but is no longer registered with the party[http://www.politico.com/blogs/james-comey-testimony/2016/07/what-party-is-james-comey-registered-as-225223]. Comey did say that “no reasonable prosecutor would bring such a case” against Clinton over her use of a private email server while secretary of state. But Comey also excoriated Clinton for “extremely careless” practices[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/05/fbi-no-charges-hillary-clinton-email-investigation] and found that she had spoken falsely repeatedly about the system.

Kaine: Trump has praised Vladimir Putin and ‘it’s clear that he has business dealings with Russian oligarchs who are dealing with Putin’ Trump has repeatedly called Russia’s president a “strong leader” and spoken approvingly of this strength and Putin’s polling numbers. For instance, on 18 December 2015 he told MSNBC[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2015/12/18/donald-trump-praises-putin-as-strong-leader/] : “I’ve always felt fine about Putin. I think that he’s a strong leader.”

He added: “He’s running his country and at least he’s a leader, unlike what we have in this country.”

Last September, he told Fox News[http://www.cbsnews.com/news/donald-trump-gives-russias-putin-an-a-in-leadership/] : “In terms of leadership [Putin’s] getting an A.” In a 10 March debate[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YaA2rmuJu9c], Trump tried to hedge on semantics. “Strong doesn’t mean good,” he said. “Putin is a strong leader, absolutely. He is a strong leader. Now I don’t say that in a good way or a bad way. I say it as a fact.”

Pence also said, as Kaine points out, that it’s “inarguable” that Putin is a stronger leader than Obama[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/09/08/mike-pence-says-its-inarguable-that-putin-is-a-stronger-leader-than-obama/].

Kaine also said that Putin “has run his economy into the ground, he persecutes LGBT folks and journalists”.

The caliber of Putin’s leadership is debatable in and of itself. Russia’s economy under Putin’s 16 years of leadership has become over reliant on oil and hamstrung by economic sanctions, themselves prompted by Putin’s aggressive military action in Ukraine. The value of the ruble has collapsed[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-06-28/bank-of-russia-said-to-shield-reserves-as-putin-taps-wealth-fund], and the Kremlin started hinting that it would start to reach into its reserves[http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/04/12/world/europe/russian-economy-tumbling.html]. The economy has shrunk[http://www.ft.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/cms/s/0/a4b9944c-3f77-11e5-b98b-87c7270955cf.html?siteedition=intl] to a smaller GDP than Spain, according to the IMF[http://data.imf.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/?sk=B981B4E3-4E58-467E-9B90-9DE0C3367363], and Russia’s newly active military is involved in conflicts in Ukraine and Syria that appear to have no resolution in sight. In Ukraine nearly 10,000 people[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/29/world/europe/9333-killed-since-ukraine-conflict-began-un-says.html?\_r=0] have been killed, and in Syria nearly 500,000.[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/12/world/middleeast/death-toll-from-war-in-syria-now-470000-group-finds.html] Putin has passed anti-LGBT laws[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/14/vladimir-putin-gives-state-honour-to-anti-gay-politician], clamped down on the press[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/20/donald-trump-defends-vladimir-putin-endorsement], and been accused of murdering opponents, including journalists[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/21/world/europe/moscow-kremlin-silence-critics-poison.html].

Kaine: ‘Trump on the other hand didn’t know that Russia had invaded Crimea’

Pence: ‘He knew that.’ Here’s what Trump told ABC’s This Week in August[http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/31/politics/donald-trump-russia-ukraine-crimea-putin/] : “He’s not going into Ukraine, OK, just so you understand. He’s not going to go into Ukraine, all right? You can mark it down. You can put it down. You can take it anywhere you want.”

Host George Stephanopoulos: “Well, he’s already there, isn’t he?”

Trump: “OK, well, he’s there in a certain way. But I’m not there. You have Obama there. And frankly, that whole part of the world is a mess under Obama with all the strength that you’re talking about and all of the power of Nato and all of this. In the meantime, he’s going away. He takes Crimea.”

Back in 2014, Trump called the invasion of Ukraine “ so smart[https://www.buzzfeed.com/christophermassie/trump-called-russias-invasion-of-ukraine-so-smart-in-2014?utm\_term=.rrwVxox3w] ”.

Pence: ‘That [diplomatic] reset [overseen by Clinton] resulted in the invasion of Ukraine’ This claim strains credulity. Russia invaded Ukraine in the wake of the country’s 2014 revolution, which ousted a pro-Kremlin president who had reneged on a pledge to join an economic pact with the EU.

There is an argument, vaguely, that a lack of American or Nato forces in eastern Europe may have encouraged Russia’s actions, but this is speculative at best. Ukraine is not a member of Nato, the history of Crimea and Russia goes back centuries, and the continued war in eastern Ukraine is being fueled by both the Kremlin and local forces.

Pence: The Associated Press found that more than half of Clinton’s meetings as secretary of state were with donors to the Clinton Foundation The AP story on Clinton’s meetings did not include her meetings with people in the US government and from foreign governments[http://www.politico.com/blogs/on-media/2016/09/ap-deletes-clinton-foundation-tweet-227917] – who were by a huge margin the people she met with while serving as the top diplomat of the United States.

The news agency deleted a tweet about the story – virtually verbatim to what Pence said – for lack of context, and the Associated Press’s vice-president for standards John Daniszewski wrote a blog post about the decision[https://blog-ap-org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/announcements/statement-on-why-ap-deletes-clinton-tweet?utm\_campaign=SocialFlow&utm\_source=Twitter&utm\_medium=AP].

Pence: ‘Trump and I would just never support legislation that would punish a woman for making the heartbreaking decision to terminate a pregnancy’ Kaine is correct that Trump suggested women should be punished for having abortions[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/30/donald-trump-women-abortions-punishment] – he then recanted the idea[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/30/donald-trump-women-abortions-punishment] at the end of a day of flip-flopping positions. Unlike Pence, Trump has not been pro-life his whole life. In 1999, he said[http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/donald-trumps-evolving-stance-abortion/story?id=38057176] : “I hate the concept of abortion. I hate it. I hate everything it stands for, I cringe when I listen to people debating the subject, but still I just believe in choice.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Vice-presidential candidates struggle to escape nominees’ shadow; polls show Clinton lead solidifying; Hillary heads to Harrisburg while Trump hits Arizona

block-time published-time 12.27am BST

GOP announces Pence won debate While you’re shooting pool, the national Republican party is playing three-dimensional chess.

For example, tonight they have already released statements declaring Mike Pence the winner of the debate and Hillary Clinton the loser[https://gop.com/its-clear-who-lost-the-vp-debate-hillary-clinton/].

(The debate hasn’t happened yet.)

enltrThis seems a smidge premature. (v @becket[https://twitter.com/becket] ) pic.twitter.com/wWGpawNyb0[https://t.co/wWGpawNyb0]

— Philip Bump (@pbump) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/pbump/status/783445396660027393]block-time published-time 12.23am BST

Clinton camp: we're preparing for a better prepared Trump Clinton campaign manager Robby Mook tells reporters before tonight’s debate that the campaign expects Trump to be better prepared next time around (even without, apparently[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/01/nigel-farage-donald-trump-ukip-presidential-debate-us], Nigel Farage’s help).

Mook refers to two hours of videos of a Trump deposition in a lawsuit against a restaurateur that was released last week. In the deposition[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/30/trump-comments-mexico-rapists-planned-deposition-video] Trump is indeed poised.

enltrClinton manager Robby Mook, before VP debate: 'We are expecting [Donald Trump] to be better prepared for the next debate.'

— Byron York (@ByronYork) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/ByronYork/status/783442828907188224]enltrMook: 'We all saw those deposition tapes. We know that there is a calm, cool & collected Donald Trump that can show up, and we expect that.'

— Byron York (@ByronYork) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/ByronYork/status/783442910922571776]block-time published-time 12.15am BST

Meet the moderator: Elaine Quijano A veteran of the White House, Pentagon and supreme court beats and a former CNN talent, Elaine Quijano anchors politics coverage on CBSN, the live-streaming digital version of CBS News.

She grew up in a Chicago suburb, majored in engineering and “lucked into a broadcast journalism career”, she tells an interviewer in the Filipinas Magazine clip below:

If Quijano can’t make it, there’s a backup: CSPAN’s Steve Scully, who has been hailed by comedian John Oliver as the most patient man on television:

Politico’s Hadas Gold has spoken with Scully about his preparations for the big night:

While covering the debates like the hundreds of other journalists who descend upon the four universities hosting the debates, Scully has also done the work to prepare his own separate sets of questions for every debate, as though he will be the moderator. That’s because he could end up being one.

“I have the file with me,” Scully said ahead of the debate at Hofstra University last week. “If they call me at 8:59 p.m. I’m ready to go, and if they do in the next three debates I’m ready to go as well.”

Read the full piece here[http://www.politico.com/blogs/on-media/2016/10/steve-scully-the-moderators-understudy-229122]. (thx @bencjacobs[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] )

block-time published-time 12.06am BST

Bill Clinton: 'don't lock him up. Vote' The potential future first gentleman modifies a Barack Obama line – “don’t boo. Vote!” – to stop a crowd in Ohio from chanting “Lock Him Up” – a line in turn borrowed from Trump supporters who enjoy saying “Lock Her Up” about Hillary Clinton.

Not calling for the imprisonment of one’s patently criminal opponent: this qualifies as high-level political discourse:

enltrBill Clinton admonished audience member who says Trump should be "locked up"

"We don't do that," says WJC. "Don't lock him up. Vote."

— Annie Linskey (@AnnieLinskey) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/AnnieLinskey/status/783436405137674241]block-time published-time 12.03am BST

Trump say's he'll live-tweet the debate Trump, having just spoken in Arizona, is flying to Las Vegas to stay at a hotel and watch the debate, the pool of reporters covering his campaign says.

Trump has promised to live-tweet the debate:

enltrI will be watching the great Governor @Mike\_Pence[https://twitter.com/mike\_pence] and live tweeting the VP debate tonight starting at 8:30pm est! Enjoy!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/783391423663964160]HOWEVER, we’d remind our readers that the last time Trump promised to live-tweet a debate, it was a kind of lame six-tweet dribble.

On the eve of a five-way Democratic debate on 13 October 2015, Trump tweeted:

enltrAt the request of many, and even though I expect it to be a very boring two hours, I will be covering the Democrat Debate live on twitter!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) October 13, 2015[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/653868764094722048]Here was Trump’s electrifying commentary:

enltrShould be interesting but too bad the three guys at«1% will be taking up so much time - but who knows, maybe a star will be born (unlikely)

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) October 14, 2015[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/654086271158067201]enltr" @StreckerJosh[https://twitter.com/StreckerJosh] : The Hillary love fest on CNN is ridiculous. I feel bad for the other candidates...especially the non-criminal ones."

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) October 14, 2015[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/654086914878930945]enltrWe will all have fun and hopefully learn something tonight. I will shoot straight and call it as I see it, both the good and the bad. Enjoy!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) October 14, 2015[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/654089397193863168]enltrCan anyone imagine Chafee as president? No way.

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) October 14, 2015[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/654101562948763648]enltrO'Malley, as former Mayor of Baltimore, has very little chance.

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) October 14, 2015[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/654102127921524736]block-time published-time 11.50pm BST

From Lloyd Bentsen’s “Senator, you’re no Jack Kennedy” to Geraldine Ferraro’s “I almost resent, vice president Bush, your patronizing attitude” to Sarah Palin’s “Say it ain’t so, Joe” – USA Today has a medley of top moments from previous vice presidential debates ( click through[http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2016/10/03/vice-presidential-debate-history/91217648/] if video player below is not working for you):

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.52pm BST

block-time published-time 11.38pm BST

Michelle Obama: 'Clinton is tough' Michelle Obama campaigned for Clinton in Charlotte, North Carolina, today.

There’s a striking moment when the first lady is talking about Clinton’s resilience and taps her microphone in apparent reference to Trump’s blaming his lost debate Monday on a microphone malfunction:

Hillary Clinton is tough. I watched her. When she gets knocked down, she doesn’t complain. She doesn’t cry foul. No, she gets right back up, comes back stronger.

Michelle Obama pleads for women to vote for Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/04/michelle-obama-pleads-for-women-to-vote-for-hillary-clinton-video]block-time published-time 11.30pm BST

Clinton hits Trump on PTSD remarks Clinton convened a news conference after a rally today in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to discuss Trump’s remarks about veterans with PTSD, which vice president Joe Biden criticized passionately[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/04/joe-biden-calls-donald-trump-uninformed-after-ptsd-comments-video] on Monday.

“Our troops deserve a commander-in-chief who respects and understands the sacrifices they make,” Clinton says.

Then she takes a question about Trump’s taxes, saying “there are some very successful business people in America... but [Trump is] unable to release his tax records because there’s more in there... Someone who’s claiming to run for president based on his business success should be judged on his business success.”

Then Clinton takes a softball question about how she will appeal to potentially crossover Republicans sick of Trump. And that’s where she mistakenly refers to the 35 days left in the election as 35 years ( see earlier[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/oct/04/tim-kaine-mike-pence-vice-presidential-debate-elections-live?page=with:block-57f4221ce4b0d9ed530ef00e#block-57f4221ce4b0d9ed530ef00e] ).

Clinton also says she’s “very confident and excited about Tim Kaine in the debate tonight.”

Clinton is asked what she learned from the first debate:

I learned that preparation is important.”

enltrHere is the video of the Hillary Clinton news conference from today https://t.co/74toMNGALP[https://t.co/74toMNGALP]

— Jamie Dupree (@jamiedupree) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/jamiedupree/status/783431593318838273]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.35pm BST

block-time published-time 11.14pm BST

Trump is done in Arizona. He tells people to vote on 8 November but doesn’t tell them they can start voting early in the state in about two weeks and doesn’t tell them they can vote by mail.

Arizona is good for 11 electoral votes. Polling averages have Trump leading in the state, which voted for Bill Clinton in 1996 but before that had not gone Democratic in a presidential election year since Truman.

HuffPost Pollster’s rolling average in Arizona. Photograph: Huffpost Pollster block-time published-time 11.09pm BST

Each side has produced a video attacking the other side’s vice presidential nominee (the attack on Pence was produced by the Clinton campaign; the attack on Kaine was produced by the Republican national committee).

Here they are:

enltrMike Pence: a divisive, anti-woman, anti-LGBT, anti-worker extremist.

No wonder Trump picked him. #VPDebate[https://twitter.com/hashtag/VPDebate?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/icAN1P5DN2[https://t.co/icAN1P5DN2]

— Hillary Clinton (@HillaryClinton) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/783287712405155841] “America Deserves Better” block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.20pm BST

block-time published-time 11.05pm BST

What does the C stand for again? (That’s a joke at Clinton’s expense[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/hillary-clinton-emails-laptop-thumb-drive-archive-missing].) (And if you have to explain humor, it’s bad.)

enltrPost-debate polls in PA, NC, and FL--basically must-wins for Trump:

PA: C+10, C+9, C+4

FL: C+5, C+4, C+2, C+1

NC: C+6, C+3, C+2, C+2, C+1

— Nate Cohn (@Nate\_Cohn) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/Nate\_Cohn/status/783426142988541953]block-time published-time 11.03pm BST

Trump is addressing a crowd now in Prescott Valley, Arizona. He’s talking about murders in Chicago. Watch it live here:

block-time published-time 11.01pm BST

Follow baseball? There’s a wildcard playoff game tonight between the Baltimore Orioles and Toronto Blue Jays. The game begins just after 8pm ET. And a lot of you out there on social media sound conflicted about what to watch...

enltrYou know we could just call this VP debate a tie and watch the AL wildcard instead.

— (((Harry Enten))) (@ForecasterEnten) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/ForecasterEnten/status/783403872035467264]block-time published-time 10.54pm BST

Andrew Anthony has interviewed Ann Coulter for the Guardian. Coulter is a perennially relevant conservative shock-jock whose inTENSE enthusiasm this election cycle for Donald Trump and his scorched-earth **immigration** policies was only temporarily shaken when Trump appeared this summer to be leaving those policies behind.

Then he got back in line and she got back in line. From the interview:

Do you think the Republican party will survive Donald Trump?

The only way it can survive is with Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump]. What’s really hurting his message more than anything else, especially among black voters, is that he’s a Republican. That’s what the Republican party has done to the brand. The sooner it gets rebranded the Trumpian Republican party the better. Finally, we have a candidate who cares about Americans and not just the donor class.

enltrMy testy interview w/ The Guardian! Ann Coulter on Trump: ‘Finally, we have a candidate who cares about Americans’ - https://t.co/hhTzDYoWee[https://t.co/hhTzDYoWee]

— Ann Coulter (@AnnCoulter) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/AnnCoulter/status/783405828959121409]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.32pm BST

block-time published-time 10.43pm BST

Quick make a joke about this tweet:

enltrClinton slips and says it's 35 years, not 35 days until the election.

— Chris Megerian (@ChrisMegerian) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/ChrisMegerian/status/783419533092499456]BUZZER too late, that one’s been taken:

enltryou ok, tweeps? pic.twitter.com/c7tJFHASJ7[https://t.co/c7tJFHASJ7]

— Elise Foley (@elisefoley) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/elisefoley/status/783419980251590656](h/t @nicolepuglise[https://twitter.com/nicolepuglise?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] )

block-time published-time 10.39pm BST

On the off chance your vice presidential debate night expectations are so low that they’re bringing you dangerously close to that territory of, “Hell, no, I’m not going to watch the vice-presidential debate! I’ve got closets to organize” – well, reminder: Tim Kaine has a Donald Trump impression up his sleeve.

enltrI wonder if Tim Kaine practiced his Donald Trump impression for tonight

— Nicole Puglise (@nicolepuglise) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/nicolepuglise/status/783419609059852288]Sure, when he rolled it out at the national convention, it was widely panned, although most people gave him credit for trying, which was nice of them:

block-time published-time 10.33pm BST

Clinton hits Trump for body-shaming women At a town hall rally Tuesday, a student told Hillary Clinton that Trump does damage “when he talks about women and how they look” and asks how she would fix it.

Clinton says Trump has taken body shaming to a “new level of..meanness.”

“There are too many young women online who are being bullied about how they look. And who are being shamed and mistreated.”

Hillary and Chelsea Clinton talk women’s equality with Elizabeth Banks[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/oct/04/hillary-and-chelsea-clinton-talk-womens-equality-with-elizabeth-banks-video]block-time published-time 10.22pm BST

Links to “stories” by the bug-eyed conspiracy site Infowars have been tweeted approvingly this year by Trump père and by both Trump sons. The Trump campaign seems to think of Infowars, like Breitbart, as a kind of opposition research wing, or at least a useful whip for the base. The problem is that Infowars flies over the cuckoo’s nest on its commute to work.

Alex Jones, the program’s star host, thinks George W Bush did 9/11 and actors staged Sandy Hook. Jones’ audience has expanded immensely thanks to the Trump spotlight. Here is him last night mad that Wikileaks’ Julian Assange did not leak documents damaging Hillary Clinton as Assange hinted he would do:

enltrHere's Alex Jones freaking out on Julian Assange https://t.co/zx6jSidGwp[https://t.co/zx6jSidGwp]

— Maggie Haberman (@maggieNYT) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/maggieNYT/status/783414531028611072]block-time published-time 10.11pm BST

White Stripes 'disgusted' by use of song in Trump video The White Stripes, who broke up in 2011, have issued a statement of repulsion that the song Seven Nation Army was used in a Trump booster video – not a Trump campaign official video, it appears, but a video made by an outside fan group identified in at least one place[http://www.thegatewaypundit.com/2016/08/must-see-unofficial-trump-ad-will-win-election/] as Downstream Politics (the video was taken down from the Trump subreddit site and elsewhere).

undltr pic.twitter.com/k4n61xdXhz[https://t.co/k4n61xdXhz]

— Third Man Records (@thirdmanrecords) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/thirdmanrecords/status/783403933985234944]Update: other famous people disgusted by Trump:

enltr?? Would Anthony Bourdain dine with @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] ? "Absolutely f---ing not" https://t.co/vqrHThiAQe[https://t.co/vqrHThiAQe] | AP Photo pic.twitter.com/9QqchC553S[https://t.co/9QqchC553S]

— POLITICO (@politico) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/politico/status/783424486200766465]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.56pm BST

block-time published-time 9.48pm BST

What kind of dad are these two men? The Hill’s Reid Wilson has an answer:

enltrTim Kaine strikes me as the dad who brings you orange slices when you’re a few years too old for orange slices. (1/2)

— Reid Wilson (@PoliticsReid) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/PoliticsReid/status/783407136344797184]enltrMike Pence strikes me as the dad who begins uncomfortable talks about sex or drugs by saying “Let’s rap.” (2/2)

— Reid Wilson (@PoliticsReid) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/PoliticsReid/status/783407187888640001]block-time published-time 9.46pm BST

Vice president Joe Biden’s advice for the debaters tonight seems to be, “drop out if you’re Mike Pence”.

What’s Kaine supposed to do with that?

enltrDebate advice from @VP[https://twitter.com/VP] Joe Biden, via pool pic.twitter.com/gpLjLMueMk[https://t.co/gpLjLMueMk]

— Phil Elliott (@Philip\_Elliott) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/Philip\_Elliott/status/783382103853506560]block-time published-time 8.16pm BST

Gary Johnson’s presidential campaign has announced that television host Drew Carey has joined the campaign as an honorary campaign chair for the state of California.

Gary Johnson. Photograph: David Zalubowski/AP “I couldn’t be more honored,” Johnson said in a statement. “Drew’s support means a great deal to Bill Weld and me, and his willingness to take such a prominent leadership role is extremely gratifying. His voice reaches millions of Americans across all ages and political persuasions. I look forward to joining Drew on the campaign trail in California and beyond.”

“Getting behind Gary Johnson was an easy choice,” said Carey. “Gary Johnson is reasonable. He’s a real person. He’s a pragmatic problem-solver who knows how to govern.”

“I’m happy to join Gary Johnson and to campaign for a candidate, here in California and across America, who doesn’t want your money to be wasted or want your children put at risk in a needless war.”

block-time published-time 7.57pm BST

Gary Johnson: Ignorance is an asset No words:

block-time published-time 7.26pm BST

Alex Jones has promised a game-changing leak of information on Hillary Clinton’s campaign tomorrow - clearly, he’s up to something.

enltrThere's a war on for your mind and https://t.co/q3XYgIsba1[https://t.co/q3XYgIsba1] is the 21st century cavalry! pic.twitter.com/O90PwBzwA2[https://t.co/O90PwBzwA2]

— Alex Jones (@RealAlexJones) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/RealAlexJones/status/783370537292566529]block-time published-time 6.41pm BST

Vice president Joe Biden crashed a college party today, starring in a public service announcement about preventing sexual assault on university campuses.

Alongside actor Adam Devine, the vice president poses as a college student - complete with aviator glasses - before cutting the music and teaching college kids about consent.

“So, like, if you see a buddy and he’s talking to someone who’s too drunk to consent, you tell that buddy, like, ‘Yo, buddy, chill!’” Devine announces. “And then you make sure that drunk person gets home safe, right?”

“Exactly. You’ve got this,” Biden replies. “It’s easy to make a difference this school year.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.55pm BST

block-time published-time 6.20pm BST

It’s turning out to be an awful week for Donald Trump. The Republican nominee for president is worth some $800m less this year than he was last year, according to the Forbes 400[http://www.forbes.com/sites/jenniferwang/2016/09/28/the-definitive-look-at-donald-trumps-wealth-new/#32c6bf277e2d], an annual ranking of the world’s wealthiest people.

Donald Trump. Photograph: Marshall/REX/Shutterstock Trump’s net worth fell from $4.5bn to $3.7bn between the 2015 and 2016 ranking. He is now tied for 156th place in the magazine’s annual wealth competition with fellow real estate developers Jerry Speyer and Igor Olenicoff, FedEx founder Frederick Smith, and Steven Spielberg, who saw his own net worth rise by about $100m. Trump is down 35 places from 2015.

His fall came as the rich got even richer. The country’s 400 richest were worth $2.4tn this year and had an average net worth of $6bn, both record highs. For the 23rd straight year[http://www.forbes.com/sites/kerryadolan/2016/10/04/inside-the-2016-forbes-400-facts-and-figures-about-americas-richest-people/#64c189b39730], the wealthiest person on the list was Microsoft founder Bill Gates. Gates gained $5bn in the last year – his net worth has increased from $76bn to $81bn.

Trump’s net worth has been a subject of much debate over the course of his presidential campaign, as his steadfast refusal to release his tax returns has kept most details of his financial dealings out of the public eye. The New York Times revealed last week that Trump had declared a $916m loss[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/02/donald-trump-income-tax-returns-published] on his 1995 state tax returns; the partial returns provided to the Times by an anonymous source are the largest single disclosure of Trump’s financial dealings.

Fortune’s research into Trump’s wealth has the advantage of 35 years of research on the man – the first time Forbes published an estimate of Trump’s wealth was on its first-ever Forbes 400 in 1982, when he was worth a mere $100m. Nowadays, young Trump wouldn’t even make the list – the poorest person on the 400 is car dealership magnate Gail Miller, with $1.7bn. Even adjusted for inflation, Trump’s $100m in 1982 is “only” $249m.

Related: Donald Trump's net worth is down $800m, according to Forbes[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/04/donald-trump-net-worth-forbes-400]

block-time published-time 5.38pm BST

Hillary Clinton campaigns in Haverford, Pennsylvania Watch it live here:

block-time published-time 5.28pm BST

Senator Tom Cotton (R-Arkansas) looks like he’s getting ready for a future campaign run, speaking at the Iowa GOP’s Annual Reagan Dinner this Saturday night before the debate.

Cotton has been a hesitant Trump supporter. Cotton is pro NATO and thinks the Iraq War is just, he completed combat tours in both Iraq and Afghanistan. He also served as a platoon leader at Arlington National Cemetery, where he ran military honors funerals. He’s seen as a rising star of the GOP.

block-time published-time 5.00pm BST

Bernie Sanders is busy campaigning for Hillary Clinton with a packed schedule on Thursday, thanks to rallies in Dearborn, Ann Arbor, East Lansing, and Grand Rapids.

The first of the four events on Thursday begins in Dearborn, a predominantly Arab-Muslim community just outside of Detroit, won by Sanders in the primaries.

But someone might need to remind President Bill Clinton that Sanders is a friend now.

enltrProtesters shouting abt criminal justice reform, Bill replies: "Hillary didn't vote for the 94 crime bill even though Sen. Sanders did."

— Alexandra Jaffe (@ajjaffe) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/ajjaffe/status/783334087792664576]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.08pm BST

block-time published-time 4.40pm BST

Filings suggest Trump Foundation helped fund 2016 run Donald Trump used his foundation to donate at least $286,000 to conservative political groups to fuel his presidential run, according to an investigation by RealClearPolitics[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2016/10/04/trump\_used\_foundation\_funds\_for\_2016\_run\_filings\_suggest.html].

RealClearPolitics reviewed the foundation’s tax filings[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2016/10/04/trump\_used\_foundation\_funds\_for\_2016\_run\_filings\_suggest.html] and say they found donations by Trump’s foundation from 2011-2014, totaling at least $286,000, that helped Trump secure speeches and endorsements as part of his campaign to become the Republican nominee.

President of the Palmetto Family Council, Oran Smith, said after he met with Trump to speak about conservative politics and the chance of a presidential run, Trump sent him a $10,000 check for Palmetto from the Trump Foundation.

RealClearPolitics explains how Trump donated money to specific organizations:

Although sources familiar with the thinking behind the donations cautioned that Trump did not explicitly ask for favors in return for the money, they said the contributions were part of a deliberate effort by Trump to ingratiate himself with influential conservatives and brighten his political prospects.

“He was politically active starting in 2011,” said one source with ties to Trump, and at that point he “started to make strategic donations.”

The lion’s share of those donations came from Trump’s personal funds and went straight to political campaigns or parties. But others, in particular those directed to the nonprofit arms of conservative policy groups, originated with Trump’s foundation.

“If he could do 501(c)(3) to 501(c)(3), he did it that way,” said the source, using the tax code designation for nonprofit organizations.

Yesterday to New York Attorney General placed a cease-and-desist on the Trump Foundation soliciting money in New York as part of an investigation into the Trump Foundation.

block-time published-time 4.22pm BST

Eric Trump tried to spin his father’s 3am insulting tweets about Alicia Machado in an interview with Fox News today by saying it showed “he’s a worker” but did note that sometimes Trump’s energy can be a “downfall.”

“Listen, at least my father’s up at 3 o’clock in the morning, right? Which, you know, is great,” said Trump in an interview with FOX News Channel’s America’s Newsroom.

“Maybe that energy is sometimes a little bit of a downfall of his, but he’s an amazing guy and he’ll be there to answer the call, you know, when things go bad,” said Trump.

“The one thing I’ll say about my father is he works harder than any human being alive. He is a worker. He has worked tirelessly on this campaign, he has worked tirelessly his entire career and he’ll work tirelessly for America,” said Trump.

block-time published-time 4.17pm BST

Former Florida Governor Charlie Christ is running for Congress, and his new ad is one of the most charming political ad we’ve seen in a while. It even addresses his well-documented[http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/politics/archive/2014/10/charlie-crists-fan-a-love-story/381529/] love for fans, to stop him sweating in the Florida humidity.

block-time published-time 3.26pm BST

Republican Senator says Trump 'absolutely' a role model, before recanting It ain’t easy being a Republican these days.

New Hampshire senator Kelly Ayotte, a Donald Trump sceptic, yesterday said her party’s presidential nominee was “absolutely” a role model for children - and then later flipped and claimed that she “misspoke”.

Ayotte is busy trying to fight for re-election, but is in a complicated spot where she hasn’t endorsed Trump and doesn’t support him but says she will vote for him.

But during a debate as part of the contest for her seat last night, she was asked if she believed Trump was a good example for children: “Would you point to him as a role model?”

She seemed uncertain.

“I think that certainly there are many role models that we have, and I believe he can serve as president, so absolutely I would do that,” said Ayotte.

“If you think he can serve as president, why won’t you endorse him?” asked a moderator.

“Because I’ve had some disagreements with him,” she replied.

Immediately after the debate, she issued a statement.

“I misspoke tonight. While I would hope all of our children would aspire to be president, neither Donald Trump nor Hillary Clinton have set a good example and I wouldn’t hold up either of them as role models for my kids,” she said.

At the weekend Ayotte had struck a more moderate tone, giving away free condoms on the campaign trail to push her plan on birth control. The poster at the event claimed to “Use Condom Sense!”

Ayotte is in a close race with Democratic governor Maggie Hassan, who was endorsed by Planned Parenthood, Emily’s List and NARAL. While it’s unusual for a Republican to favor contraception, Ayotte is certainly attempting to appeal to women by pivoting from traditional party platforms.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.54pm BST

block-time published-time 3.16pm BST

The VP debate takes place at Longwood University in Virginia tonight and the marching band is already warming up.

enltrHey we've got a band! The VP debate is a blast #nbc2016[https://twitter.com/hashtag/nbc2016?src=hash] #VPDebate[https://twitter.com/hashtag/VPDebate?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/KlsIuC3TSF[https://t.co/KlsIuC3TSF]

— Kelly O'Donnell (@KellyO) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/KellyO/status/783302959610400768]block-time published-time 3.10pm BST

Columnist Jamie Weinstein says the biggest issue in tonight’s VP debate might be Donald Trump.

If you viewed the presidential debate as a bloody mixed martial arts cage match, the vice-presidential debate is more likely to be akin to a game of patty cakes.

When Tim Kaine and Mike Pence[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/mike-pence] square off in rural Virginia on Tuesday night, many Americans will probably come away feeling like they did after the 2000 vice-presidential debate between Dick Cheney and Joe Lieberman: can’t these guys be at the top of their respective tickets?

Kaine and Pence are both fairly mild-mannered politicos with a deep interest in and knowledge of policy. Even as partisans view Pence and Kaine with disdain for their positions on various social and economic issues, many voters still see them both as more personally appealing than Clinton and Trump, which is empirically the lowest bar in modern presidential campaign history.

But just because the VP debate is likely to be more of a wonkfest than a rhetorical slugfest doesn’t mean there isn’t a potential for fireworks. There is – though mainly at the expense of Mike Pence.

Pence took a risk when he joined the Republican ticket. The Indiana governor tied his political fortunes to an erratic, orange-haired huckster. The upside was he got an escape from a competitive re-election race and, if Trump wins, would be one heartbeat away from the presidency. The downside is that his political career will forever be marred by his connection to a guy who goes around claiming his political rival’s father may have been an accomplice[http://www.politico.com/blogs/2016-gop-primary-live-updates-and-results/2016/05/trump-ted-cruz-father-222730] in the JFK assassination.

Pence has been forced to defend some pretty un-Pence-like statements during his time connected with Trump, such as[http://www.mediaite.com/tv/raddatz-grills-pence-why-did-trump-keep-birtherism-going-for-so-long/] Trump’s half-decade-long birther crusade. But nothing will compare to what Pence might get on the debate stage on Tuesday.

Read the rest here[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/04/vice-presidential-debate-mike-pence-tim-kaine].

Related: In the vice-presidential debate, Mike Pence has a problem: Donald Trump | Jamie Weinstein[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/04/vice-presidential-debate-mike-pence-tim-kaine]

block-time published-time 2.40pm BST

Emotional Biden slams Trump over veteran PTSD comments A furious Joe Biden slammed the podium and called Donald Trump “uninformed” for his comments regarding veteran suicide and strength, getting emotional as he spoke of the toll of military deaths on the community and Trump’s misunderstanding of the issues.

“I don’t think he was trying to be mean. He is just so thoroughly, completely, uniformed,” declared Biden.

His anger sprung from Trump’s comments to a veterans group in Virginia yesterday.

“They see maybe what people in this room have seen many times over, and you’re strong and can handle it, but a lot of people can’t handle it,” said Trump.

Many in the military community viewed it as calling those suffering PTSD as not “strong.”

Biden’s response was passionate and emotional, mentioning his own son Beau Biden, a decorated officer who died last year from brain cancer.

He also recounted how on one of his 29 visits to Iraq and Afghanistan a young heroic captain tried to refuse his medal because the person he’d tried to save from a burning truck died.

“Sir, I don’t want the medal,” he said, the vice-president recalled.

“How many night does that kid go to sleep, seeing that image in his head, dealing with it,” roared Biden.

Biden said that every day his staff contact the Department of Defense and gets updated figures on military deaths and injuries. He quoted the death toll of American troops in Iraq and Afghanistan as 6753, slamming his hand against the podium while he said the number.

“Cause every one of those warriors left behind an entire family, a community, for us. Every one of them,” he declared, noting the 52,490 wounded military officers and the unseen wounds that result in 20 suicides a month in returned veterans.

“We only have one sacred obligation: to care for those we send to war and oto care for them and their families when they come home... That’s the only sacred, sacred, obligation we have,” said Biden.

block-time published-time 1.33pm BST

Hello, and welcome to our live-wire coverage of the 2016 race for the White House.

VP debate night Tonight vice-presidential hopefuls Tim Kaine and Mike Pence will go head to head in the first and only vice-presidential debate.

Rarely have two running mates been so overshadowed by the candidates at the top of the ticket, writes David Smith in his debate preview[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/04/tim-kaine-mike-pence-vp-debate-trump-clinton-us-election]. Can’t quite remember who they are? Check out our debate primer[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/04/mike-pence-tim-kaine-facts-vp-debate-trump-clinton].

Related: Tim Kaine v Mike Pence: what to expect at the VP debate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/04/tim-kaine-mike-pence-vp-debate-trump-clinton-us-election]

Related: Mike Pence v Tim Kaine: what to know about the vice-presidential candidates[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/04/mike-pence-tim-kaine-facts-vp-debate-trump-clinton]

WikiLeaked nothing yet Julian Assange, founder of WikiLeaks, promised[http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/10/04/wikileaks-assange-promises-leaks-election/91524362/] a “significant” leak of documents before the upcoming US election – but so far he has still given no detail on what this #octobersurprise might be.

“We are going to need an army to defend us from the pressure that is already starting to arise,” said Assange at a early-morning video-link press conference from the Ecuadorian embassy in London, where he has been taking **refuge** from a Swedish extradition request since 2012.

In August Assange promised to release documents relating to Hillary Clinton.

Polls polls polls A trio of new polls are out, all showing a lead for Clinton. A NBC News/SurveyMonkey online poll shows[http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/data-points/poll-hillary-clinton-holds-national-lead-over-donald-trump-n658721] the Democratic candidate up six points, the same as last week. A CBS News poll[http://www.cbsnews.com/news/hillary-clinton-edges-ahead-of-donald-trump-after-first-presidential-debate-hofstra-2016-cbs-nyt-poll/], the first since the presidential debate last week, shows her up four points, 45-41. Before the debate she and Donald Trump had been tied at 42.

A new CNN/ORC poll[http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/03/politics/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-presidential-polls/] has Clinton with a five-point lead over Trump, 47-42. The post-debate boost comes from men and independents – and even includes a bump from white people without college degrees, which is Trump’s base, says CNN.

The Real Clear Politics polling average has Clinton ahead by 3.8 points in a two-way race[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/us/general\_election\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5491.html], and four points in a four-way race[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/us/general\_election\_trump\_vs\_clinton\_vs\_johnson\_vs\_stein-5952.html]. That would give her a solid 205 electoral votes in the bag[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/2016\_elections\_electoral\_college\_map.html], with Trump winning 165, and 168 to play for. A total of 270 is needed to win.

Pollster Will Jordan from YouGov is noticing a new polling trend:

enltrSIX polls in the field between Thursday and Sunday. ALL of them have Clinton leading by 5-7 points in a head-to-head. pic.twitter.com/rJUBi8EVU0[https://t.co/rJUBi8EVU0]

— Will Jordan (@williamjordann) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/williamjordann/status/783263093942001668] Events today Clinton will campaign in Harrisburg, PA, with daughter Chelsea and actress Elizabeth Banks at midday ET. Reporter Dan Roberts will be there. Husband Bill is on his bus tour across eastern Ohio and the Mahoning Valley, Bernie Sanders will campaign for her in Minneapolis and Duluth and the first lady, Michelle Obama, will stump for Clinton in Charlotte and Raleigh.

Trump is hosting a 2pm rally in Prescott Valley, AZ.

Thanks for reading and please join us in the comments.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the developments at the Conservative party conference, including May says she is happy to be seen as a ‘bloody difficult woman’6 things we’ve learnt from May’s morning interviews6 things we haven’t learnt from May’s interviewsRudd announces curbs on migrants coming to UK to work or study

block-time published-time 5.50pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* Amber Rudd has announced huge new restrictions on overseas students, including two-tier visa rules affecting poorer quality universities and courses, a crackdown on work visas and the introduction of a £140m “controlling migration fund”. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/04/rudd-announces-crackdown-on-overseas-students-and-new-work-visas]

\* The value of Britain’s top 100 companies came close to an all-time closing high on Tuesday as the stock market benefited from a plunge in the value of sterling. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/04/ftse-100-near-record-high-pound-31-year-low] As Phillip Inman reports, the FTSE 100 closed at 7,074.34, taking it closer to the 7,104 record reached in April 2015. Shortly before closing, the FTSE came within one point of the all-time intra-day high of 7,122 but the index fell away during the closing auction. The FTSE [https://www.theguardian.com/business/ftse] 250 index of more domestically focused medium-sized firms also received a boost, climbing 0.8% to an all-time closing high of 18,342.Analysts said the market reacted strongly to concerns that Theresa May would support quitting the European Union [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/brexit-theresa-may-prioritises-immigration-curbs-over-free-movement] with only a rudimentary trade deal that would cost the UK growth and jobs.

\* The International Monetary Fund has predicted the UK will be the fastest growing of the G7 leading industrial countries this year and accepted that its prediction of a post-Brexit-vote financial crash has proved overly pessimistic. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/04/britain-fastest-growing-g7-economy-imf-international-monetary-fund-brexit-vote]

\* Guy Verhofstadt, the European parliament’s chief Brexit negotiator, has joined calls to rebuff advance talks with the UK, underlining the scale of the diplomatic task facing the British government. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/brexit-eu-parliaments-chief-negotiator-advance-talks-theresa-may-article-50]

\* Michael Fallon has announced 150 new army cadet units for state schools, with the first launched on Tuesday at the Birmingham school at the centre of the“Trojan horse” row over alleged attempts to introduce a hardline Islamist ethos. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/150-army-cadet-units-open-state-schools-michael-fallon]

\* Theresa May has come under fire for suggesting foreign doctors will only be working in the NHS for an “interim period” until more UK-trained physicians are available. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/04/jeremy-hunt-accused-devaluing-contribution-foreign-doctors-to-uk] In an interview this afternoon she insisted that her comment had been misinterpreted. She said that it would be up to hospitals to decide who they employed, and that she wanted EU nationals to be able to stay in the UK after Brexit - provided the rights of Britons living on the continent are protected.

That’s all from me for today.

block-time published-time 5.49pm BST

Status of EU nationals in UK is a negotiating 'card' in Brexit talks, says Fox The uncertain status of EU nationals living in the UK is “one of our main cards” in the Brexit negotiations with the bloc, Liam Fox has said.

Speaking at Conservative party conference, the international trade secretary reiterated that no commitment would be given on the rights of two million EU citizens to remain in the UK until reciprocal rights were agreed for British citizens in Europe.

Fox , who was speaking at a fringe event, said the government would “like to be able to give a reassurance to EU nationals in the UK, but that depends on reciprocation by other countries”.

He said any other strategy “would be to hand over one of our main cards in the negotiations and doesn’t necessarily make sense at this point”.

Liam Fox . Photograph: Carl Court/Getty Images block-time published-time 5.29pm BST

The teaching unions were largely unimpressed by education secretary Justine Greening’s social mobility “opportunity areas” speech (see 4.53pm), [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f3ce56e4b0d3973ef5f8dc#block-57f3ce56e4b0d3973ef5f8dc] which promised £60m for six deserving areas - but against a backdrop of increased academic selection.

Russell Hobby, general secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers , said:

Opportunity areas are a positive idea, but they must not be used to merely mitigate the impact of greater selection.

Back in July we welcomed Justine to her post with four suggested priorities – tackle the chaos and confusion in primary assessment, introduce a fair funding formula, ensure that good and outstanding schools are not forced to become academies against their will, and make PSHE compulsory in our schools.

As the government chases yet another structural reform, we know that the real priorities in education will suffer. Grammar schools are a gamble for parents and pupils. Instead of this divisive and risky reform, we need a calm focus on the pressing issues within education.

The National Union of Teachers was equally unenthusiastic. General secretary Kevin Courtney said:

It is clear that increasing the number of selective schools will consign the majority of children to a second-tier school system. The £60m announced today does not sweeten that pill at all.

It is a drop in the ocean compared with the 8% real terms funding cuts to schools which will result in £2.5bn being removed from the education system. This extra money will not go far compared with the impacts of the worst funding crisis in decades for all schools and sixth form colleges.

Alan Milburn, chair of the Social Mobility Commission, was more upbeat about Greening’s proposals.

There is a new geography of disadvantage in Britain - where the chances of a child doing well in life depends massively on where they come from, rather than where they aspire to get to.

The initiative by the education secretary to create opportunity areas in some of the social mobility ‘cold spots’ identified by the commission’s social mobility index is a welcome step.

We hope that local communities in these areas will work closely with the government to ensure that future progress in life depends on an individual’s aptitude and ability, not background and birth.

block-time published-time 5.25pm BST

These are from the BBC ’s Laura Kuenssberg , who has interviewed Theresa May this afternoon.

enltrAnother key line from May, biz will be able to 'trade with and operate within the single market'....

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/783340578251665408]enltr3 different ministers have said privately this week that we might stay in the single market after Brexit, whatever has been said....

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/783341001737924608]enltrTruth is, cabinet simply doesn't yet have an agreed position on what our relationship ought to look like...

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/783341159020199936]block-time published-time 5.22pm BST

This is from the Ukip MEP Patrick O’Flynn, commenting on Amber Rudd ’s announcement.

enltrThe number of policies Mrs May is lifting out of the UKIP GE15 manifesto is astonishing. Almost like we are in power, but not in office!

— Patrick O'Flynn (@oflynnmep) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/oflynnmep/status/783313098505584641]block-time published-time 5.15pm BST

May plays down concerns about pound falling in value after Brexit speech Theresa May has given a series of interviews to broadcasters tonight. Speaking to Sky , she played down concerns about the pound falling in the light of her Brexit speech on Sunday. May said:

We see sterling moving in different ways at different times, but if you look overall at some of the economic data that has been coming out over the past few months, actually the data has been more positive than people were expecting.

It’s early days, of course, but I think the impression is that the response has been rather calmer to the Brexit vote than many people had predicted or thought might happen.

block-time published-time 4.56pm BST

Villiers says government should consider compromising on free movement in Brexit talks Anthony Browne, head of the British Banking Association told a fringe meeting that the financial services sector would continue to push for an interim agreement after the two-year Article 50 process, though he said it was accepted that a permanent Norway-style EEA deal was highly unlikely. A hard Brexit, without a trade agreement, could mean a “cliff-edge effect” where banks were suddenly no longer allowed to offer certain services.

WTO rules would be seriously detrimental to London as a financial centre, there are very few services that you can provide under WTO rules. For services it’s about the right to offer services or not.

Even if banks were to move, you can’t do it in two years, you can’t get the regulatory approval, you can’t get the office space, the IT systems. Without a transition arrangement, there’s a real risk the process becomes disorderly. I find it concerning people are going round saying ‘oh we don’t need transition arrangements - we absolutely do.

Theresa Villiers , the former Northern Ireland secretary who was a leading Leave campaigner, said she believed there was room to manoeuvre over free movement rules.

I would see a pragmatic case on compromising on free movement to secure the best deal that we can in relation to financial services and market access. I think it would be helpful if the government tries to keep that option open, free movement of people; there are a spectrum of options that would restore at least a degree of control.

There may be some scope for some compromise, but it will be quite difficult to do that and remain consistent and respectful of the result of the referendum.

Stephen Hammond MP, a former investment banker, told a fringe meeting he hoped there was “room for nuance” on the free movement debate, including distinguishing between people and labour.

There is going to have to be a pragmatic approach, but if there is going to be a hard Brexit approach which a number of people would like, I’m afraid I would be pretty pessimistic about the future.

The idea that anyone in Berlin and Rome thinks it’s all going to continue as it was, or that they want to give us a special relationship, just needs to go and talk to the central bank, the politicians, the regulators. They are clear they want to continue trading, but it is not going to be a la carte.

Hammond said he was considered about a lack of flexibility.

It is clear that normally in negotiations you are hoping to enhance your positions, it is widely accepted now by most trade negotiators, our current job is to defend our position. Potentially, there looks to be a pretty gloomy picture for our negotiating stance if we remain fixated on one idea [about **immigration**].

block-time published-time 4.53pm BST

Justine Greening, the education secretary, is thought to be personally sceptical about Theresa May ’s plan to create more grammar schools, but in her speech she devoted a fairly long passage to defending the plan. She said:

Grammar schools have a track record of closing the attainment gap between children on free school meals and their better off classmates.

That’s because in grammars, those children on free school meals progress twice as fast as the other children, so the gap disappears.

And 99% of grammars schools are rated good or outstanding.

But in spite of this, Labour’s approach to grammars is: close these schools down.

And it’s rank hypocrisy.

Because Labour shadow ministers send their children to grammars too.

It’s classic Labour: do as I say... not as I do.

Conservatives believe we should support parental choice, not ignore it.

Local areas who want more grammar places should be able to have them...

And similarly, local areas who want to stick...with the existing schools that they’re happy with.. will be able to do that too

And, unlike at present, we will challenge grammars and selective schools...

To work much harder at getting more disadvantaged pupils through their doors.

Greening also confirmed plans to spend £60m on schools in six “opportunity areas”, places where educational attainment is poor and where new partnerships will be formed to boost opportunities for pupils. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/social-mobility-package-unveiled-by-education-secretary] The six areas are West Somerset, Norwich, Blackpool, Scarborough, Derby and Oldham, but the department plans to roll the scheme out to other places later.

block-time published-time 4.40pm BST

Damian Green 's speech - Analysis Compassion is clearly the new Conservative tone on social security. “Everybody in this country values the welfare state,” said the work and pensions secretary Damian Green , “It is part of the British way of life”.

That may be news to many, including some of those in the conference hall. But Green has none of the abrasiveness of his era-defining predecessor-but-one Iain Duncan-Smith ; there was no hectoring rhetoric on “welfare dependency”, no lectures on “sickness benefit culture”, or grim promises to “incentivise” the jobless by cutting their benefits.

But for all that Green has ushered in a way of talking about welfare reform, those reforms, with billions of pounds of cuts attached, are still in place. This, at least, suggests Continuity Osborne. The cuts ordered by the former chancellor are still there. Nothing Green said today suggested any material change to the broad thrust of Tory welfare strategy: the cuts to universal credit work allowances remain; nasty Cameron-era wheezes such as the benefit cap stay (though no longer warrant a mention); pensioner benefits will be protected.

The centrepiece of Green’s speech was work and disability. It’s been18 months since the Tories ambitiously promised in their 2015 election general manifesto to halve the disability employment gap, but it is still not clear how they will achieve it. Halving the gap means getting over a million more disabled and chronically ill people into a job by 2020. Ministers no longer seem to mention that figure anymore. Duncan-Smith promised a disability employment white paper in January, but his successor Stephen Crabb halted it. Green promises a green paper “soon”. Even sympathetic right-of-centre experts, such as the DWP advisor Matthew Oakley have warned that the target is “unrealistic” without major reform. Green offered no hint that this was forthcoming.

block-time published-time 4.27pm BST

TechUK says Rudd's migration curbs could have 'chilling' impact on tech sector TechUK, the trade association for the tech sector, says that Amber Rudd ’s proposals to reduce the number foreign workers coming to the UK could have a “chilling” impact on the sector. This is from techUK’s deputy CEO, Antony Walker.

The UK is one of the leading digital economies in the world. Part of the reason is because the UK is able to attract the world’s most talented individuals to fill jobs where the UK simply does not have the domestic skills base. Making it harder for tech companies to bring in the best and brightest is not the solution and will be a lose-lose situation for everyone – growth will slow as companies find it harder to recruit, meaning lower revenue for the Treasury and fewer opportunities for workers in the UK

Research by British Future following the referendum [http://www.britishfuture.org/articles/what-next-after-brexit/] showed that only 12% of people want to cut the number of highly skilled workers coming to Britain, with 46% saying they would be happy to see more. The public is knows the huge value of skilled **immigration**to the UK and the government must not choke off the UK’s access to international talent. We will be raising this point in the home secretary’s consultation as it risks chilling one of the UK’s most dynamic growth sectors.

block-time published-time 4.16pm BST

Bright Blue, the liberal conservative thinktank, has criticised Amber Rudd ’s plans to cut the number of foreign students coming to the UK. This is from its director, Ryan Shorthouse.

The government is wrong to want to reduce the number of international students coming to the UK. The public do not want to see fewer foreign students studying at our higher education institutions. The government should remove students from the net migration target.

But Shorthouse backed the plan to introduce a controlling migration fund. He sais the government should impose a tax on new migrants, in the form of an extra national insurance charge for their first two years in the UK, to pay for the fund.

block-time published-time 4.11pm BST

Hunt says NHS will be self sufficient in doctors by 2025 In his speech Jeremy Hunt , the health secretary, confirmed plans announced overnight to make the NHS“self sufficient” in doctors after Brexit. Here is the key extract.

Currently a quarter of our doctors come from overseas. They do a fantastic job and the NHS would fall over without them. When it comes to those that are EUnationals, we’ve been clear we want them to be able to stay post-Brexit.

But looking forward, is it right to carry on importing doctors from poorer countries that need them, whilst we turn away bright home graduates desperate to study medicine?

Even if we wanted to carry on importing doctors, the supply is drying up. The World Health Organisation says there’s a global shortage of over 2m doctors - we’re not the only country with an ageing population.

But we are the fifth largest economy in the world - so we should be training all the doctors we need. And today I can tell you that’s exactly what we’re going to do.

From September 2018, we will train up to 1500 more doctors every year, increasing the number of medical school places by up to a quarter.

That’s the biggest annual increase in medical student training in the history of the NHS .

Of course it will take a number of years before those students qualify, but by the end of the next parliament we will make the NHS self-sufficient in doctors.

Training a doctor costs over £200,000. So in return we will ask all new doctors to work for the NHS for four years, just as army recruits are asked to after their training.

The result will be more home grown doctors and fewer rota gaps in a safer NHS looking after you and your family for years to come.

Jeremy Hunt making his speech to the Conservative conference. Photograph: Christopher Thomond for the Guardian block-time published-time 3.32pm BST

The Green party has condemned Amber Rudd ’s plans to curb **immigration**. This is from Jonathan Bartley, the Green party’s co-leader.

The underlying message of Amber Rudd ’s ‘controlling migration fund’ is that migrants are to blame for the problems our country faces. This falsehood must be challenged head on. The truth is that the “pressures” she spoke of are not caused by migration, but by the government’s cuts and failure to invest in vital public services such as the NHS .

Indeed all of the evidence suggests that the government’s planned crackdown on free movement in Europe will mean less money being available to spend on public services.

The answer in not to penalise migrants. It is deeply concerning that the fund seems to focus on withdrawing help from migrants, despite the fact that they contribute so much to our society and our economy. We should be proud of our multicultural communities, not doing them down. It is time the government stood up for migrants instead of blaming them for its own failings.

block-time published-time 3.26pm BST

Damian Green , the work and pensions secretary, made his key conference announcement at the weekend when he said that people with the most severe health conditions who receive employment support allowance, a disability benefit, to be exempt from having to undergo regular health assessments to continue receiving payments. [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/01/dwp-scraps-retesting-for-chronically-ill-sickness-benefits-claimants], the work and pensions secretary, made his key conference announcement at the weekend when he said that

But in his speech this afternoon he had some minor further announcements to make.

\* Green said he wanted to beef up the new enterprise allowance scheme.

I am going to put rocket boosters under the new enterprise allowance. We will back budding entrepreneurs earlier and for longer, giving the self-employed the right support – help with financial planning and marketing, staying with them as they build their business, giving them every chance of success.

\* He said he would soon publish a green paper on helping the disabled.

\* He said he was making Andy Briggs , CEO of Aviva UK and Ireland Life, his business champion for older workers.

Damian Green speaking to the Conservative conference. Photograph: James Gourley/REX/Shutterstock block-time published-time 3.10pm BST

Andy Burnham , the shadow home secretary, has said that Amber Rudd ’s promise to cut net migration levels should be taken with a pinch of salt.

It sounded like the prime minister had a heavy hand in drafting the home secretary’s speech. We’ve heard these conference promises on net migration and child migrants before and they haven’t come to anything - people will take them with a pinch of salt. On Theresa May ’s watch, net migration reached record levels.

Amber Rudd is right to introduce a scheme to help communities address the pressures of migration, as Jeremy Corbyn called for last week. But she had depressingly little to say about the largest humanitarian crisis since the second world war and failed to repeat the commitment to taking a share of adult **refugees**.

This may be the last statement Burnham makes in his capacity as shadow home secretary. He has said he is standing down, to focus on his campaign to become mayor of Greater Manchester, and he will leave the shadow cabinet in the reshuffle due later this week.

block-time published-time 3.04pm BST

Sky ’s Darren McCaffrey has been going around the Tory conference trying to see if any of the prominent Brexit campaigners, like Boris Johnson , Andrea Leadsom or Priti Patel , are willing to sign a cheque saying the NHS will get £350m a week after the UK leaves the EU . It was a flagship Vote Leave promise, but now no one seems willing to defend it.

enltrRemember the £350m promised to the NHS during the #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] campaign? Will anyone sign @DMcCaffreySKY [https://twitter.com/DMcCaffreySKY] 's cheque? https://t.co/QtJMhdS6NP [https://t.co/QtJMhdS6NP] 's cheque?

— Sky News (@SkyNews) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SkyNews/status/783193789158481920]block-time published-time 2.35pm BST

Rudd's migration crackdown 'a serious risk to our economy', says IPPR The IPPR, a left-leaning thinktank, has said the new **immigration** curbs proposed by Amber Rudd would be a “serious risk to our economy”. This is from Phoebe Griffith, the IPPR’s associate director for migration, integration and communities.

It is vital that, in the wake of the Brexit vote, the government takes a smart, strategic approach to our migration system, so it is right that the government takes a careful review of our student and work routes.

But forging ahead with crude reductions in numbers would be a serious risk to our economy. International students are a core part of our education exports and there is broad public support for keeping numbers at the current level.

Moreover, the underlying data that suggests they make up a large part of net migration is dubious. If the government decides to take a tough line on students, it would harm our economy and damage our relations with trade partners abroad, such as India and China – and all on the basis of figures that could simply be wrong.

block-time published-time 2.13pm BST

The Institute of Directors has criticised Amber Rudd for reaffirming the government’s commitment to getting net migration below 100,000 a year. In a statement Seamus Nevin , the IoD’s head of employment and skills policy, said:

It is clear that **immigration** will continue to be a major bone of contention between companies and this government. Businesses know that the EU referendum result means change to free movement of workers from the EU , but people were not voting to make the economy weaker. The evidence is clear that migrants are a benefit to the economy...

It was frustrating to hear the home secretary sticking to the arbitrary ‘tens of thousands’ target, which has no connection to the skills the UK needs or the actual impacts of migration. Amber Rudd all but admitted that it was an impossible target to meet, so holding herself to it can only continue to undermine trust in politicians on this issue.

block-time published-time 2.13pm BST

At a fringe meeting Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Conservative leader, was asked about whether she would like to be a part of Theresa May ’s cabinet and replied that she had work to do in Holyrood. But her response- saying that she would be “staying out of Her Majesty’s cabinet for some time” could be pounced upon as suggesting future Westminster ambition from the Tory’s hugely popular leader in Scotland.

She also laid into the SNP including accusing them of having “gutted” further education in Scotland to pay for university tuition fees.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.14pm BST

block-time published-time 1.59pm BST

As my colleague Alan Travis points out, Nick Timothy , Theresa May ’s co-chief of staff, proposed tightening up on the issuing of student visas more than a year ago.

enltrTheresa May's chief of staff floated idea of allowing Oxbridge/Russell Group overseas students right to work in UK https://t.co/Zgieo8cZBn [https://t.co/Zgieo8cZBn]

— Alan Travis (@alantravis40) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alantravis40/status/783288054987522048]Yet again this suggests that the blogs and articles Timothy wrote during the brief period when he was not working for May are the best guide to what the government will do next. Last month I flagged up five items in the ‘Timothy manifesto’. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/08/grammar-schools-theresa-may-plans-for-inclusive-grammar-schools-slammed-politics-live?page=with:block-57d16d8ae4b07ac3d446a3ad#block-57d16d8ae4b07ac3d446a3ad] Since then three of them have become government policy.

block-time published-time 1.51pm BST

The Liberal Democrats are claiming that Amber Rudd delivered a ‘nasty party’ speech. This is from Alistair Carmichae l, the party’s home affairs spokesman.

Amber Rudd delivered a speech that could have been written by John Redwood. The ‘nasty party’ hasn’t come back, rather it seems it never went away. This speech is exhibit A on how the Liberal Democrats restrained the Tories. Without us they are showing their true colours: reckless, divisive and uncaring.

block-time published-time 1.50pm BST

Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Conservative leader, has been speaking at a fringe meeting. As my colleague Anushka Asthana reports, she has been reiterating her opposition to grammar schools for Scotland.

enltrRuth Davidson says "separating kids out at 11 year old" in parts of Scotland means kids who don't get in bussed to schools 40 mins away.

— Anushka Asthana (@GuardianAnushka) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka/status/783279146029969409]enltrShe points out that grammar schools have never been in her manifestos and never will be. Praises experience of comprehensive education

— Anushka Asthana (@GuardianAnushka) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka/status/783279584930324480]enltrDavidson says if debate on grammars came to Scotland it would be "huge distraction"

— Anushka Asthana (@GuardianAnushka) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka/status/783279780707860481]enltr. @RuthDavidsonMSP [https://twitter.com/RuthDavidsonMSP] accuses SNP of having "gutted" the further education system in Scotland to pay for he.

— Anushka Asthana (@GuardianAnushka) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka/status/783280330337910784]block-time published-time 1.20pm BST

Rudd announces curbs on migrants coming to UK to work or study Amber Rudd , the home secretary, was the final person to speak before lunch. And she delivered what was probably the most policy-rich speech delivered to the conference so far.

Rudd mostly focused on **immigration**. She said people sent a clear message to politicians when they voted to leave the EU and she said the government was committed to getting net migration down to sustainable levels. “This means tens of thousands, not the hundreds of thousands,” she said.

Specifically she announced plans to cut the number of people coming to the UK to work or to study. (Until the UK leaves the EU these proposals would only affect migrants from outside the EU .)

She also announced a controlling migration fund, an idea that has also been proposed by Labour.

Here are the key points.

\* Rudd announced that she was setting up a new £140m controlling migration fund. Jeremy Corbyn is committed to bringing back the migration impact fund (created by Labour but scrapped by the coalition) and at the Labour conference last week he suggested it might be worth £50m over two years. Rudd said her proposal would go further.

You might have heard that Jeremy Corbyn wants the government to bring back a migration fund Gordon Brown introduced after Labour let **immigration** spiral out of control...

Labour’s fund was ineffective and focused funding on migrants rather than the pressures caused by migration...

We will deliver on our manifesto commitment and set up a new £140m controlling migration fund – designed specifically to ease the pressures on public services in areas of high migration.

And at the same time it will implement strategies to reduce illegal **immigration**.

The fund will build on work we have done to support local authorities …to stop giving housing benefit to people that have no right to be in the country … to reduce rough sleeping by illegal **immigrants** … and to crack down on the rogue landlords who house illegal migrants in the most appalling conditions.

And for those that are here legally, we will provide more English language support. And with it, the obvious benefits of being able to join the way of life in the country they have chosen to call home.

\* She said she would consult on plans to make it harder for firms to bring in foreign workers. The Home Office would soon be consulting on measures to curb **immigration**, focusing on changes to the rules for the work and study routes, she said. On work she said she would be “examining whether we should tighten the test companies have to take before recruiting from abroad.”

British businesses have driven the economic recovery in this country, with employment at record levels.

However we still need to do more … so all British people get the opportunities they need to get on in life.

The test should ensure people coming here are filling gaps in the labour market, not taking jobs British people could do.

\* She said she wanted to toughen the **immigration** rules for foreign students studying at low quality colleges.

We will also look for the first time at whether our student **immigration** rules should be tailored to the quality of the course and the quality of the educational institution.

I’m proud that we have world-leading centres of academic excellence. It’s a testament to our country’s proud history and our top universities’ ability to evolve.

But the current system allows all students, irrespective of their talents and the university’s quality, favourable employment prospects when they stop studying.

While an international student is studying here, their family members can do any form of work.

And foreign students, even those studying English Language degrees, don’t even have to be proficient in speaking English. We need to look at whether this one size fits all approach really is right for the hundreds of different universities, providing thousands of different courses across the country...

Our consultation will ask what more can we do to support our best universities - and those that stick to the rules - to attract the best talent … while looking at tougher rules for students on lower quality courses.

\* She said the government would make it easier to deport foreign criminals. EU migrants who repeatedly commit so-called minor crimes will be deported, she said.

For the first time, we will deport EU nationals that repeatedly commit so-called minor crimes in this country.

So-called minor crime is still crime – its pain is still felt deeply by victims.

Well, those criminals will face being banned from coming back to the country from between 5 and 10 years.

\* She said she would soon be implementing legislation already passed to tighten controls on **immigrants** in the UK.

Today, I am announcing that from December, landlords that knowingly rent out property to people who have no right to be here will be committing a criminal offence. They could go to prison.

Furthermore, from December, **immigration** checks will be a mandatory requirement for those wanting to get a licence to drive a taxi.

And from next autumn, banks will have to do regular checks to ensure they are not providing essential banking services to illegal migrants.

\* She said she would be publishing the next phase of the government’s counter-terrorism strategy later this year.

\* She said she would extend the unduly lenient sentencing scheme to cover all terrorism cases heard in the crown court. This scheme allows people to ask the attorney general to look again at sentenced deemed unduly lenient.

\* She said she would soon legislate to try to tackle the financing of crime and terrorism.

It is an obvious point – but financial profit is the principal driver for almost all serious and organised crime.

Our new legislation will give new powers to law enforcement agencies to track the criminals involved down … criminals who are laundering something in the region $1.6 trillion globally, every year.

Amber Rudd addressing the Conservative conference. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.06pm BST

block-time published-time 12.27pm BST

Here is Boris Johnson out running in Birmingham this morning.

Boris Johnson (centre) takes an early morning run at the conference. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA UPDATE: Johnson was running with the Sun editor, Tony Gallagher , who is in front in the picture.

enltr @tonygallagher [https://twitter.com/tonygallagher] did you train for that run? pic.twitter.com/u025vkdHkg [https://t.co/u025vkdHkg] did you train for that run?

— Murray Foote (@murrayf00te) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/murrayf00te/status/783235743518949376]enltr @murrayf00te [https://twitter.com/murrayf00te] No idea who that strange blond bloke is in my wake

— Tony Gallagher (@tonygallagher) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tonygallagher/status/783236233329868800]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.47pm BST

block-time published-time 12.20pm BST

Liz Truss's speech - Summary Liz Truss, the justice secretary, spoke after Michael Fallon . Here are the key points from her speech.

\* Truss confirmed that she would bring forward legislation for prisons reform. A prisons bill was included in the Queen’s speech, but in evidence to a select committee last month Truss was unable to confirm that legislation would be introduced. Today she said she would press ahead with the reform programme outlined by her predecessor, Michael Gove , whom she praised. She said:

In the coming weeks I will be launching my vision for prison reform to 2020 and beyond.

This white paper will be a blueprint for the biggest overhaul of our prisons in a generation and we will legislate for these reforms early next year.

The reforms will focus on rehabilitation, she said.

Prisoners are often the most damaging people in society but they are also often the most damaged.

More than half can’t read or write to a basic standard, half have mental health problems and nearly two thirds of women offenders are victims of abuse.

Reform is the only way to break the cycle, to cut the cost to society and to spare more people the misery of being a victim of crime.

\* She said she would be giving prison staff more time to directly supervise offenders. “This one-to-one support, which will be rolled out to every prison, is vital in bringing down levels of violence and reforming offenders,” she said.

\* She announced a campaign to get more ex-servicemen and women to become prison officers. [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/07/liz-truss-puts-prison-reform-plans-put-on-hold]

\* She called for more diversity on the supreme court and at the top of the legal profession generally.

The supreme court is a vital part of our constitution and I cherish its independence.

But can it be right that out of 12 judges in the supreme court only one is a woman and not a single one is from an ethnic minority? This would be difficult to justify in any boardroom or around the cabinet table.

\* She said the government was still committed to a British bill of rights, but gave no details about when it would appear.

Liz Truss speaking to the conference. Photograph: Ben Stansall/AFP/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.24pm BST

block-time published-time 11.58am BST

Michael Fallon 's speech - Summary Michael Fallon , the defence secretary, finished his speech to the conference a few minutes ago. Here are the key points.

\* Fallon confirmed that the government would let the military opt out of the European convention on human rights for future conflicts. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/03/plan-uk-military-opt-out-european-convention-human-rights]

It is right that we investigate serious allegations but we’ve seen our legal system abused to falsely accuse our armed forces.

So we’re taking action.

Of more than three thousand claims about half have already been discontinued – and another thousand further cases will be thrown out by January.

Already one of the firms that filed thousands of these claims, the so-called ‘Public Interest Lawyers’ – has had its legal aid contract terminated and shut down in August.

It won’t be missed.

So we are working hard to get vexatious claims thrown out.

And we are taking action to draw up a new time limit for bringing claims and to tackle no win no fee deals.

But much of the litigation we face comes from the extension of the European convention on human rights to the battlefield.

This is damaging our troops, undermining military operations, and costing taxpayers’ millions.

So I can announce today that in future conflicts we intend to derogate from the convention.

That would protect our armed forces from many of the industrial scale claims we have seen post Iraq and Afghanistan.

Now this isn’t about putting our Armed Forces above the criminal law or the Geneva conventions.

Serious claims will be investigated - but spurious claims will be stopped.

\* He said he wanted 10% of military recruits to be black or minority ethnic by 2020. He also wanted more female recruits, he said.

I want more recruits from ethnic minorities and more women.

So I’ve challenged the service chiefs to get at least 10% of our new recruits from a black, Asian or minority ethnic background by 2020.

And I’ve opened up all combat roles to women so ability, not gender, defines how far you can go.

This isn’t about tokenism; it’s about talent.

\* He said he would tomorrow mark the start of work building the new successor Trident submarines. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/building-to-start-on-new-nuclear-submarines-as-government-announces-13-billion-investment]

\* He said the armed forces could be “a remarkable engine of social mobility”.

Armed Forces that can be a remarkable engine of social mobility.

Look at Cadet, now Lieutenant, Kidane Cousland.

The school system failed Kidane.

He left a Tottenham estate with a few GCSEs but the Army turned him into the best officer graduating this year at Sandhurst.

\* He said he was announcing new cadet units in state schools.

Look at the young cadets who learn the skills and confidence they need to thrive.

Today I am announcing the first 25 of 150 new units we are creating in state schools.

They include one at Rockwood Academy – in this city - which I will be visiting this afternoon…

….a phoenix from the ashes of a ‘Trojan Horse’ school that is now instilling British values, instead of promoting religious segregation.

Michael Fallon speaking at the Conservative conference. Photograph: Ben Stansall/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 11.37am BST

Here is Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, responding to what Theresa May said about Brexit this morning. (See 10.32am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f373d4e4b01506cbf24feb#block-57f373d4e4b01506cbf24feb] said about Brexit this morning. (See

Theresa May this morning spoke about ‘bumps in the road’. These ‘bumps’ as she blithely calls them, are people’s jobs and livelihoods. She seems as out of touch as her ministers.

Her senior ministers seem to be unfazed when business leaders warn them, to their face, that 75,000 jobs in the City alone could be lost due to a Hard Brexit. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/davis-unfazed-by-75-000-job-losses-n36gm8j3t] The Conservative party are showing their true colours: reckless, divisive and uncaring. They are prepared to risk our future prosperity for their own short-term gain.

block-time published-time 11.23am BST

In his speech to the conference David Mundell , the Scottish secretary, criticised the SNP for putting the union at risk.

Now the new powers [for the Scottish parliament ] are a huge opportunity for the Scottish government.

But so far the SNP have put their obsession with independence above all else.

They’ve abandoned the day job – and Scotland is paying the price.

They spend their time doom-mongering about Brexit and using it as an excuse to threaten a second independence referendum.

That is not what the people of Scotland want. It is a Sword of Damocles – the single biggest threat to Scotland’s economy.

Alan Roden, director of communications for Scottish Labour, has accused Mundell of hypocrisy.

enltrThe absolute cheek of David Mundell . The Tories are the only reason the Union is in peril again. #con16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/con16?src=hash]. The Tories are the only reason the Union is in peril again.

— Alan Roden (@AlanRoden) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AlanRoden/status/783245768744374272]block-time published-time 11.12am BST

According to a Bloomberg report, [http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-03/may-said-to-downgrade-city-in-brexit-shock-for-financial-sector] the City will not get special treatment when the government negotiates Brexit. Here’s an extract.

British financial-services companies will get no special favors in Brexit negotiations from Prime Minister Theresa May , who wants to change the relationship between the government and the City of London.

According to three senior figures in May’s administration, the government will refuse to prioritize the protection of the sector after the U.K. has left the European Union . Her team has also dismissed the key business demand for an interim deal with the EU to help ease the transition out of the bloc, one of the people said. All asked not to be named because the information is sensitive.

block-time published-time 11.06am BST

Nicola Sturgeon , the Scottish first minister, has taken to Twitter this morning to criticise Theresa May for not showing more respect to foreign doctors working in the NHS .

enltrThe arrogance of this from UKG is breathtaking...like they're somehow doing these doctors a favour by 'allowing' them to save lives here. https://t.co/oUnOiEkRfG [https://t.co/oUnOiEkRfG]

— Nicola Sturgeon (@NicolaSturgeon) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon/status/783224295258517504]block-time published-time 11.00am BST

In the conference hall James Brokenshire , the Northern Ireland secretary, has just delivered his speech. He said that he wanted to ensure that Brexit does not result in a solid border going up between Northern Ireland and the Republic.

We will work to ensure that Northern Ireland’s unique interests are protected and advanced.

That’s particularly the case when it comes to the land border with the Republic of Ireland and the Common Travel Area which has served the UK and Ireland well for many decades.

No-one wants to see a return to the borders of the past.

But Brokenshire did not say anything about who this could be achieved. As my colleague Patrick Wintour reports, the Irish government is increasingly worried about this, not least because of the Tory speeches in Birmingham making it increasingly clear that the UK will not remain a member of the single market.

Related: Ireland to seek special status to keep open border with UK amid 'hard Brexit' fears [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/04/ireland-to-seek-special-status-to-keep-open-border-with-uk-amid-hard-brexit-fears]

block-time published-time 10.53am BST

Here is Jon Ashworth , the shadow minister without portfolio, responding for Labour to what Theresa May said about Brexit this morning. (See 10.32am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f373d4e4b01506cbf24feb#block-57f373d4e4b01506cbf24feb] said about Brexit this morning. (See

It’s increasingly clear that Theresa May is steering us down the road of hard Brexit despite having no idea where it leads. The ‘bumps in the road’ she talks about are real threats to our economy, yet she’s recklessly ploughing on, putting jobs and prosperity at risk.

We desperately need a plan which delivers for working people, but the Tories have no answer to the challenges facing us. With Theresa May at the wheel the Tories are driving us into trouble.

block-time published-time 10.32am BST

May says Britain faces 'bumps in the road' as it leaves the EU And here are three lines from Theresa May ’s morning interviews on Brexit that are worth reporting.

\* May said Britain faced “bumps in the road” as it left the EU .

It’s not going to be plain sailing. There will be some bumps in the road as we go through this process. The economic data that we have seen so far over the past few weeks has been more positive than people were expecting. It is early data, of course. But it has been more positive than people were expecting.

And I recognise the concern that business has to want to see a smooth process as we go through these negotiations and transition to coming out of the European Union and I want to ensure that we are listening to business, which we are doing.

\* She said the Conservatives were the only party that accepted the Brexit result and would implement it.

We are the only major party that is actually listening to people and is willing to deliver on the verdict people gave in June and we are going to make a really good deal, we are going to make a success of this.

This is arguable. The Lib Dems are committed to holding a second referendum, on the final Brexit deal, and Tim Farron has said he would argue for Britain to stay in the EU . Jeremy Corbyn has said Labour should accept the result of the referendum. But some in the party favour a second referendum, and Owen Smith specifically said during the Labour leadership contest that he would like the UK to remain in the EU .

\* She said she was not thinking in terms of which bits of the EU Britain might “keep”. Asked about what Brexit would be like, she replied:

I’m going to be ambitious as we go into discussions with the European Union . I made a speech about this on Sunday, but I think the way we approach this is very important. A lot of people talk in a way which suggests that we should be approaching this as saying ‘well we’ve been members of the EU , when we come out what bits of membership can we keep’.

Actually I think we need to have a different approach, which is when we come out of the European Union we’ll be an independent, sovereign country. What relationship do we want with the EU ? Now, I want that relationship to be the best possible, the right deal for the UK, and the best possible deal in terms of trade with the EU . I want British businesses to be able to trade with the EU and operate within the EU and EU businesses to be able to operate here in the UK. I think that makes sense for both sides of the argument. I think it’s not about the UK in some sense being a supplicant to the EU . It’s about the reciprocity here, [a] good trade deal is going to be of benefit to us and the EU .

Theresa May and with her husband Philip in the conference hall yesterday. Photograph: Joe Giddens/PA block-time published-time 10.21am BST

6 things we did not learn from May's morning interviews And here are six things we did not learn from Theresa May ’s morning interviews.

1 - What Theresa May thinks about the pound falling in value on the back of her Brexit speech on Sunday. We did not find out because (unless I missed it) she was not asked about this (although, if she had been asked, she probably would not have replied, because politicians tend not to respond to currency fluctuations.)

2 - Whether May is opposed to cutting inheritance tax. The Tories went into the 2015 pledged to cut inheritance tax and a cut was included in the summer budget last year. On the Today programme Nick Robinson asked whether, in the light of her desire to help people on average incomes (who do not benefit from this cut), she would reverse it. May ignored the question. She also dodged questions from Robinson about whether she favoured building more council homes, or putting up public sector pay. (May probably does think the inheritance tax cut was a bad idea. Nick Timothy, her highly-influential co-chief of staff, has strongly criticised it in the past.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/08/grammar-schools-theresa-may-plans-for-inclusive-grammar-schools-slammed-politics-live?page=with:block-57d16d8ae4b07ac3d446a3ad#block-57d16d8ae4b07ac3d446a3ad]

3 - When May thinks net migration will be cut below 100,000. May said she was still committed to this as a target, but she refused to say when it would be met. (See 7.53am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f3514ae4b03ca720ca247c#block-57f3514ae4b03ca720ca247c]

4 - Whether May has changed her mind about Brexit. May was asked at least twice whether she stood by the arguments she was making in the EU referendum campaign about why Brexit would be a bad idea, or whether she had now changed her thinking. May did not answer directly, although she did say that she had always argued that the sky would not fall in if Britain did leave the EU . She was now focused on the future, she said. (See 7.50am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f35082e4b03ca720ca2479#block-57f35082e4b03ca720ca2479]. She was now focused on the future, she said. (See

5 - What she thinks about Donald Trump . On Good Morning Britain Piers Morgan reminded her that she had criticised Trump for proposing a ban on Muslims entering the US. May said that was a comment about a specific policy. She refused to say who she wanted to win the US presidential election.

6 - What she regrets. Pointing out that she has just turned 60, Morgan asked her if she had any regrets. May replied:

Piers, do you think I’m going to tell you those on Good Morning Britain. Nice try Piers I think is the answer to that one.

block-time published-time 9.49am BST

6 things we've learnt from Theresa May 's morning interviews Some of the journalists responding to Theresa May ’s interviews on Twitter have been pointing out how guarded she was. I’m accustomed to posting about the ‘things we’ve learnt’ from events like this, but this morning I will do a post about all the things we did not learn from May’s media round.

But it wasn’t entirely unproductive. We did get something out of it. Here are six things about May that we did find out.

1 - May says injustice makes her angry. At the end of his Today interview Nick Robinson asked May what made her argument, saying that this was a question that often revealed what motivated people to go into politics. May did not have to think for long before giving a firm answer.

Injustice. What makes me angry? Child sexual abuse. Modern slavery. When we see the powerful abusing their position. That’s what makes me angry.

It would be wrong to say that she was fired up with emotion, but she did answer the question with a sincerity and directness that was lacking from her earlier answers. And it is not an answer that David Cameron would have given, at least not with the same level of conviction. Later, on LBC, May was also quite forceful when she explained that she was committed to the child abuse inquiry because she thought some victims had been denied justice for years. (See 8.35am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f35af1e4b01506cbf24f74#block-57f35af1e4b01506cbf24f74] would have given, at least not with the same level of conviction. Later, on LBC, May was also quite forceful when she explained that she was committed to the child abuse inquiry because she thought some victims had been denied justice for years. (See

2 - May is happy to be seen as a “bloody difficult woman”. (See 8.44am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-57f35c37e4b01506cbf24f79#block-57f35c37e4b01506cbf24f79]

3 - May does not mind the media going on about her shoes. On ITV ’s Good Morning Britain Susanna Reid asked May if she thought the obsession with her shoes was sexist. May said she did not object.

Well, it is interesting that people focus on my shoes. I don’t think they focus on Philip Hammond ’s or Boris Johnson ’s in quite the same way. But, look, do I regret that fact that people look at my shoes? Hey, it gives me an excuse to go and buy new shoes.

4 - May seems to be playing down her commitment to building new grammar schools. She was asked about the policy in various interviews and, although she did not go back on anything previously announced, it was noticeable that she was keen to stress that the policy she is proposing is about much more than building grammar schools. She described the policy in terms of lifting the ban on selection, and said it was only one aspect of a plan to create more good school places. (Nicky Morgan , the former education secretary, has suggested in a BuzzFeed interview that she thinks the government is about to compromise on its plans.) [https://www.buzzfeed.com/jimwaterson/nicky-morgan-suggests-theresa-may-is-about-to-water-down-gra?utm\_term=.cedj8wNreO#.soBQw615D8], the former education secretary, has suggested

5 - May can make a good impression on interviewers. At the end of the Good Morning Britain interview Piers Morgan, the presenter, said: “She’s a nice lady, Theresa May .” His co-presenter, Susanna Reid, added: “She’s very open and honest.” It is not the sort of thing John Humphrys would ever say on the Today programme, but it is interesting. I don’t recall Morgan and Reid making comments like that about David Cameron . And at the end of his Sky interview, Eamonn Holmes told her he was leaving the show, before adding: “I would like to thank you for all your courtesy through the years, putting up with my banal, inane questioning.”

6 - May may not commit to “hard” over “soft” regarding Brexit, but she does for cooking. On Good Morning Britain Morgan asked about cooking scones (May is keen on cooking, and the Sunday Times published a recipe for scones from her at the weekend) and he said she had caused a stir by saying people could use either butter or margarine. Was butter better, he asked. And should it be hard or soft? May replied:

Well, you have to rub it in with the flour, and it is often easier actually if it is hard, you can get a good rub in. If it is too soft, then it starts to become a bit claggy.

enltrTheresa May vows to be "ambitious" in Brexit talks. "I think it's not about the UK being a supplicant to the EU ." #r4today [https://twitter.com/hashtag/r4today?src=hash]." pic.twitter.com/UxwRNPClIZ [https://t.co/UxwRNPClIZ]."

— BBC Radio 4 Today (@BBCr4today) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCr4today/status/783207428993212416]block-time published-time 9.00am BST

Here is some comment from journalists on Theresa May ’s interviews.

From ITV ’s Robert Peston

enltr. @theresa\_may [https://twitter.com/theresa\_may] is an absolute genius at interviews that tell you less about her and her policies than you thought you knew already

— Robert Peston (@Peston) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Peston/status/783207742370639874]From the Guardian ’s Peter Walker

enltrWith best will in the world, pretty much all Theresa May 's R4 answers on Brexit were meaningless platitudes. Which was, of course, the plan

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/783206065211056128]From the Guardian ’s Alan Travis

enltrTheresa May says that what she really cares about is tackling child sexual exploitation and modern slavery. She should be home secretary?

— Alan Travis (@alantravis40) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alantravis40/status/783208032742301696]From the Spectator’s James Forsyth

enltrStriking thing about May's Today interview was how upbeat she was determined to sound. Her voice was much more lively than usual

— James Forsyth (@JGForsyth) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JGForsyth/status/783215212103073792]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.09am BST

block-time published-time 8.54am BST

Here is more on what is happening in the City this morning. This is from the BBC ’s Allie Hodgkins-Brown.

enltrThe FTSE 100 share index has risen above 7,000 for the first time since May 2015 after sterling falls to a new 31-yr low against the dollar.

— Allie Hodgkins-Brown (@AllieHBNews) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AllieHBNews/status/783209738871959552]block-time published-time 8.47am BST

Pound hits 31-year low against dollar as City worried about Brexit The pound has hit a new 31-year low against the US dollar, as Brexit worries continue to grip the financial markets.

Sterling shed 0.5% in early trading in London, on top of yesterday’s losses, dropping to $1.2778.

That’s its lowest level since June 1985, and almost 15% weaker than before the EU referendum on 23 June.The pound has also hit a new three-year low against the euro, at 87.51p.

Traders are blaming Theresa May ’s decision to trigger article 50 by the end of March 2017.

“The Tory party conference is turning into a sell for the pound, as FX traders get spooked by May’s apparent sanguine attitude to leaving the single market, preferring to focus on **immigration** and UK sovereignty rather than the economic fallout of Brexit,” says Kathleen Brooks , research director at FOREX.com and City Index.

Our business liveblog has more details.

Related: Pound hits 31-year low against US dollar, as shares rally – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/04/pound-dollar-low-construction-imf-brexit-business-live]

block-time published-time 8.44am BST

May says she is happy to be seen as a 'bloody difficult woman' The LBC interview may be the final one that Theresa May is doing this morning. And, right at the end, May came out with what may be the best quote she has given all morning.

It came when Nick Ferrari asked if she was happy to be described by Kenneth Clarke , the Tory former cabinet minister, as a “bloody woman”.

May corrected him. She told Ferrari:

Actually what he said, and I don’t normally swear, was I was a “bloody difficult woman”. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/05/ken-clarke-caught-camera-ridiculing-tory-leadership-candidates-theresa-may-michael-gove]

And was that accurate? May, who as home secretary clashed with Clarke when he as justice secretary in the early years of the coalition government, replied:

Well, you know, Ken and I had our interesting debates in the past, and I stand by, doing what I believe to be the right thing. And if standing up for what you believe to be right is being “bloody difficult”, then so be it.

Theresa May: I’m happy to be seen as a ‘bloody difficult woman’ [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/oct/04/theresa-may-im-happy-to-be-seen-as-a-bloody-difficult-woman-video]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.27pm BST

block-time published-time 8.35am BST

Q: How are we going to get the child abuse inquiry back on track? Is it too broad?

No, says May. She says the inquiry is looking at different areas, like the Catholic church and care homes. But we need to learn the lessons overall. So it is important the inquiry has a broad reach, she says.

Q: But justice delayed is justice denied.

May says some of these people have been waiting for decades

Q: When Ken Clarke describes you as a “bloody woman”, how did you react.

May says he described her as a “bloody difficult woman”. If that means standing up for what you believe in, she is happy to be described like that, she says.

And that’s it.

block-time published-time 8.31am BST

May's LBC interview Theresa May is now on LBC. Nick Ferrari is interviewing her.

Q: Is it really right to stick with HS2? Is it a vanity project?

No, says May. She says HS2 will be an important infrastructure project. From London to Birmingham will take just over half an hour.

Q: Why can’t people get up half an hour earlier?

May says it is not about that. It is about better connectivity. At the conference they are talking about a country that works for everyone.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.36am BST

block-time published-time 8.26am BST

Q: What makes you angry?

Injustice, says May. Child sexual abuse. Modern slavery, she goes on.

When we see the powerful abusing their position.

And that’s it.

block-time published-time 8.25am BST

Q: Will it be possible to get net migration below 100,000 by the time of the next election?

May says she will be working to get net migration down. But there is not a single measure you can take to get all the numbers down.

Q: Your ministers say we need to keep EU workers coming. Sajid Javid the other day said EU builders would continue to come.

May says today’s NHS announcement shows how the number of EU workers coming to the UK can come down.

block-time published-time 8.23am BST

Q: You said in April we risked a loss of investment if we left the EU , and going backwards in trade. Is that still the case?

May says she has spoken to many businesses. She wants to ensure investment continues.

Business is now focusing on coming together and grasping the opportunities.

Q: In April you said we would have to make concessions to get access to the single market, like accepting regulations, or making payments, or accepting free movement. Do you still think that?

May says she is going to be ambitious. The way the UK approaches this is important. People are looking at this as if we have been members, and we decide what bits of EU membership we keep. She says we will be out of the EU . We should then decide what relationship we want.

This is not about the UK being a “supplicant”, she says. This is about “reciprocity.”

block-time published-time 8.19am BST

Q: You said before the referendum the case for staying in the EU was strong. Have you changed your mind?

May says that was in the past.

Q: Have you reassessed your view? Or are you just making the best of a bad job?

May says the Conservative party will respect the decision people took in the referendum.

Life will be different in the future. She wants to make it a success, she says.

block-time published-time 8.18am BST

Q: What is the evidence that grammars are good for people from ordinary backgrounds?

May says grammar schools are good schools. And poorer children do better in them. The attainment gap (the gap between how rich and poor pupils achieve) is virtually zero.

Q: Kent has the highest number of underperforming schools in England, and it has grammar schools. So it is not a good system for most children.

May says she wants to take various measures to increase the number of good school places. Independent schools will sponsor state schools, and faith schools will expand. And she says she thinks it is wrong selective schools cannot expand.

block-time published-time 8.15am BST

Q: You talked in your grammar speech about wanting to help people earning around £19,000, £20,000, £21,000. You have cut inheritance tax for rich people. Would you change that?

May says she will make changes that will really help working people.

Q: But not that one?

May sidesteps the question and presses on. She wants to increase the number of good school places, she says.

Q: What about a big council house building programme? A pay rise for public sector workers?

May says there are many ways in which you can help working families.

She will build on what Cameron’s government achieved.

block-time published-time 8.13am BST

May's Today interview Theresa May is on the Today programme now. Nick Robinson is interviewing her.

Q: Your cousin told me the other day that he remembers you as a teenager saying you wanted to be prime minster.

May says she does not remember that. But she does remember wanting to be an MP. She wanted to make a difference to people.

Q: You said when you became prime minister you wanted to help ordinary working people. Who did you have in mind?

May says the Brexit vote was partly a protest from people who felt the system did not work for them. People may be in jobs, but do not feel as if they have job security.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.37am BST

block-time published-time 7.56am BST

Q: The BMA says doctors are demoralised and exhausted, and that today’s announcement will not help.

May says today’s announcement is important. More people will be able to train as a doctor in the UK. And it will lead to more British doctors in the NHS .

Q: Does it matter where the doctors come from?

May says some hospitals have to spent a lot of money bringing in doctors from abroad.

And that’s the Radio 5 Live interview over.

block-time published-time 7.55am BST

Q: Do you think you have misjudged the mood on grammar schools. The teaching unions do not like it, Sir Michael Wilshaw, the Ofsted chief, is opposed, and in Kent they have a high number of failing schools.

May says she wants to increase the number of good school places.

Q: That means grammar schools?

May says the policy is about more than grammar schools. She wants to increase the capacity in the system. She does want to lift the rule saying grammar schools cannot expand. That is important.

block-time published-time 7.53am BST

Q: Are you still committed to net migration down to below 100,000?

May says the policy has not been watered down. She still wants to get net migration down to sustainable levels. That means the tens of thousands.

Leaving the EU will allow the UK to have control over **immigration**.

Q: So when might we meet this target?

May says she has always made the point that you need to be constantly looking at this issue, and constantly closing loopholes. And the government will look at **immigration** from outside the EU too.

Q: Why can’t you say when you will meet this target?

May says people did want control. She will bring control. The British government will then decide what the rules will be.

block-time published-time 7.50am BST

May's Radio 5 Live interview T heresa May is on Radio 5 Live now.

Q: Before the referendum you were against Brexit. Do you now think we are better off leaving the EU , with you in charge, than if we had stayed?

May says she gave a speech in the campaign saying it was a balanced judgement. She said she thought it was best to stay in the EU . But she also said the sky would not fall in if we left.

That is in the past, she says. Now we are united in leaving, she says.

She wants to open up new trading opportunities.

It is right to be positive about what we can do in the future.

Q: You said in April there was a risk of going backwards in terms of trade if we left. Do you still think that?

May says she has met with businesses, here and in the US. People think the British people have given their verdict. Businesses want to see what the opportunities are. There is a “constructive feeling” around, she says.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.36am BST

block-time published-time 7.40am BST

May's BBC News interview Theresa May is on BBC News now.

Q: You say your government will help people just about managing. What can you do to help them?

May says one example is that she wants to create more good school places.

Q: What surprised you most about the job of prime minister?

May says she is asked to do a lot more selfies.

Q: And what is your reaction?

May says she does some of them, but she cannot do all of them.

Q: How do you unwind?

Cooking, walking, May says. But she does not get as much time as she used to. She likes cooking, and her husband likes her food.

Q: Does he really?

Yes, says May.

And that one’s over

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.36am BST

block-time published-time 7.35am BST

Theresa May is giving a series of media interviews this morning. She has already been on ITV ’s Good Morning Britain and Sky , and one of the most striking quotes was this one.

enltr"Too soft then it's going to be a bit claggy"

TMay to @piersmorgan [https://twitter.com/piersmorgan] on type of Brexit she wants?

Sadly no: type of butter for making scones.

— Paul Waugh (@paulwaugh) October 4, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh/status/783191145409044480]May was responding to a question about the sort of butter needed when baking scones, but it does seem to sum up her attitude to Brexit too.

I will post more from the interviews soon.

It is never hard to think of questions to ask the prime minister, but the Tories have ensured that two topics are dominating May’s interviews. They both feature very prominently on today’s front pages.

First, Jeremy Hunt , the health secretary, has unveiled plans to make the NHS in England “self sufficient” in doctors. This makes the splash for the Guardian and the Daily Express.

enltrTuesday's Guardian:

Hunt promises to end NHS reliance on overseas doctors #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] reliance on overseas doctors #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] reliance on overseas doctors pic.twitter.com/TPcwba2kz5 [https://t.co/TPcwba2kz5] reliance on overseas doctors

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/783050931017543680]enltrTuesday's Daily Express front page:

We'll get more British doctors #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/vdtr9R4d6g [https://t.co/vdtr9R4d6g]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/783040035033579523]Here is the Guardian ’s version of the story.

Related: Jeremy Hunt promises to end NHS reliance on overseas doctors after Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/jeremy-hunt-promises-to-end-nhs-reliance-on-overseas-doctors-after-brexit]

Second, May has announced plans for the military to opt out from the European convention on human rights (ECHR) during future conflicts to obstruct what she describes as an “industry of vexatious claims” against soldiers. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/oct/03/plan-uk-military-opt-out-european-convention-human-rights] This is particularly popular with the Daily Mail and the Daily Telegraph, which have both campaigned on this issue.

enltrTuesday's Daily Mail front page:

Soldiers' victory over legal vultures #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/55ib4KSUu6 [https://t.co/55ib4KSUu6]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/783056714992087040]enltrTuesday's Daily Telegraph front page:

Battlefield justice for our troops #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/XgmfS6IeVC [https://t.co/XgmfS6IeVC]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/783052491940306944]Here is the conference agenda for the day.

8.10am: Theresa May is interviewed on Today.

10.30am: A session on the union, with speeches from Andrew RT Davies , leader of the Conservatives in the Welsh assembly, Alun Cairns , the Welsh secretary, David Mundell , the Scottish secretary, and James Brokenshire , the Northern Ireland secretary. (Ruth Davidson, the leader of the Scottish Conservatives, is speaking at the conference tomorrow.)

11am: A home affairs session, with speeches from Michael Fallon , the defence secretary, Liz Truss, the justice secretary, and Amber Rudd , the home affairs secretary.

2.30pm: A welfare session, with speeches from Damian Green , the work and pensions secretary, Jeremy Hunt , the health secretary and Justine Greening, the education secretary.

If you want to follow or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments below the line but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Conservative party faithful are cheering. But hard Brexit will hurt, and the prime minister could sink in the quicksands of EU negotiations

Marvellous! She’s just marvellous,” says Mrs Home Counties, an energetic woman in her mid-60s. “Just the medicine!” Medicine? “She means tonic, Theresa May is just the tonic we need!” says her husband, Mr Home Counties, neither wanting their name in the Guardian .

Related: Brexit: Theresa May prioritises **immigration** curbs over single market [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/brexit-theresa-may-prioritises-immigration-curbs-over-free-movement]

This is the tribe overwhelmingly responsible for the referendum result, not mainly Labour voters, not the young, but these older folk of the shires. In their migrant-fearing yet migrant-free Tory strongholds, this is what they yearned for. But their vision isn’t Liam Fox’s globalised unfettered free trade [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/30/globalisation-poverty-corruption-free-trade-liam-fox] : theirs is the drawbridge little England (and Wales) he calls protectionist. “We can go back to making things for ourselves, train up our own people,” hopes Mrs H. They clap every reminder that they are on the stairway to Brexit heaven.

May and her party had better relish every moment. Today Brexit can mean whatever anyone wants it to, and the EU will knuckle under because we are Great Britain and they need us more than we need them. But this time next year the government will be knee-deep and sinking fast in the quicksands of real negotiations, forced to confront what their party has brought upon us. The French and Germans will have had their elections, the far right biting at their heels: being beastly to the British will become an electoral necessity for many EU politicians. The head of Jaguar Rover says that already consumers on the continent are boycotting British cars [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/30/european-customers-boycotting-british-cars-eu-brexit-vote-jaguar-land-rover] : we are not popular and risk becoming detested.

Those who made a political career out of insulting fellow Europeans are conducting the negotiations, drawn from that once-eccentric clique of Euro-lunatics John Major called “the bastards”. How did the likes of Bill Cash [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/oct/25/bill-cash-herald-of-apocalypse], John Redwood [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/14/british-austerity-brexit-budget-nhs-disability-benefits-property] and Jacob Rees-Mogg [https://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2015/dec/02/owen-jones-jacob-rees-mogg-no-easy-answers-syria] inveigle a moderate and sensible country into voting for this colossal self-harm? The Sun headlines May’s great repeal bill [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/theresa-may-great-repeal-bill-eu-british-law] the “March to Freedom” as Iain Duncan Smith calls for a harder, faster break: he says if the EU refuses a “take-it-or-leave it deal”, just walk out. Ken Clarke rightly warns these “ headbangers [http://news.bbc.co.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/1/hi/uk\_politics/1444593.stm] ” will never be satisfied: no deal will ever be enough.

Turning hard Brexit, the prime minister may be more of a realist than her party, refusing to pose as a cake-and-eat-it pretender. That’s the brutal logic as she rejects free movement and European court of justice jurisdiction. Creating the role of international trade secretary was a hard-Brexit act: Fox would have no job if we stayed in the customs union and the single market, which bars countries from independent trade deals.

Those who made a political career out of insulting fellow Europeans are conducting the negotiations

May insists there will be “ no running commentary [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/sep/07/theresa-may-not-provide-running-commentary-on-brexit-negotiations-video] ”, but oh yes there will. Diplomacy by Twitter [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/may-on-collision-course-with-backbenchers-seeking-soft-brexit] has already begun, with Donald Tusk’s “EU27 will engage to safeguard its interests”. The prime minister of Malta tweets, “The 4 freedoms cannot be decoupled” (goods, services, capital and people). The Italian prime minister [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37502578] warns out loud that it will be “impossible” to allow the UK to end up better off outside the EU .

The cards are all in the EU ’s hands once article 50 is triggered, with only two years to settle not just exit, but an interim trade deal, pending a tortuous deal with 53 countries the EU already trades with. Every government and a majority of MEPs has to agree – those MEPs who have endured Nigel Farage’s outrageous insults all these years.

What sweeteners might we offer? Some suggest Spain eyes a deal on Gibraltar. Others wonder if eastern Europeans will want copious visas – but if so, what has all this been for?

As speech after speech salutes “taking back control” as “a fully independent sovereign country”, only old sober-sides Philip Hammond throws cold water. There is a price to pay, he warns. He didn’t disagree with Institute for Fiscal Studies estimates that Brexit will cost the UK 4% in growth in coming years [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-37023488].

He will press for the softest Brexit, to remain “the best of neighbours … the closest of trade associates”. Here’s his killer alert: “People did not vote to become poorer or less secure.” Will voters reconsider their priorities once they see the price to be paid for limiting **immigration**? The question for history is whether in the dread process ahead, yet another Tory prime minister will end up bulldozed by her Europhobes.

What a miserable distraction this is from the myriad problems stacked on No 10’s doorstep. Deficit reduction is still the chancellor’s prime purpose: admitting there will be no surplus in 2020 was no more than stating the blindingly obvious, as Osborne missed every target himself. Waiting for an answer is the ballooning health and social care crisis. Abolishing torturing work tests [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/01/dwp-scraps-retesting-for-chronically-ill-sickness-benefits-claimants] for the severely disabled tells us little about compassionate Conservatism when £13bn of benefit cuts [http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/benefit-cuts-will-leave-mothers-13bn-worse-off-over-course-of-current-parliament-a6914571.html] are still set to hit “just about managing” families. Enormous tax cuts for the rich are due in capital gains, inheritance and corporation tax while half these families’ incomes is falling, says the Resolution Foundation .

Will May’s government stop bribing the old and depriving the young? She promises a government “small, strong and strategic” and size matters: Osborne wanted a very small state, under 35% of GDP [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/dec/03/autumn-statement-2014-george-osborne-spending-cuts], 10% below any equivalent countries. No answers yet.

In tomorrow’s speech, submarine May needs to surface and show if there is any substance to her “centre ground” pitch. Her “country that works for everyone” mantra is repeated by every speaker, ear-achingly, brain-deadeningly mindless. It’s time to tell us what will work and for whom – or will everything be swept aside by the destructive pointlessness of Brexit?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The PM vows to pull the trigger by March 2017 and seems to rule out staying in the single market but gives scant detail on trade

Welcome to the Guardian ’s weekly Brexit briefing, a summary of developments as Britain moves – a bit more purposefully, it seems – towards the EU exit. If you’d like to receive it as a weekly email, do please sign up here [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/31/eu-referendum-morning-briefing-sign-up].

Producing the Guardian ’s thoughtful, in-depth journalism is expensive – but supporting us isn’t. If you value our Brexit coverage, please become a Guardian supporter [https://membership.theguardian.com/supporter?CMP=ema-3377] and help make our future more secure. Thank you.

The big picture Finally, something tangible. Last week – and, particularly, last weekend – feels like a bit of a Brexit turning point: we now have a date (or at least a deadline) for the start of exit talks, and what looks very much like a strategic direction.

At the Conservative party conference on Sunday, Theresa May [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/may-on-collision-course-with-backbenchers-seeking-soft-brexit] said article 50 would be triggered before the end of March next year. The prime minister also said Britain would not emulate Norway or Switzerland but forge a relationship with the EU as a fully independent, sovereign country:

We are not leaving the EU today to give up control of **immigration** again, and we are not leaving only to return to the jurisdiction of the European court of justice. We are going to be a country... that is no longer part of a political union with supranational institutions that can override national parliaments and courts.

Obviously that still leaves a lot unanswered about the detail of the trading relationship with Europe May will seek.

Related: Brexit: Theresa May prioritises **immigration** curbs over single market [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/brexit-theresa-may-prioritises-immigration-curbs-over-free-movement]

But her stated priorities – curbing **immigration**, no more interference from foreign judges, even reclaiming the right to print food labels as Britain sees fit – would seem to rule out membership of the EU ’s single market.

Although she disputed the notions of “hard” and “soft” Brexit, this looks pretty hard: May’s Brexit means sovereignty taking precedence over trade arrangements and economic interests, at least short term.

As was necessary, the prime minister also promised a bill to scrap the 1972 act that took the UK into the union [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/theresa-may-great-repeal-bill-eu-british-law] and to transfer existing EU law into British law. Parliament will be able to remove or rewrite unwanted bits later, but at least initially, Brexit will mean up to 13,000 EU regulations being enshrined in UK law.

Europe largely welcomed the clarity on the Brexit timetable, happy that Britain should now be out before the European parliament elections of spring 2019. But Donald Tusk, the European council president, once more rebuffed May’s call for preparatory talks:

PM May's declaration brings welcome clarity on start of Brexit talks. Once Art. 50's triggered, EU27 will engage to safeguard its interests— Donald Tusk (@eucopresident) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/eucopresident/status/782577278882553856]

May’s position was prefigured by remarks from the trade secretary, Liam Fox [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/liam-fox-looks-to-wto-in-hint-at-hard-brexit-stance], who used a major speech to hail Britain’s transition to a fully independent member of the World Trade Organisation after it leaves the EU as a “golden opportunity” for the UK to trade with the rest of the world.

Both Nick Clegg, the former Liberal Democrat deputy prime minister, and the former business minister Anna Soubry said Fox was “delusional”.

The view from Europe Responding to May’s speech, Malta’s prime minister, Joseph Muscat, whose country will hold the EU’s rotating presidency when article 50 is invoked [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/may-on-collision-course-with-backbenchers-seeking-soft-brexit], reiterated the bloc’s stance: single market privileges and freedom of movement “cannot be decoupled”.

But in some ways, things may have become simpler for the EU 27: if Britain really is not intending to seek a relaxation of the single market’s rules (to allow it to control EU **immigration**, for example) but is just out for a reasonable trade deal, the pressure may have eased.

The bloc’s remaining members are also aware that as soon as article 50 is triggered, they will have the advantage: the clock will be ticking.

Related: EU commission still refuses UK talks before article 50 triggered [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/eu-commission-still-refuses-uk-talks-before-article-50-triggered]

The EU 27 are, at any rate, united in their view that Britain must not have its cake and eat it. A survey by the Bloomberg news agency [http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-09-28/-hard-brexit-looms-as-28-red-lines-turn-deeper-shade-of-scarlet] found positions in Brussels and the other EU capitals hardening, with even Britain’s allies insisting it cannot “cherry pick” and many saying it must end up with inferior terms.

Meanwhile the leader of Germany’s largest industry group, Markus Kerber, dismissed pro-Brexit claims [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/german-business-leader-warning-brexit-trade-uk] that the volume of business German companies do with Britain would mean they would push for a free trade deal and not tolerate tariffs.

Kerber said that for German industry trade, investments and single market solidarity with the rest of the EU was more important: “For us, the single market, eastern Europe, freedom of movement – they are one deal.”

After a week of increasingly outlandish claims, Guy Verhofstadt, the Brexit representative of the European parliament ( which will have to approve Britain’s exit deal [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/article-50-timescale-theresa-may-brexit] and any future trade arrangement), took to Facebook in frustration [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/28/brexit-negotiator-hits-out-at-uk-ministers-mixed-messages] at the contradictory messages coming from the British government .

It’s difficult to fault his logic.

Meanwhile, back in Westminster May has placed herself at loggerheads with a number of Conservative backbenchers who believe the government should pursue a soft Brexit maximising access to the single market – and who also want a parliamentary vote before article 50 is triggered.

“Government is embarking on a difficult and extensive exercise and to do it without the support of parliament is mistaken,” said Dominic Grieve, the former attorney general, while Soubry reckoned May should be wary of being gung ho on article 50, and said the EU held “most of the cards in negotiations”.

Soubry also did not mince her words [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/30/anna-soubry-brands-liam-foxs-free-trade-speech-delusional] about the cabinet’s three Brexiteers – Fox, David Davis, the Brexit minister, and the foreign secretary, Boris Johnson:

It’s really worrying that these are the senior people who have the future of our country in their hands.

Ken Clarke, a longstanding pro-EU Tory, claimed May was running a government without any policy on Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/former-tory-ministers-demand-clear-brexit-plan-theresa-may] : “Nobody in the government has the first idea of what they’re going to do next on the Brexit front,” he told the New Statesman.

Related: Philip Hammond vows to match lost EU funding for business [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/philip-hammond-vows-to-match-lost-eu-funding-for-business]

There are also splits within the cabinet, with the chancellor, Philip Hammond, thought to be pushing for the best economic deal with the EU , having said an “implicit” message from the referendum was the need to protect the economy.

You should also know that:

\* The boss of Nissan warned new investment in the UK’s biggest car plant in Sunderland could be scrapped [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/30/nissan-hard-brexit-compensation-new-uk-investment-tariffs] unless the company was compensated for tariffs that could be imposed after Brexit.

\* In a significant victory for campaigners, a court ruled the UK government must disclose its legal arguments [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/28/government-must-disclose-legal-arguments-article-50-procedure-peoples-challenge] for refusing to consult parliament before triggering article 50.

\* Alastair Campbell, Tony Blair ’s former spin chief, said New Labour helped sow the seeds of Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/01/alastair-campbell-new-labour-tony-blair-immigration-brexit] by allowing electoral success to blind it to the impact of **immigration**.

\* A “horrible spike” in hate crime in London was partly linked to the referendum, the Metropolitan police said [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/28/hate-crime-horrible-spike-brexit-vote-metropolitan-police], with more than 2,300 race hate crimes in the 38 days after the vote against 1,400 in the same period before.

\* Nicky Morgan, a former cabinet minister, warned a hard Brexit risked encouraging bigoted attitudes like those of Donald Trump [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/01/hard-brexit-new-bigotry-warns-nicky-morgan].

\* David Davis attended a key seminar at Oxford University [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/david-davis-oxford-seminar-hard-brexit-eu] last month that drew up a controversial blueprint for a hard Brexit.

Read this In the Guardian , the Conservative MP Nick Herbert warns of the dangers of a poorly thought through hard Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/02/hard-brexit-eu-trade-deal] :

Conservatives must beware Brexit fundamentalism, or giving themselves up to a romanticised 1950s vision of Britain, a country of imperialist chauvinism... It’s folly to believe new trade deals are a simple or swift substitute for unhindered access to the world’s largest on our doorstep, a bloc with which we do half our trade.

At the Centre for European Reform , its director, Charles Grant, explains that fear of populism [http://www.cer.org.uk/insights/why-27-are-taking-hard-line-brexit] in France, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands is one reason why the EU 27 will not waver from their hard line in Brexit negotiations. Also, he says:

A lot of British politicians believe that the hard line of the 27 is merely an opening stance. Rather more Britons assume that, in the end, Angela Merkel will look after the UK. But for Merkel, the interests of the EU come first. She believes that maintaining the institutional integrity of the EU , and the link between the four freedoms, is in Europe’s interest and therefore Germany’s.

In t he FT (paywall) [https://www.ft.com/content/7b78f276-8940-11e6-8cb7-e7ada1d123b1], Gideon Rachman warns that Theresa May has put herself into a very tricky position, and the British economy could suffer as a consequence:

By announcing that she will start the formal negotiations for Britain to leave the EU by March 2017, the prime minister has walked into a trap. She has given away what little leverage Britain has in the negotiations – without receiving any of the assurances that she needs to achieve a successful outcome... In doing so, she has knowingly placed Britain at a massive disadvantage in the forthcoming negotiations.

And back in the Guardian , Vernon Bogdanor reckons [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/02/article-50-trade-eu-deals-globalisation] that while Britain will now leave the EU by 2019, until there’s a new trade agreement the country’s most vulnerable will be the worse off:

The irony is that, contrary to the hopes of many Brexiteers, leaving the EU will expose Britain to more globalisation, not less; and in a more competitive and harsher world it will be the ‘left behind’, those most likely to have voted for Brexit, who will suffer the most. Brexit will be Margaret Thatcher ’s revenge.

Tweet of the week

The stuff that Brexit dreams are made of... Our future is bright indeed! (The tweeted replies aren’t bad, either.)

France needs high quality, innovative British jams & marmalades #EXportingisGREAT [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EXportingisGREAT?src=hash] #ExportOpps [https://twitter.com/hashtag/ExportOpps?src=hash] https://t.co/TsnsjUCVxX [https://t.co/TsnsjUCVxX] — Dept. for Int. Trade (@tradegovuk) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tradegovuk/status/782860452325982208] — Dept. for Int. Trade (@tradegovuk)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The new home secretary’s conference speech will exacerbate fear and damage universities

Theresa May has the admirable intention of restoring confidence in government by paying careful attention to the discontents of the 52% who voted Brexit. She recognises that many who voted leave did so from a sense that Westminster had yielded control of important policies, most notably **immigration**, to Brussels. That is partly the consequence of setting a target for net migration that was unachievable. Mrs May spent six years trying to make it work against internal opposition from the Lib Dems, and sometimes from George Osborne’s Treasury. It was Mr Osborne who vetoed a manifesto pledge[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11329609/George-Osborne-sees-off-Theresa-Mays-controversial-plan-to-deport-foreign-graduates.html] to prevent international students staying on after they had finished their studies. But international students stayed in Mrs May’s sights, one of the few points of traction in the government’s efforts to bring net migration down below 100,000.

Now her successor at the Home Office, Amber Rudd, in a speech that was startlingly hardline[http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2016/10/full-text-amber-rudds-conference-speech/], is planning a new attack on the numbers of students coming to Britain to study[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live]. Ms Rudd wants to impose different tests for applicants to different universities and colleges. The net effect is likely to be a cut in the numbers taking shorter courses or attending the post-1992 universities that offer more accessible degree subjects, and a blow to their viability, since international students account for 30% of university revenue. This is a bad policy. It imposes new bureaucratic burdens on all universities, and might seriously undermine newer ones that serve an important local role. It will be hard to enforce. Worse, it is based on flaky and contested evidence[http://www.ippr.org/publications/destination-education] about how many students stay after they have completed their course of study: last year, just 11,100 people who previously held study visas were granted extensions to remain in the UK[http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/non-european-student-migration-to-the-uk/] in a category other than study. But the government relies on the International Passenger Survey, which suggests as many as 100,000 international students might stay on. With such a dubious evidence base, it seems unlikely that these latest moves will dent the net migration figures – while further souring an atmosphere where anti-migrant attacks already appear legitimised by the Brexit campaign. A sceptical public will have yet more evidence that migration is a problem the politicians cannot solve.

Mrs May’s Home Office legacy is the **Immigration** Act 2016, a piece of legislation expressly intended to create “ a hostile environment for illegal migration[https://www.jcwi.org.uk/blog/2016/05/23/what%E2%80%99s-next-hostile-environment-immigration-act-2016-and-queen%E2%80%99s-speech] ”. Ms Rudd is on to it, announcing that the measures criminalising landlords who let property to illegal migrants and introducing compulsory **immigration** status checks on all taxi drivers will be in force by the end of the year. She made one positive announcement: a new “controlling migration” fund, at £140m nearly three times bigger than Jeremy Corbyn’s proposal last week. But along with supporting hard-pressed public services, the fund will be used to help councils stamp down on wrongly claimed housing benefit and rough sleeping.

Of the great humanitarian crisis engulfing millions of **refugees**, or the slow progress on uniting unaccompanied children with their British-based families, Ms Rudd said not a word. And every time a minister announces a crackdown on illegal migration, they add to the impression of an ill-defined, uncontrolled threat. Ms Rudd was a banker. She should know the value of robust evidence and reliable statistics. That is the only basis for policy.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Why is Britain’s currency suffering while shares in its biggest companies are soaring?

The pound has fallen to a 31-year low amid signs that the UK government is leading the country into a hard exit from the European Union. At the same time, the FTSE 100 – Britain’s most prestigious stock market index – is close to reaching an all time high[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/04/ftse-100-near-record-high-pound-31-year-low]. Why is Britain’s currency suffering while shares in its biggest companies are soaring?

Why has the pound fallen? Theresa May sent a strong signal on Sunday[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/brexit-theresa-may-prioritises-immigration-curbs-over-free-movement] that curbs on **immigration** were more important than remaining inside the EU’s single market. Investors take a dim view of the UK pulling out of the EU’s tariff-free zone. They also don’t like the notion restrictions on **immigration** that deny employers vital staff. Both policies will reduce GDP growth, they believe.

Investors began to sell the pound soon after the speech and the momentum increased following a warning from the chancellor of the exchequer on Monday that the next two years will be a difficult time for the economy. On Tuesday, May repeated her warning that a hard Brexit was likely, which provoked another round of selling.

Why, at the same time, is the stock market rising? There are two key reasons. The first is that many FTSE 100 firms earn their revenues in dollars. Among them are the largest on the London exchange: oil majors BP and Shell; the mining companies BHP Billiton and Anglo American; and banks such as HSBC. As the value of dollars rises versus the pound, the profits of these companies increase. They become more valuable and the stock market goes up as a consequence.

Second, share prices have been increasing all year in response to prevarication by the US central bank, which has struggled to raise interest rates despite signalling a willingness to do so. The Bank of England, the European Central Bank and the Bank of Japan are already offering zero or negative interest rates. If the Federal Reserve cannot increase rates from the current 0.5%, then investors must put their money into shares in order to earn a return.

Does it matter that the pound is falling? The pound was worth $1.55 last October. Now it is hovering around $1.27. A year ago the pound bought €1.34. Like the dollar, the euro is also stronger and a pound will buy a little less than €1.12. According to some economists the 20% drop against the dollar and even bigger slide against the euro is a good thing, boosting exports and deterring the consumption of increasingly expensive imports. This gives manufacturing sales a lift and helps the balance of payments, which is in a significant deficit currently. It is also hoped that holidaymakers will want to stay at home, spending their money in British resorts and not continental destinations.

The alternative view is that the pound’s value is a measure of the country’s worth relative to other nations and the recent falls means the UK is probably not the fifth largest economy in the world anymore, but the sixth or seventh.

Can the pound fall too far? A trap door might open under sterling should the Tory messaging around a hard Brexit be taken as a sure sign that Britain will be shut out of the single market altogether. The pound almost reached parity with the dollar in the mid 1980s, but only for a brief period. It would be considered by most economists to be a huge vote of no confidence in the economy if there was a repetition.

Is the stock market too high? The MSCI index of global stock markets is around the same level as before the 2008 financial crash. This is a huge worry, especially when much of the money in stocks and shares in the UK, the US, Japan and Frankfurt is invested by default. In other words, it is invested by fund managers who cannot get a decent return on other assets, especially corporate and government bonds. Therefore, the rising value of global stock markets is not related to profits, which are flat or declining, but just the welter of cash pouring into the exchanges. If there is an economic shock of some kind, it could trigger a panic, and then markets would have a long way to fall.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Foreign exchange traders are “spooked” by Theresa May’s Brexit plan, say analysts, as sterling slides again - pushing share prices higher1.30pm: FTSE 100 near record high: Pound falls to $1.275UK construction bounces back after Brexit votePOUND HITS 31-YEAR LOWFTSE 100 jumps over 7,000 markFTSE 250 hits a record highComing up: IMF World Economic Outlook at 2pm

block-time published-time 1.46pm BST

Heads-up: In 15 minutes, the International Monetary Fund will release its latest assessment of the global economy.

The World Economic Outlook will contain new forecasts, which will surely include the impact of the Brexit vote...

block-time published-time 1.28pm BST

Sky News’s Ed Conway has created a nice chart of the pound’s value over the centuries ( click here to see a larger version[https://twitter.com/EdConwaySky/status/783253070666948608/photo/1?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw] ).

enltrI've updated my annotated history of the pound sterling 1791-2016 to reflect the latest fall. Still above 1985 lows. But getting weaker pic.twitter.com/suw14OtX7n[https://t.co/suw14OtX7n]

— Ed Conway (@EdConwaySky) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/EdConwaySky/status/783253070666948608]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.29pm BST

block-time published-time 1.19pm BST

There’s absolutely no love for the pound today.

As US traders arrive at work in New York, sterling is still at a 31-year low against the US dollar at just $1.275, down 1 cent or 0.7%.

This is a historically bad moment for the pound -- it’s only been weaker in 1985.

The pound vs the US dollar since 1971 Photograph: Bloomberg The unexpected good news that Britain’s construction sector surged in September ( details here[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/04/pound-dollar-low-construction-imf-brexit-business-live?page=with:block-57f368cbe4b01506cbf24fb4#block-57f368cbe4b01506cbf24fb4] ) hasn’t brought any relief. Investors are focusing on Brexit, and the prospect of a divorce between Britain and the EU by March 2019.

FXTM research analyst Lukman Otunuga says sterling is suffering from a “horrible combination” of Brexit anxieties and a resurgent Dollar, prompting traders into waves of selling.

It seems Theresa May’s sanguine attitude to leaving the European Union while focusing on **immigration** may have sparked concerns of a potential hard Brexit consequently leaving the Sterling vulnerable to steep losses.

Although investors were provided some clarity when March 2017 was the date set to invoking the article 50, the uncertainty over how the Brexit negotiations will take place in the period after continues to haunt investor attraction towards the pound.

And there could be worse to come....

It should be kept in mind that the persistent Brexit fears have always had a firm grip on the Sterling with explosive levels of volatility expected in the coming months as anxiety mounts ahead of the article 50 invoke date.

block-time published-time 1.05pm BST

George Osborne hasn’t had a lot to cheer about recently, what with being sacked by Theresa May and seeing the central pillar of his economic plan trashed by the new chancellor, Philip Hammond.

But there’s one piece of good news for the member for Tatton; his family firm is going to benefit from the slump in the pound.

My colleague Simon Bowers has the details:

Osborne & Little, the luxury wallpaper chain owned by the family of former chancellor George Osborne[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/georgeosborne], says it expects to benefit from the fall in the value of the pound triggered by the Brexit vote.

The company said there would be “limited impact” in the short term from Britain’s decision to leave the European Union, but if sterling remained weak, it would bring a “material benefit” to the business next year.

In the company’s latest accounts, they say that:

“In the short term there will be limited impact resulting from the UK leaving the EU, but if exchange rates stay as they are, in particular, the exchange rate between sterling and the US dollar, then there will be a material benefit in the year ending 31 March 2018.”

What a stroke of luck....

Related: George Osborne's family firm to benefit from Brexit vote[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/04/george-osborne-little-family-business-wallpaper-benefit-brexit-vote-eu-referendum]

block-time published-time 12.48pm BST

Remember the wild hours of 24 June, after Britain voted to leave the European Union?

Of course you do. How could anyone forget the prime minister resigning, the pound plunging, and the stock market taking an almighty bath when trading began?

But, anyone who had the foresight to buy shares at that moment is sitting on some huge gains. The FTSE 100 is now 20% higher than its worst point on that Friday morning.

enltrUK stocks in a bull market, the FTSE 100 now +20% from the low on June 24, the day after the Brexit referendum pic.twitter.com/E7bFHqOUpk[https://t.co/E7bFHqOUpk]

— Jamie McGeever (@ReutersJamie) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/ReutersJamie/status/783270379636854784]block-time published-time 12.31pm BST

Higher still and higher goes the FTSE 100.

Britain’s blue-chip stock index is now above than its record close, 7103.98, recorded in April 2015.

It’s now up 126 points, or 1.8%, at 7110, with almost every shares up.

enltrLATEST: FTSE 100 surpasses previous record high in intraday trading https://t.co/qrNbOhqfQl[https://t.co/qrNbOhqfQl] pic.twitter.com/un9wIdJG4b[https://t.co/un9wIdJG4b]

— Bloomberg (@business) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/business/status/783267747174178820]But, at the risk of banging on... this is partly due to the slump in the pound (which makes internationally focused companies more valuable in sterling terms).

enltrI did a 'splainer pic.twitter.com/qsm8hPtu7X[https://t.co/qsm8hPtu7X]

— Lorcan Roche Kelly (@LorcanRK) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/LorcanRK/status/783266032395882496]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.34pm BST

block-time published-time 12.14pm BST

Umunna blames Brexiteers for sterling slide Chuka Umunna MP. Photograph: Richard Gardner/REX/Shutterstock Chuka Umunna MP, Chair of Vote Leave Watch, has seized on the slump in the pound to berate the leaders of the Brexit campaign.

In a resounding blast, Umunna says:

“Leave campaigners promised that the economy would be unaffected by a vote to leave the EU. They dismissed every economic warning as ‘scaremongering’ or ‘Project Fear’.

“Today we see how hollow their assertions were. This collapse in the value of the pound means ordinary British workers will be worse off, as prices in the shops soar and the pound in everyone’s pocket is worth less.

“The Tory conference in Birmingham reveals three cabinet members responsible for Brexit – Davis, Fox and Johnson – blind to the damage Brexit is already doing to Britain. Instead of rushing to pull out of the Single Market, they should focus on limiting the damage to our economy and maintaining as many of the current benefits we enjoy as possible.”

Umunna is absolutely right that the weak pound is pushing up the cost of imports; both finished goods and raw materials.

Some technology companies began hiking prices[https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/jul/07/computers-and-chocolate-set-to-get-pricier-after-brexit-vote] immediately after the referendum. Consumer goods group Unilever warned in August [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jul/21/unilever-shoppers-rising-prices-brexit-vote-sterling] that prices will be pushed higher; it makes Dove Soap, icecream, biscuits and Flora.

Even bacon from China[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/aug/25/brexit-vote-pushes-up-price-bacon-china-british-pork] could become more expensive too.

But other companies say they hope to ‘absorb’ these costs, rather than pushing up prices. For example, baking firm Greggs said today it will do its “absolute utmost” to avoid price rises.

Related: Greggs sales bolstered by lower-calorie food[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/04/greggs-sales-lower-calorie-food-profit]

block-time published-time 11.53am BST

Ireland trims growth forecasts on Brexit fears The uncertainty swirling around the Brexit issue has forced the Irish government to cut its growth forecasts.

Reuters has the story:

Ireland on Tuesday cut its gross domestic product forecast for 2017 on concerns about the fall-out from Britain’s vote to leave the European Union and said risks were centered “firmly to the downside.”

The finance ministry cut its 2016 GDP forecast to 4.2 percent from 4.9 percent and for 2017 to 3.5% from 3.9% and said there was considerable uncertainty to the outlook for next year with the impact of Brexit still unfolding.

“We have reduced next year’s forecast by around half a percentage point to take into account the uncertainty associated with Brexit,” John McCarthy, the finance ministry’s chief economist, told a parliamentary committee.

Around 40% of Ireland’s food and drink exports are sold to the UK, in an example of the close trade links between the two countries.

Dublin is particularly anxious about the prospect of the UK leaving the EU customs union without any new trade agreement. The future of the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic is another obvious issue -- leading to calls today for a new agreement to prevent a ‘hard border’ being established.

Related: Ireland to seek special status to keep open border with UK amid 'hard Brexit' fears[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/04/ireland-to-seek-special-status-to-keep-open-border-with-uk-amid-hard-brexit-fears]

block-time published-time 11.36am BST

Time for some history: a market report from the last time the pound was worth just $1.27.

enltrA forex report by @dsmitheconomics[https://twitter.com/dsmitheconomics] in the Times, June 15 1985 - about the last time GBP was this weak @TimesArchive[https://twitter.com/TimesArchive] pic.twitter.com/6oCsHe7q7f[https://t.co/6oCsHe7q7f]

— Andy Bruce (@BruceReuters) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/BruceReuters/status/783243967974506496]Health worries about a senior US politician? An Argentinian debt crisis? Concern about the oil price? P lus ça change, plus c’est la même chose....

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.36am BST

block-time published-time 11.27am BST

Mining companies and internationally-focused firms have been the best performing companies on the London stock market this year, as this chart shows:

It was sent over by Laith Khalaf, senior analyst at Hargreaves Lansdown. He reckons the market could still go higher.

With cash and bonds yielding next to nothing, equities are the natural alternative for anyone looking for a decent level of income. Nor will there be any shortage of income-seekers at the moment, as millions of baby boomers are reaching retirement age, while the recent pension freedoms conveniently allow them to park their retirement funds in the stock market rather than buying an annuity.

And on some measures, shares aren’t actually too expensive today, he adds:

If you compare share prices to company earnings, the valuation of the UK stock market is actually somewhere in the middle of its historic range, neither particularly cheap, nor dear, at current prices. This is in stark contrast to the former peak of the market in 1999, when the price-earnings ratio of the UK stock market stood at an eye-watering level.

block-time published-time 10.57am BST

City fears hard time after hard Brexit The City isn’t going to get any special treatment in the Brexit negotiations, according to a new report that has alarmed some investors.

Bloomberg is reporting that PM Theresa May wants to “change the relationship between the government and the City of London”.

According to three senior figures in May’s administration, the government will refuse to prioritize the protection of the sector after the U.K. has left the European Union.

Her team has also dismissed the key business demand for an interim deal with the EU to help ease the transition out of the bloc, one of the people said. All asked not to be named because the information is sensitive.

Here’s the full piece: Banks to Miss Out on Special Favors in May’s Brexit Plans[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-03/may-said-to-downgrade-city-in-brexit-shock-for-financial-sector]The City fears a hard Brexit because it could prevent firms in London from offering services across the European Union.

Those ‘passporting rights’ are highly prized, but would be lost if Britain leaves the single market in 2019.

This uncertainty is already making it harder for City firms to plan, or hire new staff.

enltrGood @FT[https://twitter.com/FT] chart on role of non-Brits in the City (22% of 360k workforce) pic.twitter.com/v26fYOSwfV[https://t.co/v26fYOSwfV]

— Mark Scott (@markscott82) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/markscott82/status/783188308964900864]block-time published-time 10.50am BST

Tom Stevenson, director of personal investing for Fidelity International, suggests the London stock market could easily keep climbing, despite the clouds of Brexit uncertainty.

“As the pound plunges to a three decade low, the FTSE 100 has broken through the 7000 barrier, reaching 7,076 this morning, close to its highest ever. The first time the FTSE surpassed this milestone was in March 2015 before rising to its all-time intra-day high of 7,122 in April 2015. Since then we have seen the markets fluctuate, hitting a low in February 2016 of 5,499, before bouncing back again – an increase of 28.6 per cent.

“This is obviously good news for UK investors and no-one would complain about the market finally moving decisively on from its 1999 dot.com[http://dot.com/] bubble peak. But it should be remembered that the main reason shares are rising today is the remarkable slide in the pound to its lowest level since 1985. It’s good for UK exporters and overseas earners but for foreign stock market investors it takes the edge off the latest gains.

“Can the market go further from here? Despite coming close to a new high, the valuation of the UK market is not excessive and investors still look to shares for income, growth and stability.

block-time published-time 10.25am BST

FTSE 100 posts triple-digit gains London’s stock market is surging higher, sending the FTSE 100 index up by 100 points to a new 16-month high.

Shares in consumer group Unilever, drinks company Diageo, and food group Compass have all hit record highs.

And the Footsie is now hovering around 7084 points, only 38 points shy of its record high. Nearly ever share is up.

The FTSE 100 today Photograph: Thomson Reuters We shouldn’t forget the proviso that this is partly due to the weakness of the pound (which boosts the share prices of companies with international earnings, as explained earlier[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/04/pound-dollar-low-construction-imf-brexit-business-live?page=with:block-57f3564be4b03ca720ca2490#block-57f3564be4b03ca720ca2490] ).

But investors may also be showing some confidence in Britain’s prospects; especially after this morning’s strong data from the building secto[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/04/pound-dollar-low-construction-imf-brexit-business-live?page=with:block-57f368cbe4b01506cbf24fb4#block-57f368cbe4b01506cbf24fb4] r.

Chris Beauchamp, chief market analyst at City firm IG, explains:

There may be no shortage of commentators pointing out that the index is still down in dollar terms, but with the index at its highest level in over a year there is a distinct feel-good factor among UK investors.

European markets are joining in the party, with Deutsche Bank shares resilient despite no developments on a potential reduction in the DoJ fine. The traditionally strong quarter for equities has got off to a remarkably good start, although the move has probably been helped by the lack of heavyweight data so far this month.

Today’s UK construction PMI continues the trend set by manufacturing yesterday, although with so much focus still on the UK’s path to Brexit the relief for sterling has been minimal. If tomorrow’s services number also comes in strongly the Bank of England is going to have a hard time justifying another cut in interest rates.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.31am BST

block-time published-time 10.05am BST

The resurgence in Britain’s construction sector[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/04/pound-dollar-low-construction-imf-brexit-business-live?page=with:block-57f368cbe4b01506cbf24fb4#block-57f368cbe4b01506cbf24fb4] hasn’t done the pound much good.

Sterling is still ploughing 31-year lows this morning, trading at $1.2771 against the US dollar and 87.4p against the euro.

Carlo Alberto De Casa, chief analyst at ActivTrades, says:

“This is a clear signal that the fears for a hard Brexit are becoming bigger day by day and that also the limitation of the freedom of movement is taking the investors away from the pound.”

block-time published-time 9.47am BST

Here’s some expert reaction to Britain’s construction sector surging back to growth in September[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/04/pound-dollar-low-construction-imf-brexit-business-live?page=with:block-57f368cbe4b01506cbf24fb4#block-57f368cbe4b01506cbf24fb4] :

Tim Moore, Senior Economist at IHS Markit: “Resilient housing market conditions and a renewed upturn in civil engineering activity helped to drive an overall improvement in construction output volumes for the first time since the EU referendum.

“A number of survey respondents noted that Brexit- related anxiety has receded among clients, although it remained a factor behind the ongoing decline in commercial building work.

Mike Chappell, Global Corporates managing director for construction at Lloyds Bank Commercial Banking

“Far from being overwhelmingly downbeat, many construction firms, particularly those at the larger end of the market, have indicated that the EU referendum result has – so far at least – had little impact on business.

“The industry has also been buoyed by the Government’s decision to press ahead with Hinkley Point, one of the most significant infrastructure projects of recent decades. Even if not all in the sector will share in the spoils, the move suggests a commitment to infrastructure, underlined by encouraging comments from the chancellor at the Conservative Party conference. Other major projects, such as HS2 and the airport expansion in the South East, are also in the pipeline.

“On the other side of the coin, the weakness of sterling continues to make raw materials more expensive for those without relevant hedging and the expectation of many is that inflation is set to become more of a headache during 2017.”

Paul Trigg, construction specialist and assistant head of risk underwriting at Euler Hermes, said:

“Construction is sitting in the eye of the storm. The sector has yet to feel the full brunt of Brexit as a healthy pipeline of work will carry companies through the next 12 to 18 months. Triggering Article 50 is likely to spark a significant change, and encouraging indicators could be false positives.

“The Government has an opportunity in the Autumn Statement to strengthen the commitment to infrastructure spending. Projects like Hinckley Point, together with smaller scale developments to keep the economy moving, will be on the wish list of a sector that needs more prospects on its horizon.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.14am BST

block-time published-time 9.47am BST

Some snap analysis:

enltrConstruction sector PMIs were the worst hit pre & post referendum, so return to growth is good news. Commercial building still languishing. https://t.co/vx69MJlvVT[https://t.co/vx69MJlvVT]

— Rupert Seggins (@Rupert\_Seggins) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/Rupert\_Seggins/status/783224418898247680]enltrMore good news from the PMI surveys - construction output rises to 52.3 points in Sep. Expanding (above 50) for first time since referendum

— Ed Conway (@EdConwaySky) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/EdConwaySky/status/783225923399278592]enltrUK construction; strong residential, strengthening civil, weak commercial. Costs rising on GBP falls, employment mixed.

— World First (@World\_First) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/World\_First/status/783223612660645888]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.14am BST

block-time published-time 9.37am BST

UK construction sector rebounds after Brexit vote Boom! Britain’s building sector had surged back to growth, new data shows.

In the latest sign that the Brexit vote has not hurt the economy, the monthly construction PMI has leapt to 52.3 in September, up from 49.2 in August.

That’s much stronger than expected. It means activity in the sector increased last month, at the fastest rate since March (any reading over 50 = shows growth).

Markit, which compiles the report, says that residential housebuilding drove the recovery. There was also a welcome pick-up in new orders, after four months of “sustained decline”

UK construction PMI Photograph: Markit The PMI, or purchasing managers index, measures activity, new orders, and confidence in the sector.

More to follow...

block-time published-time 9.27am BST

The important point about today’s selloff [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/04/pound-dollar-low-construction-imf-brexit-business-live?page=with:block-57f3516de4b03ca720ca247e#block-57f3516de4b03ca720ca247e] is that the pound has slumped below its lowest point after the EU referendum.

That strongly suggests that traders have been unsettled by the prospect of Britain leaving the EU, and the single market, as early as March 2019.

By falling through July’s lows, the pound is now at levels only seen during the sterling crisis of 1985.

Back then, the world was struggling to cope with a particularly strong US dollar[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-36727177], as America’s central bank held interest rates high to tackle inflation (which encouraged traders to hold dollars).

The pound vs the US dollar since 1980 Photograph: Thomson Reuters enltrSterling fell to $1.04 in 1985, so it might be a while before you hear about a pre-1985 low. (It did go back to $1.50 the next year).

— Mike Bird (@Birdyword) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/Birdyword/status/783209007339212800]block-time published-time 9.07am BST

Kit Juckes of French bank Société Générale also blames the Conservative Party for sending pound down to levels last seen in 1985.

Confirmation that the UK Government plans to trigger article 50 by the end of Q1 2017 hit sterling harder than I expected yesterday, which is saying something.

Some sort of a bounce is possible today but the noises from the Conservative party conference aren’t helpful. There will be fiscal slippage as the Chancellor won’t try to hit previous deficit reduction targets, but a significant easing is not on the cards. Nor is the government showing any signs of shifting a position where control on **immigration** is the hardest of lines in negotiations to leave the EU, and won’t be sacrificed or watered down in order to keep access to the single market, particularly for financial services. There’s nothing there to soften the outlook for sterling, at all.

block-time published-time 8.54am BST

Ana Thaker, Market Economist at PhillipCapital UK, believes the pound could slump to $1.25, or worse, as exit talks with the European Union get underway.

She says:

There is great uncertainty regarding how the Brexit negotiations will take shape and this could see a renewed bout of volatility in the currency.

The Bank of England could also seek to stabilise markets if volatility continues but it remains to be seen how far Sterling could drop with the $1.25 being the next target level; whilst it could dip lower than this, there is likely to have to be significant developments for the pair to reach the $1.20 level.

block-time published-time 8.48am BST

FTSE 250 hits record high The FTSE 250 index of medium-sized companies has hit a new record high!

That’s significant, as the index is seen as more representative of the UK economy than the heavyweight FTSE 100.

The FTSE 250 index Photograph: Thomson Reuters block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.12am BST

block-time published-time 8.40am BST

Hats off to Bloomberg for this chart, which shows how the London stock market rally is partly due to the drop in the pound since 23 June.

enltrSO much love for @queenofchartz[https://twitter.com/queenofchartz] and this Pound + FTSE chart pic.twitter.com/IH8PJGADQP[https://t.co/IH8PJGADQP]

— Francine Lacqua (@flacqua) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/flacqua/status/783206326272978944]

\* The light blue line is the FTSE 100 - hitting a new 16-month high this morning[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/04/pound-dollar-low-construction-imf-brexit-business-live?page=with:block-57f3564be4b03ca720ca2490#block-57f3564be4b03ca720ca2490].

\* The purple line is the pound, plunging to 31-year lows[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/04/pound-dollar-low-construction-imf-brexit-business-live?page=with:block-57f3516de4b03ca720ca247e#block-57f3516de4b03ca720ca247e].

\* The white line is the FTSE 100 priced in dollars (and still below the pre-referendum levels)

\* And the orange line is EU referendum day.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.37am BST

block-time published-time 8.36am BST

The prospect of a ‘hard Brexit’ is hurting the pound, says Conner Campbell of SpreadEx:

It seems that it is going to be hard to provide a tourniquet for sterling’s recent wounds given the solidity of the newly announced Brexit timeline (with March set to go down in the history books as when Article 50 was triggered), and the firmness with which May stated her intention to chase border control even if it means relinquishing Britain’s position in the single market.

block-time published-time 8.33am BST

Today’s selloff is reinforcing the pound’s claim to be the worst-performing major currency of 2016.

This chart shows how the pound has weakened sharply against all its major rivals:

enltrSterling performance YTD; we're even down against the Trump trampled Mexican peso pic.twitter.com/V00NM8DtFU[https://t.co/V00NM8DtFU]

— World First (@World\_First) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/World\_First/status/783204722186608640]block-time published-time 8.26am BST

block-time published-time 8.24am BST

FTSE 100 hits 7,000 points (but......) While the pound slides, shares are soaring in London.

The FTSE 100 index of leading blue-chip companies bounced excitedly over the 7,000 point mark at the start of trading, to a new-16-month high.

It’s up 52 points to 7040, up 0.85%, as money pours into shares.

BUT.... before anyone gets excited, it’s important to note that this is partly due to the pound’s weakness.

The Footsie is packed with internationally-focused firms, whose overseas earnings are worth more when the pound is lower.

And if you price the FTSE in dollars, not pounds, it’s certainly not at a 16-month high....

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.35am BST

block-time published-time 8.16am BST

Bloomberg says “Brexit angst” is hurting the pound:[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-04/pound-tumbles-to-three-decade-low-as-angst-over-brexit-persists]

The pound dropped to a three-decade low, as investor concern about Britain’s exit from the European Union welled up after Prime Minister Theresa May’s announcement that she would begin the process of leaving the bloc in the first quarter of 2017.

Sterling fell beyond its post-Brexit-vote low, and was down against 29 of its 31 major peers. During the first day of the Conservative Party’s annual conference in Birmingham on Sunday, May promised to curb **immigration** and set a date for Britain to trigger Article 50, which starts a two-year withdrawal process.

block-time published-time 7.58am BST

Pound hits 31-year low after Brexit timetable released Newsflash: the pound has hit a new 31-year low against the US dollar.

It has shed 0.5% in early trading in London, dropping to $1.2778.

That’s its lowest level since June 1985, and almost 15% weaker than before the EU referendum on 23 June.

enltrSterling falls to a 31-year low of $1.2775. pic.twitter.com/2mVzAbuhEE[https://t.co/2mVzAbuhEE]

— Jamie McGeever (@ReutersJamie) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/ReutersJamie/status/783198173196128256] The pound has also ploughed to a new three-year low against the euro, at 87.51p.

Sterling has been under pressure since UK government announced on Sunday it would trigger the process of leaving the European Union by the end of March 2017.

City investors are also concerned that Britain appears to be on track to leave the EU single market, as it places a priority on restricting **immigration** into the UK.

Currency expert Kathleen Brooks[https://twitter.com/kathleenbrooks], of FOREX.com and City Index, pins the blame on events at the Conservative party conference in Birmingham[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/04/conservative-conference-theresa-mays-morning-broadcast-interviews-politics-live].

The Tory party conference is turning into a sell for the pound, as FX traders get spooked by May’s apparent sanguine attitude to leaving the single market, preferring to focus on **immigration** and UK sovereignty rather than the economic fallout of Brexit.

Phillip Hammond, the UK’s new Chancellor, didn’t help the pound either when he suggested that George Osborne’s fiscal rules will be abandoned and government spending increased. This is designed to cushion some of the blow from the UK’s departure from the European Union. However, it is likely to weigh on the UK’s already large budget deficit, which is another blow to the pound at the start of the new quarter.

More reaction to follow!

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.06am BST

block-time published-time 7.44am BST

The agenda: Construction survey and IMF report Good morning, and welcome to our rolling coverage of the world economy, the financial markets, the eurozone and business.

The health of Britain’s economy will probably dominate the agenda today, as the UK faces up to the prospect of exiting the EU by spring 2019.

For starters, we get a new health check on Britain’s construction sector, at 9.30am BST.

Economists predict that activity in the building industry contracted a little in September, as the sector’s recession continued[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/aug/12/uk-construction-sector-slips-into-recession-for-first-time-in-four-years].

CMC Market’s Michael Hewson says:

The construction sector has been a significant underperformer in the last three to four months, posting sub 50 readings every month since June. Expectations are for a reading of 49.1, slightly down from 49.2 in August.

Yesterday, though, we got some extremely decent manufacturing data - showing the biggest surge in two years. So a surprise can’t be ruled out.

The big news comes at 2pm BST, though, when the International Monetary Fund publishes its latest assessment of the global economy.

This will be the first World Economic Outlook since the Brexit vote in June, so it will be fascinating to see the IMF’s view today.

Back in June, they warned that Britain would lurch into recession if it voted to leave the EU[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/18/imf-says-brexit-would-trigger-uk-recession-eu-referendum] ; obviously its early days, but the economy does seem to be coping OK so far.

enltrTuesday 9:00 a.m. EDT: Launch of the World Economic Outlook ( #WEO[https://twitter.com/hashtag/WEO?src=hash] ). Follow the press conference live: https://t.co/PaKZ3KFPdp[https://t.co/PaKZ3KFPdp]

— IMF (@IMFNews) October 4, 2016[https://twitter.com/IMFNews/status/783094385504387072]It’s not all about the UK, though. Germany’s Deutsche Bankremains under pressure to agree a fine for mis-selling mortgage backed securities.

Its shares will reopen at 8am, after a Monday holiday in Frankfurt...

We’ll be tracking all the main events through the day....

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.50am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**On the 80th anniversary of the famous anti-fascist protest, Europe is facing a toxic resurgence of the far right. Like Londoners then, we must fight it

Haderslev is a picturesque town in southern Denmark. Its cultural attractions and unspoilt natural beauty makes it a popular tourist destination[http://www.visithaderslev.info/ln-int/haderslev]. But something very ugly has been happening lately in Haderslev.

Danish nationalists have been handing out cans of “**refugee** spray”[https://www.thelocal.dk/20160926/danish-nationalists-hand-out-cans-of-refugee-spray] with a label stating that the contents are “legal and effective”. The cans in fact contain hairspray, and the nationalists have been urging residents to use it against **refugees** who arrive in the town. The rebranded hair product gets their message across, loud and clear, that **refugees** are some kind of vermin who need to be repelled using chemicals, in order to purge the town.

Related: 'Horrible spike' in hate crime linked to Brexit vote, Met police say[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/28/hate-crime-horrible-spike-brexit-vote-metropolitan-police]

This is just one of thousands of recently recorded racist incidents[http://www.sharqforum.org/2016/07/01/violence-and-abuse-against-asylum-seekers-and-refugees-in-europe/] directed at **refugees** who have fled to Europe seeking sanctuary. While messages of welcome have also been part of the discourse as the biggest **refugee** crisis since the second world war unfolds, these supportive voices are increasingly being drowned out by racists, the far right and those who insist they are neither but still want to see **refugees** banished.

Today is the 80th anniversary of the Battle of Cable Street[http://cablestreet80.org.uk/]. Jews, other minorities, Irish dockers, trade unionists, socialists and communists took to the streets of London’s East End together to prevent a march through their neighbourhood of Oswald Mosley and the British Union of Fascists. The protest of about 300,000 people from different backgrounds standing united succeeded and the fascists were unable to carry out their provocative march through this largely Jewish and **immigrant** area.

Mosley’s aborted march took place at a time when fascism was on the rise across Europe. But the unspeakable acts of the Nazi Holocaust were still several years away. The men, women and children who stood shoulder to shoulder against Mosley that day didn’t know precisely what lay ahead but understood that it was something pernicious that needed to be stamped out before it could take a firm hold.

It is all too easy to underestimate the power of the racists, the xenophobes, the far right and their miscellaneous bedfellows. These days, when we walk down the street everything might look the same, but politically there has been a significant shift. Following the EU referendum, racist attacks have increased in the UK [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/30/police-report-fivefold-increase-race-hate-crimes-since-brexit-result] while the far right is rearing its ugly head in France, Austria, Germany, Denmark and many other European countries.

The Nazi Holocaust didn’t happen overnight, nor did the war in the former Yugoslavia. Driven by a rise in nationalism, it led to the return of concentration camps and the mass slaughter of thousands of Bosniak men and boys in Srebrenica. The Rwandan genocide[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-26875506] officially began on 6 April 1994, but for years the seeds of hatred between Hutus and Tutsis had been carefully sown. Sections of the media linked to the perpetrators of the genocide drip-fed poison to the population over many months.

Parts of our media similarly spread poison about **refugees** and other migrants, day after day, year after year. Objective facts are thin on the ground, but the messages that the newcomers are criminals or scroungers or just plain “other” have a cumulative effect on public perceptions of **refugees**.

Related: Politicians fuelled rise in hate crimes after Brexit vote, says UN body[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/26/politicians-rise-hate-crimes-brexit-vote-un-committee]

Eighty years ago the Battle of Cable Street demonstrated that unity among religious and other minorities and political activists committed to equality and diversity can be powerful and effective.

Now is not the time to remain silent in the hope that the alarming rise of the far right across Europe will just go away. Nor is it the time to focus on ideological differences among those who oppose racism, fascism and other forms of discrimination. We have the luxury of free speech and freedom of assembly that those who have fled the world’s conflict zones do not have. United we can make the most of those freedoms to banish hatred to the margins.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**After more than three years of ‘processing’, just 24 **refugee** men have been resettled across PNG, minister says

Papua New Guinea has again asked Australia for help resettling more than 500 **refugees** who have said they are not safe in the country and do not want to live there.

After more than three years of “processing” at the Manus Island detention centre, just 24 **refugee** men have been resettled across PNG, its foreign affairs minister, Rimbink Pato, told the ABC[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-10-04/png-foreign-minister-says-support-needed-to/7900904].

But more than 560 men who have been found to be **refugees** by PNG’s **immigration** authorities remain in detention.

Related: For **refugees** kidnapped and exiled to the Manus prison, hope is our secret weapon | Behrouz Boochani[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/03/for-refugees-kidnapped-and-exiled-to-the-manus-prison-hope-is-our-secret-weapon]

PNG’s **immigration** authority has ruled the men have a “ well-founded fear of persecution[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/3b66c2aa10] ” in their homeland and are legally owed protection. It is illegal under international law if a **refugee** is sent to any place “ where his (or her) life or freedom would be threatened[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/3b66c2aa10] ” – known as refoulement.

Pato told the UN last week his country needed international help in resettling the **refugees** and said he would raise the issue of more help from Australia in a meeting with his Australian counterpart, Julie Bishop, in Canberra on Tuesday.

“These 560 people do not want to resettle in PNG and that’s why I was … explaining to the membership of the UN … that there was a need for help in the settlement of the persons who did not want to settle in PNG,” he said.

“If the world was able to help, then we are looking to the international community. And of course we would need Australia to help us.”

The men on Manus Island have been told there is no third-country resettlement option for them – they must either resettle in PNG or return to their home country[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/29/its-simply-coercion-manus-island-immigration-policy-and-the-men-with-no-future].

Australia has consistently told asylum seekers and **refugees** that they will never be moved to Australia.

Detainees inside the Manus Island detention say they are are unwilling to settle in PNG because they feel they will not be safe there.

Kamran, an Afghan **refugee** who fled the Taliban in his homeland, was brutally assaulted with an iron bar[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/15/manus-refugee-says-he-thought-he-would-die-after-being-attacked-by-locals] by a gang of men in Manus’s main city of Lorengau in August. He said other **refugee** friends had been assaulted on Manus too and that they feared resettlement.

Related: Inside Manus: life in detention – a photo essay[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/sep/10/inside-manus-life-in-detention-a-photo-essay]

“We are all very scared. After three years of this I am exhausted. I fled my country looking for safety. I still haven’t found it.”

Some of the **refugees** already moved to cities like Lae have been assaulted, robbed and left homeless just days after leaving detention. Some have made their own way back to Manus and tried to break into detention, where they feel safer.

Inside the Manus Island detention centre, **refugees** have told the Guardian that security staff are preparing to separate asylum seekers from **refugees** into separate compounds. Forcible deportations of those found not to be **refugees** will begin “within a month” according to island sources.

**Refugees** say they believe they will be forced out into the PNG community – likely to islands other than Manus – within the next few weeks.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the developments at the Conservative party conference in Birmingham, including Philip Hammond ’s speechPhilip Hammond’s morning interviews - SummaryHammond’s speech - VerdictLiam Fox’s speech - SummaryAfternoon summary

block-time published-time 5.32pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* The chancellor, Philip Hammond, has sought to reassure business about the potential economic shock of Brexit, unveiling a new guarantee over EU funding and promising the referendum result should not result in people becoming poorer or less secure. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/philip-hammond-vows-to-match-lost-eu-funding-for-business] As Peter Walker reports, speaking to the Conservative party conference in Birmingham, Hammond also talked of what he called a pragmatic approach to austerity, reiterating that he would not seek a budget surplus by the end of this parliament in 2020. Here is my colleague Phillip Inman ’s analysis of the speech.

Related: Philip Hammond to spend his way out of Brexit fallout [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/03/philip-hammond-to-spend-his-way-out-of-brexit-fallout]

\* The pound sunk to a three-year low against the euro on Monday on worries over the UK’s prospects outside the EU, after the government set a timetable for Brexit negotiations and fanned fears it would go for a deal that leaves Britain excluded from the single market. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/03/uk-stocks-rally-as-brexit-fears-fade]

\* The European commission has rejected Theresa May’s call for preparatory talks on Brexit before the UK’s formal resignation from the EU. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/eu-commission-still-refuses-uk-talks-before-article-50-triggered]

\* The government’s plan to create new grammar schools risks distracting from education reforms and could undermine progress in improving schools, the former education secretary Nicky Morgan has told the Conservative conference. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/nicky-morgan-grammar-schools-plan-could-undermine-progress]

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time published-time 5.31pm BST

Nick Gibb , the schools minister who outlasted his bosses Michael Gove and Nicky Morgan at the DfE, gave a careful defence of expanding grammar schools. He told a Policy Exchange panel that it would not mean “a return to the 1950s” with one in four pupils attending selective schools - suggesting the government has more modest aims in terms of the number of new selective schools.

But Rebecca Allen, director of the Education Datalab research unit, argued that selection at the age of 11 was a poor means of promoting social mobility. “We don’t need a sorting hat at 11,” Allen said.

There were few signs of enthusiasm for grammar schools among conference delegates who attended the panel, or at similar events in Birmingham so far. Perhaps the issue is less of a winner among party faithful than many people assume?

block-time published-time 5.18pm BST

Andrew Tyrie , the Conservative MP and chair of the Commons Treasury committee, has welcomed Philip Hammond ’s decision to ditch George Osborne ’s fiscal rule. He said the government should replace with a longer-term deficit reduction target.

The chancellor has sent the right message in his speech today by ditching the fiscal rule to maintain stability. We’ve seen numerous rules, targets and guidelines which have been too short term and therefore not worth a great deal.

A longer term rule is essential to achieve economic credibility and to signal to the markets that there is a plan.

block-time published-time 5.13pm BST

Liam Fox 's speech - Summary The final speech in the conference hall was from Liam Fox , the international trade secretary. Much of what he said was similar to what he said in a speech last week, making the case for free trade, but there were some new arguments in it. Here are the key points.

\* Fox said globalisation offered great opportunities to the UK.

The phenomenon that we have come to know since the mid-1990s as globalisation represents an acceleration of the trend in which the world is increasingly compressed economically, culturally and politically.

It brings with it an increasing interdependence that means we cannot insulate ourselves from instability in far-flung parts of the global economy.

But it has also brought the chance to share prosperity, liberty and empowerment with millions of our fellow human beings across the world who had only ever known poverty, hopelessness and oppression.

The ability to trade every minute and everywhere means that we have the opportunity to increase our links with those trading partners and markets who are functionally like us but not necessarily geographically close to us.

Technological advances are dissolving away the barriers of time and distance.

I have often said that if Francis Fukuyama had called his book “the end of geography” rather than “the end of history” then he would have been more accurate about the world in which we now find ourselves.

I think the term globalisation could almost have been written with Britain in mind. It is an era where we have a tremendous opportunity to help shape the world around us for the benefit of all.

\* He said the government should help those at risk of losing out from globalisation by focusing on improving people’s skills.

\* He said “isolationism and protectionism never end well”.

\* He confirmed that Britain could not negotiate trade deals while it remained a member of the EU .

While we remain inside the European Union we are bound by its rules not to negotiate any new trade agreements, although we are able to discuss the impediments that we might wish to eliminate ahead of agreements we might reach with other countries when we leave.

It is worth pointing out that this is quite different from what David Davis said in a ConservativeHome article in July about the Brexit strategy. [http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/07/david-davis-trade-deals-tax-cuts-and-taking-time-before-triggering-article-50-a-brexit-economic-strategy-for-britain.html] Writing shortly before he became Brexit secretary Davis said:

So be under no doubt: we can do deals with our trading partners, and we can do them quickly. I would expect the new prime minister on September 9th to immediately trigger a large round of global trade deals with all our most favoured trade partners. I would expect that the negotiation phase of most of them to be concluded within between 12 and 24 months.

So within two years, before the negotiation with the EU is likely to be complete, and therefore before anything material has changed, we can negotiate a free trade area massively larger than the EU . Trade deals with the US and China alone will give us a trade area almost twice the size of the EU , and of course we will also be seeking deals with Hong Kong, Canada, Australia, India, Japan, the UAE, Indonesia – and many others.

\* He said no one should doubt Theresa May ’s commitment to Brexit.

The prime minister has said clearly that Brexit means Brexit – and for those who believe it can be indefinitely postponed or that there might be a second referendum or that we might stay by some back door mechanism, let me tell you, Theresa May is not someone who is known for saying anything, other than what she absolutely means.

\* He said he would conduct a joint trip to Africa in the new year with Priti Patel , the international development secretary. That was because trade and development had to go together, he said.

A continued focus on good governance, mediated and encouraged by international aid and assistance programs, combined with increasing attempts to see a more open and liberal trading environment, are our best hope to see grotesque levels of poverty consigned to history.

Liam Fox gestures after delivering his keynote address to the Conservative party conference. Photograph: Ben Stansall/AFP/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.19pm BST

block-time published-time 4.22pm BST

If Andrea Leadsom had not dropped out when she made the final two of the Conservative leadership contest, and if Theresa May ’s campaign had crashed, Leadsom would have been today getting ready for her first conference speech as prime minister.

As it was, she ended up as environment secretary. In her speech she focused on arguing that “the Conservatives have always been the party of the environment” and that Brexit would offer great trade opportunties.

She included just one, self-deprecating reference to the leadership contest.

I don’t know about you, but it seemed to me [Labour’s] leadership election dragged on far too long.

If only they’d come to me for advice on how to keep it short.

She also included this odd claim.

I hear that tourists are even buying bottled English countryside air for up to £80 a go.

That was a reference to this story in the Daily Mail, [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3433515/Former-public-schoolboy-sells-bottled-AIR-British-countryside-smog-plagued-Chinese-elite-80-go.html] which looks a bit like a spoof but which seems to be true.

My colleague Marina Hyde is alarmed.

enltrAndrea Leadsom has literally just claimed tourists are buying bottles of English country air for £80. #marmalade [https://twitter.com/hashtag/marmalade?src=hash] #air [https://twitter.com/hashtag/air?src=hash] #weseemquitefucked [https://twitter.com/hashtag/weseemquitefucked?src=hash]

— Marina Hyde (@MarinaHyde) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MarinaHyde/status/782954720788881408] Andrea Leadsom speaks at the Conservative party conference. Photograph: Toby Melville/Reuters block-time published-time 4.00pm BST

French and German elections could help UK in Brexit talks, says Redwood John Redwood, the Conservative former cabinet minister and leading Eurosceptic, told a fringe meeting that next year’s elections in France and Germany could help the UK negotiate a good Brexit deal.

I think the European elections are a cracking food reason to get on with Brexit, because it seems to me that if Hollande and Merkel have got to face the electors, they are not going to want to make one of their key planks putting on penal tariffs against their exporters into Britain.

And if they did think that was a good wheeze they would soon have their equivalent of the CBI and the TUC saying ‘we cannot afford to have any tariffs on French cheeses or French wines or German cars into Britain’, because we have an awful lot of jobs here and some of them will be in marginal constituencies.

So I say that’s a very good thing. People are the only way of keeping governments honest and sensible, so we need to trust the people.

Normally people argue the opposite; that the French and German governments will be less willing to offer concessions to the UK, not more willing, when they are facing re-election.

John Redwood (right) being interviewed at the Conservative conference. Photograph: Matt Cardy/Getty Images block-time published-time 3.48pm BST

In her speech Karen Bradley , the culture secretary, said that, although she was an accountant, that did not mean she did not appreciate culture.

As a chartered accountant, I couldn’t help starting this speech with numbers - even though some commentators have said that being one means I must have no interest in the arts.

Well, I’m really proud I did a maths degree - and I enjoyed working as an accountant.

But if you think what I wanted to do after a day of looking at spreadsheets was read more spreadsheets…

…then your grip on reality is as weak as Jeremy Corbyn ’s.

Accountants are – shock horror – people too. And so we tend to like TV, music, film, art, and sport just as much as other people.

I love sport and I’ve been a Manchester City fan all my life – whatever division they were in.

I’m a regular at the New Vic theatre in Newcastle-under-Lyme.

And I have paintings by Moorlands artists such as David Hunt on my wall at home.

She also said culture made a vital contribution to the economy.

Tourism is worth more than £60 billion. Creative industries contribute more than £87 billion. The fashion industry alone is worth £26 billion.

To give you some context, our revitalised – and very important – automotive industry is worth around £19 billion.

Altogether, DCMS [department for culure, media and sport] sectors account for more than 13 per cent of ALL of our goods and services.

Karen Bradley . Photograph: Ben Stansall/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 3.40pm BST

Karen Bradley , the culture secretary, has just finished her speech to the conference. The Telegraph’s Michael Deacon was not impressed.

enltrYou all said no speech could possibly be more boring than Philip Hammond 's. Well, Karen Bradley is now making you all look pretty silly

— Michael Deacon (@MichaelPDeacon) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MichaelPDeacon/status/782950357735530496]I will post a summary of the highlights (such as they are) shortly.

Andrea Leadsom , the environment secretary and surprise runner up in the Tory leadership contest, is speaking now.

block-time published-time 3.37pm BST

Davidson says Scottish Tories won't adopt May's grammar school plans Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Conservative leader, has said that Nicola Sturgeon , Scotland’s first minister, should focus on helping Scotland cope with Brexit rather than trying to “wish away” the referendum result.

Speaking to reporters, she said:

There was an acknowledgement that the UK was the member state, the decision was a UK-wide decision. [Sturgeon] absolutely bought into that by going down south in order to argue to an audience in other parts of the UK that it was a UK-wide decision.

She, like me, was on the different side of the argument to the side that won. She, like me, is disappointed with the result. But she can’t wish away the idea that this is going to happen, because it is going to happen.

Instead of using this as a constitutional chisel, there is work that needs to be done to make sure that we get a better deal out of this for Scotland than we otherwise might do.

Davidson also said the Tories would not be advocating extending grammar schools in Scotland. She said:

It’s not something that I have ever suggested, it’s never been in any manifesto in Britain and it won’t be in any manifesto that I write for Scotland as long as I am leader of the Scottish Conservative party.

block-time published-time 3.29pm BST

A man browses at the merchandising stand at the Conservative party conference in Birmingham. Photograph: Toby Melville/Reuters block-time published-time 3.27pm BST

Extending grammars could undermine progress made in improving schools, says Nicky Morgan The government’s plan for new grammar schools risks being a distraction to education reforms and could undermine wider progress in improving schools, the former education secretary, Nicky Morgan , the former education secretary, told a fringe meeting.

Speaking at a fringe meeting about inequality in schools, Morgan, who was removed from the job by Theresa May in July, warned that a government department “only has so much bandwidth in terms of delivering of reform”, and that grammars were an unnecessary diversion. She said:

For me, I do worry that a return to more selection risks undermining the progress that we have seen over the course of the last decade in our schools, by throwing something else into the education debate, rather than focusing on every school offering an excellent education.

block-time published-time 3.23pm BST

Here is Susan Kramer, the Lib Dem economic spokesman, on Philip Hammond ’s speech.

Philip Hammond ’s speech failed to address one simple fact: he has already lost the most important battle of his time as chancellor. The Hard Brexit plan set out by his boss will damage our economy, kill jobs and blow a hole in our finances. Hammond knows it, he even hinted at it, but he won’t come out and be honest about it with the British people.

After the Brexit announcement yesterday, today the pound had hit a new three year low. Recycled spending on housing, some commons sense of deficit reduction and rubbish jokes about Ed Balls won’t cut it. We need real, radical action to turn the ship around, and this speech shows that Philip Hammond is incapable of delivering it.

block-time published-time 3.05pm BST

Tories should stop being 'complacent' about Corbyn and understand his popularity, says Halfon The Conservatives should not be “complacent” about Jeremy Corbyn , a senior Tory told a fringe meeting. As PoliticsHome reports, [https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/news/79537/tory-minister-warns-party-we-must-not-be] , a senior Tory told a fringe meeting. Robert Halfon , the former Conservative deputy chairman who is now skills minister, said that the Tories needed to work out why Corbyn was so inspirational to people. He told the meeting:

When Jeremy Corbyn got re-elected there were too many Conservatives celebrating on Twitter and implying that it’s a walk in the park, that we can all go to the Bahamas for the next five years, that the 2020 election is already won.

Now, the reason why that is wrong is actually we’re not looking at the much deeper meanings of how he won... Not every one of the 600,000 members who have joined the Labour party is a hard-left Trotskyite... There are also many hundreds of thousands of people, I suspect, who have joined the Labour party, who support the Labour party, because they believe they have a noble mission which is helping working people and helping people on lower incomes.

When we think “oh whoop dee doo, Jeremy Corbyn ’s got re-elected” we should actually be thinking why are so many young people joining the Labour party? Why do they still have a powerful message on the doorstep despite the fact that many Conservatives believe they get it wrong? So the first task of the Conservative party is we have to be a party with an ethical, moral mission too.

We must not be complacent about the Labour party for one minute.

Robert Halfon . Photograph: Geoff Pugh/REX block-time published-time 2.50pm BST

SNP says Hammond's speech was 'incredibly complacent' given Brexit concerns Stewart Hosie , the SNP’s Treasury spokesman, has accused Philip Hammond of being “incredibly complacent” in his speech this morning. Hosie said:

After the chancellor’s summer of silence on Brexit this was an incredibly complacent speech.

Alongside the Tories damaging austerity plans they are now planning on taking the UK out of the single market, putting jobs, investment and trade at risk. The chancellor is set to preside over an act of economic vandalism that is simply reckless.

Philip Hammond at least acknowledged there was great uncertainty because of his government’s disastrous Brexit vote, but the chancellor had no answers. No answers on tariffs; no answers on access to the single market; no answers on anything.

The chancellor admitted his own government’s failure to turn around the UK’s poor productivity levels but there was no mention of the Conservative government’s failure to stimulate it.

block-time published-time 2.44pm BST

George Freeman, the Tory MP who chairs Theresa May ’s policy board, implied on the World at One that Jeremy Corbyn was taking Labour to the “lunatic fringe”. The Conservatives wanted to take the “centre ground” of UK politics, he told the programme:

If Jeremy Corbyn is taking the Labour party of to the lunatic fringe of politics we will take that centre ground and Theresa has signalled very loud and clear there are no no-go areas for 21 century Conservatives. If the Labour party won’t speak for those people we will. And we want to look at the hard policies that can tackle what we heard in that Brexit vote. Yes, a clear message on Europe, but it was a roar as well about a model of growth that isn’t working for people in the right way.

block-time published-time 2.35pm BST

Rudd says government not planning to increase **immigration** from Commonwealth Amber Rudd , the home secretary , speaking at a Times/Redbox fringe gave little away about her department’s progress on what a post-Brexit **immigration** system is going to look like. She did however stress that it was the freedom of movement of EU labour rather than of tourists or visitors that she was interested in restricting.

She said that the important thing was to restrict the freedom of movement but “we must make sure that we do not disadvantage the economy as we do it. There are areas where we can reduce **immigration** without damaging the economy.”

Rudd confirmed that the 2015 Conservative manifesto commitment to reduce net migration to the tens of thousands still stands.

The only hint she gave of future **immigration** policy came when she was asked about Vote Leave campaign promises that curbs on EU migration could lead to increases in migration from Australia, India and other parts of the Commonwealth. She made quite clear that increasing Commonwealth **immigration** was not being considered: “There are no plans to increase **immigration** from Australia. Did somebody promise to increase migration from Australia? Who was that?” she asked.

“Oh Mr Johnson again,” she said when she was told it was the foreign secretary.

enltrHome Sec @AmberRudd\_MP [https://twitter.com/AmberRudd\_MP] outlines her priority is protecting the vulnerable, esp women @timesredbox [https://twitter.com/timesredbox] fringe #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] fringe pic.twitter.com/FUsJyyA5SO [https://t.co/FUsJyyA5SO] fringe

— Kate Shoesmith (@ShoesmithKate) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ShoesmithKate/status/782917176651055104]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.36pm BST

block-time published-time 2.06pm BST

CBI and IoD back decision to delay deficit reduction Here is some business reaction to Philip Hammond ’s speech.

Generally, business seems happy with the decision to delay deficit reduction, but wants more detail from Hammond about his investment plans.

From Carolyn Fairbairn, the CBI director general [http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/chancellor-sets-out-right-chapter-headings/]

With the clock now ticking on an EU exit, it’s good to see the government set out the right chapter headings on how to boost confidence in our economy. We must now hear more on how government will work with business to build an inclusive, long-term industrial strategy. The autumn statement must move us several steps on to drive future investment and innovation across the country.

The government is right to adopt a more flexible approach to fiscal policy at this point, but it remains essential that public finances are sustainable over the economic cycle.

From James Sproule, chief economist at the Institute of Directors

The chancellor hit the right notes today, talking of boosting house-building, investing in technology and innovation and the importance of getting value for money from infrastructure. But soon, businesses will need to see this positive mood music turn into something more concrete. Philip Hammond has between now and the autumn statement in November to develop an economic plan that boosts confidence and sees business through the uncertainty of the Brexit negotiations...

Business is prepared to give the government some leeway on the deficit. After the referendum, most IoD members agreed with pushing back the target to run a budget surplus by the end of the parliament.

From Adam Marshall, director general of the British Chambers of Commerce

As the UK negotiates its exit from the European Union , Philip Hammond is right to reaffirm the need to boost infrastructure, business investment, and to raise productivity, while being mindful of reducing the deficit. However, there were no substantive details on these, and UK businesses will eagerly await further details in the autumn statement.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.08pm BST

block-time published-time 1.37pm BST

John McDonnell accuses Hammond of adopting Labour's economic policy John McDonnell , the shadow chancellor, has accused Philip Hammond of lifting Labour’s economic policy. In a statement he said:

This morning, Philip Hammond may have performed a U-turn on investment spending, admitting that the failed ‘long-term economic plan’ never really existed, and he still intends to go ahead with cuts to in-work benefits and local authority funding.

Labour is now the only national party with a fiscal framework that supports patient, long-term investment in our economy, and it’s clear that Phillip Hammond is now borrowing from Labour to invest in his own speech. As well as abandoning their own fiscal charter, this was full of the same empty promises George Osborne made, only with worse gags.

The chancellor should apologise today for the failed Tory approach that has meant he has had to abandon the failed economic agenda of the last six years, an approach which has seen them dragging their heels on tax avoidance, an increase in child poverty and housebuilding falling to its lowest peacetime rate since the 1920s. The dangerous divide in society the chancellor mentioned has come about as a direct result of the policies he has voted for since 2010.

John McDonnell . Photograph: Leon Neal/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.41pm BST

block-time published-time 1.32pm BST

The TaxPayers’ Alliance has criticised Philip Hammond ’s speech. This is from its chief executive, John O’Connell .

It is heartening to hear the chancellor reiterate the need for the country to live within its means, but abandoning the plan to reach a budget surplus by the end of the parliament bodes ill.

Moving away from balancing the books as a matter of priority means burdening future generations’ taxpayers to pay for today’s overspending, which is immoral.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.42pm BST

block-time published-time 1.28pm BST

Philip Hammond visited a construction site in Birmingham before his speech today with Theresa May .

Under the George Osborne regime, it would have been the chancellor in the hi-vis jacket. But Hammond has a different approach to photo opportunities.

Theresa May and Philip Hammond visit a construction site where HSBC offices are being built in Birmingham. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/AFP/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.42pm BST

block-time published-time 1.16pm BST

Here is the full text of Philip Hammond’s speech. [http://press.conservatives.com/post/151284663940/hammond-an-economy-that-works-for-everyone]

block-time published-time 1.16pm BST

Here is some comment from journalists on Philip Hammond ’s speech.

From the Sun’s Tom Newton Dunn

enltrHammond speech summary: Hard Brexit over my dead body, meet the champion of Soft Brexit: "The British people did not vote to become poorer".

— Tom Newton Dunn (@tnewtondunn) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tnewtondunn/status/782902440278499328]From ITV ’s Chris Ship

enltrAre they clapping because Hammond's speech is finally over? Or because they liked what they heard? #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash]

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/782902511732678657]From the BBC ’s Vicki Young

enltrHmm @edballs [https://twitter.com/edballs] charleston possibly better than Philip Hammond 's jokes #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash] charleston possibly better than Philip Hammond 's jokes

— Vicki Young (@BBCVickiYoung) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCVickiYoung/status/782896884172070912]block-time published-time 12.46pm BST

Philip Hammond 's speech - Verdict: Philip Hammond ’s speech - Verdict: That was probably the most boring speech delivered by a chancellor to a party conference for at least two decades. Under Gordon Brown and George Osborne , this speech was always a highly charged event, combining forceful rhetoric with surprise policy statements that would set the agenda for days, weeks or even longer. Alistair Darling was less of a showman, but for most of his time as chancellor, the UK was facing a severe economic crisis, which gave anything he had to say an edge. Ken Clarke was less given to stunts, but at least he knew how to perform. Hammond, by comparison, had less fizz than a low-energy lightbulb.

In news terms, the main point was what he had to say about abandoning deficit elimination by 2020 as a target. But if you listened to him on the Today programme this morning, he explained his thinking just as clearly, if not better, there than he did in his speech. Hammond did say that he might have to revise “fiscal policy” to help the UK cope with Brexit-related turbulance (increase spending or cut taxes), but he offered no clues as to his thinking and we are going to have to wait until the autumn statement to find out what he has in mind. The only other announcement in the speech was a guarantee that projects that receive multi-year EUfunding will continue to get cash from the Treasury after the UK leaves.

The rest of it was an upbeat assessment of the UK’s economic prospects and a brave (but unsuccessful) attempt to make the productivity challenge sound interesting.

Still, one senses that Theresa May does not approve of meretricious conference grandstanding. Being a bit pedestrian was probably what helped Hammond get the job of chancellor, and there is a lot to be said for avoiding the kind of flash policy announcements that can fall apart within hours. If you take the view that dull and boring is good in policymaking, then I suppose this was a triumph.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.44pm BST

block-time published-time 12.17pm BST

Hammond is on his peroration.

When future generations look back on our decision in 2016…

…they will see not the end of an era…

…but the beginning of a new age...

…not a country turning inward…

…but a nation reaching out…

…decisively, confidently to grasp new opportunities.

A bigger, better, Greater Britain.

Truly, a country that works for everyone.

block-time published-time 12.16pm BST

He says the Tories must “resolve to tackle the challenges we face at home with renewed vigour”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.45pm BST

block-time published-time 12.16pm BST

Hammond is back on Brexit.

We are going to leave the European Union .

To repatriate our laws.

To assert the supremacy of our courts.

To control our borders.

But we are not going to turn our backs on the nations of Europe.

Let us resolve that as we leave their Union…

…we will remain the best of neighbours…

…the closest of trade associates…

…the strongest of security partners.

block-time published-time 12.15pm BST

But Hammond says he is also promoting a similar initiative for the Midlands - the Midlands engine.

The Midlands Engine, with its hub here in Birmingham, powers 11.7 million lives…

…generates £220 billion of Added Value to the economy….

….produces 18 percent of UK goods exports….

….and more than a fifth of UK manufacturing output.

In this great region, there are 320,000 more people in work than there were in 2010.

But both productivity and economic growth have lagged behind the UK average.

So we have developed our Long Term Economic Plan for the Midlands.

block-time published-time 12.13pm BST

Hammond says he remains committed to the northern powerhouse, Osborne’s initiative to revive the economy around Manchester. Hammond says:

One of the key messages of the referendum campaign was that large parts of our country feel left behind.

They see the country getting richer, but don’t feel part of that success.

A dangerous divide is opening up between those who believe they have a stake in the success of our economy and those who do not.

It is one of the central missions of this government to tackle that divide…

…to see the benefits of economic growth shared more evenly across the regions and across the generations.

A key part of this agenda is harnessing the economic power of our cities.

The northern powerhouse project takes a visionary approach…

…linking the great cities of the north into a coherent economic entity...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.45pm BST

block-time published-time 12.12pm BST

Hammond says he supports government intervention in the economy in some circumstances.

So today I can announce a further £220m of support to tech innovation:

£100m to extend the biomedical catalyst fund to stimulate the transformation of revolutionary science into deliverable healthcare interventions.

And a further £120m to nurture the tech transfer offices that put universities and entrepreneurs together to get the science from the lab into the factory.

(Actually, the Tories announced this in a press release [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f03c29e4b015be6383332b#block-57f03c29e4b015be6383332b] on Saturday)

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.11pm BST

block-time published-time 12.10pm BST

Hammond says he wants to “future-proof” the economy.

The fruit of British genius being harvested here in Britain as we move into a fourth industrial revolution…

…creating jobs, wealth and success…

Future-proofing the economy of post-Brexit Britain.

block-time published-time 12.09pm BST

Hammond says he wants to see innovation benefit the economy.

And my ambition is clear: I want to see what is invented here, developed here.

I want to see what is developed here, produced here.

I want to see jobs, profits and tax receipts here in Britain.

block-time published-time 12.08pm BST

Hammond says the UK is a world leader in new technology.

Over the last few years, unnoticed by most of us, entrepreneurs and scientists from home and abroad have been turning Britain into a hub of tech innovation.

And global businesses have followed, hungry for the inventions and innovations they are generating…

… Developing technologies that will change fundamentally the way we work and the way we live.

Driverless cars, Graphene, the internet of things, artificial intelligence, 3D printing, virtual reality, advanced robotics.

I’ll be honest with you: I had no idea until a few weeks ago just how much I don’t know!

And even less idea how much I wouldn’t be able to understand even once it had been explained to me!

But this is the future!

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.11pm BST

block-time published-time 12.07pm BST

Hammond says he is committed to keeping the national infrastructure commission at the “very heart of our plans to renew and expand Britain’s infrastructure”.

block-time published-time 12.06pm BST

Hammond turns to housing.

Quite simply, we’re not building enough new homes.

This is a long-term challenge.

But there are short-term measures we can take.

And the package of measures announced by Sajid Javid [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/03/conservative-conference-philip-hammond-confirms-osbornes-austerity-timetable-has-been-dropped-politics-live?page=with:block-57f22f53e4b015be63833a73#block-57f22f53e4b015be63833a73] earlier:

- The £3bn homebuilders’ fund

- And £2bn of new investment for accelerated construction on public land…

…is a clear demonstration of this government’s determination to tackle this challenge using all the tools at our disposal.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.12pm BST

block-time published-time 12.05pm BST

Hammond says the skills challenge is important too. But the government has been able to make “huge progress”, he says.

How many people, ten years ago, would have believed that in every year since 2014, Maths would be the most popular A-level subject in English schools?

But it was.

What a tribute that is to Conservative education reforms.

But despite the progress, there is still a huge gap between our skills base and that of our key competitors.

It’s holding people back from achieving their full potential.

block-time published-time 12.04pm BST

He says the government knows what to do about productivity.

The good news is that we do know how to do productivity.

Parts of London have the highest productivity in Europe.

The bad news is that the productivity gap between our capital and our second, third and fourth cities is greater than in any other major economy in the world.

Closing that gap will be key to Britain’s future outside the EU .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.12pm BST

block-time published-time 12.03pm BST

Hammond says improving productivity will be a priority Hammond says the government needs to improve productivity. He acknowledges that this is a dull topic, but he asks the audience to listen to what he has to say about why it matters.

You probably know that our national productivity is lower than the US and Germany…

…perhaps you even feel somewhat resigned to that fact?

But did you know that it is lower than France…. and Italy too?

And had you made the connection about what that means in the real world?

Because it means that millions of British workers are working longer hours for lower pay than their counterparts in Europe and the US.

That has to change if we are going to build an economy that works for everyone in Britain.

If we raised our productivity by just 1% every year, within a decade we would add £250 billion to the size of our economy; £9,000 for every household in Britain.

So productivity should set political pulses racing.

He says improving productivity will be “right at the forefront of our policy agenda”.

\* Hammond says improving productivity will be a government priority.

block-time published-time 12.01pm BST

Hammond says the Tories want to grow the economy and create wealth.

We know how to do that, we Conservatives. We’ve proved it time after time. Cleaning up Labour’s mess again and again.

We will do it by making the British economy the most outward-looking, most dynamic, most competitive, high wage, high skilled, low tax economy in the world.

block-time published-time 11.59am BST

Hammond says Labour is 'totally unfit to govern this country' Hammond turns to Labour.

Corbyn’s big idea is to spend an extra half-a-trillion pounds.

That’s £7,700 for every man, woman and child in the UK.

(I just hope he remembers to water that magic money tree every night before he goes to bed!)

Now, we could speculate as to how Labour would pay for such a spending splurge…

…but fortunately we don’t have to.

Because we have the answer from Labour’s last shadow chancellor, Chris Leslie .

This is what he said last week about how Labour would fund Corbyn’s plan:

“you’d have to double income tax. You’d have to double National Insurance. You’d have to double council tax. And you’d have to double VAT as well.”

So, there you have it – Labour condemned out of the mouth of one of its own as totally unfit to govern this country.

\* Hammond says Labour is “totally unfit to govern this country”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.12pm BST

block-time published-time 11.57am BST

Hammond confirms he is not longer aiming for a surplus by 2020 Hammond says last year the government borrowed £1 for every £10 it spend.

Piling up debt for our children and grandchildren is unfair and unconservative, he says.

He says the government will cut the deficit.

But it will do so in a pragmatic way, he says.

\* Hammond confirms he is not longer aiming for a surplus by 2020.

He says Osborne’s policies were right for the time.

But he says he will set out a new plan, for the new circumstances the UK faces, at the time of the autumn statement.

By doing so he will demonstrate the “pragmatism” that has made the Conservatives the most successful party in British political history.

block-time published-time 11.55am BST

Hammond hints he may cut taxes or increase spending to stabilise economy after Brexit vote Hammond says the Bank of England cut interest rates after the Brexit vote.

But fiscal policy may have a role to play, he says.

\* Hammond hints he may cut taxes or increase spending to stabilise economy after the Brexit vote.

He says if projects get EU funding before Brexit, the government will continue to fund those projects after the UK leaves.

block-time published-time 11.53am BST

Hammond says the markets have calmed since the referendum.

Much of the recent data has been better than expected, he says.

That points to the underlying strength of the economy, he says.

But he says there is still uncertainty.

Business hates uncertainty, he says. He says he understands that.

The government will fight for the best possible deal for British business, he goes on.

Britain after Brexit “will remain one of the best places in the world for a business to invest, to innovate and to grow.”

block-time published-time 11.50am BST

Hammond turns to Ed Balls.

He was not Strictly’s first choice, he says. They wanted Jeremy Corbyn - until someone told them he had two left feet.

(That is probably the worst joke anyone has tried during the entire party conference season.)

block-time published-time 11.49am BST

Hammond says the Tories are the true party of working people Hammond says the UK will go into these negotiations with an economy that is fundamentally sound.

He says the tough early choices taken by George Osborne delivered credibility; credibility with the markets, ensuring low borrowing costs, and credibility with business, leading to investment.

He says Labour did not acknowledge the economic recovery at their conference last week.

\* Hammond says the Tories are the true party of working people.

block-time published-time 11.47am BST

He says the Brexit vote was a demand for control. That message has been accepted by the Conservatives, he says.

But people did not vote to become poorer or less secure, he says.

He says successful negotiation with the EU 27 will demand experience and steely determination. No one is better placed to carry his negotiation out than Theresa May , he says.

\* Hammond says the Brexit vote was a demand for control.

block-time published-time 11.45am BST

Hammond pays tribute to David Cameron .

He says the Brexit vote has changed politics.

But only one big party offered people a referendum. And only one party has unequivocally accepted the result, he says: the Conservative party.

block-time published-time 11.43am BST

Hammond says he inspected the gold reserves recently. Gordon Brown ’s decision to sell off gold cost the country £7bn, he claims, because he sold when the gold price was low.

block-time published-time 11.42am BST

Philip Hammond 's speech Philip Hammond , the chancellor, is speaking now.

He says it is a privilege to be here as chancellor.

He hoped to be a Treasury minister earlier in his career, he says. He was shadow chief secretary to the Treasury before the 2010, and the “there is no money” note from Labour’s Liam Byrne was left for him, he says. But David Laws published it.

He says George Osborne did not leave him a note. But if he had, it would have said employment up, wages rising, the deficit down and income tax down.

block-time published-time 11.39am BST

Javid accuses Emily Thornberry of hypocrisy on housing Sajid Javid , the communities secretary, launched a highly personal attack on Emily Thornberry in his speech. He criticised her for having three homes while Labour is opposed to the right to buy.

There’s a difference between [Labour] and us. They want a society which is dependent on the state, rather than a state that serves society. That is why they have always opposed right to buy. Of course, it is very easy to dismiss home ownership as a bourgeoise aspiration, especially from the comfort of your multi-million pound Islington town house.

Emily Thornberry - remember her? The champagne socialist shadow foreign secretary who cringes when she sees the English flag. She already owns at least three houses worth a total of £4m. And yet she wants to stop working people from owning the homes that want to grow up in, raise families in, want to grow old in. The hypocrisy is quite something.

As I said earlier, it is unusual to hear something smacking so much of class envy at a Tory conference. The Mirror’s Jason Beattie thinks Javid could have found a better target.

enltrMemo to Sajid Javid @EmilyThornberry [https://twitter.com/EmilyThornberry] was brought up by a single mum in a council house. Best not deride her for being anti aspiration #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash] was brought up by a single mum in a council house. Best not deride her for being anti aspiration

— Jason Beattie (@JBeattieMirror) October 3, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JBeattieMirror/status/782885986267197440] Sajid Javid speaking at the conference. Photograph: Ben Stansall/AFP/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.43am BST

block-time published-time 11.26am BST

Javid's proposals to increase house building In his speech Sajid Javid , the communities secretary, announced three measures to boost house building. Here they are.

\* More money for a £3bn home building fund. Javid said this would help fund the building of 25,000 homes this parliament. Of the £3bn, £1bn is short-term loan funding for small builders, custom builders, and innovators. The other £2bn is long-term funding for infrastructure. Some of this investment has already been announced, by £1.15bn is “new” (ie, announced for the first time), the Tories said in a briefing note.

\* Measures to speed up building. “Currently traditional housebuilders take too long to build houses – so government will take direct action, using surplus public land to build faster, including by encouraging new developers with different models into housebuilding,” the Tories said. They said this “accelerated construction’ approach would cost £2bn in borrowing and lead to up to 15,000 homes being built on public sector land.

\* Changes to planning rules to to create a “de facto” presumption in favour of housing on suitable brownfield land. This will “drive up density levels in high demand areas while ensuring that developments are well-designed and respect the character of the local area”, the Tories said.

block-time published-time 11.11am BST

Sajid Javid , the communities secretary, is speaking now. He has just attacked Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary, for owning three homes, while allegedly not backing home ownership.

I will post the full quote shortly. It’s quite unusual to hear them engage in class warfare at the Tory conference...

block-time published-time 11.09am BST

Greg Clark ’s speech was a routine but policy-free statement about the importance of business. But it did contain at least one intriguing fact.

We are a scientific powerhouse.

Only America has more Nobel prize-winners, and more top universities.

Look up into the night sky tonight and marvel that a quarter of all satellites launched into orbit are made not in Houston or Cape Canaveral – but in Stevenage.

He also included the near-obligatory tribute to Joe Chamberlain. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f110f4e4b05962fdf4a21b#block-57f110f4e4b05962fdf4a21b]

block-time published-time 10.36am BST

The conference proceedings have started and Greg Clark , the business secretary, is speaking now. He began by saying the public deserved credit for their role in the economic recovery.

I will post a summary when I have seen the full text.

block-time published-time 10.16am BST

Manufacturing output at highest level since June 2014 There is good news on the economic front too, the Press Association reports.

Output in Britain’s manufacturing sector reached its highest level for more than two years as the industry continued to bounce back from a post-Brexit vote slump.

The closely watched Markit/CIPS UK Manufacturing purchasing managers’ index (PMI) said output hit 55.4 last month, up from 53.4 in August, and above economist expectations of 52.1.

A reading above 50 indicates growth.

The move means output hit its highest level since June 2014 in September and shows a marked improvement since it dropped to 48.3 in July, the first month after Britain voted to leave the European Union .

block-time published-time 10.14am BST

Andrew Mitchell suggests benefits for wealthy pensioners should be cut On the Westminster Hour last night Andrew Mitchell, the former international development secretary and former chief whip, said the government should consider restricting the benefits that go to wealthy pensioners. That could mean means-testing benefits like free bus passes, free TV licences and the winter fuel payment from pensioners who receive them.

Mitchell told the programme:

There are two absolutely critical issues which we’ve got to address. One is social mobility and the other is the inter-generational divide … The fact [is] that older people are doing incredibly well when it comes to benefits and so forth, and younger people much less so.

Asked if benefits for wealthy pensioners should be targeted, he replied:

There’s no question that we have to look at this again and in the interests of equity between the generations this will be on the agenda before long.

On this Mitchell probably has the support of Nick Timothy , Theresa May’s highly influential co-chief of staff whose ConservativeHome columns from the last year or so have turned out to be the best guide available as to what May’s government is going to do next. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/08/grammar-schools-theresa-may-plans-for-inclusive-grammar-schools-slammed-politics-live?page=with:block-57d16d8ae4b07ac3d446a3ad#block-57d16d8ae4b07ac3d446a3ad] But May and Timothy are constrained by the fact that the Tories promised to protect pensioner benefits at the last election.

block-time published-time 10.01am BST

According to the BBC , Lord Porter, the Conservative chair of the Local Government Association, said last night that the government should consider relaxing the rules that stop councils borrowing to invest in housing. This is the policy that Jeremy Corbyn was proposing at the Labour conference last week. It is something the LGA has advocated for years. [http://www.local.gov.uk/media-releases/-/journal\_content/56/10180/5730845/NEWS] was proposing at the Labour conference last week. It is

Porter told the BBC that the 25,000 extra homes being proposed by Philip Hammond in his speech today would be a “step in the right direction” but that the government needed to do more.

This is from the Estates Gazette’s Louisa Clarence.

enltrLord Gary Porter LGA chairman says affordable housing is a fiscal problem not planning problem -calls for better borrowing conditions #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash]

— Louisa Clarence (@LouisaClarence) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/LouisaClarence/status/782635346555203584]block-time published-time 9.46am BST

Scotland's Brexit minister criticises May's 'inflammatory' rhetoric Scotland’s Brexit minister Mike Russell has urged Theresa May to abandon the “inflammatory” attacks in her conference speech [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f11d1ce4b015be63833667#block-57f11d1ce4b015be63833667] on Scottish nationalists, and instead start meaningful talks on a pan-UK deal for leaving the EU .

Speaking on BBC Radio Scotland on Monday morning, Russell said:

Some of her language is very foolish. To describe people as divisive nationalists is bad enough; in a Northern Ireland context that can be inflammatory.

He played down that down as conference rhetoric but said the Tories appeared very arrogant. “I think a change of tone is required,” he added later.

Russell carefully avoided saying Holyrood would veto the Brexit bill, the so-called great repeal act, by refusing to give it legislative consent but said May had to honour her pledge earlier this summer to include Scotland in her Brexit strategy.

It would lead to a “very, very serious situation” if May tried to subvert the UK’s devolution settlement, he said. May had to accept that Brexit had huge implications for Scotland’s devolved responsibilities.

Russell said the Scottish government would press for greater involvement in the Brexit talks at May’s first joint ministerial council later this month, where she meets the heads of all three devolved governments. “I’m not talking the prime minister’s pronouncements to her conference as the last word on this,” he said.

David Mundell , the Scottish secretary, told Good Morning Scotland the Brexit deal was a Westminster decision: everyone knew “the Scottish parliament does not have a veto over Britain leaving the EU .” But he insisted the UK government wanted to work with Russell and first minister Nicola Sturgeon on framing that deal. “We are willing to listen to options [for Scotland] but we haven’t heard what those options are,” he said.

block-time published-time 9.40am BST

Lady Wheatcroft, a Conservative peer, has criticised Theresa May ’s decision to declare that she will invoke article 50, starting the formal EU withdrawal process, without consulting parliament. Speaking on the Today programme the former Sunday Telegraph and Wall Street Journal Europe editor said:

It doesn’t feel very democratic to me to have one individual using the royal prerogative deciding exactly when we’re going to commit to that momentous path. This is surely something for the sovereignty of Parliament to have a say in, and not for the prime minister alone.

She also said the public should get a chance to approve the final Brexit deal, perhaps in a second referendum. But in this morning’s interview she did not go as far as she did in the summer, when she suggested the House of Lords should block Brexit legislation. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-uk-leaves-the-eu-36940775]

Wheatcroft’s summer interview prompted this outburst from the Open Democracy founder Anthony Barnett.

Everything that is disgustingly cosy, self-regarding, privileged, corrupt and unaccountable about the way Britain is governed is represented by the House of Lords. The idea that it should claim a right to override the hoi polloi, shows a complete failure to understand what has happened.

Barnett’s Blimey, it could be Brexit! was one of the best accounts of the EU referendum and now he is crowdfunding a follow up called What Next. [https://unbound.com/books/brexit] The Wheatcroft quote is from the introduction that he has already published. [https://unbound.com/books/brexit/excerpt] The Wheatcroft quote is from

block-time published-time 9.17am BST

Hammond's morning interviews - Summary Philip Hammond , the chancellor, has given a series of interviews this morning.

Often at party conference it is the job of the chancellor, or shadow chancellor, to deliver the bad news. This morning Hammond duly obliged.

Here are the key points.

\* Hammond said the economy would go through a period of “turbulence” during the Brexit negotiation process.

We must expect some turbulence as we go through this negotiating process. There will be a period of a couple of years or perhaps even longer when businesses are uncertain about the final state of our relationship with the European Union ...

We have to expect a period when confidence will go up and down - perhaps on a bit of a rollercoaster - until we get to a final agreement, where businesses and consumers can understand what the future relationship between Britain and the European Union will be.

\* He said that, although the economy was doing well at the moment, there was a danger that business uncertainty would lead to investment drying up. Asked to rate the state of the economy on a scale of one to 10, and when it was put to him that the UK might deserve a five or a six, he replied:

Oh, I think we are better than that. From the data we’ve seen from the first half of this year, this economy is running at eight out of 10, with high employment, strong growth, robust fundamentals.

But he said that there was some evidence that trouble was looming.

Anecdotally we hear of businesses postponing investment decisions. And if we don’t do something, if we don’t intervene to counteract that effect, in time that would have an impact on jobs and growth. And it is to make sure that we can intervene to deal with that situation that we need to push back the target for fiscal balance.

\* He said he was abandoning the plan to get the budget in surplus by 2019-20 because he had to be ready to spend more to support the economy during this period of uncertainty.

As we go into a period when inevitably there will be more uncertainty in the British economy, we need to have the space to be able to support the economy through that period. But we need to do that within a context that makes very clear that we will balance that budget, we will get back to a position of fiscal sustainability.

There was a case for “targeted, high-value investment in our economic infrastructure”, he said. He said investment in infrastructure would create jobs in the short term, and make Britain more efficient in the long term.

\* He rejected claims that he was now adopting Labour’s approach. He claimed Jeremy Corbyn ’s economic policies were “ludicrous”.

We’ve heard some very irresponsible proposals from Labour and we heard last week some ludicrous suggestions about borrowing vast amounts of money. And we know from experience that the Labour party, if it were ever entrusted with government, would not be spending this money on the most productive forms of investment.

When it was put to him that, although he might not be adopting Corbyn’s policies, he was echoing what Ed Balls was saying before the general election, he also rejected that claim - although less convincingly. Told he sounded like Balls, he replied:

I hope I’m sounding like a Conservative pragmatist faced with a challenge of uncertainty in the economy, wanting to ensure that we support the British economy through that period.

\* He said the government was still accepted the assumption that Brexit would lower growth. Asked about an Institute for Fiscal Studies prediction that it would lower growth by 4%, he replied:

That is, despite the good economic data that we have had, still the central prediction of economic forecasters, that overall leaving the European Union will have a negative effect on economic growth... That’s the central prediction of economic forecasters and we have to take what they say seriously.

But the prediction did not involve a “one-off hit” to the economy, he said. It was a forecast for what might happen over 15 years.

Philip Hammond and his wife Susan Williams-Walker at the Conservative conference. Photograph: Oli Scarff/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 8.26am BST

Pound falls as City faces up to hard Brexit Brexit worries have pushed the pound back towards the 31-year lows plumbed in the aftermath of June’s referendum.

Sterling [https://www.theguardian.com/business/sterling] has lost over half a cent in early trading, dropping to £1.2902 against the US dollar. That’s the lowest level in seven weeks.

That follows yesterday’s surprise news that article 50 will be triggered within six months.

Traders are also reacting to Theresa May’s declaration that she wants a clean break from the European Union [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/may-on-collision-course-with-backbenchers-seeking-soft-brexit], with full control of **immigration** and an end to the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice .

This is being interpreted as leading to a ‘hard Brexit’, in which Britain would also leave the singe market - meaning significant disruption for the City.

There is more here, on my business live blog.

Related: Pound falls as City faces up to hard Brexit – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/oct/03/pound-falls-hard-brexit-deutsche-bank-manufacturing-data-business-live]

block-time published-time 8.23am BST

Q: The remainers trust you. But they worry you are not close to Theresa May . She did not name you as a Brexit minister yesterday.

Hammond says he is not a Brexit minister.

But he and May are looking for the best deal for UK workers.

And that’s it. I will post a summary shortly.

block-time published-time 8.22am BST

Q: What will happen about **immigration**? Sajid Javid said last week the UK would still need to let in European builders.

Hammond says the key point is to get control.

Once the UK takes back control, it will be for us to decide if we bring people in.

Q: But working-class families won’t want to hear that we have control, but we are letting in exactly the same number of migrants as before. Will you stop people coming?

Hammond says there is a large cohort of EU citizens in the UK. He hopes they will stay.

This is about future migration, he says.

It will be for the British parliament and government to decide **immigration** levels.

block-time published-time 8.20am BST

Q: You could borrow a great deal now, if you sort out borrowing in the long term.

Hammond says the data suggests the economy is in robust health. He says he wants to create a framework that allows the government to respond if growth starts to slow down.

Q: Growth might slow because Theresa May said, in terms yesterday, the UK will not be in the single market.

Hammond says the UK will be trying to get the greatest degree of access to the single market.

Q: Zimbabwe has access to the single market. So does Afghanistan.

Hammond says he is talking about access without tariffs and quotas. European countries make more stuff that gets exported to the UK than we make for them. So there is an interest in getting a reciprocal deal.

Q: The IFS says leaving the EU could cut GDP by 4%.

Hammond says forecasts do predict that leaving the EU will hit economic growth.

But that is spread over 15 years.

Q: And you are saying that is true.

Hammond says that is the central forecast of forecasters.

But the government can try to “head off” those outcomes.

block-time published-time 8.16am BST

Q: Has Brexit created a problem for business?

Hammond says businesses are uncertain. When they are uncertain, they delay decisions. If the government did not intervene, that uncertainty would affect growth and jobs.

Q: So will you borrow to invest?

Hammond says there is a distinction in his mind between borrowing to invest, and day-to-day spending. He thinks there is a case for targeted, high-value investment in infrastructure. That creates jobs in the short term, and helps the economy in the long term.

Q: You sound like Ed Balls.

Hammond says he hopes he sounds like a Conservative pragmatist.

Q: But what Labour said turns out to be right.

No, says Hammond. He says Labour was proposing some “ludicrous” policies at its conference last week, like excessive borrowing.

block-time published-time 8.13am BST

Philip Hammond 's Today interview Nick Robinson is interviewing Philip Hammond .

Q: National debt is £1.6tr. This is not the time to say austerity is over.

Hammond says public spending has to be controlled. But circumstances have changed. The Brexit vote, and the slowing of the world economy, have created a difference. Inevitably there will be further slowing of the economy. So there has to be space to support the economy.

Q: Will you set a new target?

Hammond says the 2020 target has gone. But that does not mean he will not operate within a framework. Debt is still eye-watering. The markets need to know there is a plan.

block-time published-time 8.08am BST

Almost all papers are splashing on Theresa May ’s speech yesterday.

The conservative, pro-Brexit papers are very enthusiastic.

enltrMonday's Daily Mail:

This lady's not for turning! #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/oPAP2azJoN [https://t.co/oPAP2azJoN]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/782694449738608640]enltrMonday's Telegraph front page:

'We must look beyond Europe' #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/YhmLmp810o [https://t.co/YhmLmp810o]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/782690864724373510]enltrMonday's Sun front page:

March to freedom #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/MlkrNQD3cg [https://t.co/MlkrNQD3cg]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/782698161110446080]enltrMonday's Daily Express:

EU exit will be triggered by March #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] exit will be triggered by March #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] exit will be triggered by March #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] exit will be triggered by March pic.twitter.com/4bYzhIZWqN [https://t.co/4bYzhIZWqN] exit will be triggered by March

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/782681006247673856]Other papers are more measured.

enltrMonday's Guardian front page:

May focuses on 'hard Brexit' #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/PvtnRAUwzF [https://t.co/PvtnRAUwzF]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/782688792213852160]enltrMonday's FT front page:

May sets Brexit course with hint of clean break from single market #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/pt5QnQLfA7 [https://t.co/pt5QnQLfA7]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/782671622503292933]enltrMonday's Times front page:

EU leaders reject May over 'hard' Brexit talks #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] leaders reject May over 'hard' Brexit talks #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] leaders reject May over 'hard' Brexit talks #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] leaders reject May over 'hard' Brexit talks pic.twitter.com/emWC69rivv [https://t.co/emWC69rivv] leaders reject May over 'hard' Brexit talks

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/782693434020786176]enltrMonday's i front page:

May's hard Brexit plan #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/z98TUBwwVi [https://t.co/z98TUBwwVi]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/782676215610109952]Even the Morning Star has splashed on the Tory conference.

enltrMonday's Morning Star:

We won't be silenced #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/D0oazVOfeI [https://t.co/D0oazVOfeI]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/782672984985198592]And the prize for the most ingenious headline goes to the Metro - although it’s a shame it is wrong.

(May said the UK would trigger article 50 by the end of March. March is not April. No doubt someone in the Metro office tried to explain that to the editor, but why let the truth get in the way of a good headline.)

enltrMonday's Metro front page -

May: it's April #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] #cpc16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/cpc16?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/qg0ZXPwpM6 [https://t.co/qg0ZXPwpM6]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/782684282951180289]block-time published-time 8.01am BST

Monday tends to be Treasury day at both the Labour and the Tory conference and today’s sessions in Birmingham are both headlined “an economy that works for everyone”. The key speaker is Philip Hammond , the chancellor, who is up just before lunchtime.

Hammond will say that he is abandoning George Osborne ’s plan to get the budget back into surplus by 2020. He will say:

The fiscal policies that George Osborne set out were the right ones for that time. But when times change, we must change with them. So we will no longer target a surplus at the end of this parliament.

Actually, Osborne himself abandoned his own budget surplus timetable after the EU referendum vote, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-36684452] because Brexit is likely to lead to lower growth, so in this respect Hammond is just re-announcing an Osborne policy. But so far, in the advance coverage of what Hammond will be saying, that nuance seems to have been missed.

Here is our preview story of Hammond’s speech.

Related: Philip Hammond to set out his stall for balanced budget at Tory conference [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/philip-hammond-to-set-out-his-stall-for-balanced-budget-at-tory-conference]

And here is an excerpt.

The chancellor is to tell the Conservative party conference that he remains set on achieving a balanced budget, while reiterating that this would happen in a “pragmatic” way without the need for a surplus this parliament.

The scale of the deficit “remains unsustainable”, Philip Hammond [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/philip-hammond] is to say on Monday according to extracts of his speech released in advance.

The Conservatives [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/conservatives] were elected “on a promise to restore fiscal discipline”, Hammond is to note, adding: “And that is exactly what we are going to do. But we will do it in a pragmatic way that reflects the new circumstances we face.”

Hammond will be on the Today programme shortly. I will be covering his interview live.

Here is the agenda for the day.

10.30am: Economy session, with speeches from Greg Clark , the business secretary, Sajid Javid , the communities secretary, Chris Grayling, the transport secretary and Philip Hammond , the chancellor.

2.30pm: Economy session, with speeches from Karen Bradley , the culture secretary, Andrea Leadsom , the environment secretary, and Liam Fox , the international trade secretary

If you want to follow or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments below the line but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As prime minister prioritises control of **immigration** and withdrawal from EU law, MPs press for deal that would keep UK in single market

Theresa May insisted that controlling **immigration** and withdrawing from the jurisdiction of the European court of justice would be her priorities during EU exit negotiations, the strongest indication yet that she will lean towards a hard Brexit.

On the first day of the Conservative party conference in Birmingham, the prime minister pledged to trigger article 50 before the end of March [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/01/theresa-may-to-propose-great-repeal-bill-to-unwind-eu-laws] and used her opening speech to spell out that greater border controls would trump any attempt to remain a member of the single market.

Her remarks immediately triggered a pointed response from the president of the European council, Donald Tusk, who tweeted his appreciation of May’s announcement about the timing of the start of the exit talks while warning that the rest of the EU was ready to “safeguard its interests” in the talks to come.

Related: Theresa May aims to set Brexit aside at Tory conference [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/theresa-may-aims-to-set-brexit-aside-at-tory-conference]

May said: “I want [the deal] to give British companies the maximum freedom to trade and operate in the single market – and let European businesses do the same here.”

She admitted that the negotiations would require some “give and take”, adding: “But let me be clear, we are not leaving the European Union only to give up control of **immigration** again and we are not leaving only to return to the jurisdiction of the European court of justice” – a move that has placed her on a collision course with pro-EU backbenchers.

May laid out plans for a “great repeal bill” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/theresa-may-great-repeal-bill-eu-british-law], under which four decades of EU legislation would become part of British law and could then be unpicked. However, she insisted that workers’ rights would be guaranteed in law while she was prime minister, although the government would not list any examples of such legislation.

PM May's declaration brings welcome clarity on start of Brexit talks. Once Art. 50's triggered, EU27 will engage to safeguard its interests— Donald Tusk (@eucopresident) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/eucopresident/status/782577278882553856]

There was a positive reaction in Germany and Italy to a clear timetable. European leaders including the EU commission head, Jean-Claude Juncker , the German chancellor, Angela Merkel , and the Italian prime minister, Matteo Renzi , have said publicly that Britain must be allowed time to prepare its position.

Related: Hey-ho, hey-ho, Snow White's conference dwarves get to work | John Crace [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/hey-ho-hey-ho-snow-whites-conference-dwarves-get-to-work]

But, in private talks with the prime minister, all have pushed hard for a clearer idea of plans, particularly because of the need for the UK to complete Brexit before the next elections to the European parliament in 2019.

Joseph Muscat, the prime minister of Malta, which will be holding the rotating EU presidency when article 50 is triggered, tweeted that his administration was “geared to handle” the process.

But in another blunt reminder that any attempt by Britain to push for single market privileges while curbing EU **immigration** was unlikely to succeed, Muscat added that while Malta would be “honest brokers for fair deal”, the four single market freedoms – including movement – “cannot be decoupled”.

#Malta [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Malta?src=hash] #EU [https://twitter.com/hashtag/EU?src=hash] Presidency geared to handle Art50 trigger by @theresa\_may [https://twitter.com/theresa\_may]. Will be honest brokers for fair deal. 4freedoms cannot be decoupled-JM— Joseph Muscat (@JosephMuscat\_JM) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JosephMuscat\_JM/status/782591820626796544]. Will be honest brokers for fair deal. 4freedoms cannot be decoupled-JM— Joseph Muscat (@JosephMuscat\_JM)

May herself attempted to dismiss the term “hard Brexit” on Sunday, alongside that of “soft Brexit”, arguing that they represented a false dichotomy – although it is widely believed that the more the UK insists on **immigration** control, the more likely EU leaders are to close access to the single market.

Hitting back at those who have argued that parliament should have a say before the process begins, May warned that the public had backed Brexit with “emphatic clarity”.

“So now it is up to the government not to question, quibble or backslide on what we have been instructed to do, but to get on with the job,” she said, “because those people who argue that article 50 can only be triggered after agreement in both Houses of Parliament are not standing up for democracy, they’re trying to subvert it. They’re not trying to get Brexit right; they’re trying to kill it by delaying it. They are insulting the intelligence of the British people.”

Referring to a high court challenge, being heard next week, which questions the government’s right to fire the Brexit starting gun without parliamentary approval, May said the attorney general, Jeremy Wright, would resist the efforts.

But she has placed herself at loggerheads with a number of Conservative backbenchers who want the government to pursue a soft Brexit and think there should be a vote prior to article 50.

Related: The Guardian view on the Tories and Brexit: May still does not know her goal | Editorial [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/02/the-guardian-view-on-the-tories-and-brexit-may-still-does-not-know-her-goal]

Dominic Grieve, the former attorney general, told the Guardian that he believed strongly that parliament ought to have such a role. He admitted that MPs could not disregard the “advisory” vote but said: “The danger of such an approach is if you undermine the convention in this way you set a very bad precedent. Government is embarking on a difficult and extensive exercise and to do it without the support of parliament is a mistaken approach.”

Anna Soubry, the former Tory business minister, argued that May should be wary of being “gung-ho” on article 50 and said the EU held “most of the cards in negotiations”. She said Britain should be pressing for a deal that keeps the country in the single market.

Within May’s cabinet there are splits, with sources suggesting Philip Hammond, the chancellor, is pushing for the best economic deal with the EU , having told the Telegraph that he believed the “implicit” message from the referendum was the need to protect the country’s economy.

Speaking after May at the conference, the secretary of state for Brexit, David Davis, stressed “the clear message from the referendum is this: we must be able to control **immigration**”.

He said this would be balanced as best as possible with trade: “We’re looking at all the options. And we’ll be prepared for any outcome. But it certainly won’t be to anyone’s benefit to see an increase in barriers to trade, in either direction.

“So we want to maintain the freest possible trade between us, without betraying the instruction we have received from the British people to take back control of our own affairs.”

Others supporting Brexit were pleased with May’s intervention. Dominic Raab, the former justice minister, said the prime minister had “put some meat on the bones of the Brexit strategy”, offering greater certainty to business.

Meanwhile, Charles Grant , the director of the Centre for European Reform, has published a paper in which he reveals that negotiators in other countries including France and Germany are preparing to stand their ground in Brexit negotiations. They believe freedom of movement is a central part of the single market and are reluctant to make concessions in other areas.

“She is trying to square a circle and none of us know how she plans to do it, but British companies will not be in the single market if she limits **immigration** and spurns or rejects ECJ rulings,” said Grant.

On repealing EU law and then unpicking parts of legislation, he added: “The more our laws diverge from those of our partners, the less access we will have to the single market.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump’s running mate, the governor of Indiana, has sought to prevent resettlement of Syrian people on the basis of terrorism fears

A federal appeals court has issued a stinging ruling dismissing as “nightmare speculation” Indiana governor Mike Pence’s attempt to deter Syrian **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/03/refugees-drc-congo-us-syria] from settling in the state because of terrorism fears.

The decision by the seventh circuit on Monday was the latest legal setback to efforts launched by Donald Trump’s running mate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/01/indiana-syrian-refugees-resettlement-blocked] in the wake of last November’s Paris terrorist attacks to stop Syrian **refugees** from coming to Indiana by denying them aid.

Like many other states, Indiana receives money from the federal Office of **Refugee** Resettlement and contracts with humanitarian groups to provide local welfare services to **refugees**. Under federal law, such help must be provided “without regard to race, religion, nationality, sex, or political opinion”.

Related: Connecticut welcomes Syrian **refugee** family after Indiana governor says no[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/nov/19/connecticut-welcomes-syrian-refugee-family-indiana-governor-says-no]

The Republican vice-presidential candidate, though, specifically attempted to exclude **refugees** originating from Syria on the basis that they might be terrorists. He ordered the state not to reimburse groups for the costs of providing aid to Syrians. According to the court, 174 Syrian **refugees** came to Indiana in the past fiscal year.

While this hardline stance may have chimed with the views of Trump, whose **immigration** policies have included proposing a temporary ban on Muslims entering the US, it was rejected by the three-judge appeals court panel in a six-page ruling that echoed a lower court’s decision earlier this year.

“The governor of Indiana believes, though without evidence, that some of these persons were sent to Syria by ISIS to engage in terrorism and now wish to infiltrate the United States in order to commit terrorist acts here. No evidence of this belief has been presented, however; it is nightmare speculation,” Judge Richard Posner wrote in the opinion[http://media.ca7.uscourts.gov/cgi-bin/rssExec.pl?Submit=Display&Path=Y2016/D10-03/C:16-1509:J:Posner:aut:T:fnOp:N:1838881:S:0].

“[Pence] provides no evidence that Syrian terrorists are posing as **refugees** or that Syrian **refugees** have ever committed acts of terrorism in the United States. Indeed, as far as can be determined from public sources, no Syrian **refugees** have been arrested or prosecuted for terrorist acts or attempts in the United States. And if Syrian **refugees** do pose a terrorist threat, implementation of the governor’s policy would simply increase the risk of terrorism in whatever states Syrian **refugees** were shunted to.”

The opinion adds that Pence’s claim that he is not discriminating based on nationality but purely acting based on safety concerns is “the equivalent of his saying (not that he does say) that he wants to forbid black people to settle in Indiana not because they’re black but because he’s afraid of them, and since race is therefore not his motive he isn’t discriminating. But that of course would be racial discrimination, just as his targeting Syrian **refugees** is discrimination on the basis of nationality.”

The outcome was expected after Indiana’s plan was received less than warmly in court during oral arguments last month. Courthouse News reported that Judge Frank Easterbrook said[http://www.courthousenews.com/2016/09/14/indiana-ban-on-syrian-refugees-draws-mockery-from-7th-circuit.htm] : “When a state makes an argument that’s saying we’re differentiating according to whether somebody is from Syria, but that has nothing to do with national origin, all it produces is a broad smile.” Posner asked: “Are Syrians the only Muslims that Indiana fears?”

Ken Falk, legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Indiana, said in a statement: “The Court of Appeals’ decision underscores what we have said throughout this litigation … Governor Pence may not constitutionally or legally discriminate against a particular nationality of **refugees** that are extensively vetted by the federal government.” The ACLU represented Exodus **Refugee Immigration**, a not-for-profit agency that brought the lawsuit.

With **immigration** and battling Isis key issues in the forthcoming presidential election, leading Republican politicians have accused the federal government of failing to adequately screen **refugees** and several states have tried to exert more control over who is resettled inside their borders, though **immigration** is a federal matter.

Last Friday, Texas became the latest state[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/30/texas-withdraws-federal-refugee-resettlement-program-syrians] to opt out of the federal **refugee** resettlement programme, following New Jersey and Kansas earlier this year.

But the move will not stop the arrival of **refugees** from Syria or anywhere else in the Lone Star state. The federal government and aid agencies will instead work to formulate an arrangement that circumvents the state’s administration of the process.

The Obama administration has pledged to increase the number of **refugees** arriving in the US from Syria and other nations. The president announced last month[http://www.voanews.com/a/us-narrowly-misses-refugee-limit-for-2016/3533782.html] that the US would accept 110,000 in fiscal year 2017 – up from 85,000 in 2016, of which more than 12,500 were Syrian.

Pence faces off against Tim Kaine, his Democratic opponent, in the vice-presidential debate in Virginia on Tuesday.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**British pound drops sharply after Theresa May announces UK will trigger EU exit in March suggesting **immigration** not single market is the priority

The pound sunk to a three-year low against the euro on Monday on worries over the UK’s prospects outside the EU, after the government set a timetable for Brexit negotiations and fanned fears it would go for a deal that leaves Britain excluded from the single market.

Sterling came under pressure after Theresa May used her weekend speech at the Conservative party conference to pledge to trigger article 50 before the end of March[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/01/theresa-may-to-propose-great-repeal-bill-to-unwind-eu-laws]. The prime minister raised the possibility of a hard Brexit as she spelled out that greater border controls would trump any attempt to remain a member of the single market.

That pushed the pound down sharply against the euro single currency to €1.1438 in afternoon trading, a drop of 0.9% on the day. The pound was also down more than 1% against the US dollar to $1.2835, not far off a 31-year low hit in the wake of June’s shock referendum result.

Sterling’s weakness contrasted with a rally on stock markets where share prices were lifted by a combination of near-term economic optimism, relief over May providing some certainty on Brexit timing and the effects of a weak pound, which flatters the earnings of UK-listed firms reporting in dollars.

“Brexit continues to be the word of the day, with the markets somewhat caught between the future consequences of Britain’s separation from the EU and the lack of discernible impact in the past few months,” said Connor Campbell, analyst at the financial spread betting firm Spreadex.

“While the FTSE is celebrating the UK’s recent, and unexpected, economic sturdiness, the pound has its eye on a time when Britain officially no longer belongs to the European Union.”

The FTSE 100 index of bluechip shares rose more than 1% to a 16-month high of 6,996.

The more domestically focus ed FTSE 250 was also up, by 1.6% at 18,152, boosted by a surge in the shares of Henderson, the fund manager, which announced a merger with the asset manager Janus. Henderson shares were up 17% at 271p.

The mood was further bolstered by a poll of manufacturers that suggested factory activity expanded at the fastest pace for more than two years in September, helped by stronger export orders on the back of the pound’s fall after the EU referendum. The survey chimed with other recent reports suggesting businesses and consumers have largely recovered from the initial shock of the Brexit vote in June[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/21/post-referendum-gloom-fears-confounded-economic-evidence].

The key index on the Markit/C ips UK manufacturing PMI[https://www.markiteconomics.com/Survey/PressRelease.mvc/f55855e5e87b4e9dadc0e3cbea1c285f] (pdf) rose to 55.4 from 53.4 in August, beating forecasts for 52.1 in a Reuters poll of economists and the highest since June 2014.

The survey also showed manufacturing production expanded at the quickest pace since May 2014, employment rose for the second month running and new orders picked up thanks to higher sales to domestic and overseas clients. New export orders grew at the fastest pace since January 2014 as the weak pound continued to make UK goods more competitive overseas.

The flipside of the weaker pound was further upward pressure on import costs for manufacturers and they passed part of that on in higher prices last month.

Rob Dobson, senior economist at IHS Markit, which compiled the survey, said the latest improvement in the PMI report from its post-referendum low in July[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/aug/01/uk-manufacturing-decline-adds-pressure-on-bank-to-cut-interest-rates-pmi] was encouraging for overall growth prospects.

“The rebound over the past two months has been encouragingly strong, and puts the sector on course to provide a further positive contribution to GDP in the third quarter,” he said.

The survey follows official figures last week showing stronger-than-expected growth following the referendum in the services sector[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/30/uk-economy-grows-by-07-in-second-quarter], which accounts for around three-quarters of the economy. Other official data also showed the economy went into the vote with slightly faster growth than previously thought.

Chancellor Philip Hammond seized on signs of economic strength in his address to the Conservative party conference[http://press.conservatives.com/post/151284663940/hammond-an-economy-that-works-for-everyone] in Birmingham.

“The markets have calmed since the referendum vote. And many of the recent data have been better than expected. That is the clearest demonstration of the underlying strength of our economy,” he said, without referring to the pound’s fall.

Currency traders had more long-term concerns on their minds as they digested the prime minister’s weekend comments, said Chris Saint, senior analyst, at City firm Hargreaves Lansdown Currency Service.

“Sterling’s woes are being compounded by speculation the UK could take the hard Brexit route, sacrificing access to the EU single market in return for greater control over **immigration**,” he said.

There were also fresh warnings about reading too much into early signs of resilience to the referendum outcome. Statisticians have cautioned against reading too much into any single month’s data and point out that figures can get revised over time as more information comes in. Economists warn that various factors could soon weigh on spending power and sentiment.

“Notwithstanding the stronger-than-expected run of economic data thus far, we expect that consumers, who until now have remained resilient in the face of Brexit, may struggle to maintain their optimism in the face of rising inflation and a softer labour market,” said Dean Turner, economist at UBS Wealth Management.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Public debate around migrants during campaign veered towards hate speech, campaigners say

Members of the Hungarian Jewish community have voiced concern about the divisive public discourse that accompanied Hungary’s referendum on the admission of **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-vote-on-refugees-will-not-take-place-suggest-first-poll-results], with some comparing it to the hate speech directed at Jews in the 1930s.

Related: Hungarian referendum decides whether to slam the door on migrants[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/01/hungarian-referendum-slam-door-migrants-new-era-europe]

The rightwing prime minister, Viktor Orbán, waged the biggest advertising campaign in Hungarian history in an attempt to convince people to vote against welcoming 1,294 **refugees** allocated to Hungary under a Europe-wide responsibility sharing system.

Throughout the campaign, Orbán and his allies associated **refugees** with terrorists. “No one can say how many terrorists have arrived so far among the **immigrants**,” said a state-sponsored pamphlet[http://budapestbeacon.com/featured-articles/we-must-stop-brussels-referendum-booklet-warns-hungarians/38777] sent to every Hungarian household that claimed **refugees** had turned entire cities in western Europe, including London and Berlin, into no-go zones.

In response to the campaign, András Heisler, the head of Mazsihisz, the largest Jewish umbrella organisation in Hungary[http://mazsihisz.hu/about-mazsihisz-37.html], said: “The public discourse regarding migrants has begun to switch over towards the direction of hate speech.”

Citing the “historical experience” of Jews, Heisler feared that the stigmatisation of migrants could lead to the **alienation** of other Hungarian minorities.

“For us, it is not acceptable to incite hatred against not only Jews but also against Roma people, Christians, gays, or migrants,” Heisler said. “As we know hatred behaves like a virus: it can [slowly] make sick the whole of society.”

Diana Groo, a Hungarian director who makes films about Jewish history, said: “The campaign of hatred reminds me very much of the Nazi propaganda, and the film Der Ewige Jude[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\_Eternal\_Jew\_(1940\_film)] (The Eternal Jew). It does remind us of the 1930s.”

Heisler said he agreed with his colleague, Rabbi Zoltán Radnóti, who argued that the rights of **refugees** should not be up for discussion in a post-Holocaust context. “It should [be] evident in the post-Shoah Europe that those who want to flee should be able to do so,” Heisler quoted Radnóti as saying.

During the referendum campaign the government placed nearly 6,000 anti-**refugee** adverts in public spaces – five times more than the next-biggest advertising campaign in Hungarian history.

Related: Hungary's **refugee** referendum not valid after voters stay away[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-vote-on-refugees-will-not-take-place-suggest-first-poll-results]

But it was ultimately unsuccessful. More than 98% of participants voted against **refugees**, but just 40% of the electorate cast valid votes[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-vote-on-refugees-will-not-take-place-suggest-first-poll-results], rendering the process constitutionally null and void, and undermining Orbán’s campaign for a Europe-wide rebellion[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-right-does-not-want-to-leave-the-eu-it-wants-to-subvert-it] against the European establishment.

Orbán portrayed the vote as a victory, but on Monday European politicians highlighted that he had failed to secure the 50% turnout needed to validate the process.

“If the referendum had been legally valid, our comment would have been that we take note of it,” the chief spokesman for the European commission, Margaritis Schinas, pointedly said. “Since it was declared legally void by the Hungarian electoral commission, we can now say that we also take note of it.”

Other leading European figures, including the foreign ministers of Italy and Luxembourg, also emphasised that Orbán had failed to encourage enough voters to the ballot box. In Hungary, the low turnout was criticised by the leader of the largest opposition party, Jobbik, a far-right group with even more extreme views than Orbán.

“Since yesterday you have become a failed politician,” Gábor Vona told Orbán in parliament on Monday. “You will not be taken seriously by Brussels bureaucrats …Brussels will ruthlessly exploit your irresponsibility and mistake.”

But the low turnout came as little consolation to liberals and minorities worried by the hate speech stoked by the referendum campaign.

“It’s very dangerous,” said Zsuzsanna Vajna, a Holocaust survivor who nearly starved to death in the Budapest ghetto in 1945. “Hitler was saying the same things in the 30s, inciting hatred against one part of the population. Now [the victims] are the migrants, the Muslims. It’s a very violent campaign that’s been going on for more than a year, and has torn apart a country.”

During the winter of 1944, Vajna was forced to walk at gunpoint with other Jews up and down the banks of the Danube, while Hungarian Nazis shot some of them into the river at random. A few hundred metres from this spot on Saturday, several hundred far-right protesters held an anti-**refugee** rally in one of Budapest’s most famous squares. Their speeches drowned out a nearby counter-rally organised by a liberal opposition group.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Chancellor ditches austerity programme in favour of a pragmatic approach to counter a ‘hard’ exit from the EU

A Tory government will bridge regional divides, give young people a foot on the housing ladder and raise workers’ productivity. And that is just an hors d’oeuvre, according to Philip Hammond, who argued government intervention was needed to protect everyone from the Brexit fallout, especially when they neither voted to be poorer nor to face an uncertain future.

The chancellor promised “a new plan for the new circumstances Britain faces”[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/03/conservative-conference-philip-hammond-confirms-osbornes-austerity-timetable-has-been-dropped-politics-live] as he junked George Osborne’s austerity programme in favour of pragmatism.

Revealing his soft Brexit sympathies, he made it clear that quitting the European Union posed the biggest threat to the economy and he was ready to use it as an excuse for significant spending plans.

Not on his watch would the economy nosedive, wiping out many of the gains made in employment and rising wages over the last couple of years.

He left the Conservative party audience in no doubt that while those ministers negotiating Brexit might be happy to wave goodbye to the single market, the chancellor wants to retain full access. For that reason he was clear the referendum vote regained control over Britain’s borders and courts, but could not be a deterministic influence on **immigration**.

He also explained that Brexit meant abandoning Osborne’s pursuit of a balanced budget by 2020. Between several passages of praise for his predecessor, he conceded that the chase was over. Worse for the audience, one that only last year cheered the prospect of a budget surplus in 2021, no new date was set.

Then came the end of laissez faire, with Hammond following hard on the heels of communities secretary Savid Javid and business secretary Greg Hands, making the case for ministers to take an active role in the economy.

Earlier, Hands said Britain would never win a race to the bottom and had no option but to support hi-tech, low carbon future to attract major employers and big-paying jobs. Javid added some cheer to the proceedings with a £3bn package[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37540803] to support house building by 2020.

Hammond’s hand-outs were more modest by comparison – £220m for research and business start-up funding – and the chance for firms that win EU grants to get a replacement grant from HM Treasury[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/03/philip-hammond-vows-to-match-lost-eu-funding-for-business].

However, these figures, whichever way they are accounted for, are rounding errors in the budget and reflect the balancing act between the public’s appetite for public spending and the demand for continued austerity.

And that while this balancing act might mean ministers giving the go-ahead to long term projects like a third runway at Heathrow and HS2 – the high speed rail link between London and Birmingham – it will also mean a continuing squeeze on local authority budgets and the welfare bill.

Hammond said nothing about the huge shortfalls in schools and health funding or how he plans to tackle the current squeeze on average incomes from rising inflation and declining wages growth.

At the moment, consumers are confident the government can negotiate a smooth and painless exit. Hammond’s speech is the first to make it clear that without full access to all tools in the Treasury’s kit bag, from higher spending to business-friendly **immigration**, there are senior Tory ministers who believe smooth and painless is a pipe dream.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Report from Black Alliance for Just **Immigration** reveals 2013 deportation rates for criminal grounds was 76% compared to 45% overall

It is widely recognized that African Americans in the US are more likely to be arrested, convicted and imprisoned[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/18/mass-incarceration-black-americans-higher-rates-disparities-report]. A new report finds this pattern of criminalization has had a spillover effect for black **immigrants**.

People from Africa and the Caribbean are twice as likely to face deportation due to a criminal conviction compared to those from other regions, and more than three times as likely to be detained while their cases are pending, according to the Black Alliance for Just **Immigration**.

“This report shows black **immigrants** encounter major social and economic challenges in the US because of systemic racism,” said Opal Tometi, the Alliance’s Executive Director and a co-founder of the Black Lives Matter movement, who is a first generation Nigerian American and was born and raised in Arizona.

But criminal convictions are just one of the reasons **immigrants** are placed in deportation proceedings. Others are funneled into deportation proceedings simply because of **immigration** violations. Overall, black **immigrants** are slightly more likely to face deportation for any reason than **immigrants** overall. Black **immigrants** comprise about 7% of **immigrants** in the US, and nearly 11% percent of those facing deportation.

Related: Privilege, policing and living while black in Chicago's white north side[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/17/privilege-policing-black-chicago-white-north-side]

The period examined in the report spans the two decades since the Illegal **Immigration** Reform and **Immigrant** Responsibility Act broadened the scope of crimes that are deportable offenses, including possession of marijuana.

“Our theory is that many black **immigrants** live in urban areas that are subject to heavier policing than other communities,” said Carl Lipscombe, policy director for the Alliance and a co-author of the report. “So they are more likely to face a police encounter, and more likely to get arrested and end up in court.”

Lipscombe says he witnessed this pattern as a public defender in New York City, where a federal judge found the police department’s stop-and-frisk program unconstitutional after it was shown to disproportionately target black people.

“I encountered dozens of young black **immigrants** who were arrested for minor offenses such as possession of marijuana and the district attorney would offer them a $25 fine if they pleaded guilty,” said Lipscombe. “This is why we say black **immigrants** are similarly situated to African Americans, except they face additional consequence of deportation.”

Related: Wage gap between white and black Americans is worse today than in 1979[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/wage-gap-black-white-americans]

Most of the report’s new findings stem from a trove of data about **immigrants** in detention originally obtained through an open records request by Buzzfeed News, which analyzed those facing deportation on non-criminal grounds and found three-quarters of Mexicans were detained, compared to 39% for all others.

The Black Alliance for Just **Immigration** asked New York University Law School’s **Immigrant** Rights Clinic and a statistician to conduct a first-of-its-kind analysis of detained black **immigrants** facing deportation due to criminal convictions.

“The data confirms what advocates have long suspected,” said report co-author and NYU law student Juliana Morgan-Trostle.

Since the government does not track **immigrants** based on race, she said the analysis identified black **immigrants** by their country of origin, including those from countries such as Haiti and Nigeria, and then compared to the overall **immigrant** population.

When it compared **immigrant** groups by region in fiscal year 2013, it found 76% of black **immigrants** were deported on criminal grounds, in contrast to 45% overall, 38% of Asian **immigrants**, 47% of South American **immigrants** and 54% of European **immigrants**.

The new report on black **immigrants** also examines census data that shows they have similar rates of educational attainment as white and Asian **immigrants**, but rank highest on unemployment, with one in five living below the poverty line.

It calls on lawmakers to address the disparate rates of detention and deportation for black **immigrants** by eliminating certain drug offenses as a cause for deportation, and by restoring judicial discretion in such cases.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**More than 98% of participants voted to exclude new **refugees**, but less than 50% of the electorate turned out rendering the result invalid

Do you want the European Union to be able to mandate the obligatory resettlement of non-Hungarian citizens into Hungary even without the approval of the National Assembly?

Viktor Orbán, the Hungarian prime minister, has failed to convince a majority of his population to vote in a referendum on closing the door to **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-vote-on-refugees-will-not-take-place-suggest-first-poll-results]. Though more than 98% of those who voted sided with Orbán, more than half of the electorate stayed at home rendering the process constitutionally null and void.

Orbán himself put a positive spin on the low turnout. He argued that while “a valid [referendum] is always better than an invalid [referendum]” the extremely high proportion of no-voters still gave him a mandate to go to Brussels next week “to ensure that we should not be forced to accept in Hungary people we don’t want to live with”.

The **refugee** referendum was an attempt to build support for this vision and Orbán hoped that a strong turnout would lead to a series of copycat votes across the continent. But despite the biggest and most divisive advertising campaign in Hungarian history, Orbán failed to entice enough voters to the ballot box.

How do you feel about the result and how did you vote in the referendum? Why do you think so many people decided not to vote?

You can share your thoughts with us by filling in the form below, anonymously if you wish. We’ll include some of your responses in our reporting.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Ten MPs write to home secretary calling for safe accommodation to be found for lone children living in ‘wretched’ conditions

A group of 10 Conservative MPs has written to the home secretary, Amber Rudd, calling on her to do more to help “vulnerable” unaccompanied child asylum seekers living in “wretched” and life-threatening conditions in Calais[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/01/child-refugees-despair-calais-camp-close].

The letter – signed by the former education secretary Nicky Morgan, and the acting head of the home affairs select committee, Tim Loughton – highlights the recent death of a 14-year-old Afghan boy[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/afghan-boy-killed-in-calais-in-attempt-to-climb-on-to-lorry-to-uk] on the roads near the French port. He died when he fell off a moving truck while trying to get to the UK.

The letter points out that the child had a legal right to be reunited with his brother, who lives in the UK, “but having waited for months in wretched conditions for the process to work, he took fate into his own hands with devastating consequences”.

Related: Hungry, scared, and no closer to safety: child **refugees** failed by Britain[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/02/child-refugees-calais-failed-by-britain]

“We are sure you feel as heartbroken as we do about this and the conditions in the camp he was trying to escape. Children are living alone in tents donated by the generous British people, living each day in fear of violence, exposed to criminals and, as we have seen, at risk of losing their lives. With the French authorities planning to dismantle the camp, life is only likely to get harder for these vulnerable children,” the MPs state.

The letter says it is vital that the Home Office works with French authorities in the run-up to the planned demolition of the site[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/24/new-fears-for-lone-children-calais-refugee-camp] later this month, to find safe accommodation for the estimated 865 children[http://i0.wp.com/www.helprefugees.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/census-edit-kids.jpg] living in the camp (nearly 80% of whom are there alone), and to make sure that those eligible to come to the UK understand their rights.

Charities working in Calais estimate that as many as 400 children have family in the UK, and are eligible to be resettled in Britain. “We must ensure that it is the authorities and the law that help these children, and not the criminals who would put them in the back of trucks,” the letter, also signed by David Burrowes, Anne Jenkin and Sarah Wollaston, says.

It adds to a growing chorus of voices demanding the government do more to assist children in the camp. Unicef[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/01/child-refugees-despair-calais-camp-close] this weekend called on the British authorities to speed up the transfer of unaccompanied child **refugees** from Calais. Last month, Kevin Hyland, the UK’s anti-slavery tsar who was appointed by Theresa May, said British delays in giving sanctuary to these children were forcing them into the hands of traffickers and people smugglers.

Lord Dubs, the Labour peer who earlier this year persuaded the government to promise to give sanctuary to vulnerable unaccompanied child **refugees** with no relatives in the UK, has described the slowness of the British response to the crisis as a “disgrace”[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp].

In May he secured a commitment that Britain would give homes to some of the estimated 88,000 child **refugees**[http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-minors-idUKKCN0XT15M] believed to be travelling through Europe, and this was set out in an amendment to the **Immigration** Act. Five months since the amendment was passed, none of the qualifying children have arrived in the UK.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Now we know at least one thing Brexit means – someone is going to be reading lots of CVs. Yes Minister’s co-creator imagines this week’s events in the Cabinet Office

Cabinet secretary Apart from your Great Repeal Bill[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/theresa-may-great-repeal-bill-eu-british-law], you still have to say what “Brexit means Brexit” actually means.

PM Any ideas?

Cabinet secretary That’s challenging.

PM There’s one problem: there’s no way back. And there’s another problem: I can’t see the way forward. So I’ve been reading about the Oracle at Delphi. Everything I say should be open to interpretation.

Cabinet secretary The oracle was actually the high priestess Pythia, whose name referred to the sweet sickly smell of the decomposing body of Cameron – sorry, Python - that enveloped her after he was slain.

PM Yes, I didn’t like that bit. Must we still hire so many people to staff the Brexit Department and International Trade?

Cabinet secretary Yes. It’s challenging. First we have to hire lots of people, just to process the CVs of the people we need to hire.

PM God! Then what?

Cabinet secretary We either get people from KPMG at very high cost. Or place an advert: “Multi-lingual, world-class authority on global trade and international law required.”

PM Why hasn’t Corbyn asked me about Brexit at PMQs? Could he be on my side?

Cabinet secretary Maybe. You’ve been accused of pretending to support Remain during the referendum[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/25/theresa-may-allies-reject-claim-role-eu-referendum-campaign] while soft on an emergency brake for **immigration**.

PM Rubbish! I split up 33,000 **immigrant** families and refused to put any time limit on the detention of **immigration** detainees. I said I’d allow **refugees** only a temporary stay in Britain. I withdrew British support for naval search and rescue missions in the Mediterranean. My record on **immigration** is unblemished and clear[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/18/what-does-theresa-mays-record-as-home-secretary-tell-us].

Cabinet secretary Corbyn says he won’t put any curbs on **immigration**.

PM None of us do things just because we say so.

Cabinet secretary He might. Knowing him.

PM Good thing he can’t then. When this bill goes through parliament we’ll be in a much better place.

Cabinet secretary What if the Lords hold it up?

PM They won’t want to provoke a constitutional crisis.

Cabinet secretary Aren’t we already in one?

PM Oh yes.

Cabinet secretary It’s … challenging.

Jonathan Lynn is the co-creator of Yes Minister. @mrjonathanlynn [https://twitter.com/mrjonathanlynn]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Around 100 days since Brexit, and after Theresa May said she will trigger Article 50 in March, we speak to voters about whether they have any regrets

Theresa May[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/theresamay] has announced her plans for Brexit, insisting that controlling **immigration** and withdrawing from the jurisdiction of the European court of justice would be her priorities during European Union (EU) exit. She says Article 50 will be triggered before March[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/may-on-collision-course-with-backbenchers-seeking-soft-brexit].

So, with our departure from the EU now in sight, how do those who made the decision to leave or remain feel now?

We asked our readers about this to mark 100 days since Britain voted to leave the EU, and we received over 1,000 responses[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/100-days-since-the-brexit-vote-how-do-you-feel-now].

We had responses from people who had backed each of the opposing camps, and some people who didn’t vote at all. 95% of them said that they did not regret their decision.

How do you feel about the vote now, especially after May’s latest announcement? Below, five people explain what it has meant to them. Share your thoughts in the comments.

Leavers Ed, 23, from Amersham: ‘The only regrets I have is the way the referendum was won’ I voted Leave for several reasons. Firstly, the EU’s involvement in other countries can be meddling. Also, there wasn’t much sympathy for Greece and the union left them to limp along while imposing further austerity measures. The migrant crisis has been handled badly as well, and Merkel’s stance of open doors isn’t realistic for every country.

Federalisation works in America but Europe has history and attempting to unify a continent as diverse as it creates tensions.

Nothing has really changed so far so it’s hard to tell whether I see the benefits having been reaped. I doubt there will be serious long-term effects for our economy. We had the wrong government in place to deal with Brexit (I contemplated voting stay for this reason) but it felt like it was once in a lifetime opportunity. I know there wouldn’t be another chance to vote leave.

The only regrets and concerns I have is the way the referendum was won – for example claims that £350m would be given to the NHS. I think leaving, however, was the best idea. If we are now allowed to limit **immigration** to skilled workers then that would be very beneficial. I do have some objections to importing a workforce of unskilled workers. This creates more tensions. I don’t think the EU is the force for peace it brands itself. I am glad that Article 50 will invoked in 2017.

Alka Sehgal Cuthbert, 54, from London: ‘I am very pleased with my decision’ I voted Leave and I am very pleased with my decision. I’m glad that after years of politics being technocratic, soul-destroying and tedious, people in Britain experienced an inkling of what politics has been – and could – be again. The lack of a plan for every economic and political eventuality is not a problem, it is something that is a chance for everyone to consider how he or she would like to re-vivify public political culture. Let’s face it our political and economic situation was pretty poor to start with, so why not ask bigger questions, or start from a different point? The only real impact of Brexit on my life has been that my family holiday was more expensive, and some of our savings for children’s education may have been adversely affected.

Remainers Allan Collins, 85, from Scotland: ‘Since the vote I have seen chaos and muddled thinking’

I voted Remain. I feel even more certain now, that like most of my fellow Scots, I voted correctly. At my age I lived through the dark days of a divided Europe. I saw the human wrecks caused by the first world war, and the devastation of the second. All because of a divided Europe.

Over the last few years I have enjoyed the pleasure of travelling freely to European countries, and I have seen the improvement to infrastructure in the Highland and Islands. I have felt very much part of the family of Europe. I have felt the security of being part of that great united family.

Since the vote I have seen chaos and muddled thinking. There seems to be no strategy or plan to move forward. Government ministers seem to be completely divided and we are becoming a laughing stock. We talk about getting the right terms, but what do we have to bargain with?

At this early stage, the result hasn’t affected my life or finances but I am certain it will. And not in a good way.

Helen Quenet, 56 from Hatfield: ‘I hate what the UK has become in these 100 days’

I voted Remain and am still shocked and angry at what happened. I’m hoping some way will be found to stop it. I believe it is a huge self-inflicted wound that will damage the county irreparably.

I’m especially disgusted with the racism and abuse that the result has provoked. I have a Belgian name because I married someone who was “only” fourth generation British. My youngest son risks missing out on Erasmus and my 85-year-old mum risks losing all the lovely carers she has from Europe. I hate what the UK has become in these 100 days.

If I could get a European passport I would leave the country. Unfortunately that isn’t an option available for me.

Smiley, 31 from London: ‘It is the slow dissolution of Britain as a tolerant safe society’

I voted to Remain and am now thinking of moving to Canada. The result of the vote is the slow dissolution of Britain as a tolerant safe society with rights blinking out like stars on a cloudy night and violent thugs feeling enabled to harass and murder in the street. The economic future potential of this nation will be occulted for years and I don’t think anything can be done to stop unemployment rising and the standard of living from falling.

Because the company where I work has a lot of EU funded projects and relies to a greater than average degree on a predictable model of population and economic growth, all predicted models have been thrown into chaos and there’s a general air of uncertainty and dread which is the background of all conversations on future plans.

I’m not married and don’t have children so I don’t have as many emotional ties as some. Besides look at the way things are going. If Article 50 is enacted then I can look forward to a future of xenophobia, reduced ability to work and travel, and my rights left unprotected by EU Human Rights Legislation. If I had children, this isn’t a country I would want to bring them up in.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**During the past three years, the only ‘laws’ applied to us have been force and dictatorship. We are like people smitten with plague, left on isolated islands

Why is hope dangerous?

Central to the policy of exiling **refugees** to remote islands is the shattering of hope for a future, it is the breaking of people.

Hope is like a secret code enabling **refugees** to be resilient and to resist the ever-mounting pressure to return to their country of origin, even as life there is impossible.

Related: 'It’s simply coercion': Manus Island, **immigration** policy and the men with no future[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/29/its-simply-coercion-manus-island-immigration-policy-and-the-men-with-no-future]

To achieve this goal, the minister for **immigration** and border protection, Peter Dutton, appears on TV screens every now and then reiterating that **refugees** on Manus Island will never come to Australia and will be settled in Papua New Guinea.

The governing system of the prison on Manus and the companies working to implement this are focused on impacting the mind and spirit of **refugees** in a systematic manner to destroy our hopes for a future.

During the past three years, they have endeavoured to shatter our hopes by any means and to carve into our minds that there is no way ahead, there is no safe future for us.

The **immigration** officers arrive in the prison every week and repeat: “You have to live in PNG.” This is reinforced by security officers, case managers and through notices attached to the bulletin boards inside the prison.

In recent days the **immigration** officers have frightened us again as after the supreme court hearing that says that the prison is illegal, they have officially declared that we have to live in PNG or return back to where we came from[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/29/its-simply-coercion-manus-island-immigration-policy-and-the-men-with-no-future].

They have declared that we will not have any future. However, what is different is that this time they have said to us that we can obtain a visa for another country and leave here.

We understand that this choice is simply more propaganda.

This is one of those choices that, in practice, is not a choice because none of the **refugees** have the ability to apply for a visa for another country when they are kept in the Manus prison.

Related: Australia's **refugee** impasse: rights commission suggests ways forward[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/australias-refugee-impasse-rights-commission-suggests-ways-forward]

We ask the Australian government: “If a country like New Zealand accepts us and we are granted a visa, will the Australian government permit us to go there?” When New Zealand offered previously, Australia refused.

During the past three years, despite all the pressure imposed by **immigration** on me, I have not submitted my protection case to the PNG government. But it was suddenly announced to me that I had been conferred **refugee** status and that I have no choice but to live in PNG.

When I asked for reasons as to why and how they concluded I was a **refugee** they responded by saying that they had collected my personal information from media and PNG had agreed with Australia that I would receive a positive **refugee** finding.

What becomes glaringly obvious in this is that any claim to this being a real **refugee** assessment process is false. My rights to offer my case for **refugee** status have been taken from me, my human rights to make decisions about my life have been stolen.

What shocks me is the fact that the ?social media accounts of **refugee** advocates are monitored? – they are spied upon

It’s clear that the the Australian Department of **Immigration** and Border Protection monitors the Facebook pages of **refugee**advocates[https://www.crikey.com.au/2016/09/20/the-facebook-posts-immigration-thinks-give-false-hope/], as revealed by the department’s head, Michael Pelluzzo, to Senate estimates. Such monitoring is followed up by investigations and the information collated is recorded. Those records were provided to the Senate in an attempt to back up the department’s routine accusations that advocates are giving “false hope” to **refugees** on Manus and Nauru.

I came across my name among the names of other advocates in these records provided to the Senate, along with a copy of one of my Facebook posts that detailed the time I climbed a tree in Foxtrot compound in the Manus prison in protest.

I do not want to respond to the monitoring of my Facebook page, rather what shocks me is the fact that the social media accounts of **refugee** advocates are monitored – they are spied upon.

One of the fundamental and basic rights of a free and democratic society is respect for freedom of speech; that every citizen has the right to express their political thoughts and views, whether it be on Facebook or in any form of media.

When DIBP accuses advocates of providing hope to 2,000 **refugees** incarcerated in Manus and Nauru prisons they are indicating that giving hope to prisoners is wrong and is against a law.

If we ask why the DIBP spends money and time on investigating those who provide hope, we can understand that the concept of hope itself is seen as dangerous.

Related: Inside Manus: life in detention – a photo essay[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/sep/10/inside-manus-life-in-detention-a-photo-essay]

The Australian government, accompanied by the PNG government, has kidnapped us and kept us in limbo, acting against international laws, and denying us access to any court that may bring us justice. The high court of Australia legalised our exile, and the PNG court has not been able to bring justice to us.

We are people effectively deemed outside of any law.

During the past three years, the only “laws” applied to us have been force and dictatorship. We are like people smitten with plague, exiled from a civilised society and left on isolated islands.

For us there is no way ahead towards the future and no way behind to the past.

From the Australian government’s point of view, we do merely and solely have two choices, but we are human and our rights as human beings tell us there is a third choice as well, the choice of resistance against torture.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s developments at the Conservative conference in Birmingham, including Theresa May ’s speech on Brexit and her interview with Andrew MarrMay’s interview with Marr - Snap verdictMarr’s interview with Marr - SummaryMay’s Brexit speech - Summary and analysis

block-time published-time 6.07pm BST

Ukip says Theresa May 's speech shows its campaign stance has been 'vindicated and replicated' Here is Ukip’s Steven Woolfe on Theresa May ’s speech.

Theresa May has just delivered a speech that accepts the decision of the people of the United Kingdom. Control of our borders, laws, fisheries and money should be in our Parliament’s hands. All are Ukip policies as is her flagship grammar school policy.

We welcome her clear decision to repeal the 1972 Act, that article 50 negotiations are to be launched by March 2017 and that Remainers will have to accept the people’s referendum decision. Ukip campaigning position is again vindicated and replicated.

The bare bones of ‘Brexit means Brexit’ now have a time frame. Good. But with a parliamentary party divided, an opposition in flux and the House of Lords implacably opposed, it is up to UKIP to keep up the electoral pressure on. Nobody else will.

block-time published-time 6.03pm BST

Baby T-shirts are displayed for sale at the 2016 Conservative party conference. Photograph: Carl Court/Getty Images block-time published-time 5.57pm BST

Here are two blogs relevant to the “great repeal” bill plan that are worth reading.

\* George Peretz at In Facts says trying to replace EU law with UK law would result in a huge amount of power being transferred to the executive. [https://infacts.org/henry-viii-perils-brexit/]

Brexiteers usually admit that many EU rules are sensible. Indeed, when pressed, many struggle to name EU rules that they actually object to. So we would want to keep them after we left the EU .

Unfortunately, that would not be a simple task. You cannot just pass a short act saying the old rules remain in force, because they were drafted on the assumption that we are a member of the EU . So, for example, EU regulations on agriculture frequently refer to the powers of the European Commission . These would have to be reviewed and replaced before Brexit took effect. Much of this is technical stuff – important to those affected and requiring political judgments, but not of fundamental policy importance. Some of it, though, will require important decisions on matters such as environmental protection and workers’ and consumers’ rights...

There is no way in which parliament could cope with the deluge of legislation. It would have to give power to ministers to make new laws in all these fields by statutory instrument.

This blog was written in May, but today’s announcement about the “great repeal” bill has made it particularly relevant.

\* Sunder Katwala at British Future says the Commons should pass the “great repeal” bill comfortably and that this will be a cathartic moment. [http://www.britishfuture.org/articles/15366/]

block-time published-time 5.42pm BST

The UN is in great need of reform and the UK has a responsibility to tackle those reforms, international development minister Rory Stewart has said, warning that support for the institution could sap because of the similarity of the UN to the European Union.

Speaking at a fringe event, Stewart said politicians must “be aware that there are aspects to the United Nations which, for some people, will remind them in some ways of some of the issues we had around Brexit. Supranational government, bureaucracy, the way in which money is spent.”

Stewart, who was a senior coalition official during the Iraq war, said the UN needed to make itself increasingly relevant, especially in the current global landscape.

My goodness that organisation needs reform, we might not be able to get all the reforms we want, but it does need reform. Transparency is going to be so important, making sure we can point to concrete things the UN is doing and also showing when we don’t like what the UN is doing we have the courage to challenge them. However, with that proviso, yes the UN is central because the world is getting out of control.

block-time published-time 5.39pm BST

The former health secretary Andrew Lansley told a fringe meeting earlier he wanted to see a clear vision for foreign policy post-Brexit.

Whatever you would say about the last six or seven years of Conservative government and coalition government, I don’t think you could say foreign policy has been a triumph.

Britain’s influence in the world has been diminished and in part that’s simply because in the wake of Iraq, the vote on Syria in 2013 and our disengagement from Europe, we have not been able to define what we are trying to achieve.

At the same meeting Flick Drummond MP, who backed the remain campaign, said she was “still going through the mourning stage” of the Brexit vote. She said:

It’s more about the influence we’ve lost within Europe rather than anything else, I now feel we’re really on the outside of EU governance. But we’ve got to make the most of it. We have to get out there very quickly now.

Drummond said she was supportive of the concept of a European army, especially if the election of Donald Trump in the US would mean a more isolationist America.

I have no problem with a European army... I think we need to work with our European colleagues, and I’m completely relaxed about that.

And as the American becomes more isolationist, looking towards the West coast and towards Russia, we’ve got to work closely with our European allies on defence, because that is the future of it, I’m afraid, particularly if Trump gets in. He’s not going to be interested in helping out Nato, we’ve going to have to create our own European army.

block-time published-time 5.33pm BST

Here is Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary and shadow Brexit secretary, on Theresa May ’s announcement about article 50 being triggered before the end of March. She said:

A commitment on the timing of article 50 is meaningless unless Theresa May can answer all the prior and more fundamental questions about what deal Britain is going to propose for our future relationship with the EU , what the plan is to secure that deal, and what we will do if it fails.

This is exactly the same mistake David Cameron made with his proposed renegotiation last year: working to an artificial, self-imposed timetable; with a flawed Plan A of what he wanted to achieve; and no Plan B whatsoever. Unless Theresa May starts spelling out the government’s plan on free trade, on free movement, on budget contributions, and a host of other issues, we will have to conclude she is only interested in achieving headlines not providing solutions.

block-time published-time 5.29pm BST

James Forsyth has a good point; after Brexit, what on earth will the Tories talk about at party conference?

enltrAfter Brexit, there won't be these speeches at party conferences...

— James Forsyth (@JGForsyth) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JGForsyth/status/782594746346856448]block-time published-time 5.27pm BST

These are from James McGrory, co-executive director of Open Britain (which is essentially the continuity Britain Stronger in Europe campaign).

enltrShe doesn't like the term but that did sound a lot like Theresa May was gearing up for a hard Brexit. There's a long way to go, mind.

— James McGrory (@JamesMcGrory) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JamesMcGrory/status/782588379498213376]enltrTheresa May wants the "maximum freedom to trade with an operate in the Single Market." That is, of course, membership of it.

— James McGrory (@JamesMcGrory) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JamesMcGrory/status/782591980606029824]enltrGiven that was at the harder end of the Brexit speeches she could have given, interesting that May chose not to rule out SM membership.

— James McGrory (@JamesMcGrory) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JamesMcGrory/status/782592373012492289]block-time published-time 5.22pm BST

May's Brexit speech - Verdict from the Twitter commentariat This is what political journalists and commentators are saying about Theresa May ’s speech.

From the New Statesman’s George Eaton

enltrTheresa May has shown that Brexit means hard Brexit: UK out of single market. https://t.co/EUTsxaNZWb [https://t.co/EUTsxaNZWb] pic.twitter.com/xOeMBCrQ8N [https://t.co/xOeMBCrQ8N]

— George Eaton (@georgeeaton) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/georgeeaton/status/782607526483357696]From Newsnight’s Mark Urban

enltrTheresa May goes for 'hard Brexit' says @IsabelHardman [https://twitter.com/IsabelHardman] that or it's a deliberately tough opening position say I ! https://t.co/U1Fwh3dseJ [https://t.co/U1Fwh3dseJ] that or it's a deliberately tough opening position say I !

— Mark Urban (@MarkUrban01) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MarkUrban01/status/782607027000442880]From the Economist ’s Jeremy Cliffe

enltrListening to PM's speech I reckon she'd take: goods (+some services) FTA, work permits, out of customs union, Norway-style transfer payments

— Jeremy Cliffe (@JeremyCliffe) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JeremyCliffe/status/782597653968420864]enltrThe fundamentals:

1) May needs deal giving London final say on its laws & borders

2) EU needs deal obviously inferior to full membership

— Jeremy Cliffe (@JeremyCliffe) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JeremyCliffe/status/782600448100409344]From the New Statesman’s Jason Cowley

enltrWhat was missing from Labour conference and Theresa May delivered in her speech was optimism, a patriotic sense of the greatness of the UK

— Jason Cowley (@JasonCowleyNS) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JasonCowleyNS/status/782588418710700032]From the Times’ Philip Collins

enltrGiven the referendum we had, & what it is possible to get, I think Mrs May has been clear about the inevitable. She said the right thing.

— Philip Collins (@PCollinsTimes) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PCollinsTimes/status/782598729379479552]From the Guardian ’s Rafael Behr

enltrMay sounded \*mostly\* like classic Tory better-off-out sceptic. Significant difference was clear commitment to keep employment protection.

— Rafael Behr (@rafaelbehr) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rafaelbehr/status/782589854664261632]From the BBC ’s James Landale

enltrAm struck how much T May is trying to reassure EU : A50 by March, no unilateral withdrawal, promise of "mature, cooperative relationship"

— James Landale (@BBCJLandale) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCJLandale/status/782594736058146816]From the FT’s Jim Pickard From the FT’s

enltrMay stamps on George Osborne's political carcass: "The sky has not fallen in, as some predicted it would. Our economy remains strong."

— Jim Pickard (@PickardJE) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PickardJE/status/782584502891806720]block-time published-time 5.04pm BST

Here’s Ukip’s communications chief, Gawain Towler, on “hard” Brexit.

enltr @AndrewSparrow [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow] it's Brexit, or not Brexit. Hard Brexit is just a phrase to make the result sound nasty

— Gawain Towler (@GawainTowler) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GawainTowler/status/782600934681612288]block-time published-time 4.56pm BST

Party members listening to Theresa May ’s speech. Photograph: Matt Cardy/Getty Images block-time published-time 4.55pm BST

Here is Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, on Theresa May ’s speech.

Theresa May has just confirmed that we are going for a Hard Brexit. This means no single market for Britain.

This means disaster for British jobs, businesses and our economy. The Lib Dems are now the only party fighting for Britain’s membership of the single market.

The Conservatives have lost the right to call themselves the party of business. The Liberal Democrats are the only free market, free trade, pro-business party now.

Nigel Farage’s obsession has officially become government policy.

block-time published-time 4.53pm BST

Boris Johnson ’s speech was rather good, although his key message about liberal values was artfully camouflaged in a blizzard of nonsense.

I will post a proper summary soon.

block-time published-time 4.50pm BST

Johnson is now wrapping up.

Churchill was right

when he said that the empires of the future will be empires of the mind

and in expressing our values I believe that Global Britain is a soft power superpower

and that we can be immensely proud of what

we are achieving.

block-time published-time 4.48pm BST

Johnson turns to the role these ex-pats play.

No other country is turned so tangibly outwards and into the world

and what they take with them is not just a knowledge of English or the cast of the Archers

or which game has a position called silly mid off

but an instinctive set of values

and whether they are retired British teachers working as monitors in the Ukrainian war zone

or Met police officers training their counterparts in the parts of Syria held by the moderate opposition

block-time published-time 4.46pm BST

Johnson says one Briton in 10 is now living abroad.

When I am making a speech in a foreign city I look around the heaving room and become aware of a phenomenon that I think people in this country are barely aware of

and that is that of the Brits now alive and born in this country

fully one in ten is now living abroad

we are talking 5 or 6 m people – a population the size of Scotland

No other rich country – according to the World Bank - has a diaspora on that scale

block-time published-time 4.45pm BST

Johnson praises the role of free markets.

Free markets and free societies go together

but in case you are remotely tempted to despair I urge you to look not at the problems

but at the successes that these free institutions have helped to engender

For all its problems, life expectancy in Africa has risen astonishingly as that continent has entered the global economic system

In 2000 the average Ethiopian lived to only 47 – it is now 64 and climbing; in Zambia the increase has been from 44 years to 60

in 1990 37 per cent of the world’s population lived in poverty – that is down to 9.6 pc today

and yes, that is partly thanks to UK spending on development aid

- £300 m a year to Ethiopia alone

but above all it is our economic ideas, our beliefs, our values that continue to lift the world out of poverty

block-time published-time 4.43pm BST

Here is Johnson on the BBC .

Just the BBC – and no matter how infuriating and shamelessly anti-Brexit they can sometimes be

I think the Beeb is the single greatest and most effective ambassador for our culture and our values

and it was Sergei Lavrov himself who told me that he had not only watched our version of war and peace, but thought it was “very well done”

and that, from the Kremlin, was praise.

block-time published-time 4.42pm BST

Boris Johnson is still speaking, and the text has just dropped.

(Unusually for a Johnson speech, the text bears some relationship to what he is saying.)

Our hard power, conference, is dwarfed by a phenomenon that the pessimists never predicted when we unbundled the British empire

and that is soft power

- the vast and subtle and pervasive extension of British influence around the world that goes with having the language that was invented and perfected in this country

and now has more speakers than any other language on earth.

block-time published-time 4.38pm BST

Sturgeon condemns May's speech Nicola Sturgeon , Scotland’s first minister is plainly furious at Theresa May ’s reference to “divisive nationalists”, as well as her comment that Brexit negotiations were the responsibility of the UK government ’s “and nobody else”. She tweeted this:

enltrPM going out of her way to say Scotland's voice and interests don't matter. Strange approach from someone who wants to keep UK together.

— Nicola Sturgeon (@NicolaSturgeon) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon/status/782592085362937860]She also retweeted this tweet from politics.co.uk’s Ian Dunt.

enltrStrong applause for May. In years to come, this'll be considered one of the most disastrous speeches ever made by a British prime minister.

— Ian Dunt (@IanDunt) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/IanDunt/status/782588429024501760]She agreed, Sturgeon said.

enltrHard to disagree... https://t.co/no2whREDZo [https://t.co/no2whREDZo]

— Nicola Sturgeon (@NicolaSturgeon) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon/status/782596487943450624]block-time published-time 4.33pm BST

Johnson says the government will stick up as much for human rights as it does for free markets.

He says the vote in the EU referendum was for freedom.

block-time published-time 4.32pm BST

Johnson says he used to claim that he was responsible for London becoming a tech centre.

But it had nothing to do with him, he says

London is “funkopolitan”, he says. It is an innovative city.

London is ranked the third most innovative place in the world, he says. America is fourth.

All place in the top 10 are liberal democracies, he says.

block-time published-time 4.30pm BST

Johnson says in Africa, for the first time in decades, governments are becoming more authoritarian.

He says the idea has gained ground in recent years that Fukuyama (the ‘end of history’ historian) was wrong.

But this illiberal analysis is deeply and dangerously wrong, he says.

He says liberal values are not inimical to growth; they are essential for growth.

block-time published-time 4.25pm BST

Johnson says that in 1990 it was assumed that Western values had won. That included the idea that people had a right to mock politicians.

But the Iraq war damaged the idea that the West could expand democracy, he says.

And he says the financial crash undermined faith in the capitalist model.

As a result of these twin blows, the world has got less safe, he says.

block-time published-time 4.23pm BST

Boris Johnson 's speech Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary, is speaking now.

He starts by talking about his recent trip to the UN . He met a counterpart from another country. He must “preserve his reputation for diplomac” and won’t name him, he says. But he makes clear it was Russia.

And Sergey Lavrov accused the West of imposing democracy on them in 1990.

Everyone on the British said they were in favour of democracy. But the Russian delegation were not, he says.

block-time published-time 4.16pm BST

Theresa May 's Brexit speech - Summary and analysis Theresa May ’s speech was relatively short, but it was the most important she has yet given on Brexit. Here are the key points.

Put bluntly, we’re heading for “hard” Brexit.

\* May firmly rejected adopting a Norway or Switzerland-style relationship with the EU when the UK leaves, in what will be seen as the clearest sign yet that the government is heading for a “hard” Brexit. She claimed that it was wrong say Britain faced a choice between “hard” and “soft” Brexit.

I believe there is a lot of muddled thinking and several arguments about the future that need to be laid to rest. For example, there is no such thing as a choice between “soft Brexit” and “hard Brexit”. This line of argument – in which “soft Brexit” amounts to some form of continued EU membership and “hard Brexit” is a conscious decision to reject trade with Europe – is simply a false dichotomy. And it is one that is too often propagated by people who, I am afraid to say, have still not accepted the result of the referendum.

But May defined “hard” Brexit as the rejection of trade with Europe. In reality, though, “hard” Brexit is generally taken to mean a Brexit that puts an emphasis on independence, and rejects EEA (Norway) or EFTA (Switzerland) arrangements that involve retaining a measure of pooled sovereignty. May made it clear that this was exactly what she was proposing.

What we are now talking about is very different. Whether people like it or not, the country voted to leave the EU . And that means we are going to leave the EU ...

So the process we are about to begin is not about negotiating all of our sovereignty away again. It is not going to be about any of those matters over which the country has just voted to regain control. It is not, therefore, a negotiation to establish a relationship anything like the one we have had for the last forty years or more. So it is not going to a “Norway model”. It’s not going to be a “Switzerland model”. It is going to be an agreement between an independent, sovereign United Kingdom and the European Union .

\* May made it clear that, although she wanted companies to have “the maximum freedom” to trade with the single market, she would not accept any deal that involved the UK having to accept European court of justice rulings or EU free movement laws.

I want it to give British companies the maximum freedom to trade with and operate in the Single Market – and let European businesses do the same here. But let me be clear. We are not leaving the European Union only to give up control of **immigration** again. And we are not leaving only to return to the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice .

\* She said that workers’ rights would continue to be protected as long as she remained prime minister.

As we repeal the European Communities Act, we will convert the ‘acquis’ – that is, the body of existing EU law – into British law. When the great repeal Bill is given royal assent, parliament will be free – subject to international agreements and treaties with other countries and the EU on matters such as trade – to amend, repeal and improve any law it chooses... Any changes in the law will have to be subject to full scrutiny and proper Parliamentary debate. And let me be absolutely clear: existing workers’ legal rights will continue to be guaranteed in law – and they will be guaranteed as long as I am prime minister.

\* She said that the government would invoke article 50, starting the EU withdrawal process, “soon” and before the end of March.

It was right to wait before triggering article 50. But it is also right that we should not let things drag on too long. Having voted to leave, I know that the public will soon expect to see, on the horizon, the point at which Britain does formally leave the European Union . So let me be absolutely clear. There will be no unnecessary delays in invoking article 50. We will invoke it when we are ready. And we will be ready soon. We will invoke article 50 no later than the end of March next year.

This is marginally more specific than what May said on the Andrew Marr Show this morning; this morning it was just “before the end of March”.

\* She said Scotland would not have a veto on Brexit.

The negotiations between the United Kingdom and the European Union are the responsibility of the government and nobody else... Because we voted in the referendum as one United Kingdom, we will negotiate as one United Kingdom, and we will leave the European Union as one United Kingdom. There is no opt-out from Brexit.

\* She implied that she would block further attempts to hold a referendum on Scottish independence.

I will never allow divisive nationalists to undermine the precious Union between the four nations of our United Kingdom.

\* She rejected the argument that parliament should take the decision to trigger article 50. The government is being taken to court over this point, but May said Jeremy Wright , the attorney general, would be in court himself to argue the government’s case. (The attorney general is the government’s chief legal adviser, but it is unusual for him to appear in court in person on behalf of the executive.) She said:

When it legislated to establish the referendum, Parliament put the decision to leave or remain inside the EU in the hands of the people. And the people gave their answer with emphatic clarity. So now it is up to the Government not to question, quibble or backslide on what we have been instructed to do, but to get on with the job.

Because those people who argue that Article Fifty can only be triggered after agreement in both houses of parliament are not standing up for democracy, they’re trying to subvert it. They’re not trying to get Brexit right, they’re trying to kill it by delaying it. They are insulting the intelligence of the British people. That is why, next week, I can tell you that the attorney general himself, Jeremy Wright , will act for the government and resist them in the courts.

\* She said she wanted a future in which “Britain is always the most passionate, most consistent, most convincing advocate for free trade”.

\* She condemned those politicians (like Labour’s Owen Smith and the Liberal Democrats) who are arguing for a second referendum.

Because even now, some politicians – democratically-elected politicians – say that the referendum isn’t valid, that we need to have a second vote.

Others say they don’t like the result, and they’ll challenge any attempt to leave the European Union through the courts.

But come on. The referendum result was clear. It was legitimate. It was the biggest vote for change this country has ever known. Brexit means Brexit – and we’re going to make a success of it.

The final sentence is one that May repeated continually over the summer. She used it again this afternoon with the familiarity of a comedian using a favoured catchphrase.

\* She reaffirmed her intention not to give a “running commentary” on the Brexit talks. She implied that speculative media stories about the UK’s negotiating position could harm the national interest.

But we will not be able to give a running commentary or a blow-by-blow account of the negotiations. Because we all know that isn’t how they work. But history is littered with negotiations that failed when the interlocutors predicted the outcome in detail and in advance.

Every stray word and every hyped up media report is going to make it harder for us to get the right deal for Britain.

\* She praised David Cameron for being willing to “put his trust in the British people”. May said that was her answer to those who said Cameron made a mistake when he called the referendum.

block-time published-time 3.41pm BST

Davis says if the UK wants to be treated with good will in the Brexit negotiations, it needs to act with good will too.

block-time published-time 3.37pm BST

Davis says he is “absolutely sure” the government will get a deal that allows EU citizens to remain in the UK.

block-time published-time 3.35pm BST

David Davis says the UK does not want the EU to fail. A poorer, weaker Europe is not in the UK’s interests, he says.

block-time published-time 3.31pm BST

David Davis , the Brexit secretary, is speaking now.

He starts by talking about Margaret Thatcher , which always goes down well here.

The full text of May’s speech has just dropped. I will post a summary of its shortly, but if Davis says anything remarkable, I will flag it up straight away.

block-time published-time 3.28pm BST

May says the UK should have the confidence to go out into the world and trade.

She urges people to get behind the team of ministers working for Brext: David Davis , Liam Fox , Priti Patel and Boris Johnson .

(It seems Patel has now been co-opted as a fourth Brexiteer.)

She says the Tories must go on making Britain a country that works well for everyone.

block-time published-time 3.26pm BST

May says the UK does not need to punch above its weight “because our weight is substantial enough already”.

block-time published-time 3.25pm BST

May rejects claims government faces a choice between “hard” Brexit and “soft” Brexit May is now turning to the government’s vision for the future.

\* May rejects claims government faces a choice between “hard” Brexit and “soft” Brexit.

She says people who argue this are basing their thinking on the past.

We are going to leave the EU , she says.

We will be a sovereign country.

The process about to begin will not be about negotiating sovereignty away.

The UK will not follow the Norway model or the Switzerland model, she says.

Instead the UK will form a deal as a sovereign country with the EU , she says.

Some people claim there is a trade off between single market access and accepting free movement.

May says she does not accept that.

She says the UK will do what is in its best interests.

She wants maximum freedom to trade.

block-time published-time 3.20pm BST

May says existing workers’ rights will continue to apply as long as she remains PM May says the government will convert the acquis - the body of EU law - into British law.

Businesses and workers will have maximum certainty, she says. The same laws will apply. Any changes will have to be debated by parliament.

\* May says existing workers’ rights will continue to apply as long as she remains PM.

She says she wants to enhance workers’ rights too.

\* May says she wants to enhance workers’ rights too.

block-time published-time 3.18pm BST

May turns to the “great repeal” bill.

It will result in UK laws being made not in Brussels but in Westminster.

The authority of EU law in Britain will end.

block-time published-time 3.17pm BST

May is now turning to the process.

She says it is not up to the Commons or the Lords to decide when to trigger atticle 50. It is up to the government, she says.

She says when the government decided to hold a referendum, it gave the public the right to decide whether or not to leave.

She says those in the Lords and the Commons who are demanding a say are not trying to defend democracy; they are trying to subvert it, she says.

She says she will consult councils and the devolved powers over this.

But she says the UK will negotiate as one United Kingdom, and will leave as one United Kingdom.

block-time published-time 3.14pm BST

May says it would have been wrong to pull out of the EU immediately.

But there will be “no unnecessary delays”, she says.

The government will do it when it is ready.

And it will happen no later than the end of March, she says.

block-time published-time 3.13pm BST

May says she will clarify some aspects of Brexit.

For example, the government has clarified what will happen to agricultural payments, she says.

But there will be no running commentary. She says that would damage the negotiation. Exaggerated media stories could undermine the government’s negotiating position.

Today she will speak about the timing, the process and the vision behind it, she says.

block-time published-time 3.11pm BST

May praises Cameron for putting his trust in the British people May pays tribute to Cameron. She says he was devoted to public service.

And to those who say it was a mistake to hold a referendum, there is no greater accolade than to say he put his trust in the British people.

\* May praises Cameron for putting his trust in the British people.

block-time published-time 3.10pm BST

May says today we will hear from David Davis , Priti Patel and Boris Johnson .

(Gerry Yates must have been wrong about Liam Fox .)

Some elected politicians think we can ignore the referendum, she says.

Come on.

She goes on:

Brexit means Brexit, and we are going to make a success of it.

block-time published-time 3.08pm BST

Britain will always be the most passionate and convincing advocate for free trade, May says First she wants to talk about global Britain, she says.

She says people voted for an ambitious, trading country. But one where “we pass our own laws and govern ourselves.”

We will win trade agreements with old friends and new partners.

\* Britain will always be the most passionate and convincing advocate for free trade, May says.

block-time published-time 3.06pm BST

Theresa May takes to the podium. She seems to laugh away the sustained applause.

She says 81 days ago she stood in Downing Street as prime minister and made a promise, that the government would be driven by the interests of ordinary people, not by the interests of a few.

This week we are going to show the country that we mean business.

block-time published-time 3.05pm BST

Gerry Yates, president of the national Conservative convention, is introducing Theresa May . After the referendum, we are preparing to leave the EU , he says.

After a slight pause the audience cheer.

Yates says Liam Fox , David Davis and Boris Johnson are both speaking later. On the programme Fox was not due to speak.

But May is speaking first, he says.

block-time published-time 2.57pm BST

Theresa May 's Brexit speech Theresa May is about to deliver his Brexit speech to the conference.

It will only last about 10 minutes.

block-time published-time 2.55pm BST

Andy Street is speaking now. He has just name-checked Joe Chamberlain, the Birmingham liberal unionist statesman who is idolised by Nick Timothy , Theresa May ’s highly influential co-chief of staff. Patrick McLoughlin mentioned Chamberlain too. It might be necessary to start keeping a tally...

block-time published-time 2.51pm BST

Patrick McLoughin's speech - Summary Here are the main points from Patrick McLoughlin ’s speech

\* McLoughlin, the Conservative chairman, ridiculed the idea that Labour MPs could recommend Jeremy Corbyn as prime minister.

Every former Labour leader saying publicly that Jeremy Corbyn isn’t fit to lead their party.

172 Labour MPs voted no confidence in their leader. One hundred and seventy-two.

How on earth are they, with a straight face, going to recommend him to the British people to be prime minister?

\* He said the Conservatives needed to “rise to the challenges of the moment”.

We can never just imagine that people will thank us for what we’ve done.

I am always reminded of a story about a Labour MP, canvassing on a council estate in 1979.

They came across a house covered with Conservative posters and asked the resident

“Why are you supporting the Tories? I helped you get this house.”

And the resident replied, “Yes. But you won’t let me buy it”.

Conference, we’ve got to be ready to rise to the challenges of the moment.

To take no one’s vote for granted, to keep their trust and to remain on the side of people who work hard and do the right thing.

\* He said the Tories should not “underestimate” the Lib Dems.

\* He praised David Cameron .

Now the achievements our Party made under David are real.

He took us from 198 Members of Parliament in 2005 to 329 today..

Anyone who cares about politics should acknowledge David Cameron ’s honesty, decency and his loyalty.

A few months ago he was due to speak at a fundraiser in my constituency.

In one of those weird twists of fate that is any party planner’s worst nightmare, it ended up taking place the day after he left Downing Street.

I assumed he might give it a miss.

But no. He came along, spoke from the heart, and shook everyone by the hand.

And really, he showed the measure of the man.

\* And he praised Ruth Davidson, the Conservative leader in Scotland.

The SNP, in power in Scotland, facing a brilliant, thriving Conservative opposition under the fantastic leadership of Ruth Davidson.

What an amazing achievement she had this year.

Taking our party from 15 seats to 31, beating Labour into second place.

And with Ruth as leader of the opposition, the SNP are finally going to be held to account.

Davidson seemed to get a louder round of applause than Cameron.

\* He said more party members were attending the conference than at any time in the last decade.

\* He said the Tories were recruting city campaign managers to help them win back seats in cities.

We know that in some major cities we simply lack the capacity to deliver our message effectively on the doorstep.

That is why we are bringing in a new team of city campaign Managers, ready to take the fight to Labour in their heartland.

He also said the Tories were offering year-long apprenticeships to train campaign mangers.

Patrick McLoughlin . Photograph: James Gourley/REX/Shutterstock block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.56pm BST

block-time published-time 2.44pm BST

Heseltine says he is a realist. You don’t go into politics to be popular.

After eight years of flat living standards, people are angry.

But Street is not like other politicians, he says. Street will give up a salary that would make even a football player envious.

And he is doing it because is a Brummie. He loves this place.

He says no one is more likely to turn words into deeds than Street.

Heseltine has finished. Street gets up to speak, and starts with a joke about how Heseltine’s speech lives up to the John Lewis slogan, never knowingly undersold.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.46pm BST

block-time published-time 2.43pm BST

Heseltine says much of his career has been spent thinking about the balance of power between local government and central government.

He is here to introduce Andy Street, he says. Street, the John Lewis boss, is the Tory candidate for West Midlands mayor. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/tories-choose-john-lewis-boss-as-west-midlands-mayoral-candidate]

Heseltine says Street has spent his life satisfying customers. He now wants to dedicate himself to public service.

He also says John Lewis is a firm owned by its staff. As its boss, Street had to take decisions acceptable to his employees.

He also praises Street for leading the local enterprise partnership in Birmingham. That required cross-party support, he says. Street has been at the centre of the devolution agenda, he says.

block-time published-time 2.39pm BST

Lord Heseltine's speech Lord Heseltine is 83. He says he first addressed the Tory conference 49 years ago.

It was in Blackpool, late in the day, and he was talking about transport policy. The hall was nearly empty, he says.

Pointing out that there is a big audience today, he says: “I can only reflect that everything comes to those who wait.”

He says it was about 30 years ago when William Hague , as a teenager, gave his famous speech and pointed in Heseltine’s direction saying, “In 30 years, you won’t he here.”

Heseltine says Hague got many things right, but not that.

block-time published-time 2.36pm BST

Lord Heseltine is addressing the conference. That’s a surprise. He was not in the programme.

block-time published-time 2.27pm BST

Fox signals he backs leaving EU customs union Liam Fox charmed a pro-Brexit Tory crowd at his only fringe of the conference, where he sounded teary as he described his pride in the British people for voting to leave the EU . He is not on the main stage of Brexit day today, but some interesting points emerged from his speech at the Huffington Post event.

\* Fox gave a bit more detail on the great repeal plan, saying bits of EU law would only be thrown out after that has passed. He said the point of the legislation was to make sure there is no delay in getting Brexit through smoothly.- The international trade secretary said there was “no question” of the UK having to reapply for membership of the World Trade Organisation , as it can just continue on current terms. He dodged a question on whether the WTO has confirmed this is the position, amid a lack of clarity.

\* Fox further signalled he is content for the UK to leave the customs union. He said the US seems to manage perfectly well without it.

\* He praised George Osborne for trying to reduce the UK’s debts, suggesting the chancellor Philip Hammond should commit to reducing the deficit by a certain date.

\* Fox hasn’t been to Chevening, his grace and favour home shared with Boris Johnson and David Davis , as he said that’s not why he went into politics.

Liam Fox . Photograph: Anthony Devlin/AFP/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.04pm BST

block-time published-time 2.24pm BST

Greg Clark says leaving EU will free UK from state aid rules Business (and energy, and industrial strategy) secretary Greg Clark has been talking about the government’s industrial strategy at a Resolution Foundation fringe. He said one of the advantages of Brexit in his view could be freeing the government from the EU state aid rules that prevent member-governments from backing businesses.

Clearly the state aid rule question and that thicket of questions is always there, and I hope that one of the freedoms that will come from Brexit will be that we will be able to determine our own view on that rather than complying with others... It is something that is a constraint, clearly a bureaucratic constraint... The ability to look at that again as part of our negotiations seems entirely reasonable.

Clark also said every government over the years has had an industrial strategy - but it might as well be explicit, so it can be coherent.

Greg Clark walks along the bridge from the hotel to the International Convention Centre in Birmingham at the Tory conference. Photograph: Oli Scarff/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 2.20pm BST

The leader of the Scottish Conservatives, Ruth Davidson, has just addressed a packed fringe meeting, at which she received a standing ovation before she’d even spoken. Answering some questions after her speech, Davidson said she does not think “hard” Brexit is already a done deal.

She also carefully avoided yet another chance (see 12.26pm) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f0ee1de4b0ab0063087145#block-57f0ee1de4b0ab0063087145] to express confidence in Boris Johnson , also pointedy not doing so for the other two main Brexit ministers, Liam Fox and David Davis .

Davidson, a strong supporter of remain before the referendum, argued that access to the EU ’s single market was “not a binary choice”, as various levels of access existed.

Asked if she felt Theresa May was heading for a “hard” Brexit of no access and full **immigration** controls, Davidson said talks with Downing Street, as well as with Johnson, Davis and Fox, did not leave her with that impression, and that discussions were still going on.

After article 50 was triggered, “as part of that process you’ve got to put forward those competing positions”, Davidson said, adding: “I think it’s absolutely right the prime minister says she’s not ready to put it forward until article 50 is moved.”

Asked by me if she felt Johnson, Davis and Fox were the best people to lead the Brexit process, she mentioned the input of May and the chancellor, Philip Hammond : “You’ve got a whole team there at the top of government. It’s not just three people.”

She added: “Yes, I have confidence in the manner in which the UK government is going about it, and I have confidence in the prime minister taking a strong leadership role.”

Ruth Davidson at the party conference. Photograph: Oli Scarff/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 2.15pm BST

The conference is just getting going. Patrick McLoughlin , the Conservative chairman, has just started his speech, reminiscing about his long career in the party.

I will post a summary when I’ve seen a full text of his speech.

block-time published-time 1.55pm BST

Here are some more pictures from the anti-austerity demonstration.

Members of trade union “Unite” march through the city during a demonstration organised by the TUC against austerity. Photograph: Matt Cardy/Getty Images Protesters at the anti-austerity demo in Birmingham. Photograph: Matt Cardy/Getty Images Protesters hold a sign calling former British prime minister David Cameron a “financial terrorist and facist” during a TUC demonstration against austerity. Photograph: Matt Cardy/Getty Images A protester gathers at the anti-austerity demo in Birmingham. Photograph: Ben Birchall/PA Members of the Fire Brigade Union wave flags during the demonstration organised by the TUC against austerity in Birmingham. Photograph: Matt Cardy/Getty Images The Spectator’s James Forsyth is not impressed by the chanting.

enltr'Tory scum out of Brum' is hardly the most imaginative chant

— James Forsyth (@JGForsyth) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JGForsyth/status/782553305885052928]block-time published-time 1.45pm BST

Grayling says it is 'inconceivable' that peers could block 'great repeal' bill In his interview with Andrew Neil on the Sunday Politics, Chris Grayling, the transport secretary, was asked what would happen if the government’s “great repeal” bill was blocked in the Lords. Peers were six to one in favour of remain, Neil said. Grayling told him he thought it was “inconceivable” that parliament would not pass the legislation.

I believe that both houses of parliament are full of democrats, and those democrats will respect the will of the people... We’ve taken the decision to leave the European Union , parliament voted for the referendum, the people have spoken. It’s inconceivable that parliament would not somehow allow that process to go forward.

block-time published-time 1.28pm BST

Sir Craig Oliver, who was heavily involved in the Britain Stronger in Europe campaign as David Cameron ’s communications director, has been giving interviews this morning defending the way the campaign was handled.

But Number 10 came under fire from Roland Rudd, the businessman who was treasurer of the Britain Stronger in Europe campaign. Rudd told Peston on Sunday that Downing Street’s refusal to talk about **immigration** was a “huge mistake”. Rudd told Robert Peston:

It was a mistake because we weren’t independent enough in terms of putting forward a really positive vision and to talk about **immigration**, and there was a sort of shut-down from 10 Downing Street about no-one was to talk about **immigration** and that was a huge mistake.

This is from the Spectator’s James Forsyth.

enltrIN campaign circular firing squad forming: Roland Rudd complaining about the fact that Craig Oliver was in charge and lack of blue on blue

— James Forsyth (@JGForsyth) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JGForsyth/status/782515945822646272]block-time published-time 1.13pm BST

Mundell says SNP attracts people who would vote Ukip in England I’ve just had a chat with David Mundell , the Scotland secretary, along with Heather Stewart , who had some interesting things to say about the EU referendum campaign. He argued that David Cameron ’s team failed to learn the lessons from the 2014 Scottish referendum that you have to make an emotional case as well as a business one. He said that a phrase in Scotland was around the idea of a “balance sheet with a song”.

Now the balance sheet is very important but you’ve got to also have a song in your heart as well and I think one of the reasons that ultimately there was a decisive ‘no’ vote was in those final days was that people like Ruth Davidson and Gordon Brown gave an emotional case.

Mundell said that Theresa May was driven by her desire for the UK to remain as one. But he said that he was not so convinced about Jeremy Corbyn , criticising the Labour leader for failing to mention the issue of the UK remaining together at his conference speech.

He was one of the few Labour MPs who didn’t come up to Scotland during the referendum campaign because as I understand it he said he had stuff to do.

As for the SNP, Mundell said they had managed to project themselves as antiestablishment despite being in power for almost 10 years, attracting very different groups of voters.

They’ve attracted people who would vote Ukip in England - that’s why no Ukip in Scotland - and they’ve drawn in people who might be in Jeremy Corbyn ’s Momentum, people very much to the left, people anarchist in their outlook.

Mundell argued that Sturgeon could now be a prisoner to those people.

David Mundell . Photograph: Jack Taylor/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.15pm BST

block-time published-time 1.01pm BST

At the official Conservative party shop in the ICC old loyalties are still there - a staff member told me the glossy hardback book of David Cameron ’s collected speeches was selling “surprisingly well”.

Also flying off the shelves - relatively speaking - were A3 posters of Theresa May , Tory logo-ed babygrows saying “future prime minister” or “future iron lady” and fridge magnets bearing old election slogans like ‘New Labour, new danger’.

block-time published-time 12.55pm BST

This is from ITV ’s Robert Peston, who has some footage of the anti-austerity demo.

enltrFirst glimpse of the Tory conference #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/JPnmT2hzND [https://t.co/JPnmT2hzND]

— Robert Peston (@Peston) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Peston/status/782547977915293696]block-time published-time 12.51pm BST

Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Conservative leader, has said today that she has “more confidence” in Boris Johnson than in the past. (See 12.26pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f0ee1de4b0ab0063087145#block-57f0ee1de4b0ab0063087145] Given what she has said about him in the past, that is not saying much.

Davidson and Johnson clashed during one of the EU referendum debates when she repeatedly accused his campaign of lying. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36582567] Later, in a very funny speech to the Commons press gallery, she told a joke that involved describing him as a penis. [http://order-order.com/2016/07/12/ruth-davidsons-scathing-speech/] Later, in a very funny speech to the Commons press gallery,

Today she said that Johnson was “taking the role [of foreign secretary] incredibly seriously”.

Clearly she did not read his interview with the Sun on Saturday. [https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1889723/boris-johnson-joins-forces-with-liam-foxand-declares-support-for-hard-brexit-which-will-liberate-britain-to-champion-free-trade/] Here is an extract, in which the foreign secretary described the government Brexit negotiating strategy.

Mr Johnson told The Sun: “Our policy is having our cake and eating it.

“We are Pro-secco but by no means anti-pasto”.

Half way through the interview with The Sun, he also sang a Bob Marley to describe his tense relationship with the two other Brexiteer Cabinet ministers

Asked about his relationship with Brexit Secretary David Davis and Mr Fox, Boris replied: “We are a nest of singing birds.

“In fact I think Bob Marley once wrote a song which goes, ‘Woke up this morning, smiled with the rising sun, three little birds on my doorstep singing sweet songs.

“A melody pure and true.

“This is my message for you.

“Don’t you worry about a thing cos every little thing is gonna be all right.’”

Boris Johnson . Photograph: Steve Back / Barcroft Images block-time published-time 12.34pm BST

Chris Grayling, the transport secretary, has been doing a round of media interviews this morning. On the Sunday Politics he said that “some” workers’ rights would be maintained when the UK left the EU - inevitably implying that employees would lose some of their EU -related safeguards.

This is from the Daily Mirror’s Jack Blanchard.

enltrIt begins. Cabinet Minister Chris Grayling says Govt will keep "elements" of EU environmental law and "some" workers' rights #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash] environmental law and "some" workers' rights #bbcsp [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcsp?src=hash] environmental law and "some" workers' rights

— Jack Blanchard (@Jack\_Blanchard\_) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jack\_Blanchard\_/status/782540351332548608]This sounds more like a gaffe than an unintended disclosure about the government’s plans. In the Conservative party news release put out overnight about the “great repeal” bill David Davis, the Brexit secretary is quoted as saying explicitly that employment rights will not be cut when the UK leaves the EU . Davis said:

To those who are trying to frighten British workers, saying “When we leave, employment rights will be eroded”, I say firmly and unequivocally “no they won’t”.

block-time published-time 12.26pm BST

Ruth Davidson says her confidence in Boris Johnson is growing Scottish Conservative leader Ruth Davidson has insisted that Scotland will be “integrally involved” in Brexit negotiations, whilst baulking at declaring her full confidence in Boris Johnson as foreign secretary.

Speaking on the BBC ’s Sunday Politics Scotland, Davidson revealed that David Davis has spoken to Nicola Sturgeon last night to discuss today’s Brexit timetabling announcements.

But Davidson, whose antipathy towards Johnson became evident during the EU referendum campaign, couldn’t bring herself to state her confidence in him as foreign secretary, telling interviewer Gordon Brewer:

I have always had confidence in the role of foreign secretary.

After Brewer pressed her several times, she relented, laughing, to say: “I have more confidence in Boris Johnson now I’ve sat down with him than I did before.”

Davidson, whose first event in Birmingham is a speech to the Scottish Conservative fringe this lunchtime, added that she believed Johnson was “taking the role incredibly seriously” and wanted to engage with the Scottish government and other devolved administrations.

In the past, Davidson has compared her colleague’s “brazen chauvinistic” style to that of Alex Salmond , and accused Johson during the referendum campaign of “selling a lie”.

Later in the same programme the Scottish government’s Brexit minister Michael Russell warned that there was some concerning “small print” in today’s announcement, which suggested that devolved administrations would only be asked for their opinions rather than being involved in “the meat of negotiations”. He added that the Scottish parliament could well vote against the UK government ’s repeal bill, if required to give legislative consent, given that a pro-remain majority existed across the chamber.

Ruth Davidson being interviewed at the Tory conference. Photograph: Oli Scarff/AFP/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.35pm BST

block-time published-time 12.20pm BST

The People’s Assembly are holding an anti-austerity protest in Birmingham today to coincide with the opening of the Conservative conference. They have attracted quite a crowd.

Protesters gather during a demonstration against austerity on the first day of the Conservative party conference. Photograph: Matt Cardy/Getty Images block-time published-time 12.16pm BST

In an interview with the Mail on Sunday Jeremy Hunt, the health secretary, suggested that leaving the EU could lead to fewer EU doctors coming to the UK and more British students being admitted to medical school instead. He told the paper:

I think people will ask whether it is right when we are turning away bright British youngsters from medical school - who might get three A-stars [at A-level] but still can’t get in - at the same time we are importing people from all over the world. I think it’s a debate we need to have.

block-time published-time 12.00pm BST

In Berlin Theresa May ’s announcement that article 50 will be triggered by the end of March has been welcomed. The German government has been waiting for British politics to outline its vision of a future relationship with the EU .

Scottish-German Christian Democrat MEP David McAllister, who acted as an intermediary between the British and the German government during David Cameron ’s pre-Brexit negotiations, told The Guardian :

The prime minister’s announcement has led to more clarity for everyone involved. That is also important with a view to the next European parliamentary elections in 2019.

block-time published-time 11.57am BST

Transport secretary Chris Grayling, a leading Brexit advocate, said the government would not give much further detail on Britain’s aims for the outcome of the negotiation with the EU . “The negotiations will happen over those following two years, [Theresa May ] will say more to parliament before we reach that point, but we are not going to set out in detail our negotiating position before a negotiation,” he told ITV ’s Peston on Sunday.

Grayling was adamant that a speech on free trade by international trade secretary Liam Fox earlier this week, widely interpreted as the government inching towards a deal with no single market membership and trade based on WTO tariffs was “nothing of the sort.” He went on:

We will have a sensible agreement with the European Union , that allows them to carry on trading with us. We have a huge trade deficit with the European Union .. we are their most important customer. We need a deal that works for them and for us.

block-time published-time 11.55am BST

Here is J on Ashworth, the shadow minister without portfolio, responding to Theresa May ’s speech for Labour. He said:

Theresa May said she was providing ‘clarity’ but that’s exactly what we aren’t getting from the Tories. There were very few answers from her this morning either on the big questions facing us. She gave very little detail on her supposed big idea of a ‘Great Repeal Act’ other than it’s an ambition; there was no answer on what would be in it, how it would work or, vitally, how she intends to deliver Brexit while protecting our workers and businesses.

Warm words on a ‘country working for everyone’ are meaningless if you’re pursuing policies which do the opposite. They should be addressing problems in the NHS , in our schools and giving the economy the investment it needs. Instead the Tories are looking backwards towards grammar schools, offer no change on the NHS and are still committed to deep cuts.

block-time published-time 11.44am BST

May's interview with Marr - Summary Here are the main points from Theresa May ’s interview.

\* May said she would trigger article 50, starting the EU withdrawal process, by the end of March.

As you know, I have been saying that we wouldn’t trigger it before the end of this year so that we get some preparation in place. But yes, I will be saying in my speech today that we will trigger [article 50] before the end of March next year.

Theresa May: Article 50 will be triggered by end of March 2017 [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/oct/02/theresa-may-says-article-50-will-be-triggered-by-end-of-march-2017-video]

\* She urged EU leaders to let the UK start preliminary talks with the EU about Brexit now, before article 50 is invoked. This is significant. EU leaders have been sticking to the formal, legalistic position that they cannot open withdrawal negotiations with the UK until article 50 is invoke. But British officials and ministers want to open preliminary talks now so that they can get a sense of what is realistic before the formal negotiation starts. This morning May said that, having given a firm article 50 timetable, she hoped EU countries would agree to start “preliminary work” on the Brexit negotiation.

It’s for the European Union , the remaining members of the EU have to decide what the process of negotiation is. I hope and I’ll be saying to them that now that they know what our timing is going to be - it’s not an exact date but they know it’ll be in the first quarter of next year - that we’ll be able to have some preparatory work so that once the trigger comes we have a smoother process of negotiation.

I think this is important, it’s not just important for the UK, it’s important for Europe as a whole that we’re able to do this in the best possible way so we have the least disruption for businesses.

\* She reaffirmed her determination not to give a “running commentary” on the Brexit negotiations. But she said that did not mean she would not be providing some commentary from time to time.

\* She hinted that she might introduce a work permit system for skilled workers after Brexit. Stressing the importance of getting control of the **immigration** system, when asked if she would adopt a work permit system she replied:

We will look at the various ways in which we can bring in the controls that the British people want, and ensuring, as we have been in our **immigration** policy generally, that the brightest and best can come to the UK.

\* She refused to commit herself to maintain tariff-free access to the single market. Asked how important this was to her, she said she wanted “the right deal” for trade in goods and services.

\* She insisted that her plans to extend grammar schools did not amount to “going back to the 1950s”. She said that lifting the ban on selection was just one aspect of a programme intended to improve education for all. She also said she wanted selective schools to reach out more to poorer pupils.

We are not going back to that system of binary education. We’re not going back to the 1950s...

We’ll be saying to grammar schools and people who want to set up new selective schools, actually, if you’re doing that, we will want you to show that you’re genuinely reaching out across society in giving those opportunities to young people.

\* She praised David Cameron for his contribution to the Conservative party.

The Conservative party has had great leaders from all sorts of backgrounds. I think what David Cameron did for the Conservative party over the last 6 years is really important. He took us into government and took us into our first majority government for nearly a quarter of a century, and changed the party while he was doing that. I think that was a very important contribution.

\* She said she wanted the Conservative party to be “a party that works for everyone”.

\* She said she wanted to ensure the honours system rewards those who genuinely contribute to society. In response to a question from Andrew Marr about how honours only seem to go to the rich, she replied:

Of course, the focus is always on the big names and the headlines in that sense. But I agree that we want an honours system that actually ensures we can recognise when people out there are really contributing to our society and to their communities.

But the question seemed to take May by surprise, and it was not obvious that her answer signalled a real intention to reform the system.

Theresa May appears on The Andrew Marr Show. Photograph: Handout/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.17pm BST

block-time published-time 11.03am BST

Triggering article 50 by March too soon, says Anna Soubry Anna Soubry, the Conservative former business minister and a pro-European, told Peston on Sunday that Theresa May was invoking article 50 too soon. Asked about May’s ‘before the end of March’ announcement Soubry said:

Triggering Brexit as early as March really concerns me, troubles me hugely, because we won’t have had the French elections, we won’t have had the German elections, and I’m sorry, it is going to take a lot of time and effort to disentangle ourselves and get the right deal.

The other thing that’s got to be said is this - this idea that we hold the cards and that the EU is going to come to us and say ‘do you know what, we’ll give you pretty much what you want’, the idea we’re going to get anything like we’ve got now is rubbish.

We’re going to get something worse, obviously we are, and we don’t hold the cards, the EU does.

Anna Soubry . Photograph: Carl Court/Getty Images block-time published-time 10.56am BST

Here are two Labour MPs, Mike Gapes and Bill Esterson, claiming that article 50 being invoked by March could lead to a May election.

enltrI predict that Theresa May will trigger Article 50 in March and then call a May General Election aiming to get a bigger majority for Brexit

— Mike Gapes (@MikeGapes) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MikeGapes/status/782503512332787712]enltrArticle 50 by March 2017. Election in May? Tory manifesto to say what they want to drop from European law?

— Bill Esterson (@Bill\_Esterson) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Bill\_Esterson/status/782508788188315675]Gapes and Esterson either have not read when May said about an early election in her Sunday Times interview (see 9.16am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f04384e4b0ab0063086f3f#block-57f04384e4b0ab0063086f3f] or do not believe her.

block-time published-time 10.51am BST

This is from Nicola Sturgeon , the Scottish first minister, on Theresa May ’s Marr interview.

enltrDepressing conclusion from #marr [https://twitter.com/hashtag/marr?src=hash] is that UKG decisions are being driven by ideology of the hard Brexiteers, rather than interests of country

— Nicola Sturgeon (@NicolaSturgeon) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NicolaSturgeon/status/782505718264041472]block-time published-time 10.46am BST

Here are some comments on Theresa May ’s interview from political journalists and commentators.

From the New Statesman’s George Eaton

enltrLeaving EU by March 2019 gives Theresa May more than a year before planned election date.

— George Eaton (@georgeeaton) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/georgeeaton/status/782512570636898304]From Politico’s Tom McTague

enltrBritain will leave the EU - & be free from the ECJ - by April 2019. Nice timing. A year to junk anything particularly unpopular by May 2020

— Tom McTague (@TomMcTague) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/TomMcTague/status/782508012124635136]From the Financial Times ’ Lionel Barber

enltrHard Brexit or soft Brexit? May guarantees that UK will have control over **immigration** from EU , period. Waffles on trade deal with EU , tho

— Lionel Barber (@lionelbarber) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/lionelbarber/status/782502199473627136]From the BBC ’s Norman Smith

enltrSounds like Theresa May priority in Brexit talks is curbing Free Movement - not Single Market

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/782501868601827328]From the Economist ’s Jeremy Cliffe

enltrUK will trigger Article 50 by end of March, says May. So before French (second round: May 7) and German (prob late September) elections.

— Jeremy Cliffe (@JeremyCliffe) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JeremyCliffe/status/782508474076889088]From the Guardian ’s Martin Kettle

enltrTheresa May is a distinctively British version of a European Christian Democrat. An Anglican Democrat perhaps? You read it here first.

— Martin Kettle (@martinkettle) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/martinkettle/status/782506776377888768]From BuzzFeed ’s Alberto Nardelli

enltrSignificance of May confirming A50 timeframe isn't the date - we knew that - it's the fact it means gov't broadly knows what Brexit it wants

— Alberto Nardelli (@AlbertoNardelli) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AlbertoNardelli/status/782502956549758976]From the Sun’s Tom Newton Dunn

enltrInteresting change of tone from T May about the Cameroons. Went out of her way not to slag them off despite umpteen #Marr [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Marr?src=hash] opportunities.

— Tom Newton Dunn (@tnewtondunn) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tnewtondunn/status/782505549057363968]From the Guardian ’s Anushka Asthana

enltrTheresa May swerving left and right not to slag off Cameron or Osborne directly. Good try #marr [https://twitter.com/hashtag/marr?src=hash]

— Anushka Asthana (@GuardianAnushka) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka/status/782504949594939393]From the Times’ Michael Savage

enltrIt looks easy, but only delivering the news you want to in a political interview is a real skill. Theresa May has it. #Marr [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Marr?src=hash] has it.

— Michael Savage (@michaelsavage) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/michaelsavage/status/782505890150805504]block-time published-time 10.36am BST

Iain Duncan Smith , the former work and pensions secretary, has backed Theresa May ’s article 50 timetable, the BBC ’s Norman Smith reports.

enltrSignificant that IDS backs Theresa May 's timetable for triggering Article 50 - so Brexiteers cutting Theresa May some slack.

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) October 2, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/782512048173420544]block-time published-time 10.27am BST

Theresa May 's Marr interview - Snap verdict Theresa May ’s Marr interview - Snap verdict: Brexit now seems a little bit more real than it did an hour ago. After Theresa May told Andrew Marr that she would invoke article 50, starting the formal two-year EU withdrawal process by the end of March, we now have a government commitment to a timetable. The UK has six months at most before article 50 tips us down the slipway towards leaving the EU . In theory at least, once the article 50 letter has arrived in Brussels there is no going back.

This is a more important announcement than the overnight one about the “great repeal’ bill. It was inevitable that leaving the EU would involve repealing the 1972 European Communities Act, and the press statement from the Tories about the bill said relatively little about what this legislation would look like. But by announcing that she will trigger article 50 before the end of March, May will firmly quash the speculation that has been bouncing around Westminster about the EU withdrawal process being delayed for a year, or even more.

“By the end of March” sounds quite soon, but arguably May is announcing a one-month delay. In public, until now, all she had said was that article 50 would not be invoked this year. But in private she has been telling EU leaders it would be triggered early next year. Donald Tusk, the EU council president, said after a recent meeting with May that he expected the article 50 declaration in January or February. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/theresa-may-likely-trigger-article-50-brexit-talks-early-2017] leaders it would be triggered early next year.

Article 50 was easily the key story in the interview, but other bits were interesting too. In particular, May sounded less evangelical about grammar schools than she has done in the past. She preferred to describe the policy in terms of extending selection, and she was very keen to stress that this was only one aspect of a policy document intended to improve standards for everyone.

I will post a summary with the main quotes soon, as well as rounding up some reaction.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.33am BST

block-time published-time 10.04am BST

Q: Are you trying to restore cabinet government?

May say she wants to ensure ministers are involved as policy develops.

Q: Was government too informal under Cameron?

May says the last government achieved a great deal. But she thinks process is important.

Q: Will your husband take to the stage after you have spoken?

You’ll have to wait and see, says May.

And that’s it.

block-time published-time 9.58am BST

Q: This sounds like George Osborne’s liberal Conservatism. Why did you sack him?

May says Osborne contributed a great deal, in government and opposition. She says she has a great team.

block-time published-time 9.57am BST

Q: Like Margaret Thatcher , you had a religious father, your background was not rich, and you are religious.

May says the Conservative party has had great leaders from different backgrounds.

She says Cameron modernised the party and did great things.

But the party is strongest when it works for everyone.

block-time published-time 9.56am BST

Q: Tell us about your upbringing. Were you poor or quite well off?

May says she had a happy childhood.

Q: Were your parents Conservative?

May says her father was a vicar. He thought it was important to represent everyone in the parish. So he did not show a political allegiance.

block-time published-time 9.55am BST

Q: The honours system used to reward people who contributed something extra. Now it just seems to reward people who are already rich.

May says many people how get honours are not rich. The rich get more attention.

But she wants an honours system that rewards people who contribute.

block-time published-time 9.53am BST

May says she wants to ensure young people have the chance to develop their talents.

She wants a great meritocracy, she says.

Q: What do you say to people who oppose grammars because they do not want children divided into sheep and goats at 11?

May says she is not going back to that system.

Over the past few years the government has had great success improving schools, she says.

But too many children are still in schools that are underperforming, she says.

She wants to improve those schools. But she also wants universities to get more involved in schools, and she wants more faith schools.

She also wants to remove the ban on academic selection, she says. At the moment we have selection by house price, she says.

Q: But what will be different?

May says she will not have a binary system. She has always been interested in education, she says. If people want to set up grammar schools, they will have to show they are reaching out to underprivileged schools.

Q: Does that mean targets or quotas?

May says the government is consulting on this.

But schools will have to reach out.

She says free school meal entitlement is one measure of disadvantage. But she says she wants to explore other measures. She says 25 years ago she was sitting on a committee looking at this.

She says everyone has focused on the grammar school element in her speech. But it was about good schools for all.

block-time published-time 9.48am BST

May says her priority on **immigration** is to ensure the UK government sets the rules.

Q: So will universities and other bodies still be able to get skilled workers. Will you use some kind of work permits?

May says she wants to ensure the UK gets the people it needs.

But that begs the question, why don’t we have people with these skills, she says.

Q: How important is to to get tariff-free access to the single market?

May says she wants the right deal for the UK. She has been speaking to business about this. She is listening as to what is most important.

block-time published-time 9.43am BST

May to trigger article 50, starting EU withdrawal, before end of March Q: People making big investment decisions, like Nissan , need to know where we are going on Brexit. Isn’t there a danger of losing investment.

May says there is a difference between giving some commentary and giving a running commentary. She has ruled out the latter. But she can give some details of her approach, as she is doing now.

Q: Will you trigger article 50 early next year?

May says she will say in her speech that article 50 will be triggered before the end of March.

\* May says article 50, starting two-year EU withdrawal process, will be triggered before end of March.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.44am BST

block-time published-time 9.40am BST

Q: MPs say we do not know where you are going. Why should they give you a blank cheque?

May says she wants to get the right deal. But you won’t necessarily get the best deal if you set out your negotiating position in advance.

Q: Do we actually need a deal?

May says she wants the UK to have a good relationship with the EU ?

Q: Bernard Jenkin and others say we do not need a negotiation. He says we could demand free trade on a ‘take it or leave it’ basis.

May says the relationship with the EU is complicated. She says it is important to get the right deal for trade in goods and services.

block-time published-time 9.38am BST

Theresa May 's interview with Andrew Marr Andrew Marr is now interviewing Theresa May .

Q: Is the great repeal act a big deal? Doesn’t this have to be done?

May says it is important. It makes it clear that we will be leaving the EU . It gives clarity over timing. And it means there will be a smooth transition when we leave.

Q: But EU laws will become British law.

May says we will take EU law into British law. But parliament will then be able to decide which bits to keep. And it is important to do this. For example, EU law covers workers’ rights.

Q: But won’t MPs want to change the laws as the bill goes through parliament.

May says it is important to get this through before we leave the EU .

Q: Opposition MPs may want to vote this down. And Tories in favour of a soft Brexit may oppose it to. If you cannot get this through, could it be the trigger for an election.

May says parliament voted to give the public a vote on the EU . This is about delivering on the Brexit vote, she says.

block-time published-time 9.29am BST

Q: You are quite negative about Theresa May . You describe her as operating like a submarine in the EU referendum campaign. But she understood what people felt, didn’t she?

Oliver says it was very difficult having a home secretary not saying which side she was on in the run-up to the referendum. And when she did reveal her hand, she was only 51% pro-remain.

Q: The remain campaign said there would be a punishment budget if we left. That was not true, was it?

Oliver says George Osborne was trying to highlight the warnings from economic experts that Brexit could create a hole in the economy.

Yes, there has been some good economic news since the Brexit vote.

But the currency has devalued by 15%. And Philip Hammond , the chancellor, says he will reset economic policy. That sounds like more borrowing, says Oliver.

And that’s it.

block-time published-time 9.25am BST

Q: You are very critical of Michael Gove in your new book. But he realised what the public thought. You did not.

Oliver says two days before Gove announced he would chair the leave campaign, he told Cameron he would not play a leading role in the leave campaign. Then leave started operating like an alternative government.

block-time published-time 9.22am BST

Sir Craig Oliver's interview with Marr Sir Craig Oliver, David Cameron ’s former communications director, is being interviewed by Andrew Marr now.

Q: Do you like using your knighthood?

Oliver says he is not squeamish about it.

Q: Cameron said repeatedly he could campaign for a no vote. But your new book makes it clear that is inconceivable.

Oliver does not accept that. There were points in the negotiation when he was very frustrated about Europe, he says.

Q: Cameron came on this programme and said, if he lost the referendum, he would stay on as PM. That was nonsense, wasn’t it?

Oliver says you can only judge circumstances at the time. After the vote he decided to go. Earlier the situation was different.

It is only when you face moments like that that you can take a decision.

Q: So you think at the time he said he would stay on he thought he could.

Yes, says Oliver. It would have been difficult for him to say he would go. But at that point he thought there were circumstances in which he could stay on.

block-time published-time 9.16am BST

May says a pre-2020 general election would create 'instability' Theresa May has given a full interview to the Sunday Times. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/the-owl-unseats-the-no-10-pussycat-z269h0h2v] has given

In it, she announced the “great repeal” bill that I’ve already mentioned. (See 8.42am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/oct/02/conservative-conference-may-to-explain-brexit-great-repeal-bill-in-marr-interview-politics-live?page=with:block-57f03aa0e4b015be63833329#block-57f03aa0e4b015be63833329] But here are some of the other lines from Tim Shipman’s interview.

\* May was more explicit than she has been before about ruling out a general election before 2020. She said:

I think it’s right that the next general election is in 2020. This isn’t about political games, it’s about what is right for the country. I think an early general election would introduce a note of instability for people.

May has ruled out a “snap” election before, and argued that there is “no need” for an election before 2020. But if May is now saying an early election would introduce “instability”, then it would be harder for her to justify changing her mind on why there might be a need for a pre-2020 poll.

\* She hinted that she would not wait until the German elections in September 2017 to trigger article 50, starting the EU withdrawal process. Number 10 has signalled that it will be triggered early next year, probably in January or February.

\* She said that the Tories wanted to build “a new centre ground” and that she wanted to appeal to people who had not backed the party before. She said:

I think there will be many people who have not been traditional Conservative voters who will see we’re the party that is actually respecting their views, listening to their concerns and responding to them.

\* She said she thought government should be “small, strong and strategic”. Asked her view on government intervention in the economy, she said:

I’m not in that position of thinking that all government is somehow bad. Government is good. But it’s important that government is small, strong and strategic.

\* She denied having Margaret Thatcher as a role model. She said:

I haven’t had a role model in my political career and I’m not somebody who says, ‘I’m going to be like X’. I just look at the issues that I’m faced with and get on and do what I believe to be the right thing.

\* She said that, unlike David Cameron , she stayed up late to do her prime ministerial paperwork. She said:

I’m an owl rather than a lark, so I will tend to work late. I carry on working and do the boxes that I have.

Shipman says it is not unusual for May to finish working at 2am. Cameron preferred to get up at 5.45am to get through his ministerial red box.

\* She took a swipe at Jamie Oliver . May loves cooking, but not necessarily Oliver, Shipman suggests. He writes:

Her approach to the kitchen is as averse to gimmicks and quick fixes as her politics. I suggest that, with time tight, she might make use of Jamie Oliver ’s book Jamie’s 15-Minute Meals. “Yes, 15-minute meals with 45 minutes of preparation,” she said wryly, followed by a quick “sorry” as she realises she is traducing a national treasure.

Towards the end of the interview Shipman also includes this unusual, and possibly quite telling, anecdote.

It is a world that has often portrayed her as humourless but the tape of our conversation is punctuated by laughter. The transcription service sent it back with a note saying: “Theresa May is a very nice woman and the transcriber thoroughly enjoyed listening to her.” No one has sent such a message to me about a politician before.

block-time published-time 9.02am BST

Tory conference policy announcements Here are the Conservative conference policy announcements from yesterday.

I will be updating the list as new policy announcements get made.

\* Matthew Taylor, head of the RSA thinktank and former head of the Number 10 policy unit under Tony Blair, appointed to lead an independent review of employment practices in the modern economy. [https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/oct/01/theresa-may-hires-former-tony-blair-policy-boss-to-review-workers-rights] Announcing the move, Tory HQ said: “Signalling the importance she attaches to extending workers’ rights - and ensuring they keep pace with these developments - the prime minister today launches an independent review of modern employment practices.

\* People with the most severe health conditions who receive employment support allowance, a disability benefit, to be exempt from having to undergo regular health assessments to continue receiving payments. [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/oct/01/dwp-scraps-retesting-for-chronically-ill-sickness-benefits-claimants]

\* Free training to be offered to adults who lack basic digital skills. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/government-plans-to-make-the-uk-one-of-the-most-digitally-skilled-nations]

\* A £220m investment to help life science companies and universities develop viable business projects. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/220-million-for-cutting-edge-new-technology]

\* A £1.3bn investment with BAE Systems to enable construction work to begin on the generation of submarines carrying Trident nuclear missiles. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/building-to-start-on-new-nuclear-submarines-as-government-announces-13-billion-investment]

block-time published-time 8.42am BST

Theresa May became prime minister this summer with voters having only a relatively hazy view as to what her views are. She had been home secretary for six years but she is something of a political introvert and as a cabinet minister she only gave speeches addressing matters outside her home office brief on perhaps two or three occasions. During the Conservative leadership contest she was all set to elaborate on her thinking during the final stage of the contest. But then Andrea Leadsom pulled out, with the result that only one of the series of speeches May was planning, the Birmingham economy speech, [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/jul/11/andrea-leadsom-apologises-to-theresa-may-politics-live?page=with:block-5783a105e4b0ea445f0fe2bf#block-5783a105e4b0ea445f0fe2bf] actually got delivered.

So that is one reason why this promises to be more interesting than the average Conservative party conference. Normally, if the party leader is prime minister, we already know quite a lot about them. This week, and particularly in her keynote speech on Wednesday, May has the chance to flesh out her politics and to present herself to the country she runs in a sharper focus.

But there is second issue that will dominate proceedings too: Brexit. Over the summer ministers have said very little about how they will proceed with the EUwithdrawal talks, beyond the vacuous and tautologicial “Brexit means Brexit”. This week, and particularly this afternoon, when the conference holds a session on Brexit, May and her team are going to have to say a little more. Equally importantly, conference fringe meetings on the subject are going to give members and MPs the chance to set out what their Brexit demands are.

Overnight May has announced that Brexit will involve a “great repeal” bill. Here is the our story on this.

Related: Theresa May to propose 'great repeal' bill to unwind EU laws [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/01/theresa-may-to-propose-great-repeal-bill-to-unwind-eu-laws]

And here is an extract.

May and the Brexit secretary, David Davis [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/daviddavis], will use the opening day of the conference to detail plans for their “great repeal” bill that will allow Britain to “take back control” of its legislation. The bill will repeal the 1972 European Communities Act, which gives direct effect to all EU law, and at the same time convert Brussels regulations into domestic law.

This will give parliament the power to unpick the laws it wants to keep, remove or amend at a later date, in a move that could be welcomed by MPs who are keen to have a say over the terms of Brexit. The move is also designed to give certainty to businesses and protection for workers’ rights that are enshrined in EU law.

Davis will say: “To those who are trying to frighten British workers, saying, ‘When we leave, employment rights will be eroded’, I say firmly and unequivocally, ‘No, they won’t.’”

Here is the agenda for the day.

9am: Theresa May is interviewed on the Andrew Marr Show. Sir Craig Oliver, David Cameron ’s former communications director, is also a guest.

enltr #Marr [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Marr?src=hash] guests tomorrow: @theresa\_may [https://twitter.com/theresa\_may] & Sir Craig Oliver. Papers with Matthew Parris & @GuardianAnushka [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka] + actor @dominiccoop [https://twitter.com/dominiccoop]. 9am BBC1 #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash]. 9am BBC1 pic.twitter.com/allr7gmIvc [https://t.co/allr7gmIvc]. 9am BBC1

— The Andrew Marr Show (@MarrShow) October 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MarrShow/status/782254202106118144]10am: Chris Grayling, the transport secretary, is interviewed on Peston on Sunday.

enltrAll the guests for our #CPC16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/CPC16?src=hash] special. Chris Grayling @RolandRudd [https://twitter.com/RolandRudd], Sir Ranulph Fiennes @jessphillips [https://twitter.com/jessphillips], @Anna\_Soubry [https://twitter.com/Anna\_Soubry] & @thatjanravens [https://twitter.com/thatjanravens] 10am ITV 10am pic.twitter.com/fltKUbvKUs [https://t.co/fltKUbvKUs] 10am ITV 10am

— Peston on Sunday (@pestononsunday) October 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/pestononsunday/status/782256262838837248]10am: Priti Patel , the international development secretary, and Iain Duncan Smith , the former work and pensions secretary, are among the guests on Sky ’s Murnaghan.

enltrFirst up on #murnaghan [https://twitter.com/hashtag/murnaghan?src=hash] tomorrow - International Development Secretary Priti Patel tomorrow - International Development Secretary @patel4witham [https://twitter.com/patel4witham] on Brexit and foreign aid pic.twitter.com/KksejrlW6A [https://t.co/KksejrlW6A] on Brexit and foreign aid

— Murnaghan (@SkyMurnaghan) October 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SkyMurnaghan/status/782283087891853312]enltrThe view from the backbenches: Iain Duncan Smith on Brexit and benefits, and Theresa Villiers on Heathrow and HS2 #murnaghan [https://twitter.com/hashtag/murnaghan?src=hash]enltrThe view from the backbenches: Iain Duncan Smith on Brexit and benefits, and Theresa Villiers on Heathrow and HS2 pic.twitter.com/7azE6hhY2x [https://t.co/7azE6hhY2x]enltrThe view from the backbenches: Iain Duncan Smith on Brexit and benefits, and Theresa Villiers on Heathrow and HS2

— Murnaghan (@SkyMurnaghan) October 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SkyMurnaghan/status/782284157225492482]10am: Grayling and Oliver are interviewed on Pienaar’s Politics.

enltrA special Pienaar's Politics from #con16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/con16?src=hash] tomorrow at 10am on @BBC5live [https://twitter.com/bbc5live] with Chris Grayling, Sir Craig Oliver, @Patrick4Dales [https://twitter.com/Patrick4Dales] & @cbicarolyn [https://twitter.com/cbicarolyn]. pic.twitter.com/vzFukiWFTS [https://t.co/vzFukiWFTS].

— John Pienaar (@JPonpolitics) October 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JPonpolitics/status/782254519900135424]11am: Grayling and Duncan Smith are interviewed on the Sunday Politics.

enltrJoin Andrew Neil and guests live from the Conservative Party conference in Birmingham, 11am BBC1 #bbcsp [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcsp?src=hash] and guests live from the Conservative Party conference in Birmingham, 11am BBC1 pic.twitter.com/Sntcatps04 [https://t.co/Sntcatps04] and guests live from the Conservative Party conference in Birmingham, 11am BBC1

— Robbie Gibb (@RobbieGibb) October 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RobbieGibb/status/782229943874887680]12.45pm: Liam Fox , the international development secretary, is interviewed at a fringe meeting by the Huffington Post’s Paul Waugh.

2pm: The conference opens with speeches from Patrick McLoughlin , the party chairman, and Andy Street, the Conservative West Midlands mayoral candidate.

Around 2.30pm: A debate on global Britain starts, with speeches from May, David Davis , the Brexit secretary, Patel and Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary.

If you want to follow or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments below the line but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Prime minister tells Tory conference that controlling **immigration** would be key basis for departure from European Union

Theresa May has given her strongest indication yet that the UK’s exit from the EU will lean towards a “hard Brexit”, suggesting that regaining control of **immigration** was more important than access to the single market.

Addressing the Conservative party conference in Birmingham, the prime minister also promised that all EU workers’ rights would remain protected for as long as she was in power.

Controlling **immigration** would be the key basis for departure, May said. The government would seek access to the EU ’s single market if possible, she said, adding: “But let me be clear. We are not leaving the European Union only to give up control of **immigration** again. And we are not leaving only to return to the jurisdiction of the European court of justice.”

Reiterating her announcement that article 50 – the legal device to begin the process of departure – would be triggered by the end of March [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/01/theresa-may-to-propose-great-repeal-bill-to-unwind-eu-laws], May stressed the task of overseeing the negotiations would be entirely up to the government, which would “get on the job” without being delayed or derailed by parliament or devolved administrations.

On the final terms for Britain’s EU exit, May argued that debate over a soft or hard Brexit was “simply a false dichotomy”, mainly put forward by those who had not accepted the result of the referendum.

People were “letting their thinking about our future relationship with the EU be defined by the way the relationship has worked in the past”, May argued.

The negotiations were going to be based on “the freedom to make our own decisions on a whole host of different matters, from how we label our food to the way in which we choose to control **immigration**”, May said.

She continued: “It is not, therefore, a negotiation to establish a relationship anything like the one we have had for the last 40 years or more. So it is not going to be a Norway model. It’s not going to be a Switzerland model. It is going to be an agreement between an independent, sovereign United Kingdom and the European Union .

Controlling **immigration** would be the primary concern, May said: “We have voted to leave the European Union and become a fully independent, sovereign country. We will do what independent, sovereign countries do. We will decide for ourselves how we control **immigration**. And we will be free to pass our own laws.”

Earlier in the speech, the prime minister dismissed the idea of some hardline Conservative Brexiters that the government could walk away from post-article 50 negotiations if they did not go well.

“Everything we do as we leave the EU will be consistent with the law and our treaty obligations, and we must give as much certainty as possible to employers and investors,” she said. “That means there can be no sudden and unilateral withdrawal: we must leave in the way agreed in law by Britain and other member states.”

May told the conference that when the European Communities Act is repealed, the EU law would be converted into British statute, which could be changed or repealed as parliament chose.

She added: “Let me be absolutely clear: existing workers’ legal rights will continue to be guaranteed in law – and they will be guaranteed as long as I am prime minister.”

Earlier on Sunday, May promised to trigger article 50 before the end of March 2017, having also announced plans for a “great repeal bill” to incorporate all EUregulations in UK law as soon as Brexit takes effect.

May told the BBC ’s Andrew Marr Show on Sunday that she wanted to give “greater degree of clarity about the sort of timetable we are following” over the process for leaving the EU .

Speaking after May at the conference, the secretary of state for Brexit, David Davis, gave no extra details on how the process might take place, while also stressing that “the clear message from the referendum is this: we must be able to control **immigration**”.

He said this would be balanced as best as possible with trade: “We’re looking at all the options. And we’ll be prepared for any outcome. But it certainly won’t be to anyone’s benefit to see an increase in barriers to trade, in either direction.

“So we want to maintain the freest possible trade between us, without betraying the instruction we have received from the British people to take back control of our own affairs.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Referendum was born from similar feeling to UK’s Brexit vote, but what Viktor Orbán wants is more of a threat to EU’s future

On walls across Budapest this week, a witty opposition poster mocked how the Hungarian government wants to take EU handouts while opting out of the EU’s responsibility-sharing mechanism for **refugees**. “Hi Brussels,” the poster reads. “We still want your money.”

Related: Hungary's **refugee** referendum not valid after voters stay away [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/02/hungarian-vote-on-refugees-will-not-take-place-suggest-first-poll-results]

The quip is a reminder that while this weekend’s referendum in Hungary was born from similar frustrationsdf to the Brexit vote in June, the Hungarian right does not want to leave the European Union. Instead it wants something that is perhaps even more of a threat to the EU’s future. It wants to stay part of the union – and subvert it from the inside. Viktor Orbán, Hungary’s nationalist prime minister, seeks what he calls a counter-cultural revolution within the EU – greater autonomy for nation states, and less emphasis on liberal and humanitarian principles [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/26/hungarian-prime-minister-viktor-orban-praises-donald-trump].

While Hungary has traditionally played a minor role within European politics, Orbán’s ambitions turned him into the leading populist voice in contemporary Europe. Sunday’s referendum was his latest attempt to build political momentum for an illiberal European future – and Orbán himself presented the vote as a victory.

But analysts noted that he had ultimately failed to encourage a majority of his own population to vote against **refugees**, and against a more humanitarian vision of the EU. As a result, this failure has arguably given some unexpected breathing space to the European politicians whose ideas Orbán so strongly opposes – notably Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, and Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the EU commission.

“This will be viewed as a relief in Brussels,” said András Bíró-Nagy, a former EU official, and the head of research at Policy Solutions, a Budapest-based thinktank. “It’s clearly a disappointing result for Orbán, and I think his European ambitions will suffer as a result. In domestic politics, he’ll try to spin that he won this – but it doesn’t send a strong message to Brussels. How can he win a cultural counter-revolution in Europe if he can’t get a valid referendum result on his strongest issue in his own country?”

Related: Hungarian referendum decides whether to slam the door on migrants [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/01/hungarian-referendum-slam-door-migrants-new-era-europe]

The impasse over the EU’s common asylum policy – the issue at the heart of the referendum – is likely to continue, Bíró-Nagy said. But his “[ideological] momentum at a European level has been stopped”.

Gerald Knaus, the head of the European Stability Initiative, a Berlin-based thinktank, said that he hoped Orbán’s setback would loosen his psychological hold over other European leaders. A prominent critic of the Hungarian leader, Knaus said members of the European People’s party, the continent’s largest alliance of centre-right parties, should now expel Orbán’s party, whose far-right policies are now at odds with mainstream Christian democracy.

“If he fails to get the necessary 50% in a referendum of his choice, where he mobilised everything he could to get people to turn up and vote – it should hopefully be seen as a sign that he is in fact vulnerable,” Knaus argued. “And that his apparent total dominance of Hungarian politics is as much about the weakness of the opposition and the strange electoral system as it is about his popularity.”

Related: ‘They’ve brought evil out’: Hungary’s poll on migration divides a nation [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/17/hungary-migration-poll-divides-nation-viktor-orban]

But Knaus also warned that Orbán still had an outsized influence on European affairs, as indicated by “the striking indifference on the part of the EU to taking its own laws seriously”. It is still, Knaus added, “far too early – whatever the results today – to count Orbán out.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PM Viktor Orbán fails to convince 50% of electorate to turn out, but those who did so voted to exclude new **refugees**

Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orbán has failed to convince a majority of his population to vote in a referendum on closing the door to **refugees**, rendering the result invalid and undermining his campaign for a cultural counter-revolution within the European Union.

More than 95% of participants in Sunday’s referendum sided with Orbán by voting against the admission of **refugees** to Hungary, allowing him to claim an “outstanding” victory. But more than half of the electorate stayed at home, rendering the process constitutionally null and void.

Orbán himself put a positive spin on the low turnout. He argued that while “a valid [referendum] is always better than an invalid [referendum]” the extremely high proportion of no-voters still gave him a mandate to go to Brussels next week “to ensure that we should not be forced to accept in Hungary people we don’t want to live with.”

Related: Hungarian referendum decides whether to slam the door on migrants[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/01/hungarian-referendum-slam-door-migrants-new-era-europe]

He also argued that the poll would still encourage a wave of similar votes across the EU. “We are proud that we are the first,” he said.

The result, though, gives potential respite to German chancellor Angela Merkel, and EU officials in Brussels, whose comparatively progressive **refugee** policies and liberal political outlook had been under sustained assault from Orbán in recent months.

Internationally, Orbán’s referendum was seen as a plebiscite on not just the EU’s **refugee**-sharing quota – which would see just 1,294 **refugees** resettled in Hungary from Greece and Italy – but on the role of nation state and the future of liberal democracy within the European Union.

Presenting himself as the voice of the European masses, Orbán had called for a cultural rebellion within the EU, praised aspects of illiberal strongman leadership that are anathema to the EU’s professed values, and opposed attempts to share responsibility for **refugees** between EU states.

The **refugee** referendum was an attempt to build support for this vision, and Orbán hoped that a strong turnout would lead to a series of copycat plebiscites across the continent. But despite the biggest and most divisive advertising campaign in Hungarian history, Orbán failed on Sunday to entice enough voters to the ballot box.

Initial results suggested that around 45% of the Hungarian electorate had participated, significantly less than the 50% threshold needed to validate the referendum.

This could slow Orbán’s political momentum within Europe, said András Bíró-Nagy, a former EU official, and a fellow at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. “How can he win a cultural counter-revolution in Europe if he can’t get a valid referendum result on his strongest issue in his own country?” Bíró-Nagy asked.

The deputy head of Orbán’s party, Fidesz, also framed the vote as a triumph. “Today is a sweeping victory for all those who reject the EU’s mandatory, unlimited quotas,” said Gergely Gulyás. “It is a sweeping victory for all those who believe that the foundations of a strong European Union can only be the strong nation states.”

But Fidesz’s critics said the party had exaggerated the result. Viktor Szigetvári, the leader of Együtt, a liberal opposition party, said: “In his speech, the prime minister failed to recognise the reality. The majority of Hungarians stayed away from the polls and what’s been left behind is a divided country. To heal this, we need a change in government.”

Analysts said that the low turnout was ultimately underwhelming for a man who bases his arguments on their popular appeal, and whose toxic advertising campaign was five times larger than the next biggest in Hungarian history.

Csaba Tóth, strategy director at the Republikon thinktank, said: “It’s a disappointment for him, but it doesn’t make it impossible for him to claim it as a victory – there are still more than three million people voting for him. But expectations were higher. Despite the very distorted media landscape, and despite all this advertising, it was only enough to mobilise voters from Fidesz and Jobbik,” a far-right opposition party.

Of the roughly 20,000 advertising hoardings in Hungary, 5,888 were used for the referendum campaign – considerably more than the 1,200 used by a tobacco firm in the mid-1990s, according to research by Transparency International.

Liberal opposition politicians argued that the referendum was an attempt to distract from Orbán’s domestic failures, and told their supporters to boycott the vote in order to render it invalid. Questions were also raised over the amount of state funds that were used to pay for referendum adverts in government-friendly media outlets, or on hoardings owned by government allies.

Related: Hungarians fought for freedom in 1956, not Orban’s rabble-rousers | George Szirtes[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/01/hungary-freedom-viktor-orban-rabble-rousers-migrants-refugees-racism]

The government denies any wrongdoing and says the adverts were placed in a “completely transparent” manner. But Transparency International and other academic researchers queried the process.

“Channelling state funds to media outlets that are owned by oligarchs allied to the governments and have viewership that is lower their competitors – what’s the problem with that?” asked Attila Bátorfy, a researcher on media affairs at the Central European University. “It’s using state funds to prop up the government’s private media backers, for the purposes of drumming up support for the government’s position.”

Government critics also condemned the divisive tone of Orbán’s campaign. He and his colleagues frequently linked **refugees** to terrorism, and relentlessly plugged their message, even during half-time advertising breaks at the European football championships in June.

Zsuzsanna Vajna, a 79-year-old Holocaust survivor who remembers being made to walk up and down the banks of the Danube while Hungarian Nazis shot other Jews into the river, said the stigmatisation of **refugees** reminded her of the incitement against Jews during her childhood.

“It very much feels like the atmosphere in the 30s before World War Two,” Vajna said. “In the 1930s we were in a very bad economic situation. People had to be blamed, and then it was the Jews. And that’s what I’m reminded of when I read the Hungarian government’s propaganda. It’s very dangerous. Because it can contaminate all of Europe.”

Additional reporting: Benjámin Novák

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Dreams of quick trade deals with far-flung nations are staggeringly naive. Britain’s continuing success depends on the terms we reach with Europe

Do you want it hard or soft? In earlier days such a question at the Conservative party conference[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/toryconference] would probably have been scandalous. Today it is entirely innocent, the question du jour. Does Britain sever its relationship with Europe with one drop of the guillotine’s blade, the “hard Brexit” favoured by the right? Or does it attempt to negotiate a new deal with the EU to preserve privileged access to the single market?

After the prime minister’s announcements on Sunday no one can be in any doubt that Britain will leave the EU. Most remain campaigners, and a clear majority of the populace, have accepted the public’s verdict. There is no serious “continuity remain” campaign to challenge the referendum result – and nor should there be.

Related: Brexit: Theresa May prioritises **immigration** curbs over single market[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/02/brexit-theresa-may-prioritises-immigration-curbs-over-free-movement]

The question is not whether we leave the EU but on what terms. Conservatives must beware Brexit fundamentalism, or giving themselves up to a romanticised 1950s vision of Britain, a country of imperialist chauvinism. We should be talking about financial passporting and the need to prevent a haemorrhage of banking jobs from the City[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/hard-brexit-will-cost-city-of-london-its-hub-status-warns-bundesbank-boss], not fixating on the colour of our passports[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jul/29/eu-passport-british-passport-brexit-referendum-home-office]. We should be discussing how to strike the best deal with our biggest trading partner, not how to relaunch a royal yacht[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/royal-yacht-britannia-should-not-rise-again?CMP=twt\_gu].

The idea of Britain as a global trading nation reborn, turning away from an ailing Europe, may superficially be seductive. But our markets on the continent did not suddenly vanish in an act of democratic will. Our businesses still export there. Inward investors with plants in the UK – major companies such as Nissan – still want to sell there, and they are worried. They might have thought of selling in Brazil, India or China already without the helpful advice of politicians that they should just try harder.

The collective naivety about the ease of doing global trade deals or what they would entail is staggering. One senior minister said there would be a trade deal with New Zealand before Christmas. Another leading Brexit campaigner predicted a deal with India “faster than you can say masala bond”. Those who talk so excitedly do not stop to consider the inevitable first demand of major agricultural exporters, which is that we drop our farm subsidies. And they clearly haven’t understood that even poor deals take years to complete.

A high quality trade deal with Australia would be a great thing – but it would account for under 2% of our trade. A deal with India would be a prize – if ever they would open their markets to us. Yes, let’s try to drive trade deals on the far side of the world. Let’s beat our chief executives with their golf clubs[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/12/golf-businessman-liam-fox-lazy-brexit] until they sell more in Bangalore and Beijing. But it’s folly to believe that new trade deals are a simple or swift substitute for unhindered access to the world’s largest market of 500 million people on our doorstep, a bloc with which we do half our trade.

In case we don’t notice while we’re “re-joining the world”, to use one particularly glib Brexit slogan, trade deals aren’t exactly flavour of the month with the public. On either side of the Atlantic and the Pacific, big proposed deals are foundering. Voters supported Brexit less in a rush of enthusiasm for free trade than to pull up the drawbridge. Prominent Brexiteers who now preach free trade urged sanctions against imports of Chinese steel during the campaign.

So if part of the seduction of a hard Brexit is that there’ll be comfort for us across warm oceans, we need to wake up quickly. There won’t be. That’s why we must above all drive the most advantageous deal possible with Europe. It’s not just a question of ensuring that tariff barriers remain down. The single market removes non-tariff barriers, too, while being in the customs union makes it far easier for businesses to sell into Europe.

The ideologues may see it as obvious that we abandon these arrangements as we leave the EU, but pragmatists will want to weigh the consequences and the options. During the campaign, many Brexiteers extolled the virtues of Norway or Switzerland, countries which are outside the EU but retain access to the single market. We should at least understand the costs and benefits of these kinds of options – if not the exact models – before peremptorily ruling them out.

If there is an emerging consensus, it is that Britain must now have more control of **immigration**. It suits hardline Brexiteers and European politicians alike to argue that this means a binary choice for the UK, either in the single market with free movement of labour, or outside with control over migration. But weren’t we told, time and again, that Britain is big enough to drive its own bespoke deal? It’s hard to see why it’s wise or attractive to say that what we want from the outset is the most brutal severance with the least advantage to us and the most potential economic damage.

The jury is out on the new government structure to deliver our departure from the EU. The so-called “three Brexiteers” [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/16/johnson-davis-fox-three-brexiteers] have so far rather more resembled three blind mice, stumbling around the world’s capitals with inconsistent messages, united only in their assurance that it will be all right on the night.

Business, which above all prizes certainty, is not so sure. Now the politicians who were already inclined to be deaf to business concerns have been emboldened by the apparent resilience of Britain’s economy in the face of a predicted short-term shock. The risk is that important concerns about the long-term impacts of a hard Brexit will be dismissed. We may all be Brexiteers now, but leaving without being able to reassure inward investors or the financial services industry that they will be able do business as usual would be a catastrophe.

The article 50 trigger[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/01/theresa-may-to-propose-great-repeal-bill-to-unwind-eu-laws] that will now be pulled within months irreversibly counts down the clock to our departure. That negotiating process, in which we are shut out of the deciding EU council, will disadvantage our country enough as it is. We should not make it even more difficult by allowing the naive ideal of a new Britannia to get the better of us.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With the Republican candidate’s professed love for the ‘poorly educated’ reciprocated in the polls, socioeconomic class could swing the presidency in 2016

The sign hanging on Main Street announces, “Crawfords Restaurant, Guns & Ammo”[http://www.fredericknewspost.com/news/arts\_and\_entertainment/crawfords-restaurant-guns-ammo/article\_a2845018-089a-59f2-99ba-f38260db83fa.html]. In the window an illuminated sign elaborates: “Breakfast, lunch specials; cards, gifts, toys, ammo, guns, groc.” Inside, there is an unpretentious cafe and shelves of gift cards, tinned food and other sundries as well as camo hats, firearms and ammunition. A deer’s head is mounted on the wall.

The family that helps run Crawfords, in downtown Boonsboro, Maryland[http://www.town.boonsboro.md.us/], owns more than a hundred guns. Allen Crawford, Pam Rutherford and their four teenage daughters are deer hunters; a single kill yields around 80 to 90lbs of meat for their dinner table, and they donate the hide and antlers to be recycled as furniture. Come November’s presidential election, they will vote for Donald Trump.

“You either have the common man with Donald Trump or the privileged with Hillary Clinton,” Rutherford said this week. “Clinton’s supporters could go 50 miles or less from their plush condos and elegant houses and find someone who has to hunt to support their family. I don’t think they realise that.”

In Britain it might be called a class divide. The nation premised on the American dream is more reluctant to accept such terms. Accent, dress sense and taste are not supposed to matter in the ultimate meritocracy. But the uniquely polarising candidacy of Trump has raised the prospect that, with important faultlines such as age, gender, geography and race relatively settled from election to election[http://ropercenter.cornell.edu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/polls/us-elections/how-groups-voted/how-groups-voted-2012/], socioeconomic class could swing the presidency in 2016.

One marker is education. In 1992, Republican voters were much better educated than their Democratic counterparts, according to the Pew Research Center[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/09/15/educational-divide-in-vote-preferences-on-track-to-be-wider-than-in-recent-elections/]. Today registered voters with a college degree favour Clinton by 23 percentage points, while those without a college degree prefer Trump by five. This trend cuts across demographic groups, although it is most pronounced among whites. The Slate website noted:[http://www.slate.com/articles/news\_and\_politics/politics/2016/09/trump\_clinton\_is\_defined\_by\_an\_educational\_gap\_among\_white\_voters.html] “The educational split among white voters is the defining characteristic of this election.” If this holds in November, it will be the widest educational divide at the ballot box for several decades.

Another marker is cultural and about optics. When Clinton recently referred to half of Trump’s supporters as a “basket of deplorables”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/10/hillary-clinton-trump-supporters--bigoted-deplorables], critics also seized on the context: she was addressing millionaires at a fundraiser headlined by the singer Barbra Streisand at the New York restaurant Cipriani Wall Street. And her backers include those other temples of coastal privilege, Hollywood and Silicon Valley.

Trump, by contrast, was anointed the “blue-collar billionaire” at the Republican national convention, where Willie Robertson of the TV reality show Duck Dynasty, wearing stars and stripes bandanna and bushy beard, declared that media pundits[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/07/18/duck-dynasty-star-willie-robertson-might-have-a-point-about-the-media/] “don’t hang out with regular folks like us, who like to hunt and fish and pray and actually work for a living. Heck, I don’t even know that they know how to talk to people from middle America. I mean, when I tell ’em I’m from Louisiana, they really start talking real slow and real loud.”

In Boonsboro, a town of 3,400 people steeped in revolutionary and civil war history, a giant Trump sign has been spraypainted with the word “love”. Opposite a Subway restaurant and closed-down bakery, the Turn the Page Bookstore[http://www.ttpbooks.com/], owned by the romance novelist Nora Roberts, sells soy candles, handmade soaps and organic coffee. Its employees make little secret of their allegiance to Clinton. Two doors away, at Crawfords Restaurant, Guns & Ammo, a handwritten sign behind the laminated counter warns “No free refills on drinks” and the staff are for Trump.

As a reality show about hunting in the woods played on the TV, Rutherford, who is cashier, dishwasher, shelf stacker and much else, said of Clinton’s supporters: “I don’t think they realise the importance of small-town America and they don’t see the value of it. Everybody in this community loves this little store but big companies make it harder and harder for us.

“People say, ‘You must be doing well with Obamacare’. I say, actually, unless you have an astronomical salary or a company to pay for it, it’s crippling. Our health insurance is $900 per month for the family; that’s why I work. Obamacare sounds really good to people not close to the reality of it.”

Rutherford, 47, who grew up Southern Baptist, has seen the urban-rural divide from both sides. She attended the prestigious Winston Churchill high school[http://www.montgomeryschoolsmd.org/schools/churchillhs] in Potomac and still visits friends in the wealthy Chevy Chase area. But she moved to Boonsboro in 2002, where the family keeps horses, dogs and chickens on 30 acres of land and hunts 80% of their own food. Her daughters, aged 13, 14, 15 and 16, “all hunt and play volleyball”.

Displaying a phone picture of herself with a deer she bagged, Rutherford said: “A lot of my friends don’t agree with what I do but they don’t have trouble wearing a full-length coyote coat to a fundraiser in January. They will wear leather shoes and carry an alligator handbag. The people of Washington don’t want to go out to the rural areas; no one wants to go out of their comfort zone. But I would love to go to a Clinton rally just to eavesdrop and hear the interaction.”

Along the street, at Marly’s Laundry, Wayne Stonesifer was waiting patiently as his clothes spun in a tumble dryer. In his spare time, the maintenance technician goes hunting and fishing or watches TV: Fox News[http://www.foxnews.com/] or children’s shows with his grandsons. He belongs to the National Rifle Associationand intends to vote for Trump.

“Hillary Clinton won’t come round here,” the 48-year-old said. “We’re too low class for her.”

Clinton’s followers would object to him hunting deer, Stonesifer believes. “They have their opinions and I have mine. As long as we don’t bother each other, that’s fine. If you try to interrupt me when I’m hunting, that’s different.”

The country has a bigger divide now than ever, he added. “You’ve got your gay rights, abortion laws, racism. Everybody’s split. It wasn’t this bad when I was growing up. Everybody’s afraid to say something ’cos you’re going to hurt someone’s feelings. The 80s were better. I think God needs to be back in the picture; everyone’s taking him for granted. Times are getting nearer.”

Kevin Dobereiner, 36, owns two small businesses and complains that taxes are too high. He is also supporting Trump. “He’s not a liberal and we’re $20 trillion in debt and unemployment is too high and our healthcare is terrible. The community organiser-in-chief has no qualifications and Hillary Clinton is just an extension of that.

“I don’t care what Trump says; I care what he does and he’s not a billionaire because he’s stupid. I like a guy who puts his foot in his mouth because at least he tells the truth.”

Trump’s plain speaking has been identified as one of the sources of his appeal to voters angry at the status quo in general and Republican establishment in particular. Even his outlandish gaffes are said to humanise him, emphasising his status as outsider and non-politician. His anti-Mexican and anti-Muslim diatribes have disgusted liberals and been cheered at raucous rallies, where he declares his love for “the poorly educated”.

John Hudak[https://www.brookings.edu/experts/john-hudak/], a senior fellow in governance studies at the Brookings Institution thinktank in Washington, said: “I think supporters look at Donald Trump and see a bit of an everyman, even though his biography completely opposes that worldview. Then they look at Hillary Clinton and see her as more elite than her background would actually suggest. Trump is the person you want to see on TLC; Clinton appears to live the way an average wealthy person lives.”

There is a crucial gender dimension, Hudak argues. “A female candidate would not be allowed to ramble like Trump does or Bill Clinton did. Only in a race between a man and a woman could her polish be a liability and his freewheeling be an asset.”

Trump has scrambled the orthodoxy of class, for example by tweeting a picture of himself eating McDonald’s fast food and drinking Coke on his luxurious private jet. He loves both boxing and golf. He has named Orson Welles’s masterpiece Citizen Kane as his favourite film but also once told the New Yorker[http://www.newyorker.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/magazine/1997/05/19/trump-solo] that Bloodsport, a violent action flick starring Jean Claude Van Damme, is “an incredible, fantastic movie”. The music at his rallies ranges from Nessun dorma, an aria from Giacomo Puccini’s opera Turandot, to Elton John. His properties are crammed with chandeliers, gold leaf, mirrors and marble – tacky to some, aspirational to others. Both patrician and plebeian, his reading list is said to consist mainly of articles about himself.

Some would say he lacks class, in every sense. And there is a tenacious myth that, free of the ossified layers of agricultural and industrial Europe, America is a class-free land of opportunity, where someone born into poverty can become president. It is not so simple, according to sociologists. Arlie Hochschild of the University of California, Berkeley, and author of Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right, said: “Class is profoundly important, imprinting all aspects of childhood, self, character and behind, and the denial of it is in the service of keeping alive the hope of lifting out of it. But America would be far better off talking about the realities of it.”

Robert H Frank[http://www.robert-h-frank.com/], a professor of economics at Cornell University and author of Success and Luck: Good Fortune and the Myth of Meritocracy, added: “People here, if you ask them, will say they are ‘middle class’. Even relatively rich people will answer middle class because we deny there’s such a thing as class here, which is of course preposterous. The barriers are different from England but they’re real.”

Research suggests that Trump’s core support should not be simply characterised as the white working class. Many earn an average of $70,000 but are caught in the downdraft of deindustrialisation, losing jobs to factory or mine closures, lacking the skills for a digital economy, anxious that their children will be worse off than they were. Joe Sims, a member of the national board of the Communist Party USA[http://www.cpusa.org/], said: “My sense is that Trump’s support comes not so much from the white working class but the lower middle class and small business people who have been pushed into the ranks of the working class. The wages are flat and they’re pissed off.”

But in a supposedly classless society, there is often a gap between perception and reality. Sims added: “During the 1950s and 1960s there was a myth propagated about the American dream and the American way of life and the sense that everyone was middle class and upwardly mobile. Certainly during that period there was at least a steadiness in increase in income and their children were able to do a little better than them. But this idea of everyone being middle class has crashed on the rocks of reality. Wages have been stagnant since the 1970s.”

Numerous academic studies have found that the extent of social mobility was probably always exaggerated and, in the past generation, may have become deteriorated. The soaring cost of studying at university[http://www.cnbc.com/2015/06/16/why-college-costs-are-so-high-and-rising.html] has been blamed for stifling upward movement and allowing middle-class families to entrench their advantage. Pew’s research, published last week, found a growing ideological divide, with highly educated adults holding increasingly liberal attitudes, while under a third of the less educated held liberal views.

Stanley Greenberg[http://www.gqrr.com/stanley-b-greenberg], a veteran political consultant and senior pollster for Bill Clinton, said: “I think we’ll see the biggest divide between working-class voters and those with a college degree in this election. It’s already there in the polls. Trump is reinforcing it by the nature of the campaign he’s running and the issues he’s running on. He’s driving away college graduates as well as the whole Republican party.”

In the Republican primaries, Trump the class warrior made Ted Cruz, the conservative Christian ideologue, look quaint. Greenberg admits that he was surprised. “The college-educated Republicans keep moving year after year more to the Democrats but this election has really accelerated it because it’s the first time we’ve had a candidate running on a straight working-class campaign. [George W] Bush was very much centred on faith; that’s legitimate but it wasn’t an economic argument.”

However, he warned against an oversimplified binary split, pointing to the success of Bernie Sanders, the senator from Vermont, in the Democratic primaries. Sanders stressed issues of economic inequality and access to college education, to the extent that he was criticised by some for neglecting race[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/03/bernie-sanders-failure-diversity-hispanic-black-voters].

“There were a lot of Democrats who were voting for somebody who was a self-described socialist, running against big money, getting big money out of politics, going after Wall Street and big banks, attacking Hillary for being a creature of the big banks, so you need a third bucket,” Greenberg said. “There are others who are not so focused on the racial and cultural issues who are quite ready to rally. Sanders, in the polls at least, was stronger than Hillary against Trump because he actually was winning both millennials and working-class voters.”

But now Sanders is out, there are two historically unpopular candidates and a fear of two classes, or tribes, or nations, mutually hostile and suspicious. Like the Brexit vote in Britain,[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum] a painful rift has been exposed and polling day itself will not necessarily heal it. If diehard Clinton and Trump supporters sat down to dinner tonight, would they find much to talk about?

In Chevy Chase, an affluent neighbourhood in north-west Washington DC, an area where deer roam audaciously in the gardens of multimillion-dollar houses, Trump fans are hard to find. The owner of the retro American City Diner[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/29/american-city-diner-owner-fights-trump-puns-signs-jeffrey-gildenhorn] has endorsed Clinton with a giant billboard and sign that says: “Trump exercise: lifting bags of money.” Up the road, the Avalon Theatre, an independent cinema that opened in 1923, sells organic ice cream and shows films including the French-language Les Cowboys.

Levon Avdoyan, a 69-year-old librarian strolling nearby, said: “There are people who live the life of the mind and people who live the life of emotion. Trump is a regrettable example of the latter. He has no politics and caters to the worst part of the American psyche. He caters to people who don’t know what fascism is.”

Asked his opinion of Trump’s supporters, Avdoyan replied: “They’re scared little people.”

And how would they regard him? “I’m gay. I’m an atheist. I have a PhD. It’s almost a trifecta.”

Howard Shaker, 64, had just been to see the Beatles documentary Eight Days a Week. He said: “Trump’s a vulgar man who knows nothing. He’s a very privileged individual who came from wealth. You’d think he would be cosmopolitan but there’s something primitive about him. I don’t think he would fit here in Chevy Chase but he should because of his background.”

The retired IT contractor added: “There’s a tremendous chasm in the US. In many respects it comes down to urban verus rural. The people who go to a Trump rally are a different crowd. There is a divide between them and other Americans. It confounds me that he’s doing so well in the polls.”

Sitting in the alfresco dining area of the Chevy Chase Lounge were Diana Blitz, a school counsellor, and Wendie Lubic[http://www.collegeladydc.com/About\_Wendie.html], an education consultant, both of whom intend to vote for Clinton. Blitz, 59, rejected the notion of a class divide. “There are some poor people who are Clinton supporters; there are wealthy people who are Trump supporters,” she said. “He’s playing to a disenfranchised group in the US. After a black president, the idea of a woman president is abhorrent to them. They feel this isn’t their country any more.”

Lubic, 54, added: “I don’t think you can call it a class divide when you have people of colour that are not supporting him. It may come down to an education divide. Colleges try to encourage empathy with others. Many of the Trump supporters are lacking in empathy for people who are not like them.”

At another table, Joel Cohn, 52, a lawyer, and his partner Ellen Anderton, 50, a freelance writer, disagreed on one point. Anderton said: “I wouldn’t want to talk to people who were Trump supporters. I wouldn’t want to engage with them.”

Cohn responded: “I would, even if they’re ‘deplorables’. Bring them on. Those voting for Trump think it’s two different countries and two different cultures. They see liberals and Democrats as **alien** life forms. I grew up in a rural environment and it’s not like guns are totally **alien** to us. It’s part of class, educational, geographical resentment: it’s more their perception than my perception.”

America has been described as a split-screen nation and it is, of course, about much more than class: some polls show Trump at 0% among African American voters[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/07/13/new-polls-in-pennsylvania-and-ohio-show-donald-trump-with-0-percent-of-the-black-vote/]. But this is the year that a Republican, campaigning as an anti-intellectual vulgarian, won over many who feel neglected by what they view as the metropolitan intelligentsia. America, home of the class divide that dare not speak its name.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Former business minister says it is ‘worrying’ that Fox, Boris Johnson and David Davis have the country’s future in their hands

A senior Conservative has voiced concerns about the responsibility for Brexit given to Liam Fox , Boris Johnson and David Davis, saying it was “really worrying these are the senior people who have the future of our country in their hands”.

In the run-up to the Conservative party conference in Birmingham this weekend, Anna Soubry reserved particular criticism for Fox, branding his speech on free trade [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/sep/29/liam-fox-brexit-is-a-golden-opportunity-for-uk-trade-video] in Manchester on Thursday “delusional”.

Related: May under pressure to name article 50 date in Tory conference speech [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/30/may-under-pressure-to-name-article-50-date-in-tory-conference-speech]

The former business minister, who sat in cabinet until July, said Theresa May was a voice of sanity following the referendum, but that the prime minister needed to explain even in “broad terms” what she wanted out of Brexit, as three months later we are “no further forward, and it’s her job to lead us”.

“Liam Fox ’s speech this week was very worrying; in fact, it was delusional,” she told the Guardian . “How can we have ‘freer’ free trade? Let’s get real, for God’s sake. It’s really worrying that these are the senior people who have the future of our country in their hands. May is the voice of sanity, and without her I don’t know where the three Brexiteers would take us.”

The Conservative party conference opens on Sunday and is under pressure from business and European leaders to clarify the UK’s position. It is possible that May [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/theresamay] could use her opening speech to name the month she will trigger article 50, which will trigger the two-year countdown to the UK’s exit from the EU .

Senior EU figures have been told in private the prime minister wants to trigger the formal start of talks early in the new year, but so far she has refused to confirm this in public [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/27/brexit-weekly-briefing-theresa-may-3-three-brexiteers-0].

Related: What is article 50 and why is it so central to the Brexit debate? [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/25/article-50-brexit-debate-britain-eu]

The pressure not to name a date is intense due to the government’s acknowledgement that the UK’s negotiating position would have to be outlined in the formal letter issued to trigger article 50. By naming the date she plans to send a letter to Brussels, the prime minister would set herself on an irreversible course before the cabinet has agreed its negotiating objectives.

There is worry among pro-remain Conservatives that May’s relative silence on the details of Brexit is giving too much airtime to Fox, the trade secretary and arch-eurosceptic. Fox has hinted he favours a “hard Brexit” that would see the UK give up the benefits of the single market but allow it to limit **immigration** from the EU.

It is understood that Conservatives from the pro-remain wing of the party are planning to put pressure on the government over Brexit during the four-day conference by calling for a more concrete plans, especially to allay business worries.

One senior Tory MP said: “I think the PM will find that ‘Brexit means Brexit’ is quickly losing its value, and needs to be replaced by some more concrete details – fast. It is beginning to look vacuous and like she is playing for time.”

Some Tory MPs, however, took a different view about pressure on May to set a firmer timetable for leaving the EU , including Dominic Grieve, the former attorney general and remain campaigner. “I don’t think that the party conference is a place where the prime minister should feel pressured to set out her stall when she’s got a great deal of work still to do on Brexit before article 50 is invoked,” he told the Guardian . Grieve is among those warning that a “hard Brexit” is a very high risk strategy and put the UK’s economy and jobs at risk.

Fox’s grasp of trade law also came under attack from Sir David Edward, a former judge in the European court of justice who is advising the Scottish government on Brexit. Edward challenged Fox’s claim that the UK would keep the EU ’s existing tariff schedule when it leaves the bloc.

“Nobody who understands trade law could have possibly have said what he said,” he told an MLex Competition conference.

Related: Brexit means Brexit … but the big question is when? [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/22/brexit-means-brexit-when-is-big-question]

“And as an economist has said, there is no such thing in today’s world as free trade or a free trade agreement, there is only managed trade or participation in a regulated market, and that is quite important. The notion that we can get back to some kind of Victorian liberal notion of totally free trade I think is totally misleading.”

Eurosceptics including Iain Duncan Smith and pro-Europeans such as Nicky Morgan have urged May to provide clarity on the start of negotiations, while European leaders ranging from the German chancellor, Angela Merkel , to the Italian prime minister, Matteo Renzi , have drawn a blank in private discussions with her on the shape of her UK exit plans.

Most are content with article 50 being triggered in early 2017, as this gives time for the UK to leave before the next round of elections to the European parliament in 2019.

The key trade-off remains whether access to the single market will include free movement for European migrant workers, some form of judicial oversight from EUcourts, and contributions – voluntary or otherwise – to Brussels’ budget.

As ministers continued to insist they would not be giving a “running commentary” on Brexit, Sajid Javid , the communities secretary, hinted that the government could be considering a work permit system for different sectors.

In an interview with the FT, he said he could not predict “what the future might look like in terms of work visas and foreign workers”, but added that the construction sector would not face a skills shortage because of the exclusion of builders from EU countries.

“Wherever we end up, the government is determined to get a good deal for Britain,” he said. “Whether it’s construction or any other sector, we don’t want to make it any more difficult for those industries than it is.”

Philip Hammond confirmed that high-skilled workers will not be excluded from the country after Brexit.

“The message that I want to send to business is that whatever solution we end up, whatever control powers we have over **immigration** into the UK, we will use them responsibly,” the chancellor said in an interview with the Daily Telegraph [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/30/philip-hammond-businesses-angering-consumers-by-not-listening-ov/].

“We will use them in a way that supports the UK economy and we will certainly not use them to shut out highly skilled people – whether they are bankers or software engineers or managers in global companies – from the UK when their presence is supporting inward investment and growth in our economy.”

Hammond said he believed that the majority who had backed Brexit in the referendum had given the government a mandate to protect the economy as well as to reduce **immigration**.

“It may not have been stated explicitly but it’s implicit. And that is that they do not want to see the economy suffer,” he said. “They do not want to see jobs lost, they do not want to see standards of living decline. So they will expect us to negotiate a solution which delivers the key elements of leaving the EU , regaining our sovereignty, getting control over our borders – but they will expect us to do all of that in a way that allows the UK economy to go on growing.”

Hammond is thought to be fighting the case within the cabinet for a deal that retains as much access to the single market as possible, against colleagues who would rather push for a “hard Brexit” deal that distances the UK further from EU trade rules in order to achieve tougher controls on migration.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It’s over three months since referendum day, and still few details about what Brexit will really mean have been revealed – or perhaps even decided. Ahead of Conservative conference, five observers advise the PM on her next move

The commentator Rafael Behr: ‘The ultra-sceptics keep the memory of May’s support for remain as a hostage’ The appointment of a prime minister is meant to be a beginning, but Theresa May ’s arrival in Downing Street felt a lot like an ending. It was the resolution to a crisis triggered by the referendum result; the abatement of a political storm, eliciting more sighs of relief than exuberant cheers.

May’s premiership is coloured by the impression that she brought the gift of stability to a country when it was lurching into chaos. That gave her authority to compensate for the lack of an electoral mandate. It created an illusion of power out of proportion to her leverage in parliament (where she has a working majority of 12) and in European negotiations (where 27 other leaders’ needs must be taken into account).

It helps that Labour is in disarray and that the Tory right has been on its best behaviour, indulging the prime minister’s reluctance to outline a European strategy. But that is an expression of tactical discretion, not loyalty. The ultra-sceptics keep the memory of May’s support for remain as a hostage, locked in their cellar but ready to be dragged blinking into the light at the first sign of compromise with “Brussels” – a means to extort harder Brexit.

Related: Former Tory ministers demand clear Brexit plan from Theresa May [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/former-tory-ministers-demand-clear-brexit-plan-theresa-may]

Meanwhile, the liberal wing of the party, so obedient to David Cameron , is learning to apply pressure on its leader by public dissent – a device used for so long by the right. The number of Cameron-era frontbenchers sacked in July [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/15/more-heads-roll-in-next-round-of-theresa-may-ruthless-reshuffle] exceeds May’s Commons majority. That creates a reservoir of grievance to be channelled by operators such as George Osborne and Michael Gove .

One way to buy room for manoeuvre is to engineer an early election, which the Tories would comfortably win. The fixed-term parliament act makes this route complicated, but not impossible. There is no sign from Downing Street that May relishes the distraction or volatility of a campaign. It is not her style to swap the quiet trudge of policy-making for the fanfare of the stump. But in Westminster the laws of arithmetic have a way of trumping all other considerations. May could use a bigger majority, and one is available at relatively low risk. The logic of that equation might yet prove irresistible.

The backbencher Anna Soubry: ‘Somebody has to make sure that the leave leaders are held to account’ When Theresa May made her speech on the steps of Downing Street [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ng-interactive/2016/jul/13/theresa-mays-speech-what-she-said-and-what-she-meant], I thought: that’s the one-nation Conservatism I’ve always believed in. I want social justice at the heart of everything we do – the best for everyone in society, whoever they are. I absolutely supported her.

But then we heard the new thinking on grammar schools [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/09/theresa-may-grammar-school-selection-middle-class]. And that did worry me. We’ve been improving education through the academy [https://www.theguardian.com/education/academies] programme, and I would much rather see that advanced and made more radical. But this approach doesn’t really chime with the modern conservatism that I want to see.

Related: Who needs a coherent plan for Brexit when you have dreams and fantasies? | Polly Toynbee [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/29/brexit-royal-yacht-britannia-eu]

The problem is that, at the moment, there is a vacuum of opposition. It’s not just that Labour has drifted to the left – it’s that they’re incompetent. Can you imagine if Andy Burnham or Liz Kendall or Yvette Cooper had been elected? They’d be having a field day. What will fill that void? It may be the media, or people on the extremes of politics, by which I mean Ukip – or the more moderate, sensible, centre-right people like Nicky Morgan and me. We have the freedom of the backbenches, and I’d like to think respect, and we will not flinch from being critical friends of this government.

Above all, somebody has to stand up and make sure that the leave leaders are held to account. And yes, it’s for Boris Johnson and David Davis and Liam Fox to explain what leave means – they advocated it – but the PM is the PM. After three months, we need to know what the plan is. We’re no further forward. And it’s her job to lead us.

That’s not to say that there should be a running commentary – but we don’t even know what the broad terms are. Liam Fox’s speech this week [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/liam-fox-looks-to-wto-in-hint-at-hard-brexit-stance] was very worrying. In fact, it was delusional. How can we have ‘freer’ free trade? Let’s get real, for God’s sake. It’s really worrying that these are the senior people who have the future of our country in their hands. May is the voice of sanity, and without her I don’t know where the three Brexiteers [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/16/johnson-davis-fox-three-brexiteers] would take us.

Anna Soubry [https://twitter.com/Anna\_Soubry] is MP for Broxtowe and a former minister

The grassroots voice Delyth Miles: ‘She needs to temper her impressive toughness to ensure continued support’ So far, the prime minister has handled Brexit well. Discussions with members and officials of Conservative associations, councillors and voters suggest that they all agree with the wisdom of her approach: like a good poker player, she has not yet shown her cards.

Article 50 [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/28/government-must-disclose-legal-arguments-article-50-procedure-peoples-challenge] needs no rush until clarity emerges about our optimal negotiating position. While support is gathered from countries within and beyond the EU , pressure grows. If Deutsche Bank [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/30/market-fears-forces-deutsche-bank-to-issue-assurances-over-financial-health] goes bust, the EU project could implode; if rescued, Italian banks need help.

Brexit is misrepresented as a narrow-minded mistake to be salvaged. Many voted Brexit for reasons of sovereignty. Sovereignty is about democratic accountability, local determination on the principle of subsidiarity and national identity. Subsidiarity recognises that the person is the principle, subject and object of every social organisation; human affairs are best handled at the closest level to the people affected. The approach to Brexit and **immigration** should reflect that **immigration**, while important, was not primary for many leavers.

Related: May under pressure to name article 50 date in Tory conference speech [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/30/may-under-pressure-to-name-article-50-date-in-tory-conference-speech]

May needs to fill out the concept of “British values” with social justice and compassion, which are implied by her commendable mantra of “government for all and not just for the privileged few”. She could helpfully refer to the UK’s post-Brexit emerging “national identity”. The “sovereignty of the Queen in parliament” and the “established Church of England” both shape our Christian values and provide an “umbrella” under which other faiths can make important contributions to our national life.

Her original refusal to approve Hinkley Point [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/29/hinkley-point-ministers-sign-go-ahead-for-nuclear-power-plant] was impressive and well founded: as Dr Christopher Hancock wrote in the Conservative party human rights commission report, “China per se is now as unworthy a trading partner as South Africa was under apartheid because it generally sanctions the freedoms of its intellectuals, media, religious communities, youth, dissenters and citizens.” But balancing moral obligations to uphold human rights and UK jobs is a tricky political decision.

Meanwhile, expanding grammar schools is better than the current selection by house price. But being announced so soon seems to undermine Michael Gove ’s excellent work.

She needs to temper her impressive toughness to ensure continued respect and support from ministers, MPs and grassroots supporters.

Delyth Miles is a ward and town councillor in Walton-on-the-Naze and membership secretary of Grassroots Conservatives [http://grassrootsconservatives.org.uk/]

The trade expert Allie Renison: ‘The government’s negotiating strategy will come down to a series of trade-offs’ The prime minister may have bought some time with her bold, if vague, reassurance that “Brexit means Brexit” – but not a lot. The government faces the unenviable task of working against an implicit clock to sort out their negotiating strategy and priorities, and ascertain what Brexit will, in practice, actually mean (even if the rest of us are none the wiser).

Even after May’s sweeping restructuring of huge chunks of Whitehall, questions linger about which departments are responsible for which parts of negotiations. The chips are belatedly starting to fall into place, but a sense of ordered disorder still seems to reign.

The government, to its credit, has a wealth of EU expertise at its fingertips – after all, we have been negotiating with and in the EU for decades. However, we find ourselves in the unprecedented situation of fighting to keep from having trade barriers put up. Underpinning all of this is the omnipresent sense that curbing free movement is the main priority, with trade issues seemingly playing second fiddle. It means business must balance principles with pragmatism in order to be heard.

Related: UK heading for hard Brexit, say European diplomats [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/30/uk-heading-for-hard-brexit-say-european-diplomats]

Ultimately, the government’s negotiating strategy will come down to a series of trade-offs. Various departments will put forward their priorities and – dare I say it – red lines. For business, it is the same. What do we want, what do we need, and what can’t we live with and/or without? Business is arguably just as worried about having the carpet suddenly yanked from beneath its feet as it is about what the carpet’s eventual replacement will look like.

Allie Renison [https://twitter.com/AllieRenison] is head of Europe and trade policy at the Institute of Directors is head of Europe and trade policy at the

The moderniser Ryan Shorthouse: ‘May is acting radically in these early days, to carve out her political identity’ The new prime minister’s approach and vision is, by and large, similar to her predecessor’s. She is of the view that it is right and necessary for the Conservatives to be a party of both economic responsibility and social justice.

But there are crucial differences. On the one hand, her government is moving slightly to the left economically, easing the pace of deficit reduction, tackling excessive executive pay and developing an interventionist industrial strategy. On the other, it will move to the right socially, looking to substantially reduce **immigration** and prioritising security over civil liberties. May and advisers are communitarians, sceptical of the economic and social liberalism that has steered ministers and policymakers in recent decades.

May clearly believes that, actually, Brexit meant more than Brexit: people were voting against a politics and an economy that served only “the privileged few”. As Britain begins to leave the EU , she has two urgent tasks: to stimulate economic growth, and to ensure that people feel they are benefiting from it.

Related: Brexit negotiations could cost taxpayer tens of millions of pounds, says report [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/brexit-negotiations-could-cost-tens-of-millions-of-pounds-says-report]

She should be bold on fiscal policy to ensure that the world knows Britain is open for business: cutting corporation tax, business rates and national insurance, for instance. Those on modest incomes need more than warm words: May should raise the threshold for paying employees’ national insurance, take action to protect private renters, and introduce contributory supplements into universal credit and maternity pay to reward those with long work histories.

Understandably, May is acting radically in these early days of her premiership, to carve out her political identity. Some of this has been welcome: promising no new cuts to working-aged benefits in this parliament, and demanding universities set up or sponsor new schools if they charge high tuition fees. But some of it has been unjustified and unnecessary: new grammar schools, for example.

May is one of the original modernisers, urging her party as early as 2002 to stand for more than individualism – for communities and neighbourliness, too. So she can build on Cameron’s legacy, rather than depart from it. Politically, she will need to, with such a slim majority: after all, she has now created two powerful wings, the Eurosceptic and the Cameron loyalists, on the backbenchers.

Ryan Shorthouse [https://twitter.com/RyanShorthouse] is the director of Bright Blue [http://www.brightblue.org.uk/] , a liberal conservative thinktank

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**By shunning the single market yet insisting on free movement, the leader infuriates his Brexiters and remainers all at once

A hundred days on and the talk around Brexit is as delusional as ever. This week it fell to Liam Fox , the international trade secretary, who is not allowed to negotiate international trade – that’s Brussels’ job until Britain leaves – to add to the already thick fog of fantasy. Fox declared that [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/29/liam-fox-signals-britain-will-leave-the-single-market-in-hard-br/], after the UK had left the EU , it would enjoy terms of commerce with Europe “at least as free” as those we had when we were still in. That makes perfect sense – if you think the EU ’s remaining 27 members are itching to show that exiting the EU exacts no cost, staying brings no benefits and others should start following us out the door.

Where there is not magical thinking, there is vagueness and opacity. The prime minister might allow us a glimpse of her preferred degree of Brexit when she addresses the Tory party conference on Wednesday, but so far the only clues have come from the serial slapdowns [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/27/brexit-weekly-briefing-theresa-may-3-three-brexiteers-0] she has delivered to her ministers when they have supplied hints of their own.

In this haze of obfuscation, Jeremy Corbyn shines bright as a beacon of clarity. Admittedly, he too has sent conflicting signals on the hardness or softness of his ideal Brexit, but on the intimately related issue of free movement he made his position crystal clear [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/27/jeremy-corbyn-rules-out-pledge-cut-immigration] this week. In so doing, he confirmed that **immigration** has emerged as the defining dividing line in his fractious party.

Corbyn’s stance is admirable and principled. “It isn’t migrants who drive down wages,” he said on Wednesday, blaming instead “exploitative employers” and the politicians who had both loosened the labour market and weakened trade unions. In the same way, it wasn’t migrants who were putting strain on the NHS or causing a housing crisis. That was the fault of governments that had failed to invest in the health service or build new homes. And so, there would no “false promises” to bring down **immigration**. Indeed, Corbyn’s aides briefed that [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/28/corbyn-defence-of-immigration-splits-shadow-cabinet-labour] he was “not concerned about numbers” at all.

It is a noble case, a rare defence of migrants, a group routinely maligned. The trouble is, Corbyn’s stance is directly at odds with large swaths of his own party: those who would think of themselves as Labour realists. They are not all the usual suspects. Yes, they include the likes of shadow cabinet resigner Rachel Reeves, who spoke of her fear that “bubbling tensions” could “explode” [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/27/jeremy-corbyn-rules-out-pledge-cut-immigration] if the kind of angst over **immigration** she encounters in her Leeds constituency is not assuaged. Andy Burnham, Chuka Umunna, Stephen Kinnock, Emma Reynolds and others have made a similar argument for controls. But so too has Angela Rayner, whose loyalty to Corbyn led her to take the shadow education portfolio after the summer rebellion. They are united in believing that the verdict of the electorate is now unmistakable. The voters want **immigration** controlled, they declared that loud and clear on 23 June and they can be ignored no longer.

Related: Labour urged to make **immigration** controls a key Brexit demand [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/19/labour-urged-to-make-immigration-controls-a-key-brexit-demand]

I confess I find myself deeply torn on this most radioactive of topics. My every instinct is to stand with those who defend migrants and migration. Like so many others, I am the son of a mother born outside this country. A mere glance at my family tree shows the earliest roots were planted in soil far away from here. When I hear anti-**immigration** rhetoric I know that, 100 years ago, the target of such talk would have been me.

And yet, I cannot ignore what Rayner, Reeves and the rest are saying. None of them is a racist. None hates migrants. None of them would, I believe, be calling for controls on **immigration** if they could see another option. But they are simply listening to what has become the settled will of the people they represent.

This divide goes deeper than just **immigration**. It is often also a clash of the middle-class Labour of the big cities against the blue-collar Labour of the towns; London, metropolitan Labour – the Corbyn-McDonnell Labour that is relaxed about diversity – against the Labour of the post-industrial north, Midlands and east.

More deeply still, it is a battle over what Labour should be. For many, especially among the idealists of Momentum who held their own, much livelier conference this week, Labour has to be a social movement that works to change public attitudes on migration and much else – even if that takes a generation. Ranged against them are those who see Labour as a political party that has to meet the voters where they are now, not where they would like them to be.

There could be a pragmatic way to straddle this divide, revealed so vividly in the referendum. You could try to appeal to that part of the Labour coalition that overwhelmingly voted remain by promising to fight to retain British membership of the single market. At the same time, you’d try to placate pro-leave Labour voters by aiming to modify or restrict the free movement of people. Some would call it cynical, but you might just about hold the Labour tribe together that way.

Related: Archbishop of York says EU countries are 'shunting migrants' towards UK [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/30/archbishop-of-york-says-eu-countries-are-shunting-migrants-towards-uk]

Corbyn is doing the exact opposite. He and his shadow chancellor have signalled their readiness to jettison single market membership [http://www.politics.co.uk/blogs/2016/09/26/does-john-mcdonnell-even-know-what-his-brexit-strategy-is] – to be replaced by mere “access” – but they are holding firm on free movement. For many, free movement is the price that has to be paid for the prize of single market membership. Corbyn’s position is: let’s give up the prize, but keep paying the price. At a stroke, he angers both Labour’s remainers and its leavers, depriving both of what they cherish most. Whatever the opposite of a political sweet spot is, Corbyn has found it.

To his credit, Corbyn did promise action to mitigate the impact of **immigration**. Rightly he said he’d revive Gordon Brown ’s fund to pay for extra school places or housing in those areas that have taken in newcomers, as well as steps to prevent migrants undercutting the wages of workers already here. This way, he said, Labour would deal with “the real issues of **immigration**”.

But what if those are not the only real issues? What if it’s not just the strain on services and pressure on pay that makes people fear **immigration**? What if it’s actually more nebulous, and more toxic, questions of culture and identity that lie at the heart of this matter?

Easing the shortage of homes or GP appointments and boosting wages would certainly draw some of the sting from the **immigration** question. Government should take those steps. But it’s optimistic to imagine that such action would dispel all the rage MPs such as Reeves are encountering every day. It amounts to telling voters that they don’t understand their own feelings, that their concern over the changing face of their communities is simply an error, a case of false consciousness that will recede with a sufficient injection of public cash.

Corbyn himself said there should be no “lecturing or patronising” of those who voted leave, that “we have to hear their concerns,” including on **immigration**. That goes for him too – but he may not like what he hears.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The death of an unarmed black man has prompted days of protests in the California suburb of El Cajon, and police chief says video is ‘vital’ to show

El Cajon police have released video of the police shooting of Alfred Olango, an unarmed black man whose killing on Tuesday prompted days of protests in the San Diego suburb.

Olango was shot and killed on Tuesday[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/28/police-killing-black-man-el-cajon-san-diego-protest] after police confronted the 38-year-old behind a Mexican restaurant with reports that he was “ not acting like himself[http://www.cityofelcajon.us/Home/Components/News/News/2867/112] ” and walking into traffic. In their initial account, police said that Olango refused to comply with commands by police to pull his hand from his pocket.

He then “rapidly drew an object from his front pants pocket”, according to police, “placed both hands together and extended them rapidly toward the officer taking up what appeared to be a shooting stance”.

Two officers, Richard Gonzalves and Josh McDaniel, fired a gun and Taser respectively, El Cajon’ police chief, Jeff Davis, said. They later revealed Olango was holding an e-cigarette[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/28/police-say-black-man-killed-by-officer-near-san-diego-was-holding-e-cigarette]. “The investigation is still continuing,” Davis said, “this video is part of the evidence and that is why it was vital we show it today.”

The videos, taken from a surveillance camera by a drive-through and the cellphone of a witness, shows Olango pacing in the street as an officer confronts him and mirrors his movements. Olango eventually pauses and makes a gesture that is difficult to interpret from a distance. Officers fire, and in the witness’s video a woman screams.

Related: Police killing of unarmed black man near San Diego sparks protest[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/28/police-killing-black-man-el-cajon-san-diego-protest]

“The decision to release the video,” Davis said, “was not made in a vacuum.” Davis said that after the shooting, people were spreading “misleading” information that “had the potential to create unrest in the community”.

“It was because of this that I decided to release a still image of the video that you’re about to see,” Davis said.

The San Diego district attorney, Bonnie Dumanis, said investigators had not reached any conclusions about the case or potential charges. “Video evidence is one piece of the evidence that is out there, but we want to make sure that we have every bit of the evidence.”

Several hundred protesters took to the streets in the days after the shooting, and on Thursday night several dozen people blocked roads, broke car windows and knocked a motorcyclist off his vehicle, according to the police department.

When told to disperse by police, protesters threw glass bottles, bricks and rocks, and officers used pepperball projectiles on demonstrators, the department said[http://www.cityofelcajon.us/Home/Components/News/News/2873/112]. Two men, 19 and 28, were taken into custody for unlawful assembly, Davis said, and one was arrested for assault on a police officer after a brick was thrown.

The night before, one person was injured in demonstrations that turned violent, according to police[http://www.cityofelcajon.us/Home/Components/News/News/2869/112], and a cameraman from the San Diego Union-Tribune was assaulted. Davis said the camera has since been recovered.

“From the beginning our position has been to allow the demonstrations and protests to go forth as long as they were peaceful and non-violent,” Davis said. “Businesses are closing, schools are releasing students from classes prematurely,” he added, explaining the decision to release the video.

Also at the press conference the Rev Gerald Brown, a local organizer, urged people to protest peacefully. “We want to move forward in peace. It is OK to protest but we want folks to protest in peace,” he said.

A fourth night of protests on Friday remained peaceful at least for the first few hours, with about 200 people blocking intersections and at one point attempting to walk on to a freeway before police stopped them.

Several hundred people gathered peacefully at a park in downtown El Cajon on Saturday, to hear speeches by religious leaders and then march through the streets to police headquarters, where family members joined them.

Olango’s father, Richard Olango Abuka, called for the resignation of the police chief and said his son’s death would be a turning point in a peaceful struggle to change police practices. Other speakers demanded changes in how police respond to calls about people in mental distress. A modest police presence attended, to direct traffic.

On Friday Brown and Andre Branch, president of the NAACP San Diego branch, praised police and the mayor. “We want to applaud and commend Chief Jeff Davis and the city of El Cajon for releasing this video of this police involved shooting,” Branch said. “The NAACP believes this is the action that should follow any and all police-involved shootings.”

Olango’s mother told reporters that her son, a Ugandan **refugee**[http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-alfred-olango-pamela-benge-20160929-snap-story.html] who arrived in the US in 1991, was in distress because of a friend’s recent death. **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement (ICE) authorities told the Associated Press on Thursday that ICE had tried to deport Olango for a drug and firearm conviction[http://www.nbclosangeles.com/news/national-international/El-Cajon-Police-Shooting-US-Tried-to-Deport-Slain-Refugee-Twice-395289321.html], but failed to convince Uganda to accept him. He stopped reporting to **immigration** officers in February 2015, ICE officials said.

The police shooting of Keith Scott, a black man in Charlotte, North Carolina, similarly prompted mass protests [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/22/charlotte-protests-north-carolina-governor-declares-state-of-emergency] last week and the eventual release of video [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/24/video-keith-scott-shooting-charlotte-police] of the confrontation. For more than two years the high-profile[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/aug/09/ferguson-michael-brown-shooting-anniversary-protest] police killings[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2015/jul/25/eric-garner-killing-one-year-on-sit-down-son-its-time-for-the-talk] of black people[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/22/philando-castile-film-police-shooting-happy-birthday], many unarmed, have brought people into the streets [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/10/ferguson-department-of-justice-lawsuit-police-reforms] to protest against police abuses and systemic racism.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The UK press claimed the **refugees** who settled on this island in the Firth of Clyde hated it, but novelist Sophie Cooke finds it full of great food, walks, beaches – and more than a few contented Syrians

Once the beach resort of choice for fashionable Glaswegians, the Isle of Bute lies in the Firth of Clyde, a short distance from Scotland’s biggest city. This year, it became more famous as the place **refugees** from Syria said they wanted to leave[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/30/bute-refugees-dream-sun-syrian-families-resettled]. Focusing on a run-down economy familiar to many British seaside resorts, the UK press painted Bute as a place with no future.

But Bute turned the corner years ago, and many of the Syrian **refugees** have talked about their love for the island. When we visited this summer, the seafront squares in Rothesay, the port town, had just been renovated. The art deco Pavilion will reopen next summer, after a £3m makeover, as an international arts venue. Old Victorian shops have been turned into stylish boutiques and upcycled furniture emporiums. There’s a vegetarian cafe ( Musicker[http://www.musicker.co.uk/] ) that sells guitars and books, and a bookshop that sells coffee ( Print Point[https://www.facebook.com/PrintPointRothesay/], West Princes Street), as well as old-style pubs and ice-cream makers.

The council’s decision to house **refugees** in unused accommodation here has mainly gone down well: most of the Syrians say they like life on this little island, and most of the locals have welcomed them with open arms. Dropping into the Rothesay shops to pick up groceries, I overheard an elderly Buteman greeting one of the dads with a broad smile. “ As-salaam-alaikum,” said the Buteman, over the boxes of Scottish Blend teabags and tablet. “Hey,” said the Syrian dad.

On a long weekend in Bute, my boyfriend and I stayed in a self-catering converted stable on the Mont Stuart estate – a chic and cosy place with slate floors, tweed sofas and a woodburning stove.

Mount Stuart was the ancestral home of Bute’s landowners, built by a Marquess of Bute who also happened to be the richest man in Britain at the time. More of a palace, the Victorian Gothic house was designed by Robert Rowand Anderson, and stacks arch upon marble arch, so entering its main hall feels like stepping into a cathedral, flecked with light and colour. The decor revolves around religion and the stars. Perhaps when a person has immense wealth, they need to be assured that their good fortune is part of the order of the universe. At any rate, constellations rush across the ceiling, while signs of the zodiac bloom on the stained-glass windows. The stars are clear prisms casting balls of rainbow light on the floor below. In other rooms, Tintorettos, Titians and Veroneses fill the walls.

Academics come from the universities of Oxford and Yale to work on the collections in Mount Stuart’s libraries. This year, an original Shakespeare folio turned up there: it’s on display upstairs. But I got just as much pleasure from the house itself. I found a rose engraved on the hinge-plate of a door, and bees carved into a pillar wreathed in oak leaves and acorns. Every nook is crammed with hand-worked detail. It’s like exploring Rivendell, with pieces of history thrown in – Bonnie Prince Charlie’s pistols, family portraits of the Tudors.

Those staying on the estate get a free pass to visit the house. When the house is closed to visitors, they can wander down through its quiet lawns and tree-lined walks to the rocky shore. We loved watching the seals bask in the evening sunshine here.

Bute has a rare blend of worldliness and wilderness. Beyond the up-and-coming town of Rothesay are peaceful, windswept Hebridean vistas. The West Island Way runs the length of the island, providing good, waymarked footpaths through the hills. At Kingarth, near the southernmost tip of Bute, I passed the ruined monastery of Saint Blane, hidden in a green fold in the hills: among stone arches sit the graves of monks slaughtered by Viking raiders. Forking down to the road, I stopped for a picnic on a bench under a wind-blown tree. The ridges of a prehistoric hill fort jutted against the sea, with the mountains of Arran rising mistily in the distance.

We spent another day touring the island’s beaches. There’s Ettrick, the most popular, with its busy tea-room, where we bought lovely ice-cream cones; St Ninians, where I picked rose quartz pebbles from the beach – there’s also a small campsite here; Scalpsie, a broad bay shimmering with wildflowers; and Kilchattan, with its steep hill and friendly pub at Kingarth.

The island is big on renewables, and self-sufficiency. Local charity Fyne Futures[http://www.fynefutures.org.uk/blog/tag/charity/] runs a large organic market garden in Rothesay, where knowledgeable young men cultivate several local heritage vegetables, plenty of kale and raspberries, and even a healthy looking kiwi vine. I took a bag of produce home, but boxes can be ordered for delivery during your stay.

We also bought island lamb from Macqueens[https://www.scottish-island-quality-meats.com/] butchers on Bishop Street in Rothesay. Nearby, Ritchie’s[http://www.ritchiesofrothesay.co.uk/] smokehouse sells smoked fish and cheese, and the Bute Brew Company[http://www.butebrewco.co.uk/contactvisit-us/] provides a range of beers. It was fun to prepare meals in the kitchen of our converted stable on the estate. Because half of the stables are in use, our meals were punctuated by visits from the chickens, and a gentle soundtrack of snorting pigs.

There are some good eating out options, too. Sunday lunch (£16) at the Mount Stuart restaurant was superb: smoked salmon mousse with apple jelly, roast chicken with veg, and a cranachan millefeuille with lemon curd. All the dishes used local produce and were served in a modernist glass room that felt like a treehouse, situated above the new visitor centre at the entrance to the estate. Some of the island’s younger residents arrived from Syria work here.

In Rothesay, my favourite place was Liz’s Diner[https://www.facebook.com/Lizs-Diner-197458330594604/], by the seafront. It’s an American-style diner with tasty burgers (£3), apple pie milkshakes (£3), and great service.

I’ll look forward to coming back to Bute again, and seeing how it’s changed. For all its ancient monuments and rich Victorian heritage, it seems like a place that’s happy to face 21st-century challenges with a smile.

Way to go The Isle of Bute is reached by ferry from Wemyss Bay, which is a 40-minute drive by hire car from Glasgow airport.

Trains from Glasgow Central to Wemyss cost £12.90 return with scotrail.co.uk[http://www.scotrail.co.uk/]. Ferries with Caledonian MacBrayne ( calmac.co.uk[https://www.calmac.co.uk/wemyssbay-rothesay-bute-ferry-summer-timetable] ) from Wemyss Bay to Rothesay cost from £6.10 return and run hourly until 10pm in summer (7pm after 24 October). The crossing takes 30 minutes (keep an eye open for porpoises).

More information on visiting Bute from visitscotland.com[https://www.visitscotland.com/destinations-maps/argyll-isles/]. Mount Stuart self-catering cottages (01244 356666, mountstuart.com[http://www.mountstuart.com/stay-with-us/self-catering-properties] ) sleep between four and 12 and cost from £450 a week, shorter breaks available. For bookings at Mount Stuart Restaurant, call 01700 503877

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Turkish forces need to play a major role on the ground, with backing from Nato and Russia

The argument that diplomacy has failed in Syria and that the best thing to bring the suffering to an end in Aleppo would be a quick victory for Bashar al-Assad[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/28/west-aleppo-syrians-bombardment-assad] is too pessimistic. We need to recognise that the diplomacy has never faced up to the need for an initial partition or zones of influence involving neighbouring states on the path to an eventual unified settlement in Syria.

Related: The west has to look beyond Aleppo’s agony | Adrian Hamilton[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/28/west-aleppo-syrians-bombardment-assad]

Between 2012 and 2014, Turkey was ready to create a protected area in Syria for **refugees**, but for various reasons this was never supported by Nato. Turkey was understandably very reluctant to move militarily across the border into Syria on its own. When Russia extended an airfield close to Latakia, not far from the naval port it has had in Syria[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian\_naval\_facility\_in\_Tartus] since 1971, and put sophisticated aeroplanes in to protect Assad’s forces, everything changed. Turkey shot down a Russian plane[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/turkey-shoots-down-jet-near-border-with-syria] and felt threatened by Kurdish forces pushing along its border with Syria. Turkish relations also became very strained within Nato, particularly with the US over strategies for dealing with Islamic State and the EU over **refugee** policies and human rights. Turkey responded perfectly reasonably by defusing tensions with Russia[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/27/kremlin-says-erdogan-apologises-russian-jet-turkish].

In this period the Russians militarily achieved their objective, reinforced by Hezbollah fighters from Lebanon and Iranian forces, of winning back control of the key roads linking Damascus to the Mediterranean Sea for Assad. These forces, as a consequence, are back in control of this area, including Hama, which has become a Russian zone of influence.

Only Turkey is in a political and military position to intervene on the ground over Aleppo and it is demonstrating this at present by attacking Isis. Turkey can now, because of changed circumstances, create a crucial balancing factor in Syria by taking urgent humanitarian action with its troops and air power in relieving the siege of Aleppo. Under the UN charter, even if the security council is blocked by a Russian veto, Turkey has a regional locus and a measure of legitimacy, having taken large numbers of Syrian **refugees**.

There is potentially the necessary support within Nato for such an intervention by Turkey. Already special forces from a number of countries, particularly the US and UK, are operating in Syria[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/09/pictures-appear-to-show-british-special-forces-on-syrian-front-line] on the ground and they have the skills in helping to target artillery, missiles and in the last analysis aircraft. Intelligence is already fully shared with Turkey but a greater effort would have to be put in by other Nato countries. Naturally there are some in Turkey who would prefer to have Nato ground troops, but there are others who wisely see the dangers of this. It would be far preferable for Turkey to act as a regional power supported by Nato, and by keeping ground troops out it avoids the whole initiative being seen as an American-Russian confrontation.

What provides a new basis for Turkish intervention is that on 23 September Bekir Bozdag, Turkey’s justice minister, announced in Istanbul that the US vice-president, Joe Biden, had accepted that there is “concrete evidence”[http://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/09/24/us-vp-admits-concrete-evidence-on-gulen-involvement-submitted-by-turkey] that Fethullah Gülen, a Turkish exile living in the US, was behind July’s failed coup[https://www.theguardian.com/world/turkey-coup-attempt]. Assuming there is substantive evidence in relation to Gülen, the political path is therefore open for early and decisive action over Syria.

Gülen left Turkey for Pennsylvania in 1999. The Gülen movement, or Cemaat[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%BClen\_movement], which he inspires, is an Islamic community in Turkey and overseas. It operates both openly and underground in Turkey and while once the movement favoured President Recep Tayyip Erdogan it is now deeply opposed to him. Erdogan has alleged that Gülen was the mastermind behind the coup[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/17/fethullah-gulen-alleged-coup-mastermind-and-friendly-neighbour] and Turkey asked for his extradition[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/28/turkey-fethullah-gulen-extradition-coup-attempt] from the US. It now looks almost certain that the US justice system will return him for trial in Turkey. This means that a very damaging source of strain between Washington and Ankara is closer to being resolved.

Related: How Putin's high-risk Syria gamble is paying off | Oleg Kashin[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/29/how-putins-high-risk-syria-gamble-is-paying-off]

Turkish military action should and could be mounted within hours of a decision by Erdogan. It would have the power to implement a no-fly zone (NFZ), with protected land corridors for humanitarian aid and the flow of people both ways into and out of Aleppo. This should be accompanied by a demand for the withdrawal of Assad forces to a line between Hama and Aleppo.

Of course so recently after a failed military coup there is little appetite from some military leaders to undertake such a high-profile operation. But there is a counter-argument to this, for it could successfully restore the reputation of the armed forces in Turkey and demonstrate their loyalty.

Nato forces would guard Turkey from the air as it conducted this humanitarian operation. Air activity outside the NFZ would continue against Isis in Syria and Iraq by Russia, Nato and Assad forces. A Kurdish area of influence in Syria in relation to Isis would continue de facto, but there would be no de jure implications, for that would be both unacceptable to Turkey and pre-empt a much more difficult medium-term settlement of issues that involve Iraq and Iran.

Areas of influence would apply in other parts of Syria, if its neighbours Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Jordan are prepared to underpin them predominantly for dealing effectively with Isis. This whole initiative should be discussed at the highest military level, first in the Nato-Russian Council, before going to the security council. It is probable that Russia would veto it in the council, but we should not assume that, and on a military-to-military basis it might be possible to set the initiative in a context where Russia would see that its own sphere of influence was not being challenged.

The humanitarian imperative is for the region to act and the world to help.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Proportion in Scottish Social Attitudes survey who view such relationships as ‘not wrong at all’ has risen from 29% in 2000 to 59% in 2015

Scotland has undergone a societal shift in its attitudes to same-sex relationships, especially among older people, while substantial pockets of prejudice remain towards the Travellers community and Muslim women who wear the face veil.

According to the latest tranche of data from the Scottish Social Attitudes survey, the most comprehensive and longest-standing study of its kind in Scotland, one of the most significant shifts was apparent in attitudes to gay and lesbian relationships[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/08/c-of-e-bishops-urged-to-unequivocally-welcome-gay-christians], with the proportion who held the view that they are “not wrong at all” increasing from 29% in 2000 to 59% in 2015. This is largely influenced by a significant decline in negative attitudes among the over-65s.

Related: C of E bishops urged to unequivocally welcome gay Christians[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/08/c-of-e-bishops-urged-to-unequivocally-welcome-gay-christians]

Indeed, by 2015 people reported that they were more unhappy for a close relative marrying or forming a long-term relationship with a member of the Traveller community (32%) or someone who experiences depression (19%) than with someone of the same sex (16%).

This large scale analysis of public attitudes to prejudice and discrimination, commissioned by the Scottish government and the Equality and Human Rights Commission, and carried out by ScotCen Social Research, has been released every four to five years since it was founded in 1999.

The proportion of people expressing concerns about the impact of **immigration** on the Scottish labour market, both by those from ethnic minorities and from eastern Europe, saw a significant decline between 2010 and 2015, but just under a third continued to agree or agree strongly that **immigration** “takes jobs away from people in Scotland”.

While only 5% of respondents by 2015 said that they would be unhappy if a family member entered a relationship with a black or Asian person, prejudice towards certain visible symbols of religion remained entrenched, with 65% agreeing that an employer should be able to insist that a Muslim woman remove her veil while at work, only reducing from 69% in 2010.

Likewise, a fifth thought that an employer should be able to insist a Sikh man take off his turban at work, and 15% believed that a Christian woman should take off her crucifix.

Although previous evidence from the survey had shown that people who know someone from a minority ethnic group are less likely to hold discriminatory attitudes towards people in that group, the 2015 data revealed that one in five Scots still do not know someone from a different ethnic background, while a little more than one in 10 do not know someone who is gay or lesbian. One percent reported that they did not know anyone who is Muslim.

The study also found a significant decrease in the proportion of people reporting that they did not know anyone with a mental health problem, down from a quarter in 2010 to 19% in 2015.

Higher levels of prejudice remained towards Travellers, with 34% believing that a member of this community would be an unsuitable primary school teacher, compared with 20% who felt similarly about someone who had undergone a sex change.

Commenting on her findings, Susan Reid, research director at ScotCen Social Research, said: “Today’s findings show a marked decline in levels of prejudice towards lesbian and gay people in Scotland since we last asked in 2010. A large part of this is down to a significant decline in negative attitudes among the over-65s.

“Although older people are still more likely to express prejudiced views, the age gap has narrowed since 2010. This is a positive step towards a more inclusive Scotland. However, our research still shows relatively high levels of prejudice towards some groups in society, such as people who cross-dress, those who have undergone gender reassignment and Gypsy/Travellers.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**After Elon Musk said he hoped to send people to Mars by 2022 but that there was a ‘high’ chance of death for participants, we asked readers why they’d risk it all

Why are people willing to risk their lives for a chance to visit Mars?

After SpaceX founder Elon Musk announced[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/sep/27/elon-musk-spacex-mars-colony] on Tuesday that he hoped to send manned missions to Mars by 2022 but admitted there was a “high” chance of death for participants, we asked readers[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/sep/28/mars-elon-musk-space-spacex-travel] why they’d risk it all.

Their answers are varied – from helping humanity to preferring to die in an interesting way – and inspiring. Of the 50 responses we got, only a handful were from women (at least, based on their names).

“Are you prepared to die? If that’s OK, you’re a candidate for going,” Musk said on Tuesday.

Here are some willing Red Planet visitors:

Jared Kellogg, 28, a photographer from New Mexico:

Dying is something we all will face at some point, so why not thrive for something the human race would never forget?

Why limit our lives to our known Earth when we should be pushing the envelope on advancing our understanding of the universe? Going to Mars is not the end goal here – finding the answers to why and how life exists is. Would we find life? Would we discover ruins of a past race of species? The questions are endless, and I think space travel is the only way to answer those. As a photographer I would love to be the first human to take vast landscape shots of Mars and send them back to Earth so other young-minded explorers like me can be inspired by the beauty of the unknown.

Mark Vandersluis, 59, an IT manager from the UK:

When I was a child I read a juvenile science fiction book in which the Chinese undertook a one-way suicide mission to the moon for the prestige (naturally, they were rescued by a joint UK-USA mission!). I became hooked on the idea of space exploration. When I was 12 I watched the moon landings and read that in a decade or two there would be expeditions to Mars. I was inspired by the idea of humanity leaving the bounds of Earth for other planets. While I was at university, 40 years ago, it became apparent that the costs of a manned mission to Mars would be astronomically high. I saw that a one-way mission would cut costs enormously. I knew straight away that if the opportunity ever arose, I would be willing to go on a one-way mission, regardless of the personal outcome. Today, it looks as though the possibility of travel to Mars might soon be here, optimistically within my lifetime. It’s a step which must be taken by the human race, regardless of the individual risk. If I died in the process, lessons will be learnt and progress will be made. If I lived to see Mars, it would be the single most amazing achievement of my life. How could I not take an opportunity like this?

Dan Horner, 32, a transport planner from New Jersey:

I don’t think civilization progresses without taking risks and making sacrifices. If my death provides valuable insight into preventing future deaths in space, then it was worthwhile. Admittedly, though it would suck to suffocate in the depths of space, it’s more romantic than the deaths I’m statistically most likely to experience here: cancer, heart disease, or car crash. When I was growing up, Nasa was much more a part of the public consciousness, and I dreamed of becoming an astronaut. I hope recent advances in technology, and press coverage of new efforts to reach Mars, will lead to renewed interest in science in public schools.

Anonymous 18-year-old from North Carolina:

I have always been fascinated with the planets. Mars more than others due to the fact I used to read DC Comics as a kid about Martian Manhunter. I would love to be able to help and build a city on Mars. I also wouldn’t mind exploring under the surface of Mars. I also want to visit Europa [one of Jupiter’s moons]. I’ve researched it a lot. Not to mention how beautiful it is. I have heard possibilities of **alien** life there too. I know they’re out there somewhere, and we should all come together. If humans are going to Mars, then why can’t **aliens** finally reveal themselves?

Nathaniel Tallent, 27, a teacher of first, second and third grade in a Montessori Elementary classroom in Decatur, Illinois:

I work to inspire my students each day to think outside of the normal, outside of the average person’s thoughts, to imagine the things that no one has ever imagined before, and to go where no one has ever gone before. The kids of today have a world at their feet and in their future that they have no idea how complex and fascinating it will be. To see humans attempt to and set foot and possibly colonize another planet is like when Christopher Columbus sailed to the new world, when Leif Erickson landed in the north, when settlers first laid eyes on the Grand Canyon or Yosemite, or even when the first humans left the Rift Valley in Africa to see what else was out there (if you choose to follow that belief; my students always have the choice to decide where their beliefs lie). I applied to go to Mars with the Mars One Program that released a few years ago. Going to Mars is part of one of most historical events in human history. It is the next step in human civilization. This is bigger than a rally for rights, a gathering for equality, a push for this country to be better than this other country; this is the human race and humanity as a whole stepping beyond the planet Earth to a whole new level of existence. My first year teaching I worked with high school seniors and I gave a test with an extra credit question. The question asked: “If you could go anywhere, where would you go?” I had 50 students in a course designed for advanced high school seniors looking to work in the education field. Of the 50, 49 students said a city that was within a couple hours drive of Decatur; one student said Paris, and he passed away the following summer. This is a phenomena that needed to change. I want to see that same question asked in 10 years and see answers that not only leave the state of Illinois or the United States, but to see answers that show students believe it is possible to leave the planet would show a level of adventure and desire that an educator could only dream of for each student they encounter.

Matthew Hawkins, 19, a student from Indiana:

Because Mars is the best chance for the future of humanity. Not only will it provide us with a second home after extensive terraforming, but it also increases our land by an unbelievable amount. It could prove to be an industrial wonderland that could supply us with almost unlimited resources for thousands of years. All of this only serves to help the species in the future to thrive. It creates jobs, safety, increases imagination, inspires children, and can lead to a cultural renaissance not seen since the 1500s. People’s whole outlook on life will change with each celestial body we settle, creating new possibilities that not even our children could imagine. I want to be a part of that. I want to help humanity down a lighter path. This is why I want to go to Mars. I want to be like one of the great explorers of the 16th century and discover things our ancestors could only have dreamed of.

An anonymous 25-year-old from Alabama:

On Earth you are one of approaching 8 billion people. Unless you’re a billionaire businessman, a pop culture icon or a genius inventor, you’re inherently replaceable, unmemorable. You’ll be forgotten and consigned to the dust of history, just as uncountable people before you have. What you do has little meaning, anyone could do it. What you say has little meaning, your voice will be lost in the swarm. Your failure has little meaning, your success has little meaning. You won’t likely change your society on a meaningful level, the identities of our societies (especially in the west) are already set in stone. Mars, however, offers you the chance to be more than that. Much like the religious groups colonizing the new world, you have the opportunity to shape society with your very existence. The legends and culture of this future society will be influenced by your actions. You will be the people legends are written about, you might be the next Abraham Lincoln, people might tell tall tales of your hidden wealth or you might be known for your infamous villainy. You might be one of the men and women who throw off the shackles of oppressive companies or you might be one of those who ensured their hold and success. Even if you’re never directly attributed to anything, even if you live a quiet life. The way you lived, your attitudes, the culture you helped create, your political leanings, all of that will contribute to an ingrained memory in this new society. You will be one of the people who helps shape the identity of a whole new society, and the opportunity to be part of that is worth the risk of dying on the way there. I also feel there are probably many worse and less cool ways to die than being sucked into space, so that’s a plus too.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Treasurer says voters’ anxieties about Muslims and foreign investment threaten Australia’s economic growth

Scott Morrison has warned about the rise of populist resentment to **immigration**, free trade and foreign investment, saying it threatens the foundations of Australia’s economic growth.

He said news that 49% of Australians support a ban on Muslim **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/progressives-can-attract-hanson-supporters-but-not-by-insulting-them] was a serious concern, as were polls that found similar opposition to trade deals and foreign investment.

It would be dangerous to endorse such “policy sentiments” because it could cut off Australia from the primary sources of prosperity it has enjoyed for two centuries.

Speaking at the Lowy Institute in Sydney, in his third major economic speech in recent weeks, the treasurer said it would be foolish to deny there was a concern about **immigration** in Australia.

Related: Muslim **immigration** poll result due to poor leadership, says Tanya Plibersek[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/22/muslim-immigration-poll-result-due-to-poor-leadership-says-tanya-plibersek]

“The way to address it is not to be dismissive, but to engage on those concerns and have policies that effectively address them as the Coalition has done, under Howard, Abbott and Turnbull, ably assisted, I would like to think, by their respective **immigration** ministers,” he said.

Many voters wondered why they felt they were not benefiting from recent economic growth in Australia, with stagnating wages and fewer hours at work.

The way to fix that, said Morrison, was to pursue a program for investment, trade and **immigration** that focused on bringing people to Australia “who make a contribution rather than take one”.

One Nation’s leader, Pauline Hanson[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/pauline-hanson], used her maiden Senate speech this month to question the value of globalisation and call for a halt to “further **immigration**”, warning that Australia was in danger of being swamped by Muslims.

Last week she said she did not believe the recent poll that found 49% of voters supported a ban on Muslim **immigration** to Australia. She said she thought the true figure was much higher[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/22/pauline-hanson-says-49-support-for-ban-on-muslim-immigration-is-too-low].

On Friday Morrison said voters’ anxieties about **immigration** and the economy would be ameliorated by policies that created jobs, increased wages, drove growth, and boosted living standards.

He said Australia should not reject foreign investment, including investment in agricultural land, despite concerns about the supposedly high level of Chinese investment.

“The agricultural land register firstly shows that 86.4% of all agricultural land in Australia is owned by Australians, and that of the 13.6% agricultural land owned by foreign interests, 84% of this interest is leasehold,” he said.

“China accounts for just 3% of all foreign-owned agricultural land, while the Americans, British and Dutch account for more than two thirds of the holdings.

Related: Scott Morrison flags plan to ban house sales that breach foreign investment rules[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/20/scott-morrison-flags-plan-to-ban-house-sales-that-breach-foreign-investment-rules]

“Of the major agricultural foreign investment applications I have approved as treasurer, the largest were to combinations of US, Canadian, Dutch and Swiss investors, not Chinese.”

He assured Australians that the Turnbull government had strengthened controls on foreign investment, including increasing the application fees for foreign investors buying real estate, lowering the screening threshold for agricultural foreign investments from $252m to $15m, and putting a $55m threshold on investments in agribusiness.

He also said Australians could not afford to turn their backs on world trade, and it was in Australia’s interest to keep arguing for continued trade liberalisation to keep our markets open.

He said Australia must keep accepting **immigrants**, too, because the **immigration** program had been the “prime driver of population growth that has supported our economic growth”.

“The Productivity Commission is projecting our GDP to be around 58% higher by 2060 than it would with only natural increases in population,” he said.

“We saw this economic impact during the years of the Howard government when not only did we double the level of permanent **immigration** to Australia, but we increased the proportion of skilled migration of our intake from less than 30% under Labor in 1996 to almost 70%, where it has remained ever since.

“The Turnbull government is committed to ensuring that we keep this strong economic focus without our **immigration** program.”

He said Australia must continue to focus on trade, **immigration** and foreign investment if it wanted to remain one of the fastest-growing advanced economies.

“We cannot deny this prosperity to future generations by disconnecting ourselves from the very sources of this prosperity,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Not sure what to see at the theatre next year? Van Badham selects the most promising works, from experimental debuts to revivals of unbeatable classics

The Australian habit of year-in-advance theatre programming may make it difficult for local playhouses to be responsive in that programming, but it sure is good for publicity schedules.

When it comes to the major Australian stages, the launch season is half done – meaning those already planning what they’ll see at a theatre next December have half their menu of options to choose from.

This far out from actual performance dates, it’s near-impossible to predict just what will turn out to be the unexpected masterpiece local audiences throng to see. This is, after all, a country that’s managed to make living-memory hits from a cabaret musical about a defeated prime minister (Keating), a localised take on Norwegian realism staged almost entirely behind a wall ( The Wild Duck[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2014/oct/27/the-wild-duck-review-ibsen-simon-stone] ) and a love story that concludes when everyone dies from Aids (Holding the Man).

Nevertheless, here are five stabs in the dark:

Queensland Theatre – An Octoroon[http://www.queenslandtheatre.com.au/Shows/An-Octoroon], by Branden Jacobs-Jenkins, director Nakkiah Lui Up north, the pick of the Queensland Theatre season is the Australian premiere of the Branden Jacobs-Jenkins American smash, An Octoroon. The play riffs on Irish playwright Dion Boucicault’s 19th-century melodrama set in the antebellum Deep South, and follows the illicit love of a white man for a girl whose one-eighth African-American heritage is enough to ostracise her.

Enormously popular in its day, Boucicault’s text has been rewritten by Jacobs-Jenkins both as a comedy and a radical reappraisal of race representation in America. Black performers take to white roles with the assistance of “whiteface”; a parade of racial stereotypes collapses in on itself – and at one point the playwright emerges from the darkness screaming.

At only 31, Jacobs-Jenkins’ ambition as a writer has been rewarded with an Obie, a Windham-Campbell award and a MacArthur Foundation Genius grant – he is one to watch now, if not to stare after into the future.

Related: Is Australian theatre racist?[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/australia-culture-blog/2014/jun/12/is-australian-theatre-racist]

The Queensland Theatre production will star Miranda Tapsell and be directed by Nakkiah Lui – one of the brains and performers behind the ABC’s cult sketch show Black Comedy. It’s Lui’s directorial debut, and she’ll be working with Jacobs-Jenkins to adapt his script for an Indigenous Australian context.

“A work based on a terminally dated play from more than 150 years ago may turn out to be this decade’s most eloquent theatrical statement on race in America today,” declared the New York Times after the play’s recent New York transfer season. Whether this theatrical statement will translate to the Australian conversation is one of the most intriguing questions posed in the national theatre calendar.

Also worth watching: Once in Royal David’s City[http://www.queenslandtheatre.com.au/Shows/Once-In-Royal-Davids-City], a drama by former Queensland Theatre artistic director Michael Gow; and Joanna Murray-Smith adapts Ingmar Bergman’s brutal Scenes from a Marriage[http://www.queenslandtheatre.com.au/Shows/Scenes-From-A-Marriage] for real-life couple Marta Dusseldorp and Ben Winspear.

Malthouse Theatre – You’re Not Alone[http://malthousetheatre.com.au/whats-on/youre-not-alone], by Kim Noble Down in Melbourne, Australia’s most experimental mainstage company Malthouse Theatre is sticking to brand with a brochure promoting “AN ANARCHIC SEASON OF THEATRE THAT REVOLTS AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT AND SEARCHES FOR RADICAL COMPASSION” – yes, all in caps.

The caps are deserved in the case of Kim Noble’s extraordinary You’re Not Alone, which premiered at Edinburgh fringe in 2014[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2014/aug/21/edinburgh-festival-2014-review-kim-noble-youre-not-alone]. It is a desperately shocking meditation on loneliness and the search for human connection, performed and narrated by Noble himself. Ostensibly a comedian, Noble won the coveted Perrier award for best newcomer at Edinburgh as one half of writing and performing duo Noble and Silver in 2000. His work has since outgrown the confines of comedy, while somehow remaining hilarious.

In this production, Noble presents video, audio, photography and even internet screenshots that record his experimental encounters with strangers – including trying to seduce truck drivers with his fake internet persona “Sarah”, recording his neighbours having sex, pretending to work at a hardware store, and stalking a man called Keith who works at the local grocer. Some of these are dangerously unethical engagements, and the show is confronting not only for what it exposes about Noble’s lack of restraint, but how his own fierce loneliness pervades the communities he visits and inhabits. As tender as his consideration turns out to be, this is not a show for the easily troubled; if footage of a man shitting on a church floor upsets you, do not go.

Also worth watching: A new Declan Greene play The Homosexuals, or Faggots[http://malthousetheatre.com.au/whats-on/the-homosexuals-or-faggots] ; the second instalment of Tom Waits’s Black Rider cycle, The Casting of the Magic Bullets[http://malthousetheatre.com.au/whats-on/the-black-rider-the-casting-of-the-magic-bullets], boasting a cast including Meow Meow and Paul Capsis; and Wild Bore[http://malthousetheatre.com.au/whats-on/wild-bore], a dissection of bad art, created and performed by the extraordinary comic trio of Adrienne Truscott, Ursula Martinez and Barry-winning Zoe Coombs Marr.

Melbourne Theatre Company – Minnie and Liraz[http://www.mtc.com.au/plays-and-tickets/season-2017/minnie-and-liraz/] by Lally Katz, director Anne-Louise Sarks No all-caps in Melbourne Theatre Company’s program; the pick of the season is a new play by local playwright Lally Katz, Minnie and Liraz. The dark quirkiness of Katz’s earlier works created for Melbourne’s fringe has bloomed through her years on the mainstage. She is a bright comic talent, no less affecting for being very funny, as plays such as the much-praised Neighbourhood Watch and Stories I’d Like to Tell You in Person have shown.

Her 2017 offering is a story about two competitive bridge-playing grandmothers. There’s a story going round that the playwright was swamped in the MTC foyer after an early reading of the play by a small horde of the company’s older patrons, keen to pitch in their bridge insights. Whatever their input, it has a cracker of a cast: comic talents Virginia Gay and John Leary play foils to the legendary Sue Jones and Nancye Hayes. As a new play, it’s a ticket purchased on trust, but this is Katz in her element, writing for a home crowd. It’s hard not to believe that the audience who applauded the playwright for waltzing with a bear at the Malthouse in 2013 will be anything less than engaged with her new material.

Related: I was commissioned to write a play about finance. Then I met Cookie, the psychic | Lally Katz[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/03/i-was-commissioned-to-write-a-play-about-finance-then-i-met-cookie-the-psychic]

Also worth watching: The Father[http://www.mtc.com.au/plays-and-tickets/season-2017/the-father/], a vehicle for Shakespeare impresario John Bell; Eddie Perfect’s “comedy with songs” about Australia’s obsessions with the property market, Vivid White[http://www.mtc.com.au/plays-and-tickets/season-2017/vivid-white/] ; and a revival of Michael Frayn’s much-performed yet still-unbeatable farce Noises Off[http://www.mtc.com.au/plays-and-tickets/season-2017/noises-off/], featuring Simon Burke.

Belvoir – Tom Ballard: Boundless Plains to Share[http://belvoir.com.au/productions/tom-ballard-boundless-plains-share/] by Tom Ballard, director Scott Edgar Sydney-based Belvoir has a strong season, but this critic’s pick is Boundless Plains to Share, in which comedian Tom Ballard presents something like stand-up comedy crossed with a slide night as he desperately tries to understand, explain and activate an audience against Australia’s punitive **refugee** policy.

Politicised on the issue since the age of 14, Ballard’s involvement with the Welcome to Australia movement brought him into contact with **refugees** in and out of detention. He encountered stories he found both uplifting and heartbreaking, and these stories permeate a show that is laugh-out-loud funny and enraging at the same time.

Ballard developed Boundless Plains to Share under the guidance and direction of Scott Edgar – more commonly known as Scod from Tripod – who had been helping the Asylum Seeker Resource Centre for many years. It’s a good theatrical match, avoiding both mawkishness and over-earnestness in its presentation of the kinds of stories often emotively retold by the well meaning – and sometimes compromised as a result.

Ballard’s show was made possible by a Moosehead award[http://www.mooseheadawards.com.au/cms-about] – it allowed him to pursue something close to his heart without anxiety about commercial returns. Belvoir’s selection of Boundless Plains to Share vindicates the professional support Ballard received to make it.

Also worth watching: Which Way Home[http://belvoir.com.au/productions/which-way-home/] and Barbara and the Camp Dogs[http://belvoir.com.au/productions/barbara-and-the-camp-dogs/] sees Belvoir maintain its commitment to strong Indigenous content; New Zealand children’s puppet show The Bookbinder[http://belvoir.com.au/productions/the-bookbinder/] ; Future D. Fidel’s Prize Fighter[http://belvoir.com.au/productions/prize-fighter/] has earned nothing but rapturous praise since its debut at La Boite; and Hir[http://belvoir.com.au/productions/hir/] by the brilliant Taylor Mac challenges the rigidity of gender roles with the rare combination of insight, empathy and a quirkiness that never becomes twee.

Griffin Theatre Company – Diving for Pearls[http://www.griffintheatre.com.au/whats-on/diving-for-pearls/] by Katherine Thomson, director Darren Yap At Griffin, there is a revival of Katherine Thomson’s Diving for Pearls. Set in a 1980s Wollongong reeling from industrial devastation, the story follows the aspirational Barbara, colour-matching herself into an imagined future as she seeks a job at one of the city’s new resorts, and her partner Den, who has just lost his blue-collar job and doesn’t know what to do with himself.

This play often finds its way onto high-school reading lists, but hasn’t been given a serious revival in over a decade. Griffin’s decision to restage it now is a shrewd one, given that its themes of unemployment and uncertain futures in regional Australia have re-emerged in the public political conversation. Ursula Yovich will play Barbara, with Darren Yap directing.

Also worth watching: Ross Mueller’s A Strategic Plan[http://www.griffintheatre.com.au/whats-on/a-strategic-plan/] takes on the language of workplace relations; and Morgan Rose’s Virgins and Cowboys[http://www.griffintheatre.com.au/whats-on/virgins-cowboys/], from Griffin’s independent season, is vulgar and funny.

Sydney Theatre Company – Away[https://www.sydneytheatre.com.au/whats-on/productions/2017/away] by Michael Gow, director Matthew Lutton Another revival piques the interest at STC, as the company restages Michael Gow’s 1986 play Away – another stock selection for syllabi, one which makes frequent appearances on the mainstages, and is similarly beloved of the amateur circuit.

It’s endured because it’s good: three Australian families of different classes and experiences find themselves grappling with change as Australia grasps at mature nationhood amid the social upheavals of the 60s and the shadow of the Vietnam war. What distinguishes this STC production from the many others that have taken place since the play’s debut is its director, Matthew Lutton, also the artistic director of Malthouse Theatre, whose Picnic at Hanging Rock was one of the best productions of 2016.

This is a rare chance for an Australian audience to see a familiar local play exposed to the rigours of a radical reinterpretation. How will Lutton’s gothic sensibilities and directorial palette of darkness treat a text accustomed to more summery interpretations? Among seasons heavy with diverse stories, performance styles, origins and interpretations, allowing someone like Lutton to get his hands on Away may just be the symbolic gesture history requires to acknowledge Australian theatre is all grown-up.

Also worth watching: Nakkiah Lui has her own show, Black is the New White[https://www.sydneytheatre.com.au/whats-on/productions/2017/black-is-the-new-white] ; Colm Tóibín’s The Testament of Mary[https://www.sydneytheatre.com.au/whats-on/productions/2017/the-testament-of-mary] is worth seeing for its star, the ever-electric Alison Whyte; Moira Buffini’s Dinner[https://www.sydneytheatre.com.au/whats-on/productions/2017/dinner] finally makes it to Australia, 10 years since its appearance on the West End; and Australian Graffiti[https://www.sydneytheatre.com.au/whats-on/productions/2017/australian-graffiti], which considers the contemporary migrant experience, by Disapol Savetsila – still merely an undergraduate at the University of Wollongong. Is this the new wunderkind of the Australian theatre? Only time, and your eyeballs, will tell.

State Theatre Company of South Australia – Mr Burns (A Post-Electric Play)[http://www.statetheatrecompany.com.au/home/whatson/shows2017/mrburns/] by Anne Washburn, director Imara Savage The most intriguing proposition of the STCSA season is Mr Burns (A Post-Electric Play) – a 2012 work by American Anne Washburn that imagines a post-apocalyptic future in which plotlines from the Simpsons are retold as folk tales over generations of a struggling new society.

Washburn’s fascination with pop culture narratives becoming oral artefacts was the reason she gathered a group of actors in a disused bank vault under New York’s Wall Street back in 2008 and asked them to see how much of any episode of The Simpsons they could remember. Washburn made recordings of these sessions, which informed the initial drafts of the play.

A powerful anticapitalist message emerged through this process – a message that may have been very different if the playwright had chosen to instead pursue her other ideas for narrative exploration: episodes of Friends, M\*A\*S\*H or Cheers. Whether the controversial text divides audiences in Australia as much as it did in America will be interesting to see (it is a coproduction with Belvoir and will travel to Sydney after its Adelaide season). That its promotional image is this year’s creepiest, however, is undeniable.

Also worth watching: The extraordinary Sandy Gore plays shadowy novelist Patricia Highsmith in Joanna Murray-Smith’s Switzerland[http://www.statetheatrecompany.com.au/home/whatson/shows2017/switzerland/] ; and local playwright Nicki Bloom has fun with New Year’s Eve in Vale[http://www.statetheatrecompany.com.au/home/whatson/shows2017/vale/].

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Republican nominee’s comments come after he had said Merkel was ‘ruining Germany’ and said she should be ‘ashamed of herself’ over her **refugee** policy

After months of bashing the German chancellor on the campaign trail, Donald Trump declared that Angela Merkel was his favorite world leader.

In an interview with a local reporter in New Hampshire, the Republican presidential nominee proclaimed: “I think Merkel is a really great world leader.” Though, he added, “I was very disappointed that, when she, this move with the whole thing on **immigration**, I think it’s a big problem and really, you know, to look at what she’s done in the last year and a half. I was always a Merkel person. I thought really fantastic. But I think she made a very tragic mistake a year and a half ago.”

Trump was criticizing the German chancellor’s openness to taking **refugees** from Syria. Despite the ongoing civil war and humanitarian crisis in that country, Trump has long warned of the danger of taking in **refugees**, whom he has compared to the Trojan Horse.

The statement marks a change in tone from Trump, who has repeatedly attacked Merkel on the campaign trail.

In December, after Merkel bested him to be Time’s Person of the Year[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/09/angela-merkel-time-magazine-person-of-the-year-2015], Trump tweeted[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/674587800835092480] she was “ruining Germany”. He had previously said Merkel should be “ashamed of herself” over **refugee** policy.

Hillary Clinton is running to be America’s Angela Merkel. We’ve seen how much crime and how many problems that’s caused

Donald Trump in August

Trump has since gone on to compare Merkel to his election rival Hillary Clinton. In August, he said, “Hillary Clinton is running to be America’s Angela Merkel, and we’ve seen how much crime and how many problems that’s caused the German people.”

He has also seen parallels in nativist opposition to Merkel in Germany in local elections and his own cause, telling a crowd in North Carolina[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/06/donald-trump-rally-greenville-north-carolina-clinton-attack] in September, “See what happened to Angela Merkel? They had a massive defeat recently in the elections.”

However, Trump has praised Merkel in the past. In August 2015 he called her[http://time.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/4453084/donald-trump-angela-merkel-germany-immigration/] “probably the greatest leader in the world today” and, in 2013, he tweeted[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/385826942303211521] “Angela Merkel is doing a fantastic job as the Chancellor of Germany. Youth unemployment is at a record low & she has a budget surplus.”

Curiously, Trump’s statement came only hours after Clinton praised Merkel as one of her favorite world leaders in a gaggle with reporters on her campaign plane.

When asked to name a favorite, the Democratic nominee said “One of my favorites has been Angela Merkel... her leadership and steadiness on the Euro crisis and her bravery in the face of the **refugee** crisis is something that I am impressed by.”

The questions came after Libertarian candidate Gary Johnson was unable to name a single foreign leader he admired[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/28/gary-johnson-cant-name-foreign-leader-aleppo-moment] in a town hall with MSNBC’s Chris Matthews on Wednesday.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Markus Kerber dismisses claims German firms will not tolerate trade tariffs and says relations with rest of EU more important

The head of Germany’s largest business group has said German firms will not push for a free trade deal between the EU and Britain after Brexit, despite the number of cars and quantities of other goods they sell in the UK.

In remarks likely to be seen as increasing the likelihood of a “hard Brexit” excluding Britain from the EU single market, Markus Kerber, head of the BDI, dismissed claims that German companies would not tolerate trade tariffs after Britain leaves, and said Germany’s relations with the rest of the bloc were more important.

“I have read a lot of articles in the British press saying Germany would be a relatively soft negotiator because 7.5% of German exports go to Britain,” Kerber told BBC Radio 4’s today programme[http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07wgkz2]. “Well, 7.5% is a big number – but 92.5% goes somewhere else.”

Leading pro-Brexit politicians, including the foreign secretary, Boris Johnson[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/22/boris-johnson-uk-aiming-start-eu-brexit-talks-early-2017], have argued that economic imperatives – the German cars, French cheese and Italian wine sold in the UK – would oblige the EU to offer Britain a favourable trade deal, including some compromise on control over free movement which Theresa May has said is Britain’s first priority.

But, much as German manufacturers valued good relations with UK customers, Kerber said, it was “extremely important to us not to lose or **alienate** other European markets”.

He said the level of “political ill-will” against Britain on the continent was “much, much bigger than economic rationality” – in part because the bloc’s single market and eastward expansion had been “core UK strategies” and it was now “exactly those countries whose migrants are causing headaches in Great Britain”.

Ultimately, Kerber said, there was “no difference, for the BDI, between the political view and the economic view”. Pointing to huge investments made by German carmakers in central Europe, he said: “For us, the single market, eastern Europe and freedom of movement – they are all one deal, that is inseparable.”

Carlos Ghosn, chief executive of the Japanese carmaker Nissan, said on Thursday that his company would demand a UK deal offering compensation for any eventual trade costs resulting from Brexit before it committed to more investment in its Sunderland plant.

“If I need to make an investment in the next few months and I can’t wait until the end of Brexit, then I have to make a deal with the UK government,” Ghosn said at the Paris car show. “If there are tax barriers being established on cars, you have to have a commitment for carmakers who export to Europe that there is some kind of compensation.”

Further underlining what is starting to look like an inevitable hard Brexit, Britain’s trade secretary, Liam Fox, on Thursday hailed Britain’s chance to become a full independent member of the World Trade Organisation after Brexit and said[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/liam-fox-looks-to-wto-in-hint-at-hard-brexit-stance] leaving the EU was a “golden opportunity” for the UK to trade with the rest of the world, particularly developing markets.

A survey of the EU-27 by the Bloomberg news agency also revealed unanimous opposition to the UK remaining a member of the single market if it refused to accept freedom of movement.

Positions in Brussels and the other EU capitals were hardening, the survey found[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-09-28/-hard-brexit-looms-as-28-red-lines-turn-deeper-shade-of-scarlet], with even traditional allies such as Ireland now insisting Britain should not be allowed to “cherry pick” in upcoming exit negotiations.

Several countries are demanding Britain end up with “inferior” terms to those it currently has, while others want it to keep paying into the EU budget in exchange for whatever benefits it does get. Some countries, particularly in central Europe, have threatened to veto[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/17/eastern-bloc-countries-will-uphold-citizens-rights-to-live-in-uk] any Brexit deal that does not guarantee the rights of their citizens to live and work in the UK.

Kerber said an agreement curbing EU **immigration** while retaining privileged access to the single market was impossible, and the arrangement the British government appeared to be seeking was “not what the continental Europeans are willing” or even able to give.

“If British decision-makers look very hard at what it is and what it will be that they get, there is no other option than the hard exit,” he said, adding that that might be better than “a fudge in the middle that does not work politically and would leave uncertainty lingering on”.

Separately, the French foreign minister, Jean-Marc Ayrault, said before a meeting with Johnson in London that the EU referendum had been won by demagoguery, lies, half-truths and exaggerations. He said he was sure Europe could survive, and could only hope for the same for Britain.

Ayrault’s remarks, in a lengthy foreign policy lecture late on Wednesday, came as France and the UK struggle to assemble a diplomatic initiative in Syria based on a wider re-evalusation of future western relations with Russia. His tone suggests Johnson still has a way to go to rebuild alliances across Europe.

“The United Kingdom and the European Union have just been victims, in June, of one of those fits of demagoguery,” Ayrault said. “Brexit will jeopardise neither the European Union, I am sure, nor the United Kingdom, I hope.”

He said Brexit was “rooted in lies, exaggerations and caricatures, we must remember. I say this with all the more tranquility because the promoters of Brexit after the referendum admitted, on leaving the ship, that their promises were not sustainable. The supreme irony is that they left the burden of the negotiation to a prime minister who campaigned to stay in the union.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Restrictions stopping asylum seekers from working in Britain are increasing their dependency on welfare, report finds

Britain is one of the worst countries in Europe at integrating asylum seekers into the labour market, unnecessarily increasing their dependency on the British welfare system, a report has found.

Under British law, asylum seekers must wait for 12 months before applying for a work permit – the longest waiting time in Europe, according to research from the Migration Policy Centre in Italy, and Bertelsmann Stiftung, a German thinktank.

Even after the 12-month threshold, asylum seekers are often unable to access the labour market because they cannot be self-employed or set up a business. They can also only apply for jobs within a small band of professions for which many asylum seekers lack the qualifications to apply.

Even when asylum seekers are granted **refugee** status, researchers found that they are effectively discouraged from seeking work. The limited 28-day window in which they have to find private accommodation is too short for them to find work and then earn the wages they would need to pay for a deposit on a rental contract.

“Due to the brevity of this period, there is a strong incentive to secure housing and out-of-work benefits rather than employment,” the report argues.

This dynamic means that asylum seekers are less able to contribute to the British economy, Joscha Schwarzwälder, one of the report’s authors, said in an interview. “One reason for letting asylum seekers work is that they will not have to rely on social benefits and there will be less costs for the budget,” said Schwarzwälder.

He added: “Another argument is that early access to the labour market is key also for the longer-term labour market integration. In other words, if asylum seekers remain inactive for a prolonged period of time because they are prevented from accessing the jobs market, they will have more difficulties in finding employment once their asylum claim has been settled. Hence, a preventive approach might also create more costs in the longer term.”

Moe, a Syrian graduate currently seeking asylum in the UK, said the restrictions made him less likely to be able to contribute to the British economy in the long term. “I was told: ‘Do not work. Do not even do voluntary work,’” Moe said.

Moe, who asked not to publish his surname, continued: “The problem for me is that I’m a freelancer. If I continue to turn down client requests while I wait for my application, I won’t have any clients by the time my application is processed. It’s been almost six months since I applied, and I haven’t even been assigned a case worker, which is the first step in the process after the initial screening.”

Stephen Hale, CEO of **Refugee** Action[http://www.refugee-action.org.uk/assets/0001/3854/letrefugeeslearnfullreport.pdf] (pdf), a charity that helps to integrate **refugees** in Britain, said a lack of English lessons was also hindering the process. “English lessons are the first crucial step in enabling **refugees** to integrate,” said Hale. “It’s hugely frustrating for many **refugees** in Britain that there is a severe shortage of English classes. The annual cost of English classes is around £1,600. This is repaid in just six months when **refugees** gain employment at the national average wage.”

The MPC report also suggested that the Swedish and German policy of allowing asylum seekers to work early on in their application process was also key to easing them into the formal economy. It also encouraged more training schemes for **refugees**, which it said led to better employment rates, and found that places that offered more secure housing to **refugees** tended to see higher **refugee** employment. It also found merit in Scandinavian schemes that provide economic incentives to employers who give jobs to **refugees**.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Nicky Morgan and Ken Clarke tell PM ‘Brexit means Brexit’ is not enough, as Italy says UK will get no special deal

Senior Tories have urged Theresa May to set out a clearer plan for Brexit, as yet another EU leader warned Britain was not going to get special deal on **immigration** and the single market.

Nicky Morgan, the former education secretary, and Ken Clarke, the former chancellor, pressed May to come up with more than her slogan “Brexit means Brexit”, ahead of her first party conference speech as leader in Birmingham next week.

Meanwhile, the Italian prime minister, Matteo Renzi, said there would be an “interesting debate” about the single market and **immigration** across Europe.

But he warned: “It will be impossible to give to British people more rights than other people outside the EU.”

Renzi also criticised David Cameron for calling a referendum to sort out internal party problems.

May has stuck to the line that she will not be giving a running commentary on her negotiating position, although she has indicated she would like a bespoke deal allowing curbs on free movement at the same time as access to the single market.

Morgan, who is emerging as a leading Tory moderniser on the backbenches, told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme that the prime minister should provide more details about when she would trigger article 50 to start the process of leaving the EU at the party conference next week or certainly within the next couple of months.

“There has been a lack of a plan coming from the government and, yes there is a danger where the government will find itself in a position where other people are setting the terms,” she said.

Morgan was backed up by the former Tory business minister and remain campaigner Anna Soubry, who said she was “right that we need to know the principles behind the government’s Brexit plan”.

Ken Clarke, a longstanding pro-EU Tory, also weighed in, claiming May was running a government without any policy on Brexit.

“Nobody in the government has the first idea of what they’re going to do next on the Brexit front,” he said in an interview with the New Statesman.

In a separate development, a German business group, the Federation of German Industries, said it would be better for the UK to pursue a so-called hard Brexit that involves fully leaving the single market.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In the critical bellwether of Jefferson County, the Trump campaign has put its trust in co-chair Weston Imer to win over voters in the ‘tipping point state’

The 2016 presidential race could easily be decided in Colorado’s Jefferson County. The suburbs west of Denver have long been considered a political bellwether for any candidate seeking election to the White House.

Yet that does not appear to have discouraged Donald Trump’s campaign entrusting its outreach in the critical county to a 12-year-old.

Weston Imer, co-chair of Republican nominee’s campaign in Jefferson County, dismissed the suggestion that his age should be an impediment.

“I know what I’m doing,” he said. “I’ve been in politics since I was very young. I’m good friends with all of the candidates here in Colorado … I’m friends with pretty much everyone in the whole darn county and state.”

“The people from the Trump campaign, they trust me, they think I will do what needs to be done here in Jefferson County.”

The people from the Trump campaign, they trust me, they think I will do what needs to be done here in Jefferson County

Weston Imer

He added: “It’s a great honor. It’s a once in a lifetime experience to be able to run a campaign at this young of an age, because we’ll never be at this age again.”

Weston shot to notoriety last month after his role in the campaign’s Jefferson branch made national headlines.

Some of those reports overstated the clout of the 12-year-old, skirting the fact that he was, in fact, sharing the volunteer role with his mother, Laurel Imer. Fearing a distraction, the Trump campaign has since put a halt on interviews with its youngest political operative, who has not spoken publicly since.

Colorado is the state that fomented the so-called “Never Trump” movement among Republicans disaffected with their nominee – and his Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton, had been enjoying a formidable double-digit lead there.

Just a few weeks ago there were reports that the Clinton campaign had shelved spending in the state, assuming the state was all but won. But the polls since then have narrowed dramatically[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/co/colorado\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5751.html], and the candidates now find themselves neck-and-neck in the crucial swing state.

Election forecaster Nate Silver has declared Colorado “the tipping point state”[https://twitter.com/NateSilver538/status/780489566881013760] ; as Colorado’s perennial bellwether, Jefferson is once again in the spotlight.

“If Donald does not win in Jefferson County, he stands a very strong chance of not winning in Colorado,” Weston said in an interview for the Guardian’s Anywhere But Washington series of election videos.

“We need Trump supporters to come out, and be out of the closet, and tell everyone that you support Mr Trump.”

That’s not always easy. Weston said he had suffered some personal repercussions for supporting the controversial GOP nominee.

“Even before I was the co-chair, kids were bullying me. Especially the Ted Cruz supporters and their parents,” he said. “So did the Hillary Clinton supporters, and so did the Bernie Sanders supporters.”

“I’ve also had kids say that they’re leaving the country if he gets elected to the presidency,” he added. “I told them that they were overreacting, and that their parents were as well.”

The 12-year-old is also the founder of Colorado Kids for Trump, a group he said he created to support schoolchildren facing similar consequences as a result of their support for the nominee. “If you get bullied at school, contact me, and I will draft a formal letter to your school,” he said.

Trump’s political operation might have worried it was taking a risk by making a 12-year-old a de facto spokesman in such a pivotal swing county.

The Republican nominee has repeatedly been tarnished by supporters and surrogates who have made remarks considered inappropriate, even by his standards. Earlier this month, Marco Gutierrez, the Mexican-born founder of Latinos for Trump, prompted ridicule after warning that if Trump failed to reach the White House there would be “taco trucks on every corner”[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/02/taco-truck-on-every-corner-trump-mexican-marco-gutierrez].

Last week, Kathy Miller, an Ohio county chair, was forced to resign[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/22/trump-campaign-chair-kathy-miller-resigns-ohio-racism-obama] after her remarks about race in an interview with Anywhere But Washington[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/22/trump-ohio-campaign-chair-no-racism-before-obama] went viral.

I like that he doesn’t speak in politically correct terms, I like that he speaks his mind

Weston Imer

However, if Trump’s political operatives took a risk putting a 12-year-old in the spotlight, it appears to have paid off. He has shown the discipline and restraint of a seasoned political spokesman, adhering to the Trump campaign’s talking points while lampooning the Republican’s political rival.

“I like that he doesn’t speak in politically correct terms, I like that he speaks his mind, I also like his **immigration** plans and his plans about the **refugees** coming from overseas, that we need to heavily screen them and put a hold on it until he wipes out Isis,” he said.

“He’s going to make America great again. If we don’t elect him we’re going to have Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is a criminal – a proven one, to be exact – in the presidential office, and if that happens this country will not be here in the first four, or possibly eight years.”

Asked about his political future, Weston, who is also an actor and a singer and said his inspiration is Ronald Reagan, did not miss a beat.

“I’m headed politically to run for the presidency in 2040,” he said. “That’ll be my first eligible year, so I’m ambitious.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Contrary to what many libertarian Leavers believe, ‘taking back control’ of the UK’s borders will have to mean bigger, not smaller, government

Brexit is good news for consultants[https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/sep/27/consultants-enjoy-higher-demand-and-pay-in-wake-of-eu-vote]. Their pay this summer is up 9% in a year, as companies demand more handholding and strategic advice. And viewed purely as a job opportunity, there is cheer, too, for parts of the public sector after the UK’s decision to leave the European Union, with tens of millions of pounds needing to be spent on additional civil servants

The UK cannot leave the EU customs union without HMRC and Border Force employing thousands more – at least 5,000 more customs staff, according to consultancy KPMG[https://www.ft.com/content/45f27908-82f4-11e6-8897-2359a58ac7a5?ftcamp=published\_links%2Frss%2Fworld\_uk\_politics%2Ffeed%2F%2Fproduct]. There is, despite what some technology-utopians say, no IT fix; you can’t leave companies to self regulate and choose whether or not to declare goods subject to duty.

As for control of people, tighter migration policy doesn’t just mean more booths at Heathrow. It also requires more command of emigration, more staff to round up overstayers and illegals and closer checks on who leaves the UK.

Related: Brexit negotiations could cost tens of millions of pounds, says report[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/brexit-negotiations-could-cost-tens-of-millions-of-pounds-says-report]

And that’s before any of the social policy implications of Brexit are taken into account. Leave aside campaign lies about extra funding for the NHS, there are plenty of Tory MPs who would vote to boost public services employment in areas where migration has been significant in recent years. It’s up to chancellor Philip Hammond[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/08/philip-hammond-announces-autumn-budget-statement-for-23-november] and his autumn statement whether they will get the chance this year. But sooner or later, Brexit must bump up the size of the state.

The thinktank British Future[http://www.britishfuture.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/What-next-after-Brexit.pdf] says today’s £28 annual spend per person on managing migration will have to rise, if the status of the UK’s 3.5 million EU nationals is to be sorted out and the borders made more secure. Border Force staffing has risen since this division of the Home Office was created in 2012. But only a few months ago, on these pages, Lucy Moreton[https://www.theguardian.com/public-leaders-network/2016/apr/01/border-staff-cuts-terror-attacks-immigration] of the ISU, the union for borders, **immigration** and customs, complained about poor morale and intolerable pressure on her members, especially in Dover and Calais and at Heathrow. The UK has 5,000 customs staff and Border Force has 8,000: a very lean operation by international standards. The Home Office will have to recruit.

That’s pretty much what Mark Harper, former **immigration** minister, told an audience at the Institute for Government[http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications]. Brexit has to mean more bodies[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/brexit-negotiations-could-cost-tens-of-millions-of-pounds-says-report]. Administering work permits is going to be complicated under whatever system emerges, and will bring a lot more intervention in firms’ recruitment schemes. Some say policy logic leads back to where former home secretary David Blunkett[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2004/apr/26/immigrationpolicy.humanrights] found himself 12 years ago, introducing identity cards – at a cost then of up to £3.1bn.

Theresa May’s line when she was at the Home Office was that visa charges ought to cover the cost of **immigration** and border control. But today’s gap – income from visas at £1.3bn and spending at £1.8bn – can now only grow.

Also, migration control is likely to bring more work for the police. That might be impossible with today’s staffing levels: police numbers have been cut by 14% since 2010.

Some Leavers were libertarians, claiming that emancipation from the EU would see government further reduced. That’s the position adopted by Liam Fox and David Davies. It’s now plain that “taking back control” – of borders and customs – brings bigger not smaller government.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**One good speech is not enough on its own, but after Labour’s summer of pain there is a moment of clarity – and all sides must seize it

Jeremy Corbyn has relaunched a leadership[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/commentisfree/2016/sep/26/the-real-lesson-from-corbyns-victory-you-cant-hold-back-history] that was staring into the abyss. Consider what has happened since he last took to the podium at Labour conference. Britain voted to leave the EU[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum], a prime minister who seemed unassailable was toppled[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/david-cameron-resigns-after-uk-votes-to-leave-european-union], Jo Cox[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/16/jo-cox-obituary] was brutally killed, and Labour collapsed into its worst internal crisis since its foundation. Corbyn’s speech yesterday had two key aims: to bring a divided party together and to appeal to a public that regards Labour’s current situation as a baffling mess. He is a leader who has sustained a relentless media onslaught and a revolt from almost the entire parliamentary party. Perhaps Elton John’s I’m Still Standing would have been an appropriate song to welcome the re-elected Labour leader to the stage.

Related: Jeremy Corbyn speech: Labour MPs should 'end trench warfare' and get behind socialist vision - Politics live[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/28/jeremy-corbyn-speech-labour-conference-jeremy-corbyns-today-interview]

He could have been weakened. Instead the greatest leadership crisis ever endured by any mainstream politician has left him more assured and confident. Corbyn has acknowledged his failures in communication, and the more fluent speaking style we saw on Wednesday demonstrated a genuine attempt to rectify them. One of the principal functions of a leader’s speech is to throw punches at opponents that actually land, and that was essential here.

Amid Labour’s civil war, scrutiny of a Conservative party shifting to the right and ridden with its own divisions has dissipated. Theresa May was allowed to raid the rhetoric of the left[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/jul/13/prime-minister-theresa-may-pledges-to-build-a-better-britain-video] – social justice, fairness, building a society in the interests of the many – while lurching off to David Cameron’s right.

“Who seriously believes that the Tories could ever stand up to the privileged few?” asked Corbyn[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/sep/28/jeremy-corbyns-labour-conference-speech-video-highlights] to incredulous laughter. “They are the party of the privileged few, funded by the privileged few, for the benefit of the privileged few.” He is hitting the mark, for this is not simply the view of Labour’s faithful: polls have shown this is exactly what most voters think.

A recurring critique by Corbyn’s opponents is that he simply isn’t interested in Labour winning elections. Here was an attempt to challenge a false dichotomy. Yes, protest and campaigning plays a crucial role – but Labour’s purpose, above all else, is “about winning power in local and national government to deliver the real change our country so desperately needs”.

When he spoke of Labour’s proposals on the economy, it was technical but none the worse for that. The left’s perennial weakness is appearing amateurish, prizing slogans over substance. There were concrete proposals: a national investment bank, investment in infrastructure, a new settlement for business. With self-employed people set to eclipse the number of public sector workers, finally there was a bold appeal for their support: a recognition that they value their independence, but not the insecurity, with an offer of social security and the finance to allow “successful innovators” to “grow their businesses and generate employment”.

Most striking perhaps, was the determination to tackle head-on an issue that has dogged his leadership since his very election: patriotism. Patriotism is not a concept that many metropolitan leftists are terribly comfortable with. They regard it as a euphemism for bigotry, xenophobia and imperialism. But to millions of working-class English people (Scotland and Wales are well served by their respective patriotisms), it matters a lot – and they feel the left is contemptuous about it. This was a speech infused with patriotism. “A Labour government will never accept second best for Britain” must become a line repeated ad infinitum. There was a patriotic case for tax justice: “There is nothing more unpatriotic than not paying your taxes – it is an act of vandalism.”

Much of it was aimed at the faithful. That's fine. But the focus – the fixation – must be on building broader appeal

And there was calibration. A passionate defence of migrants was balanced with an acknowledgement that concerns over **immigration** must be acknowledged. The referendum result was accepted – and Labour is toast in many of its natural constituencies if it does anything else – but a just Brexit referendum was accepted.

Though one good speech is not enough on its own, there is now a platform that can be built on. Labour’s woes are not all the product of the machinations of the mainstream media (who are not going to change their ways) or the parliamentary party (who are not a homogenous bloc). The leadership team, which did not expect to win last year, made mistakes in communication and strategy that cut through and caused damage. That damage must be undone if Labour is not to suffer the sort of election rout that would discredit the left for a generation.

Much of it was aimed at the faithful. That’s fine, for few outside that group will watch the whole performance. But the focus – indeed the fixation – must be on building broader appeal. Labour has long haemorrhaged support among older people – how will it reverse a trend fatal to its political prospects? Its economic policies are becoming much clearer to wonks. The task now is to make the way forward clear to voters, in ways that can be digested on the doorstep. What exactly is its vision for, say, someone on £25,000 living in small-town Britain?

Related: The real lesson from Corbyn’s victory? You can’t hold back history | Paul Mason[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/commentisfree/2016/sep/26/the-real-lesson-from-corbyns-victory-you-cant-hold-back-history]

The rhetoric will certainly rouse the hundreds of thousands who have flooded into the party, but still it may feel **alien** to millions. Labour’s leadership must now use this speech as a launchpad to develop a clear, coherent, optimistic vision for the Britain they want to build. Concise messages that hammer away at viable solutions should be repeated as mantras – just as the Tories do so successfully.

There is hope, for what appeared impossible just weeks ago – uniting the party – seems far more achievable. There have been fewer harsher critics of Corbyn than John Woodcock[https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/labour-party/news/73205/john-woodcock-told-accept-%E2%80%98democratic-decision%E2%80%99]. He praised a “well-delivered speech … with a firm direction”. In the afterglow, sceptical MPs may well feel reassured enough to retake their shadow ministerial posts. There can and should be compromise, for in truth, the ideological divisions are less profound than they were in the 1980s. The bigger concerns, MPs will tell you, are competence, priorities and effective communication.

Labour has endured a summer of pain, but if that sorry period has forced leaders to confront their weaknesses, it could ultimately be to their advantage. After Liverpool, there is a moment for clarity. All sides must seize it. Together they will decide whether the party can achieve political triumph or suffer terminal decline.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Labour leader sets out leftwing agenda in speech that hits back at critics who say he is uninterested in winning elections

Jeremy Corbyn called on Labour MPs to “end the trench warfare” and get behind a socialist vision for Britain under which he would allow councils to borrow more, raise taxes on business to fund education and suspend arms sales to Saudi Arabia.

Related: Corbyn's relaunch and Labour's conference – Politics Weekly podcast[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/audio/2016/sep/28/corbyns-relaunch-and-labours-conference-politics-weekly-podcast]

Setting out a radical leftwing agenda that secured rapturous applause from supporters in the hall in Liverpool but a sceptical response from some Labour MPs, Corbyn also hit back at party critics who say he is uninterested in winning elections.

“Yes, our party is about campaigning and it’s about protest too but most of all it’s about winning power in local and national government to deliver the real change our country so desperately needs,” he said, describing his vision as “21st-century socialism”.

The Labour leader did admit that his party had to face up to the challenge of Brexit and said it had an “electoral mountain to climb”. But he added that the party needed to come together to take on Theresa May’s Conservatives.

“Let’s be frank, no one will be convinced of a vision promoted by a divided party. We all agree on that. So I ask each and every one of you – accept the decision of the members, end the trench warfare and work together to take on the Tories,” he said.

The party leader, in his second keynote address to conference as leader, used the opportunity to set out key policies to the conference including:

\* Scrapping the local borrowing cap, which would allow councils to use their existing housing stock to raise money that could be ploughed back into council housebuilding.

\* Raising corporation tax by up to 1.5% to fund an education maintenance allowance for college students as part of a n ational e ducation s ervice.

\* Banning arm sales where there are credible reports of human rights abuses or war crimes being committed “starting with Saudi Arabia”, which he said committed repeated violations of international humanitarian law and war crimes.

He said he had laid down his policy vision in a document that had been accepted by Labour’s national executive committee. But in a joke aimed at those who talk of a “cult of Corbyn”, he added: “Don’t worry, they’re not the Ten Commandments. They will now go to the n ational p olicy f orum and the whole party needs to build on them, refine them and, above all, take them out to the people of this country.”

Related: Did Jeremy Corbyn’s conference speech win over the party? Our writers’ verdict | The panel[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/28/jeremy-corbyn-speech-labour-party-conference-panel-views]

One of the loudest and longest cheers during the speech was when he told the audience that he believed recent wars had spread terrorism, sectarianism and violence.

“That is why it was right to apologise on behalf of the party for the Iraq war, right to say that we have learned the lessons, and right to say that such a catastrophe must never be allowed to happen again,” said Corbyn, causing most of the audience to rise to its feet but a few members to walk out in what could be seen as an attack of the former Labour leader, Tony Blair.

Many MPs think Corbyn’s leftwing vision cannot win an election because they believe it will not appeal to people who voted Conservative in 2015. But his supporters argue that his victory among members and registered supporters has earned him the right to carry his package into an election.

The speech was in stark contrast to that delivered by the deputy leader, Tom Watson, on Tuesday in which he urged delegates to stop “trashing the record” of Blair and Gordon Brown – and argued that capitalism is not the enemy.

Related: Jeremy Corbyn's Labour conference speech – the key points analysed[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/28/corbyns-conference-speech-the-key-points]

In his speech, Corbyn seemed to counter Watson’s point. He said: “The global banking crash is an object lesson of out-of-control greed and speculation that crashed economies across the globe and required the biggest ever government intervention and public bailout in history.”

Corbyn used his speech to pay tribute to Labour MP Jo Cox, who was killed outside her constituency office, and address the spate of abuse and hate that he called “utterly unacceptable”.

The Labour leader then provided his strongest response yet on the issue of antisemitism, describing it as “evil” and as having led to the worst crimes of the 20th century. “This party always has and always will fight against prejudice and hatred of Jewish people with every breath in its body,” he said.

However, the comments came as Momentum’s vice chair, Jackie Walker, came under pressure to resign after she incorrectly criticised Holocaust[https://www.theguardian.com/world/holocaust] Memorial Day at a party antisemitism training session for commemorating only Jewish victims.

Walker took issue with the definition of antisemitism used at the training event, which was organised for members at the party conference by the Jewish Labour[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/labour] Movement (JLM).

“In terms of Holocaust day, wouldn’t it be wonderful if Holocaust day was open to all people who experienced Holocaust?” she told organisers, heard in a recording of the event.

Holocaust Memorial Day is intended to commemorate all victims of the Nazi Holocaust, and other genocides, including atrocities in Bosnia and Rwanda.

After shouts from participants, Walker said that was not how she viewed the event. “In practice, it’s not actually circulated and advertised as such,” she said. “I was looking for information and I still haven’t heard a definition of antisemitism that I can work with.”

She later said in a statement: “I would never play down the significance of the Shoah. Working with many Jewish comrades, I continue to seek to bring greater awareness of other genocides, which are too often forgotten or minimised. If offence has been caused, it is the last thing I would want to do and I apologise.”

Walker, who is an old friend of Corbyn’s, was previously suspended from the Labour party after posting during a Facebook discussion that Jews were “chief financiers of the sugar and slave trade” and arguing “the Jewish Holocaust does not allow Zionists to do what they want”. She was readmitted to the party after an investigation.

Corbyn used the speech to stamp down his authority by offering no apology for his pro-**immigration** stance.

Faced with criticism from Labour colleagues who believe he is offering the wrong response to the Brexit vote, he said: “It isn’t migrants that drive down wages... It isn’t migrants who put a strain on our NHS... It isn’t migrants that have caused a housing crisis.”

MP Stephen Kinnock MP said the speech was strong on the economy and innovation but added: “The challenge now is to do more to reassure the British people that Labour is strong on defence and security, and we must also develop policies on **immigration** that better reflect people’s very real and legitimate concerns about free movement.”

Corbyn’s speech drew an end to the conference, which began with him securing 61.8% of the vote in his battle with Owen Smith.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The word ‘Muslim’ has come to symbolise a thing beyond being Australian, a thing of chaotic violence. So is it any surprise Australians want to stop it?

I agree with the 49% of Australians who polled in favour to “stop Muslim **immigration**”[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/progressives-can-attract-hanson-supporters-but-not-by-insulting-them] ? I agree. The “Muslim” threatens to destroy an innocent and singular Australia.

It may come as a surprise to those who know me. But, forced to be politically sensitive, engaged, and ever conscious of my community’s troubles and affairs, I as a Muslim and as a committed critic of Australia’s pervasive racism, for once concur with the white paranoid sentiment.

I agree mostly because in 15 years of hearing the tired mantra about an **alien** and encroaching Islam, the word “Muslim” has come to symbolise a thing beyond being Australian, a thing of chaotic violence and a carrier of a confronting and thick difference.

Related: Progressives can attract Hanson supporters. But not by insulting them | Peter Lewis[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/progressives-can-attract-hanson-supporters-but-not-by-insulting-them]

So naturally, the logic follows, that national borders should be a protection from and a purger of unfriendly elements that threaten our assumed cultural purity. But more so, I agree because at its core, driving its narratives, lays racism’s decrepit yet persistent logic. Its greed. Its thirst to dispossess. For, racism is dispossession.

It is the dispossession of land, of culture, of history and of dignity and rights; it is the dispossession of justice and of knowledge; the dispossession of even one’s own skin. For black, brown, red and yellow are categories of a western civilisational canon; our skins are stolen and given their inferior meanings by those who labeled themselves a colourless white.

Some have managed to win back their labels, but as it stands, it’s worth asking, should I understand the “war on terror” as time when I am being dispossessed of the word Muslim?

A collation of zealots from east and west seem determined to use “Muslim” for whatever their purpose, but I have never lost sight to the fact that terrorism’s violence would not register a count against racism’s.

So, I am not interested in policing the already over-policed Islamist, not interested in having my political voice dispossessed so that every time I talk I must highlight that it is the terrorists who are to blame for the plight of Muslims in the west.

No, the terrorists are not to blame for Australia’s racism. If someone cannot tell the difference between Susan Carland[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/susan-carland] and Osama bin Laden then they are not ignorant. They are willingly ignorant.

But that’s the logic of racism, to dispossess the racist even of their own humanity and their sense of it, and above all to dispossess Muslim from their own lived Islam, from its own contested cultural debates, from its own expansive and endlessly deep heritage, from its own linguistic lineage.

The “Muslim” has come to be a hollowed, emptied, term that functions as a trigger for white anxiety. Little surprise then, when you add Muslim next to another anxiety-laden word “**immigrant**” the result equates to half the country reaching out for the treadmill’s emergency red stop button.

Modernity’s pace seems too quick for some, but the keen reader would have noted that in my opening agreement I put the Muslim in scare quotes. I do this for a reason. The word “Muslim” belongs to a conversation born out of the “war on terror”. I distinguish it from the quote-less everyday Muslim whose complex life is beyond the headline and Hanson’s narrow parameters.

Any one simplified and generalising statement about Islam betrays the religion and its communities’ diverse contests, betrays Muslims’ internal debates on how to best articulate Islam’s universality. Whereas, the “Muslim” functions in a pure simplicity. It simply means them. It represents an abject figure that has to be excluded from the circle of us so to imagine a supposed pure integrity of our culture.

In my own experience, the everyday Muslim has no problem with Australia. In fact, they are infuriately, to a fault, in love with this country. In love to the point that they maintain hope that its democratic value will correct its racism.

Related: We can’t build a progressive political agenda without tackling bigotry | Jeff Sparrow[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/26/we-cant-build-a-progressive-political-agenda-without-tackling-bigotry]

I have little sympathy for these moderates and their “heartbreak” at the poll’s results, for I agree with the poll precisely for the opposite reason. The “Muslim”, not the Muslim, is a threat because it stands for a 200-year racial paranoia that threatens to expose the undemocratic truths of this country’s racism, threatens to unleash the violent whiteness that lurks within, that lurks looking for an excuse to sprout its head.

Consider, how, in another Essential poll[http://www.essentialvision.com.au/immigration-and-religion-2] in 2014, only 17% of people voted that we should prevent **immigration** based on one’s religion. Add the word “Muslim” the number significantly rises. Does this increase not exactly expose how the word “Muslim” functions as a trigger to suspend reason, suspend values, suspend realities. Who is betraying the the myth of the secular: Muslim **immigrants** or those who wish to empower the state to socially engineer our religious make up?

The poll I fear has little to do with realities or values and everything to do with the reciting the racial scripts that are prepping us to suspend the very thing that hinders the acceleration of Australia’s racism: the myth we are not racist. It becomes easier to be only after it becomes acceptable to say. So, yes. Stop the “Muslim”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**One of the officers who shot and killed Alfred Olango is the subject of two lawsuits, one alleging he sent a female officer unsolicited pictures of his genitals

One of the officers involved in a shooting death[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/28/police-killing-black-man-el-cajon-san-diego-protest] by police of a black man in a San Diego suburb is currently being sued for sexual harassment by a female officer.

Mayor Bill Wells of El Cajon, California, confirmed in a press conference on Wednesday that Richard Gonsalves was one of the officers who shot Alfred Olango, a **refugee** from Uganda, on Tuesday afternoon, one minute after arriving on the scene.

Related: Police killing of unarmed black man in San Diego sparks protest[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/28/police-killing-black-man-el-cajon-san-diego-protest]

El Cajon police department spokesman Lt Rob Ransweiler said Wednesday that two officers arrived at the scene at about 2.10pm, and that the shooting happened at 2.11pm.

Gonsalves is the subject of two lawsuits from a subordinate officer alleging sexual harassment that included unsolicited pictures of his genitals being sent. The suit also alleges that the city was told about Gonsalves’s behavior and did nothing.

Early Tuesday afternoon, police were called to a strip mall by Olango’s sister, who said that her brother was “not acting like himself”.

Police claim that Olango was shot after he put his hands up in a “shooting stance”, and they released a still frame from a cellphone video taken by an eyewitness that appears to show a man with his hands raised as if holding a gun.

Police have not released the rest of the video, however, and other eyewitnesses dispute the police’s account. Michael Ray Rodriguez told the San Diego Union-Tribune[http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/crime-courts-fire/sd-me-cajon-ois-20160927-story.html] that he saw a shirtless black man with his hands in the air before officers opened fire.

Harrowing video posted to Facebook Live shows the immediate aftermath of the shooting, in which Olango’s sister can be heard crying. “I just called you for help, and you came here and you killed him,” she tells police at one point.

The El Cajon mayor did not address Gonsalves’s lawsuits on Wednesday. He said that the FBI was joining the San Diego district attorney in conducting independent investigations into Olango’s death, and that they would release further information, including the video of the incident, at the district attorney’s discretion.

“The El Cajon police department is doing an investigation, the San Diego district attorney is doing an investigation... also the FBI will be doing this investigation as well,” Wells told reporters Wednesday afternoon.

The full video has not been released, and Wells said that it would be up to the San Diego district attorney to decide when to release it.

But he did say that while the department tries to send out officers who have had specialized mental health training to handle such calls, none were available, so the two officers were sent instead.

Wells said he was concerned that it took police an hour to respond to the report and that Olango was shot dead a minute after officers arrived, according to the Associated Press.

Dozens of protesters took to the streets on Tuesday in response to the shooting, and more took to the streets on Wednesday to demand the release of the video, occupying a freeway underpass.

The most recent lawsuit against Gonsalves, which was filed in August, describes sexual harassment against an officer who worked under his supervision, Christine Greer.

The harassment, the complaint alleges, included sending her texts like “U will never meet a more discreet or uncomplicated fuck buddy [sic]” and “I’m drunk ant I want u! [sic]” as well as pictures of his genitals via text message.

Another suit, filed in 2015 by Greer, alleges that Gonsalves also harassed other female officers in the department. Both suits allege that the city was told about Gonsalves’s behavior but failed to act to stop him.

The August complaint was filed supplementally against Gonsalves and also against the city of El Cajon for failure to prevent Gonsalves’s harassment and for retaliation Greer experienced after the first suit. The second suit also alleges that Gonsalves did all of this despite knowing that Greer was “a sexual assault survivor who suffered from PTSD.”

According to court documents, Olango came to the US from Uganda with his family as **refugees** in 1991, when he was 12. The family then settled in California.

Agnes Hassan, a **refugee** from Sudan, told reporters that she and Olango had been in a **refugee** camp together. “We suffered so much with the war in Africa, we come here to suffer again,” she said.

Both the El Cajon police department and the El Cajon police officers’ association, the police union, did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

The Associated Press contributed reporting.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Newly re-elected Labour leader to say that party will not ‘sow division’ despite pressure from backbenchers in wake of vote to leave EU

Jeremy Corbyn will say on Wednesday that a Labour government will not “sow division” by promising to cut **immigration**, despite pressure from key backbenchers to shift the party’s stance after the Brexit vote.

Freedom of movement has emerged as a fresh dividing line in the party, with some MPs saying the message from the public in the vote was that levels of **immigration** from the EU had become too high.

But the Labour leader will tell his party: “A Labour government will not offer false promises. We will not sow division or fan the flames of fear. We will instead tackle the real issues of **immigration** – and make the changes that are needed.”

His spokesman told journalists: “He is not concerned about numbers,” adding that rather than seeking controls on **immigration**, Labour would seek to mitigate its effects on low-paid workers by reintroducing a “migrant impact fund”.

A £50m fund to ease the pressure of migration on public services was introduced by Gordon Brown in 2008 and scrapped two years later by David Cameron under the coalition in summer 2010. “As long as the consequences of **immigration** are tackled, it is not an objective to reduce the numbers, to reduce **immigration**,” the spokesman said.

Related: Jeremy Corbyn's team targets Labour membership of 1 million [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/27/jeremy-corbyns-team-targets-labour-membership-one-million]

Corbyn repeatedly said during the referendum campaign that he did not believe Britain should seek to cut **immigration**. The prime minister, Theresa May , has made clear she will seek controls on freedom of movement [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/uk-immigration-what-are-the-alternatives-to-a-point-based-system] when Brexit negotiations commence; and some Labour MPs believe that message will resonate with working-class voters who feel their wages are under pressure.

The Leeds West MP, Rachel Reeves , told a fringe meeting on Tuesday that her constituency was like a “tinder box” and voters’ concerns about **immigration** and lack of control over their lives could “explode” on to the streets if they remain unaddressed.

Reeves is among several prominent backbenchers, including Chuka Ummuna [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/25/the-need-to-be-relevant-is-now], Stephen Kinnock and Emma Reynolds , who have responded to the Brexit vote with calls to reopen the debate on freedom of movement.

The shadow home secretary, Andy Burnham , will strike a different tone from Corbyn in his conference speech, joining the calls for **immigration** reform. Burnham will call for a “fair Brexit” that addresses the concerns of people who “feel taken for granted and abandoned by the political class”.

“Labour must face up fully to this fact: millions of our lifelong supporters voted to leave the EU and voted for change on **immigration**,” he will say.

Reeves, a former shadow work and pensions secretary who sits on the Treasury select committee, told a fringe meeting: “There are bubbling tensions in this country that I just think could explode.” She said there had already been three racist incidents since the referendum and she feared there could be more cases if the public’s concerns are not addressed.

She told the Guardian : “This referendum has revealed that there are a lot of people [who] feel they don’t have a voice, that this country is not working for them and they have faced a combination of years of austerity and a rapid pace of change in their community they didn’t vote for.

“I’m saying we need to have some controls on **immigration**,” she said, adding, “You can’t just close down that discussion or label people as racist if they say that.”

Corbyn’s restatement of his commitment to uncontrolled **immigration** comes as he tries to tempt backbenchers to return to fill more than 60 posts in his shadow cabinet vacated by rebel MPs who resigned en masse after the referendum.

Talks between Corbyn and potential shadow ministers are under way and he said he plans to complete a reshuffle before parliament returns after the party conference season – which would mean announcing new recruits next week.

Several Labour sources told the Guardian that there is a “nascent” plan to bring about peace and make sure all wings of the party were represented at the top. One senior Labour MP said it could work in a similar way to the Australian Labor party’s caucus system, which formally splits into factions of which the “national left” and “national right” are the biggest.

A “soft left” centrist group is already emerging in the form of a revived Tribune alliance, which was a powerful influence within the Labour party in the years of Harold Wilson .

Another group calling themselves the “Clause I Socialists” on the right of the party is also developing, while there are dozens of MPs on the left of the party who are loyal to the leader.

Corbyn’s closest ally, the shadow chancellor, John McDonnell , said: “Look at Harold Wilson ’s cabinets. When you construct a shadow cabinet and a cabinet, you choose from left, right and centre. They give you a hard time, there’s a real rumbustious debate and then you make a decision.” He added that having representatives of all wings of the party in the shadow cabinet was “a reflection of reality”.

One of the MPs who is considering returning to the fold said it would be necessary to have formal “terms and conditions”.

Clive Efford, who is convening the new Tribune group, said about 60 MPs had signed up so far but he believed it would soon reach between 80 and 100. MPs have to ask to be allowed to join and must share the values of the group. “The Tribune group is a vehicle to develop ideas and communicate them to party members, to stimulate debate and also to let them know that the parliamentary Labour party is trying to develop ideas,” Efford said. “It is very much a traditional left-of-centre group.”

Corbyn insists he can assemble a full team [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/27/jeremy-corbyn-labour-shadow-cabinet-mps-elections] without having to allow MPs to elect their colleagues to the frontbench – a suggestion made by the deputy leader, Tom Watson , as a way of allowing rebel MPs to return with “dignity”.

However, Corbyn also appeared to undermine an intricate compromise announced by the shadow defence secretary, Clive Lewis , on the Trident [https://www.theguardian.com/uk/trident] nuclear deterrent, which Lewis and others had hoped would help persuade some disaffected MPs to return.

Lewis, who has taken over Labour’s defence review from the shadow foreign secretary, Emily Thornberry , suggested on Tuesday that Labour would not come back to the issue of Trident before the next general election – though Corbyn would be free to campaign on the issue.

Corbyn said: “The policy the party has from previous conference decisions does support the renewal of Trident. As you know, I never agreed with that decision. That’s the existing party policy. I cannot predict what will happen in the future, who will decide what they want to bring forward to conference.”

Related: Jeremy Corbyn loses majority support of Labour NEC [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/27/jeremy-corbyn-expected-to-lose-majority-support-of-labour-nec]

In his closing speech to conference on Tuesday, Corbyn will urge the Labour party to be ready for an early general election and urge members to reject the “trench warfare” that has characterised recent months.

Watson, who urged Corbyn to resign over the summer, received an ovation in the conference hall for his speech on Tuesday [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/27/stop-trashing-blair-and-brown-if-we-want-to-win-says-tom-watson], urging his party to stop “trashing the record” of the Blair and Brown governments if it wants to win elections. “I don’t know why we’ve been focusing on what was wrong with the Blair and Brown governments for the last six years but trashing our record is not the way to enhance our brand,” he said. “We won’t win elections like that and we need to win elections,” he said.

Responding to the Labour leader’s statements on migration, the home secretary, Amber Rudd , said: “All this shows is that Jeremy Corbyn wants unlimited **immigration** – and presides over a Labour party that is too divided, incompetent and distracted to lead our country.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Shadow foreign secretary breaks with Corbyn on freedom of movement, suggesting his view may be shaped by his London constituency

The shadow foreign secretary, Emily Thornberry, believes Labour should listen to the concerns of Brexit voters and consider limits on **immigration** as Britain negotiates its exit from the European Union .

Related: Corbyn's defence of **immigration** splits shadow cabinet [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/28/corbyn-defence-of-immigration-splits-shadow-cabinet-labour]

**Immigration** has been a visible faultline at Labour’s conference in Liverpool [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/28/corbyn-defence-of-immigration-splits-shadow-cabinet-labour], with Jeremy Corbyn making it clear he would be happy to maintain freedom of movement, while some prominent backbenchers, including Chuka Umunna and Stephen Kinnock, are calling on their party to revisit the issue.

Asked about the concerns of MPs who believe the Brexit vote was a signal that levels of **immigration** are a growing political issue, Thornberry said: “I hear that, and I think it’s a legitimate debate across the party, and I think different areas have different responses.”

She said her preference would be for Britain to remain in the single market, which is likely to mean accepting unfettered free movement, but she added: “I have been talking to people about how one could control **immigration** across the UK. It’s in your armoury.”

Thornberry’s Islington seat neighbours Corbyn’s constituency, and she suggested the Labour leader’s response to the issue may be partly shaped by the relaxed attitude to **immigration** in multicultural London.

“Jeremy represents that community first as a constituency MP, but the important thing is that we also have an idea about what the views are across the UK, and in different regions of the UK there are different concerns, I understand that.”

Thornberry, who shadows David Davis’s Brexit department as well as the foreign secretary, Boris Johnson, told the Guardian that – in contrast to Corbyn – she believed Labour should be willing to discuss managing the flows of workers from EU countries as part of an exit deal.

“I think that we should think first and foremost about our economy and about people’s jobs, and our people’s economic security, that should be our beginning point, and I don’t want to take the risk with people’s jobs. I think that that’s where we should start, and given that that’s our first principle, but paying attention to what people have said to us about their concerns about **immigration**, and indeed what people are saying across Europe, then we need to think about, are there sensible ways in which we can manage migration in order to lessen the impact on communities?” she said.

She added that it was still unclear how Theresa May planned to handle the complex Brexit talks, with different signals coming from different wings of the Conservative party.

“During the referendum there was no clear picture that came out from the British people about what they want in terms of their continuing relationship with the EU ,” she said.

“We begin completely at ground zero, and we’ve had three or four months and now we’ve still had nothing, and I really get the impression that Theresa May thinks it’s OK for her to be in a locked room and work it all out for herself, and say: ‘Trust me, it’s going to be fine.’”

May is expected to say more about how she will handle the process of extricating Britain from the EU at next week’s Conservative party conference in Birmingham, though she has repeatedly insisted she will not give a “running commentary” on developments.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Labour leader pledges to create ‘migrant impact fund’ to ease pressure on services, as shadow ministers push for controls

Jeremy Corbyn has mounted a forceful defence of **immigration** from the EU and elsewhere before his party conference speech, causing a fresh split in his shadow cabinet.

The Labour leader is expected to use his speech to promise a Labour government will not “sow division” by promising to cut **immigration**.

His position suggests Labour will not respond to the Brexit vote by seeking curbs on free movement of people across the EU , but senior shadow cabinet ministers have said there must be controls and the current system is in chaos.

Speaking on BBC Radio 4 on Wednesday morning, Corbyn said he understood “the problems that can come in some areas”, which is why he would create a “migrant impact fund” to ease pressure on public services.

“Migrants that have come to this country make an enormous contribution to it. Our conference understands that and Tom Watson put that case very well about the work that migrants have done in the NHS and education and other industries... we should live with that but also understand the number of British people.”

Pointing out that numbers vary from year to year, Corbyn said there were many industries such as farming that depend on migrant labour.

Asked if people should stop worrying about **immigration**, he said: “We have to allay people’s concerns about the impact... and recognise the huge contribution made to our economy and the numbers of people working in the NHS that are pretty crucial to the survival of the NHS .

Corbyn suggested the UK should continue to accept free movement from the EU , while maintaining access to the single market on the same basis as other member states.

Some of his frontbench allies are already striking a different tone, including Angela Rayner , the shadow education secretary, and Andy Burnham , the shadow home secretary.

In his conference intervention, Burnham will say: “Labour must face up fully to this fact: millions of our lifelong supporters voted to leave the EU and voted for change on **immigration**.”

Rayner told BBC there must be “controls” and described the current system as chaos. “We have to have controls on **immigration**, that’s quite clear,” she told BBC News . “You have to know who is coming in to your country and who is leaving your country.

“We have to got to make sure that our economic situation is good for everybody because **immigration** is a good thing for us, but what undermines (that) is when people feel that it is unvetted and that we are not able to deal with the issues and the concerns that people have around that.”

Corbyn repeatedly said during the referendum campaign that he did not believe Britain should seek to cut **immigration**. The Labour leader will tell conference on Wednesday: “A Labour government will not offer false promises. We will not sow division or fan the flames of fear. We will instead tackle the real issues of **immigration** – and make the changes that are needed.”

His spokesman told journalists: “He is not concerned about numbers,” adding that rather than seeking controls on **immigration**, Labour would seek to mitigate its effects on low-paid workers by reintroducing a “migrant impact fund”.

A £50m fund to ease the pressure of migration on public services was introduced by Gordon Brown in 2008 and scrapped two years later by David Cameron ’s coalition government in summer 2010. “As long as the consequences of **immigration** are tackled, it is not an objective to reduce the numbers, to reduce **immigration**,” the spokesman said.

The prime minister, Theresa May , has made clear she will seek controls on freedom of movement when Brexit negotiations commence; and some Labour MPs believe that message will resonate with working-class voters who feel their wages are under pressure.

The Leeds West MP, Rachel Reeves, told a fringe meeting on Tuesday that her constituency was like a “tinder box” and voters’ concerns about **immigration** and lack of control over their lives could “explode” on to the streets if they remained unaddressed.

Reeves is among several prominent backbenchers, including Chuka Umunna, Stephen Kinnock and Emma Reynolds, who have responded to the vote to leave the EU with calls to reopen the debate on freedom of movement. Yvette Cooper, the former shadow home secretary, also called for changes to free movement before the last election.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Calais **refugee** camp | Étienne Jules-Marey | Role/roll homophone

• An article about plans to dismantle the **refugee** camp in Calais said that many of the people living there had been offered the chance to apply for French nationality. It should have said they had the opportunity to apply for asylum in France ( UK must help in Calais crisis, says Hollande[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/26/calais-migrant-camp-must-go-by-end-of-year-francois-hollande], 27 September, page 2).

• The 19th-century French scientist and pioneer of chronophotography is Étienne Jules-Marey, not Marley ( Seeing is believing[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/sep/28/photography-and-meaning-in-the-digital-age-from-911-to-fake-crime-scenes], 28 September, page 18, G2).

• Homophone corner: “Surely it is the number of people that should determine the size of a constituency. Or do MPs refuse to help those coming to their surgeries who are not on the electoral role or are under 18?” ( Stretching the boundaries of electoral fairness[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/14/stretching-the-boundaries-of-electoral-fairness], 15 September, page 36).

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**If migrants are seen as threat, as Rachel Reeves implied, then any number will be too high. But nor can the argument be won by blaming all woes on bankers and tax avoiders

How is it possible for the Labour party to get it so wrong on **immigration**, to tack so wildly in so many directions, all of them blind alleys? Conference[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/labour-conference-2016] saw interventions – public, semi-public and private – from the “right” of the party. None of these terms, incidentally, has much meaning any more. “Blairite” has very little descriptive power when it’s used pejoratively, even by people who broadly support Tony Blair.

“The right” gives the impression of a coherent set of ideas that could be set on a spectrum between Jeremy Corbyn and Theresa May: yet this “right”, when it speaks, scatters itself at random, one minute lauding Aneurin Bevan, the next channelling Enoch Powell, with no moorings but electability.

Related: Jeremy Corbyn speech: Labour MPs should 'end trench warfare' and get behind socialist vision - Politics live[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/28/jeremy-corbyn-speech-labour-conference-jeremy-corbyns-today-interview]

I’m coming to favour Paddy Ashdown’s term, “sensible Labour” – not because I think any of them are sensible but because the MP who speaks common sense in the eyes of Paddy Ashdown is actually very easy, at a gut level, to imagine.

Sensible Labour’s latest interventions came from Rachel Reeves, its former shadow work and pensions minister, who gave the rivers of blood speech without the poetry. “We have got to get this right,” she said at the party conference, “because there are bubbling tensions in this country that I just think could explode. You had those riots in 2011 … If riots started again in Leeds and bits of my constituency – it’s like a tinderbox.”

It’s a shiftless and opportunistic argument that makes no use of the plentiful analysis and research[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/series/reading-the-riots] that has gone into those riots – none of which even name-checked the EU or freedom of movement – preferring to dangle the violence as a decontextualised spectre, reminding us that it’s a dark and dangerous world out there, the people are angry and their rage must be assuaged. Andy Burnham[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/andyburnham], Caroline Flint[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/caroline-flint] – sensible Labour falls over itself to show who is the most realistic, where realism stands for accepting without question a vision of the country confected by their opponents.

Jeremy Corbyn, meanwhile, offers no cap on **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/28/why-jeremy-corbyn-is-right-not-to-promise-deep-cuts-in-immigration], a stance that if we wanted to be literal we would properly call Blairite. It is perfectly easy to defend: as he emphasised in his speech on Wednesday, freedom of movement across the EU is not the cause of our stagnant wages and underfunded public services; it did not cause the housing shortage, it is not undermining the NHS.

Trying to solve those problems by closing the borders is like trying to deal with rising damp by bolting your front door

Trying to solve those problems by closing the borders is like trying to deal with rising damp by bolting your front door. It is senseless almost to the point of superstition. Yet Corbyn’s line falls like flesh among piranhas, instantly devoured as proof of his pointless idealism, his unelectability, his failure to be humble in the face of the public, which has spoken. There is no correct answer to this: if he had offered a cap, what would it be? Two hundred thousand? Most analysis suggests that EU migration probably peaked at that anyway, and it would be a limit offered in bad faith. A hundred thousand? Into tens of thousands, as Cameron famously, fatuously promised?

The fact is that while migrants are held to represent a threat, and leeches on a scarce resource, 10,000 is too many. If any inward migration steals your job and takes your GP appointment, then it all represents a failure to prioritise the wellbeing of your citizens.

If the Labour party accepts that as an accurate depiction – even as a starting point for promises for extra funding, the restitution of the migrant impact fund – then it has already lost. There will always be someone willing to go one rung lower, one rung meaner. And yet their only alternative, so far, has been not to talk about it at all.

**Immigration** is a perfectly reasonable issue to have on the agenda, unless it’s item one. Then it becomes – and has become – a debate of unanswerable binaries: do you care more about the person in Bolton than you do about the person in Brussels? If so, then show it; and if not, good luck, because the person in Bolton won’t vote for you and the person in Brussels can’t.

There is nothing new about this political manoeuvre, in which you throw all your nation’s hardship, all its cultural anxiety, all its fear of change, on to a demonised other. It is the oldest trick in the political book, and it is tedious to have to discuss it as though it is both novel and particularly relevant to our times.

The real question is not the magic number of migrants that finally broke our national tolerance and cohesion, but rather the constellation of circumstances that made the ground for it so fertile. It could not have travelled without another demonisation, that of the person on benefits: if everyone who isn’t economically productive and self-sufficient is a scrounger then citizenship is reduced to a number, a wage, a tax take.

Related: Jeremy Corbyn's Labour conference speech – the key points analysed[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/28/corbyns-conference-speech-the-key-points]

When your own status to your nation is so precarious, so mercenary, when you are held to have no innate worth as a compatriot, then of course the ready acceptance of newcomers is a peculiar insult. And that narrative could never have taken hold without the stagnant wages that underpin it.

Yet there is something deeper still: a political landscape in which nobody really believes themselves to be travelling somewhere better, only clinging to what they have in a global maelstrom whose every wind augurs ill.

Labour cannot win this simply by saying don’t blame[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/28/jeremy-corbyn-speech-labour-conference-jeremy-corbyns-today-interview] the migrants, blame the bankers, or the tax avoiders, or the corporations. It is perfectly possible to blame all those people at once. The party cannot win it by saying migrants aren’t responsible for your hardship. Labour can only win the argument by saying hardship is something we can solve together, and here’s how. Without a hopeful agenda, **immigration** will always be toxic to them; but with one, this will lift like a morning fog.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Detention centre staff say **refugees** are being encouraged to return to places where they face arrest, persecution or torture

“You have no future here,” the 833 men detained at the Manus Island [https://www.border.gov.au/ReportsandPublications/Documents/statistics/immigration-detention-statistics-31-july-2016.pdf] detention centre were bluntly told in a formal government statement[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/27/no-future-for-you-here-australia-and-png-push-to-clear-out-manus-detainees] this week. But, for the overwhelming majority of those still in detention after three years, they have no future anywhere else either. They have nowhere else they can go.

Australia is coercing **refugees** on Manus Island to return to their home countries, even to places where it is known they face arrest, persecution and possible torture, staff on the island have told Guardian Australia.

The detention centre on Manus was found to be “illegal and unconstitutional” by the Papua New Guinea supreme court[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/apr/26/papua-new-guinea-court-rules-detention-asylum-seekers-manus-unconstitutional] in April and, while it remains operational more than four months later, the Papua New Guinea and Australian governments are escalating efforts to close it.

Of the 551 men held there who have had their protection claims assessed, 541 – or 98% – have been recognised as **refugees**[http://www.aph.gov.au/About\_Parliament/Parliamentary\_Departments/Parliamentary\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1516/Quick\_Guides/Offshore#\_Percentage\_of\_asylum\_2]. That is, they have a “well-founded fear of persecution” in their homeland, they cannot be returned there, and they are legally owed protection.

Related: 'No future for you here': Australia and PNG push to clear out Manus detainees[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/27/no-future-for-you-here-australia-and-png-push-to-clear-out-manus-detainees]

Only 10 have been found not to be **refugees**.

But those with valid **refugee** claims are still being pressed to return home: offered upwards of $10,000 to abandon their right to protection and warned if they choose to stay they face an uncertain future.

An island source familiar with offshore processing procedures spoke on condition of anonymity, fearing retribution under the Border Force Act: “it is just so morally wrong – when you are found to be a **refugee** you are owed protection”.

“Our government is knowingly and deliberately trying to coerce people back to

situations where they can be killed or persecuted or tortured. This is now

happening before some have been fully assessed under all the **refugee**

determination procedures. To me that’s so wrong, it’s morally wrong and

questionable under the law. It flagrantly disregards non-refoulement obligations under international human rights law.”

“The law is flexible in our government’s hands. Offshore processing allows for an

‘out of sight, out of mind’ mentality whereby if ‘no one’s really seeing

what we’re doing then we are not accountable’.”

On Wednesday PNG’s **Immigration** and Citizenship Services Authority (Icsa) announced the camp would be restructured[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/27/no-future-for-you-here-australia-and-png-push-to-clear-out-manus-detainees], with “positive” **refugee** determined men held separately from those with “negative” assessments.

All in the camp are being actively encouraged to abandon their protection claims even if they have demonstrated they face imprisonment, persecution and torture if they return home.

“Assistance is available for people who want to voluntarily depart PNG. Recently, the amount of integration assistance has increased,” the men were told this week in a statement from Icsa, which also warned police would be called in to force “the movement of those who refuse to cooperate”.

Asylum seekers are being made to attend “status resolution interviews” with an Australian **immigration** department staff member where they are enticed to abandon their protection claims with inducements of money and immediate passage home – even before their protection claims have been finalised, according to detainees and staff on the island.

“Before the [**refugee** status determination] process is finished, they are already forcing these into these meetings with the sole intention of pushing them home, a place where they are in serious danger,” said an island source.

Asylum seekers who refuse to attend are stripped of their “points”, the ersatz currency used to obtain food, cigarettes and phone credit inside the detention centre.

At those meetings asylum seekers are offered upwards of $10,000 – the department has rejected reports of figures up to $20,000 – to go home immediately.

“This is a new step designed to push men home,” the source on the island said. “After three years we are still squeezing them, pressuring them to go back, it’s simply coercion.

“The reality it is the Australian government continues to use highly vulnerable

people to solve problems the government itself has created. There are no resettlement options either in PNG or a third country. It has been found to be illegal under the PNG constitution to detain asylum seekers. Forcing people home might reduce the size of the problem but it will not make it go away.”

Charlotte Chompff, who formerly worked on Manus Island, told Guardian Australia the men held on the island faced constant coercion to return home “voluntarily”.

Related: Resettling **refugees** in Papua New Guinea: a tragic theatre of the absurd | David Fedele[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/20/resettling-refugees-in-papua-new-guinea-a-tragic-theatre-of-the-absurd]

Rohingyans, Somalis and Sudanese were being pressed to go home, induced with money and told they should abandon their claim to protection, even though their homelands were active warzones, or it was accepted by the Australian government that because of their ethnicity or religion they faced systemic persecution, she said.

“It is clear refoulement to send someone back home, when they have been found to be a **refugee**; especially to places where there is an active war occurring. The fact that they are still on Manus after all this time is demonstration of just how impossible it is for them to go home.”

Rohingyans – an ethnic and religious minority not recognised as citizens by their home country, Myanmar – “literally cannot go back”.

“It is impossible. So they are trapped, waiting for nothing.”

Chompff said detention on Manus was designed to be cruel.

“Australia’s whole underlying strategy … is to make conditions in offshore detention so difficult that people will give up. It is a deliberate tactic to wear people down, to break them down, so they just give up and go home.”

Chompff said men who had been found to be **refugees**, where it was known they faced systemic and violent persecution in their homelands, were still being encouraged, and offered inducements, to return home.

A confidential source on Manus told Guardian Australia: “Some guys put their hand up [to be returned]. Their attitude is ‘I don’t care if I get locked up when I go back, at least I’ll know it is for 10 years, I’ll get sentenced for a specific period of time and then it will be over’. On Manus they don’t know how long the punishment will last.

“Men who have been found to be **refugees**, have waited and waited, and then given up and gone home. They have been worn down, unable to endure endless uncertainty. They’ve been here three years, more than three years, and then they are escorted back. Information on what happens to people when they are returned is sketchy. The truth is we don’t know. They’re just gone.”

About 300 men have not yet been finally assessed (numbers in the detention centre vary with people moved to Port Moresby for medical treatment, or to the East Lorengau **refugee** transit centre).

The process for demonstrating a valid **refugee** claim is exhaustive.

Asylum seekers must first submit to an entry interview (in the case of most of the men on Manus, this was conducted by Australian officials), where they are screened in or out. They then have an interview with a claims assistance provider scheme (Caps) representative, who prepares a formal application for **refugee**status.

Asylum seekers are then interviewed by officers from PNG’s Icsa, where their claim is extensively tested. The process can take months, especially if asylum seekers are asked to source identity documents, usually from the government of the country they fled.

Interviews regularly run for several hours, some for longer than a day. Conditions are hot and communication is hampered by noisy fans, power failures and lost or incomplete files.

Interpreters who speak the wrong language are sometimes booked, particularly for ethnic minorities, derailing interviews.

Asylum seekers are often asked repeatedly and in detail about the specifics of their persecution, including torture, sexual violence and the deaths of family members. They are regularly left deeply distressed and unable to continue their interview. If abandoned, an interview can take months to reschedule.

“The guys were really suffering,” Chompff said. “We would be told by our clients about the torture they had endured. We had to probe for some of the details in order get an accurate account. This sometimes meant that they had to relive the trauma of the torture.”

“Sometimes a client would become distressed while describing the things they had suffered and we would not be able to continue the interview. The interviews were scheduled for three hours, but sometimes they went on much longer. Some clients needed a whole day to get out their story and what they had experienced.”

In the weeks or months following an interview, a decision on an asylum seeker’s claim is then made, ostensibly by PNG, but advised by Australian officials.

Related: 'End this political game': Manus Island **refugee** makes plea to Australia[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jun/30/end-this-political-game-manus-island-refugee-makes-plea-to-australia]

“It’s a rigorous process, it’s really tough,” Chompff said. “It’s a high threshold to prove you are a **refugee**.”

The small number found not to be **refugees** are able to apply for a merits review of their cases. A significant number of claims are overturned on review.

And there is a final “deportation risk assessment” before people are forcibly deported.

“But we [Australian **immigration**] are getting geared up to begin the deportations soon, the ones we can do,” an island source told Guardian Australia.

Some countries, such as Iran, will not accept forcible returns of their citizens. Rohingyas are not recognised as citizens of Myanmar and so cannot enter the country.

The **refugee** status determination process is run by PNG’s Icsa but is actively overseen by Australian Border Force officials, who are present and in uniform on the island.

“We [Australia] are absolutely in charge of the whole process, the whole process,”

a source said. “PNG is being instructed by the ABF, by necessity as it’s all relatively new and totally different to how it operated in the past. It is being run according to the Australian government’s agenda.”

A department source said: “We are Big Brother looking over the shoulder.”

Even as Australia attempts to reduce numbers in the camp, the harsh conditions in offshore detention mean an increasing number of men need protection, as asylum seekers’ identities are leaked online by government error, revealed by the media, or their grievances with their home governments are aired on social media.

Many of the men transported on Manus arrived with weak claims to **refugee** status but they have been strengthened by their treatment during incarceration.

The largest national cohort on Manus is from Iran, whose government closely monitors mainstream and social media.

“Since these guys have left their country they have been on social media, including Facebook, talking about the situation on Manus,” Chompff said. “Facebook is closely monitored by countries like Iran. Some of them have had their picture in the media. This can give rise to a sur place claim.

“Many of the guys on Manus now could have a sur place claim because of what’s happened to them since being sent to Manus. Some governments perceive seeking asylum in another country [to be] an anti-government or political action.”

In 2014 the Australian **immigration** department accidentally leaked the details of 9,258 asylum seekers, which it conceded put them in potential danger.

Chompff said many of the men who have been held on Manus – most for more than three years – had been “so damaged mentally” they could not be safely returned to their home countries.

“They might not have had a strong protection claim before but, because of the terrible conditions, the way they have been treated and lack of adequate health provisions in their home country, there may be a claim for protection. It is refoulement to return a very sick person to a place where there is no adequate healthcare and they will only deteriorate.

“Those men who might have not met the legal definition of a **refugee** initially, now could have a claim for protection. They have spent three years in a situation where the Australian government has effectively tortured them.”

In response to questions from Guardian Australia, a spokesman for the Department of **Immigration** and Border Protection said: “The department does not agree with any assertion that ‘the indefinite nature of detention is designed to “coerce” **refugees** and asylum seekers to go home’. It has consistently refuted such claims.

“The department continues to work in support of the government of PNG to deliver services at the centre.

Related: **Refugee** left homeless in Papua New Guinea after being resettled from Australian-run detention[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/19/refugee-left-homeless-in-papua-new-guinea-after-being-resettled-from-australian-run-detention]

“Together our priority is to secure appropriate return or settlement outcomes for all people at the Manus RPC and to close the centre as quickly as practicable.”

“Non-**refugees** do not have a lawful right to remain in PNG and must return to a country where they have a right of residence.

“In cases where people make a decision to return home, assistance is available to help them depart PNG, return home and re-establish their lives.”

The department said resettlement assistance was calculated individually for each person who elected to return home.

The spokesman also said: “No one is detained on Manus – the RPC has been an open centre since April 2016.”

The men on Manus Island remain held in the same compounds they have been for more than three years, behind three-metre metal fencing, patrolled by armed guards, and they are not free to leave of their own volition. They are security screened and have their communications monitored.

Their only permitted movements are on scheduled buses to Lorengau township.

“They lie,” one detainee told Guardian Australia. “Of course we are not free. Our lives are much worse now.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**People in Rachel Reeves’ constituency are aware of tensions over **immigration** but sceptical about claim that area could ‘explode’

Among the mid-morning shoppers at a run-down precinct in the suburb of Bramley, west Leeds, barely a soul had heard their MP, Rachel Reeves, describe the area as a racially-charged “tinderbox” on Tuesday.

Speaking at the Labour party conference in Liverpool, Reeves warned[http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/rachel-reeves-brexit-immigration-labour-mp-riots-uk-conference-speech-a7334266.html] that there were “bubbling tensions in this country that I just think could explode” if **immigration** is not curbed after Brexit. Her Leeds West constituency, she said, was “like a tinderbox”.

Reeves said that since the referendum there had been three alleged racist attacks in her constituency, which include the largely white, economically deprived areas of Armley and Bramley. The most serious of these came earlier this month when a Polish man ended up in hospital after being assaulted by a group of 20 youths in Armley[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/14/four-teenagers-arrested-attack-polish-man-leeds].

Ten minutes down the road, at Bramley shopping centre, a Polish shopkeeper collapsed in July in an incident his wife said was linked to the Brexit vote weeks earlier.

Marek Petzold, 47, was rushed to hospital after collapsing inside his shop, the Koala Delicatessen. His wife, Wioletta Petzold, 46, said after the incident that she believed it was linked to a mistaken belief that eastern Europeans would immediately leave Britain in the wake of Brexit.

But on Tuesday morning, a worker at the Koala Delicatessen – who did not want to be named – said the shop had a “really good” relationship with its customers, nearly half of whom were English. “I can’t see riots happening,” he said. “Other than that one incident we haven’t had any issues.

“We’ve had plenty of support. The amount of cards we received was incredible – 100 cards at least – phonecalls from different people saying they feel sorry and they’re not part of that community.”

He said the only Brexit-related consequence for the shop, which opened last November to cater for Bramley’s growing Polish community, had been a 7-10% increase in importing prices due to the fall in sterling. “Business-wise it affected us a lot,” he said, as an English-speaking customer purchased a bottle of imported tanning lotion.

John Szocze, 53, and Jillane Szocze, 39, both of Bramley were charged on Monday over the racially-aggravated incident and are due to appear at Leeds magistrates court on 26 October.

Polly White, 31, described Reeves’ comments as inflammatory and more likely to raise tensions than calm them. “When it comes to stuff like that it’s individuals. You are going to get the individual idiot. Stupid people will always do stupid things,” she said. “But for a riot you need people en masse and you’re not going to get people grabbing their pitchforks around here.”

White, who described herself as a pro-**immigration** housewife from Rodley, described the area as “not the nicest” but said people generally got on. “It annoys me,” she said. “They [politicians] don’t think about the effect their words have on people. She obviously doesn’t think very much of people if she thinks they’re going to start rioting in the street.”

There was some anti-**immigration** sentiment though. Gordon Walters, 50, described why he voted to leave the European Union as he waited for a taxi with his 19-year-old son Jayden.

“It’s housing problems,” he said. “My daughter’s 28 years old and she can’t move out. There’s too few houses.” He added: “I can go out in summer and they’re all on the balconies – I can’t understand a word they’re saying.”

Simon Rickles, a cabinetmaker and voluntary worker who lives and works in Armley, agreed with Reeves’ description of the area as a “tinderbox” and said the parents of Polish children at his son’s school had told him they no longer feel safe. “There’s a lot of problems with Armley,” the 44-year-old said.

There is simmering resentment that Town street, a long road where the Polish man was chased by a group of 20 youths, was full of derelict shops until they were taken over by Polish workers. “It’s now a shopping district primarily for eastern Europeans – I don’t blame them in the slightest for doing that – but I think that’s one of the things that’s putting people’s backs up,” he said. “To my mind prior to that it was awful anyway. It was just derelict shops. If we’d have been using these shops instead of Asda down the road they wouldn’t have all closed down.”

He added: “There is a lot of tension. We have a lot of street drinkers and homelessness in Armley. People just don’t feel safe on Town street – it’s not a nice, pretty area to live.”

A shopworker, who did not want to be named, said there were tensions in the area but doubted whether it would escalate into full-scale riots. “There is a lot of people who come into the shop and make comments like: ‘It’s not my country anymore,’” she said, as customers milled around. “It is like living in a foreign country sometimes. It’s because we can’t get into the doctors when we want to get in.”

Leeds city council has written to every school to urge them to teach pupils that hate crime should not be tolerated. The police, meanwhile, have warned that hate crimes in the area are “significantly under-reported” and urged people to telephone officers.

The recent incidents shocked those who live, work and represent Armley and Bramley. Alison Lowe, a Labour councillor for Armley, got a round of applause when she apologised on behalf of her ward and said it had made her ashamed to represent the Leeds suburb for the first time in 27 years.

“Believe me when I say there are thousands of people in Armley who are welcoming, tolerant and want you to be there,” she told the gathering of 80 people at the Polish catholic centre, in nearby Potternewton, which was organised by the Polish consulate in Manchester.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Shadow home secretary says he is stepping down to concentrate on his campaign to be mayor of Greater Manchester

Andy Burnham has become the second shadow cabinet minister in two days to announce he is to leave Jeremy Corbyn’s frontbench.

Burnham said he was stepping down as shadow home secretary to concentrate on his campaign to be mayor of Greater Manchester.

It comes a day after Kelvin Hopkins said he wanted to step down as shadow culture secretary to return to the backbenches.

Related: Labour faces terminal damage if fighting goes on, warns Andy Burnham[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/23/andy-burnham-jeremy-corbyns-labour-leadership-call-for-unity]

Burnham told the party’s conference in Liverpool: “It is time for me to turn my full focus to Greater Manchester. That’s why I can tell you all first today that I have asked Jeremy to plan a new shadow cabinet without me, although I will of course stay until it is in place.

“I have given my all to this party and always put its interests above those of factions and personalities. And I have given exactly the same loyalty to all four of the Labour leaders I have served.

“Out there, there’s a demand for big changes in the way this country is run. This party should be the voice for that change. So that’s why I am ready to leave Westminster. It’s time to make a change, to challenge the status quo from the outside. It’s time to get the voice of the north heard like it has never been heard before.”

Burnham also used his conference speech to strike a different tone on **immigration** from Corbyn, just hours before the leader planned to address the issue in his conference speech.

Earlier, Corbyn set out his view that people’s fears about **immigration** could be allayed by greater funding for public services in areas of high pressure, rather than controlling the numbers of new entries.

Burnham did not join in the mass resignations that triggered the leadership challenge against Corbyn and has been supportive of the leader since losing the contest against him last year.

However, his resignation leaves Corbyn with a big job to fill as he reshuffles his shadow cabinet in an attempt to bring greater unity to the party.

Hopkins, who was appointed after the resignations earlier in the summer, told a fringe meeting of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracythat he had told Corbyn he wanted to leave the frontbench.

“We must now have unity even though it is difficult and I’ve told Jeremy that I want to go back to the backbenches as soon as possible and support him from there. I have to say, I never expected to be shadow secretary of state for anything.”

Corbyn and his team are meeting possible candidates for a return to the shadow cabinet in the coming weeks.

One senior figure on the “soft left” centre of the party said he was thinking about returning but wanted a formal agreement with “terms and conditions” about policy and relations nailed down. A number were negotiating to return collectively and were still pushing for some elections to the shadow cabinet.

However, Corbyn has said he believes he can fill a frontbench without a need for elections.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The latest find on Jupiter’s moon Europa offers the potential to really look for life. It’s not time to shy away – and Nasa needs to rise to the challenge

For a decade now, the Nasa mantra for looking for life in outer space is to “ follow the water[http://www.nasa.gov/vision/earth/everydaylife/jamestown-water-fs.html] ”. In the beginning, this was a valid way to identify the places where we should then start searching. Each new discovery of “water” is automatically paired with a statement that this increases the chance of finding **alien** life. But in recent years – the latest example being the discovery of water this week on Jupiter’s moon Europa[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/sep/26/jupiter-europa-water-plumes-nasa] – we have been hearing it so often that it is starting to become boring.

The evidence for water on celestial bodies such as Mars[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2015/sep/28/nasa-scientists-find-evidence-flowing-water-mars], Europa and Saturn’s moon Enceladus[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2015/oct/22/spacewatch-clark-saturn-moon-enceladus-water-plumes-cassini-flyby] is now overwhelming. It is time to take the next step and actually look for life itself.

Related: Jupiter's moon Europa may expel water plumes from under icy shell, Nasa says[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/sep/26/jupiter-europa-water-plumes-nasa]

When I say life, I don’t mean little green men who say: “Take me to your leader.” Microbes will do because the discovery of single **alien** microbe would be the greatest advance that science could ever make. We still do not know how life began on Earth. If we could find some elsewhere, we could look to see how similar or different it was from Earth life. Does it rely on DNA, for example? Do its similarities and differences hold clues about how it, and therefore we, were formed?

However, this is where the risk and the fear of failure lies. Despite what you might think from the news stories, water is no guarantee of life. Water is certainly a prerequisite on Earth and there are good scientific reasons for believing water may be essential for life of any description, but there is no guarantee that a watery celestial body will automatically play host to microbes.

Perhaps this is the reason that Nasa has seemed strangely reluctant to take the next step of actually looking for life. Earlier this century, they shied away from the Terrestrial Planet Finder[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrestrial\_Planet\_Finder], a telescope designed to look for Earth-like worlds and analyse their atmospheres for traces of life. With their Mars Curiosity rover[https://www.theguardian.com/science/curiosity-rover] in 2012, they specifically did not put any life-detecting equipment[https://www.theguardian.com/science/across-the-universe/2012/aug/05/curiosity-rover-nasa-life-mars] on board.

Monday’s Europa announcement offers the potential to really look for life, yet again Nasa seems to be shying away. Scientists said they had seen what looks like geysers shooting water into space from Europa, which has long been known to contain a global ocean. Scientists have repeatedly speculated that microbial life might be found underneath this moon’s ice surface and have spent decades wondering how to get below the ice to look for it. Now that the water is jetting into space, nature is doing all the hard work. A craft could fly through those plumes, sample the water and look for life.

By a piece of cosmic good fortune, Nasa is planning a mission to Europa. Yet the possibility of using that mission to look for the evidence of life in those plumes was virtually dismissed[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/sep/26/jupiter-europa-water-plumes-nasa]. “The Europa flyby is not a life-finding mission,” said programme scientist Curt Niebur. “That mission is focused on finding the habitability of Europa.”

This makes no sense. What better way is there to determine Europa’s habitability than to look for life?

Nasa was not always this timid. In the 1970s it sent two landers to the surface of Mars. These Viking missions[https://www.theguardian.com/science/datablog/2016/jul/23/forty-years-of-missions-to-mars] carried experiments to look for life. The results were deemed inconclusive and then simply not followed up. This could have been a mistake. A recent re-analysis of the data suggested that, while the results fell short of a clear detection of Martian life, there were enough positive indicators to warrant a follow-up.

Related: Why Stephen Hawking is light years from the truth about ‘dangerous **aliens**’ | Seth Shostak[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/27/stephen-hawking-light-years-dangerous-aliens]

Perhaps in response, Nasa has now quietly stated that its next Mars rover in 2020 will also look for life. But at least the European Space Agency is proving bolder. In 2020 it plans to launch the ExoMars rover to Mars[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/mar/13/exomars-giant-nose-life-on-mars-prepares-launch] that will carry a suite of instruments capable of looking for the evidence of life, either past or present. That search should now be extended to Europa.

There is admirable scientific caution, and there is ducking the challenge. To go to Europa now without the ability to look for life is the latter. It is time for vision and commitment: discovering life on another planet would send shockwaves through science and fundamentally transform our understanding of our place in the universe: we must step up the search.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The only sure way to deliver on such a promise is not by restricting freedom of movement but by crashing the economy

Jeremy Corbyn is right not to promise[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/28/corbyn-defence-of-immigration-splits-shadow-cabinet-labour] deep cuts in UK **immigration**, because the only surefire way to deliver them is not by restricting freedom of movement but by crashing the economy.

He is also right to say it was concerns about the impact of migration, rather than the numbers themselves, that drove the leave victory in the EU referendum. Indeed, that lack of public confidence has been partly fuelled by politicians promising to deliver deep cuts in net migration but spectacularly failing to deliver.

As a Guardian analysis[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/voting-details-show-immigration-fears-were-paradoxical-but-decisive] in the immediate aftermath of June’s vote showed, those who have experienced the highest levels of migration are the least anxious about it. The highest levels of remain voters were in areas of the highest net migration, while some of the strongest leave areas have had the fewest recent new **immigrants**.

Related: Corbyn's defence of **immigration** splits shadow cabinet[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/28/corbyn-defence-of-immigration-splits-shadow-cabinet-labour]

It was no surprise that London, which took 133,000 of the record 333,000 net arrivals in 2015, voted to remain in the EU. But Manchester also voted for remain, and at 13,554 had nearly double the level of net migration seen in Birmingham, which voted leave.

The pattern is starkest at the local authority level. Lambeth in London, which recorded the highest remain vote, of 78%, saw a net influx of 4,598, while Castle Point in Essex, which includes Canvey Island, voted 72% for leave, after a net inflow of 81 international migrants in 2015.

In Conservative Wandsworth in London, net migration was 6,295 and 75% of voters backed remain, while in Labour Hartlepool there was a net inflow of 113 and 69% of people voted to leave.

It is true that areas such as Boston in Lincolnshire and Fenland in Cambridgeshire, which have had high levels of net migration, also feature in the top 10 leave areas. But these are isolated areas that have seen the most rapid population change, in places with little history of overseas migration. They are also the most in need of the kind of flexible rapid response migration impact funding that Labour pioneered in 2008 to help relieve pressure on housing, GP surgeries, policing and schools – funding that was scrapped by the Tories as ineffective.

The problem with Labour’s migration impact fund was that Gordon Brown refused to allow any Treasury contributions. Instead a £50-a-head levy was imposed on non-EU migrant visas, and it never raised more than £50m, which did little to ease the pressure points. A new migration impact fund – the Tories have promised a smaller-scale version – needs to be a much more serious effort.

But what about that Brexit vote? Won’t leaving the European Union mean deep cuts in **immigration** can now be delivered? Surely ending free movement to close the door on unskilled labour from the rest of Europe would bring down net migration to the tens of thousands from its near record level of 327,000 in the year to March[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/25/net-migration-to-uk-fell-to-327000-in-past-year-figures-show].

Theresa May has tried to pull every lever over the past six years to deliver that promised deep cut in the net migration numbers. Despite her abject failure as home secretary to reduce net migration to less than 100,000, she has made it to No 10.

What could she do in a post-Brexit world to make good on that broken pledge? She could, as many of her former cabinet colleagues such as George Osborne have suggested, take overseas students – 163,000 came last year – out of the net migration figures on the grounds that they come to study rather than settle in the UK. But she has repeatedly ruled that out, claiming too many stay on after their studies and dismissing the option as “fiddling the figures”.

Restricting the free movement of labour from within the EU is a possibility. Around 179,000 EU citizens arrived in Britain to work last year, of whom 101,000 had a definite job to go to. The other 78,000 came looking for work.

Any new work permit system is likely to give a visa to those with a definite job offer, even on a temporary basis for less skilled occupations. The jobseekers could face restrictions, but even if they were all banned it would not deliver the deep cuts sought. It would also probably provoke retaliation, denying the right to work to some of the 1.2 million Britons currently working and living in Europe.

A New Economics Foundation analysis[http://www.neweconomics.org/blog/entry/restricting-immigration-wont-pay-for-working-people?utm\_source=twitter&utm\_medium=social&utm\_campaign=20160927restricting-immigration-wont-pay-for-working-people] on Tuesday goes further and suggests that restrictions on free movement, far from ending undercutting, could actually reduce wages further, because experience shows that if migrants cannot come legally they will try to come illegally.

The truth is that Britain’s economy remains relatively buoyant and will continue to attract EU migrants, legally or illegally, while it remains the jobs factory of Europe. In fact, migrant labour is helping to fuel that economic growth. The only sure way to deliver deep cuts in **immigration** is to crash the economy. Corbyn is wise not to promise that. It would turn Project Fear into Project Fact.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Clinton made the former Miss Universe turned actor and activist a talking point of the first debate, criticizing Trump’s public comments about her weight

Alicia Machado became an American citizen just in time to vote against Donald Trump. It’s a vote that has been a long time coming.

In May 1996, the Venezuelan beauty queen was just 19 years old when she was crowned the winner of the Miss Universe pageant, which had recently been bought by the Manhattan business mogul. That year should have been one of sheer happiness and possibility for Machado, and for a moment it was. “I remember I hug my mom and I tell her, now our lives is going to be changed forever,” she told the Guardian in an interview in her adopted hometown of Los Angeles.

Related: Trump attacks Alicia Machado again: 'She gained a massive amount of weight. She was the worst'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/donald-trump-alicia-machado-miss-universe-fox-and-friends]

But when she put on weight soon after winning, Trump turned what should have been a golden year into the most traumatizing one of her life. It wasn’t just that Trump shamed her about about gaining weight, calling her things like “Miss Piggy” and “an eating machine”. It wasn’t even that he did so publicly. It was that he did it with the biggest audience he could find, in an attempt to sear her weight fluctuation into the public consciousness, forever changing how she would be remembered.

Then on Monday night, in a twist of cosmic justice, Trump – now the Republican nominee for president – was presented with a bigger audience for his comments about Machado’s weight than he ever could have imagined, or wanted.

In what has been billed as the most-watched debate in presidential history[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/debate-clinton-trump-recap-presidential-election-hofstra], Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton made Trump’s remarks to Machado a centerpiece of their first televised clash, citing the name-calling[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/donald-trump-alicia-machado-miss-universe-fox-and-friends] – in particular, Trump calling her “Miss Housekeeping” in reference to her Latina origins – as a prime example of her opponent’s demeaning views about women.

Trump’s treatment of Machado reached its nadir in January 1997 when, having put the recently crowned Miss Universe on a stringent diet and exercise regime, he scheduled a trip with her to a New York City gym. There he blindsided her with dozens of cameramen, who gathered to film her jumping rope, lifting weights and pedaling a stationary bike. Trump cast himself in the role of disapproving dad, leaning over Machado as she hid her mortification behind a show of charms only the world’s top beauty queen could have mustered, laughing along with reporters and even once planting a kiss on Trump’s cheek.

Although she appeared happy, smiling for the crowd of cameras as she dutifully skipped rope, she tells the Guardian she felt like a mouse in a cage, running endlessly on her fixed wheel for the entertainment of others. “I was in some gym in New York like a mouse,” she said. “Look at that mouse: how she run, how she jump, how she make exercise. Like that. In that moment is when … problems come to me and start.”

The media loved the spectacle, and so did Trump, who didn’t hesitate to pass out some memorable if fallacious tidbits himself. “She weighed 118 pounds or 117 pounds and she went up to 170, so this is somebody who likes to eat,” he said in an interview at the time. In fact Machado says she gained only a fraction of that weight but she didn’t dare correct him; she was already frightened he’d make good on a threat to strip her of her crown if she didn’t follow through on the performance at the gym. (Trump’s campaign did not return a request for comment.)

Machado never did lose her crown, but she lost her health for a time. Though she had never suffered from eating disorders previously, in the years that followed the ordeal at the gym, she struggled with anorexia and bulimia. It took five years before she was fully recovered, and longer before she could talk about what she went through. Now she hopes to use the insights gleaned to help teenagers struggling to love their bodies.

“No matter what, no matter who tells you that you don’t look good, that is only outside,” she said, speaking partly, perhaps, to her younger self. “You are more than some weight. You are more than some phase. You are more than if you are short or tall, or you are black or you are white, or you are skinny or fat or whatever. Your value is how you can work, how you can feel for the people around you.”

She added: “In this moment 20 years later, the only thing I need to say is I’m a really happy person. I’m a very successful person. I have my family, my daughter, my career, my dreams, my ideas.” Referring to Trump’s character, she said: “And he can’t be a president of the United States of America.”

That Machado is thriving these days was readily apparent from where she sat in her publicist’s fourth-floor office in West Hollywood, and apparent in many different realms. She has traded pageants for success as an actor, starring in a string of telenovelas – a childhood dream come true. She is also a successful businesswoman, with a line of products bearing her name. And she is the proud mother of a seven-year-old girl, whose privacy she fiercely protects; a question about whether she would encourage her daughter to compete in beauty pageants was met with stern disapproval.

More recently, she has added another title to her list of identities: activist. In June, Machado teamed up with civil rights icon Dolores Huerta[https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/former-miss-universe-civil-rights-legend-delores-huerta-team-up-against-trump/2016/06/15/a287616e-3313-11e6-8758-d58e76e11b12\_story.html] in Virginia to join **immigrant** advocacy groups in encouraging Latinos to register – and to vote for Clinton. She took her own advice to heart, too. On 19 August she became a registered US citizen, pledging in a post on Instagram[https://www.instagram.com/p/BJS8lOEjhGV/] to cast her ballot for Clinton. Later that month she traveled to Florida to lend her star power to a Clinton campaign drive to register Latino voters, posting video excerpts from the trip to social media accounts.

Her celebrity is at the nexus of two very important voter groups this election cycle, and they are groups overwhelmingly supportive of Clinton: women and Latinos[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/15/donald-trump-republicans-newt-gingrich]. Both have been broadly insulted by Trump, who has called Mexican **immigrants** “rapists”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/02/donald-trump-racist-claims-mexico-rapes] and regularly refers to women as animals; Machado has the dubious distinction of being the recipient of both racial and gender-specific slurs, a powerful reference point that certainly isn’t lost on the Clinton campaign.

“Alicia Machado has seen first hand the dangerous impact Trump’s hateful and divisive rhetoric can have on people,” a Clinton spokesperson said of Machado’s involvement with the campaign. “As a Latina, as a first-time voter and as a respected leader in the Latino community, Alicia has become an invaluable voice of our campaign to help mobilize Latinos against Trump’s bigoted agenda and to educate the community about Hillary’s plans to build a better future for them.”

In the first presidential debate on Monday, Machado’s value could scarcely have been more evident. Clinton’s strongest moment in an already impressive debate performance – arguably her strongest moment in the cycle[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/clinton-trump-debate-analysis] – came near the end when she seized on a question about what Trump had meant when he had said she didn’t “look” presidential. Trump tried to deflect the damaging line of inquiry, saying he had actually been questioning her stamina. Clinton wasn’t having it; and she used the concrete details of Machado’s story to pull him back in the ring of fire.

“He tried to switch from looks to stamina, but this is a man who has called women pigs, slobs, and dogs, and someone who has said, ‘Pregnancy is an inconvenience to employers.’ Who has said, ‘Women don’t deserve equal pay unless they do as good of a job as men,’” Clinton said as Trump tried to protest.

“One of the worst things he said was about a woman in a beauty contest,” Clinton continued. “Her name is Alicia Machado and she has become a US citizen, and you can bet she’s going to vote this November.” It was a rare moment in which Trump’s words were effectively weaponized against him. And, for the first time all debate, Trump had noticeably lost his cool, switching focus to offensive comments he had made about TV personality Rosie O’Donnell and saying: “I think everybody would agree that she deserves it and nobody feels sorry for her.”

Another measure of the attack’s effectiveness came the following morning, when Trump was asked on Fox and Friends what, if anything, from the debate had gotten under his skin. Without hesitation he singled out Machado[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/donald-trump-alicia-machado-miss-universe-fox-and-friends]. “She was the worst we ever had, the worst, the absolute worst. She was impossible,” he said of the former beauty queen.

“She was the winner and she gained a massive amount of weight and it was a problem,” Trump continued. “We had a real problem, not only that, her attitude and we had a real problem with her. Hillary went back into the years and found the girl and talked about her like she was Mother Teresa and it wasn’t quite that way, but that’s OK.”

Related: Fat people, rise up! We could swing this election | Lindy West[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/27/fat-people-rise-up-we-could-swing-this-election]

But it isn’t 1996 any more; Machado, far from being a girl, is a 39-year-old woman, and if body-shaming constituted good press for Trump’s fledgling beauty pageant business then, it seems less of a good look for his presidential campaign today. It’s a similar case with his continued insistence on how right he is to call women out for their weight. Machado understands this, perhaps even more acutely than Clinton, because she’s lived it; and she is willing to relive and keep reliving this painful episode if it means shedding light on a man she feels has no business anywhere near the Oval Office.

On a call organized by the Clinton campaign on Tuesday afternoon billed as a chance to let Machado respond to Trump’s most recent attacks, the former beauty queen was much more interested in talking about his Democratic rival, whose mention of her story in the debate the night before had moved her to tears. She “never imagined it would matter to someone so powerful”, she said.

But as someone who straddles two powerful voting blocs this election cycle, Machado is a double threat to Trump, and she feels that her celebrity means she has a responsibility to speak up about her experiences when they can help people. “If I can be a voice for my Latino community in this moment, I will do it,” she told the Guardian.

It’s not just a matter of Trump: a few years ago she survived a battle with breast cancer, and as a person of faith, she said she struggled to make sense of why God sent her such a challenge. Tearing up ever so slightly for the first time in an hour-long interview, she said she finally determined it was because she needed to share her story: “People believe in my words,” she said. “People look at me as a strong person. That is my character – I’m a strong woman.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A day after comments about Machado were condemned by Hillary Clinton, audio is uncovered of Trump and Stern discussing the then Miss Universe in 1997Alicia Machado speaks to the Guardian about Trump and weight-shamingPresidential debate fact-check: Trump and Clinton’s claims reviewedOur panel verdict: ‘Clinton weaponized Trump’s words’

block-time published-time 2.31am BST

Speaking to a crowd of 7,500 the day after his first presidential debate with Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/debate-polls-reaction-hillary-clinton-donald-trump], Trump claimed: “I was holding back. I didn’t want to do anything to embarrass her.”

Donald Trump Photograph: Spencer Platt/Getty Images He still insisted that every poll showed him winning the debates but cited only internet surveys to prove this; every scientific poll taken in the aftermath of the debate showed a majority of viewers believing Clinton had won.

The Republican nominee’s unhappiness with coverage of his widely panned performance showed. Three times in the course of the rally, Trump called out “the corrupt corporate media” and gestured towards his supporters to turn towards the press pen to boo, hiss and even, in one instance, shout “go to hell”.

Trump constantly revisited different moments in the debate and told of how, before taking the stage, “I took a deep breath and pretended I was talking to my family.” He recounted what he felt were his best lines during the debate – like, “You are experienced but it’s bad experience” – and touted how he had done well on the issue of trade and exposed Clinton’s “real positions” on Nafta, which he described as “the single worst deal you’ll ever see”.

He even bashed Lester Holt, the debate moderator, whom Trump described as “the emcee”, for challenging him when he praised stop and frisk, a controversial police tactic that involved New York police officers stopping pedestrians without a warrant, asking them questions and checking them for weapons. A federal judge ruled in 2013 that the practice was unconstitutional as it disproportionately targeted African Americans and Latinos. Trump insisted, “I also explained last night stop and frisk was constitutional. The emcee argued with me, taking up the time. Law enforcement does stop and frisk every day.”

Trump also re-litigated his false claim that he had opposed the Iraq war from the beginning, asking the crowd for approval. “And does everybody believe me, I was against going into Iraq?” he asked the crowd.

Related: Trump boasts after first debate against Clinton: 'I didn't want to embarrass her'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-first-debate-winner]

block-time published-time 2.20am BST

Arizona Republic endorses first Democratic presidential candidate in 126 years The Arizona Republic has endorsed Hillary Clinton for president[http://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/editorial/2016/09/27/hillary-clinton-endorsement/91198668/], making her the first Democratic presidential candidate to earn the newspaper’s endorsement in its 126-year history.

“Since The Arizona Republic began publication in 1890, we have never endorsed a Democrat over a Republican for president. Never,” wrote the editorial board of Arizona’s most widely read daily newspaper. “This reflects a deep philosophical appreciation for conservative ideals and Republican principles. This year is different. The 2016 Republican candidate is not conservative and he is not qualified.”

The newspaper’s editorial board makes no bones about what it views as the temperamental deficiencies of Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump: “Clinton has the temperament and experience to be president. Donald Trump does not.”

Calling Trump’s antics on and off the debate stage “beneath our national dignity,” the Arizona Republic’s editorial board dismissed Trump’s stance on **immigration**as inflammatory and ineffective - a potentially consequential assertion in the border state.

“Arizona went down the hardline **immigration** road Trump travels. It led our state to SB 1070, the 2010 ‘show me your papers’ law that earned Arizona international condemnation and did nothing to resolve real problems with undocumented **immigration**,” the editorial board writes. “Arizona understands that we don’t need a repeat of that divisive, unproductive fiasco on the national level.”

block-time published-time 2.08am BST

Former GOP senator John Warner to endorse Hillary Clinton Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton has scored another endorsement from a Republican politician, this time from former Virginia senator John Warner, according to the Washington Post[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/clinton-to-score-another-gop-endorsement-former-senator-john-warner-of-virginia/2016/09/27/43caf6e6-84cf-11e6-a3ef-f35afb41797f\_story.html].

Warner, an icon in the commonwealth with strong ties to the military community, joins a long list of Republicans who have avoided endorsing Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump, instead attaching himself to a ticket that already features another Virginian: current senator Tim Kaine, Clinton’s running mate.

“For 30 years, Virginians trusted John Warner in the senate, and for good reason: he has dedicated his life to defending our country, from serving in the Navy in World War II to chairing the senate armed services committee, where I had the honor of working with him to support our men and women in uniform and their families,” Clinton wrote in a statement. “I am proud to have John’s support, and to know that someone with his decades of experience would trust me with the weighty responsibility of being commander in chief.”

block-time published-time 1.41am BST

Donald Trump: I 'held back' in last night's debate Speaking to a campaign rally audience in Melbourne, Florida, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump declared that the only reason he didn’t get in more jabs in last night’s first presidential debate was that he “held back” because he “didn’t want to embarrass” Hillary Clinton.

“For 90 minutes, I watched her very carefully and I was also holding back, I didn’t want to do anything to embarrass her, but I watched her and she was stuck in the past,” Trump said. “For 90 minutes on issue after issue, Hillary Clinton defended the terrible status quo, while I laid our plan, all of us together, to bring jobs, security and prosperity back to the American people.”

“For 90 minutes, she argued against change, while I called for dramatic change. We have to have dramatic change. We have to get rid of Obamacare, we have to strengthen up our depleted military. It’s in such bad shape. We’re gonna do a lot of great things, folks. November 8, you have to get out there and vote.”

block-time published-time 1.18am BST

Oh, hey there:

enltr1992 discussing the possibility of a minority for President. The most important cutaway in debate history. pic.twitter.com/XR6cHQ9P43[https://t.co/XR6cHQ9P43]

— Jesse Case (@jessecase) September 28, 2016[https://twitter.com/jessecase/status/780921403637764098]block-time published-time 12.40am BST

Donald Trump campaigns in Melbourne, Florida Watch it live here:

block-time published-time 12.38am BST

Melissa Joan Hart named as Gary Johnson's Connecticut campaign chair Actress Melissa Joan Hart - best known as Sabrina in Sabrina the Teenage Witch and Clarissa in Clarissa Explains It All - has joined Libertarian presidential nominee Gary Johnson’s campaign, under the title of Connecticut campaign chair.

Hart has previously supported Republican candidates, tweeting in 2012 that she planned to vote for Mitt Romney:

enltrCan't get too political in only 140 chac but for those asking, I'm voting #RomneyRyan[https://twitter.com/hashtag/RomneyRyan?src=hash].

— Melissa Joan Hart (@MelissaJoanHart) November 5, 2012[https://twitter.com/MelissaJoanHart/status/265561101608042499]...but has previously announced support for Johnson’s campaign earlier this year.

“I want to break away from this two-party system and I think it’s important for people to know that there’s another candidate out there who really toes the line between Democrat and Republican,” Hart told People Magazine[http://www.people.com/article/melissa-joan-hart-gary-johnson-campaign-connecticut-chairperson]. “I mean, he’s libertarian, but socially he’s liberal, but fiscally conservative.”

“Governors, I love, because they already ran their state as like a little president,” Hart continued, referring to Johnson’s service as the governor of New Mexico. “So he gets the way, you know, things run. The politics of it all. He was on a border state, so if you want to talk about **immigration**, he’s the guy.”

block-time published-time 11.55pm BST

Donald Trump’s rally in Florida, set to begin in five minutes, is being delayed by storms:

enltrPer ATC, Trump plane is deviating to avoid the storms, necessitating a delay at the rally

— Zeke Miller (@ZekeJMiller) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/ZekeJMiller/status/780902205771640833]block-time published-time 11.46pm BST

Colin Kaepernick to Trump: 'America has never been great for people of color' Colin Kaepernick[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/colin-kaepernick] has hit back at Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump’s assertion that the quarterback “should find another country that works better for him” in response to his decision to kneel for the national anthem.

Kaepernick, whose protest has sparked a national discussion over racial injustice and inspired dozens of other professional[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/sep/11/marcus-peters-raises-fist-national-anthem-nfl-protest] and collegiate players[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/sep/24/national-anthem-protest-college-football-kaepernick] to follow suit, characterized Trump’s comment as a “very ignorant statement” during this afternoon’s media availability at the team’s practice facility.

San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick meets with Seattle Seahawks wide receiver Doug Baldwin. Photograph: Troy Wayrynen/USA Today Sports “It’s a very ignorant statement that, if you don’t agree with what’s going on, hearing that if you want justice and liberty and freedom for all, then you should leave the country,” Kaepernick told reporters in a video shared by the Bay Area News Group[https://twitter.com/CamInman/status/780863524377464833/video/1]. “He always says make America great again. Well, America has never been great for people of color. And that’s something that needs to be addressed. Let’s make America great for the first time.”

Kaepernick’s remarks came the morning after Monday’s first presidential debate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/debate-polls-reaction-hillary-clinton-donald-trump], where Trumped doubled down on his call for the national introduction of “stop and frisk”, the controversial police tactic ruled unconstitutional in 2013 when a federal judge found it disproportionately targeted African American and Latino neighborhoods.

Trump first addressed Kaepernick’s protest in an appearance last month on the Dori Monson Show, a conservative afternoon talk-radio program in the Seattle area.

“I have followed it and I think it’s personally not a good thing,” the GOP candidate said. “I think it’s a terrible thing, and you know, maybe he should find a country that works better for him. Let him try: it won’t happen.”

Related: Colin Kaepernick to Trump: 'America has never been great for people of color'[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/sep/27/colin-kaepernick-donald-trump-america-people-of-color]

block-time published-time 10.24pm BST

Ben Jacobs has more fashion reports from Donald Trump’s rally in Florida tonight:

enltrJeff says he is wearing this shirt because it's offensive and to get a rise out of people pic.twitter.com/uAo2fdn5W8[https://t.co/uAo2fdn5W8]

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/780867586082934785]frltrDeplorable Trump supporter pic.twitter.com/zVBBRzlqYg[https://t.co/zVBBRzlqYg]

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/780872408672731136]undltr #ClubGitmo[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ClubGitmo?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/GG741b6GQx[https://t.co/GG741b6GQx]

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/780868680599166976]enltrDIY Trump swag pic.twitter.com/3JxPnOscW8[https://t.co/3JxPnOscW8]

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/780868386179911683]enltrShirtless Trump rides a bear pic.twitter.com/p2ecMQii6t[https://t.co/p2ecMQii6t]

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/780867708996976641]block-time published-time 10.01pm BST

Howard Dean defends cocaine tweet Former Vermont governor and onetime head of the Democratic National Committee Howard Dean defended tweeting that Republican nominee Donald Trump’s persistent sniffing during last presidential night’s debate indicated possible cocaine abuse, a sentence we never thought we’d have to type and yet here we are.

enltrNotice Trump sniffing all the time. Coke user?

— Howard Dean (@GovHowardDean) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/GovHowardDean/status/780588448470163456]“You can’t make a diagnosis over the television, but that is a signature of people who use cocaine,” Dean told MSNBC’s Kate Snow of Trump’s sniffling. “I’m not suggesting that Trump does, but... I’m just suggesting that we think about it.”

“He sniffed during the presentation, which is something that users do,” Dean continued. “He also has grandiosity, which is something that accompanies that problem.”

“Something funny was going on with Donald Trump last night.”

block-time published-time 9.33pm BST

Former Miss Universe's nickname for Donald Trump: #NaziRat The former Miss Universe winner who was the subject of a Donald Trump tirade this morning about her weight and “attitude,” Alicia Machado, hasn’t held any punches in her war of words with the Republican presidential nominee.

The Venezuelan pageant queen, who was cited by Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton during last night’s debate as an example of Trump’s misogyny, called Trump a “Nazi rat”.

esltrPor mi salud! Ojalá @RealOsmelSousa[https://twitter.com/RealOsmelSousa] y @noticierovv[https://twitter.com/noticierovv] me hubieran defendido y protegido de la rata Nazi! Miss Universe 96, con apenas 18 años!

— Alicia Machado (@machadooficial) June 19, 2015[https://twitter.com/machadooficial/status/611947716663349248]Yesterday, Machado started the hashtag #RataNazi, declaring in Spanish that “My freedom of opinion is what I most love about being a US citizen! My position is overwhelmingly and firmly: #NaziRat you won’t be president!”

esltrMi libertad de opinión es lo que más amo de ser US citizen ! mi posición es contundente y firme #RataNazi[https://twitter.com/hashtag/RataNazi?src=hash] no serás presidente

— Alicia Machado (@machadooficial) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/machadooficial/status/780595143606808576]block-time published-time 8.52pm BST

A real-time map of trending Twitter topics[http://trendsmap.com/] seems to show that the #TrumpWon hashtag - lauded by the candidate himself as the most popular hashtag[https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/780758306239512577] on the internet this morning - appears to show that the hashtag’s starting location is in St. Petersburg, Russia.

enltrThe #TrumpWon[https://twitter.com/hashtag/TrumpWon?src=hash] hashtag starting location, that's interesting pic.twitter.com/V7SFhvEurX[https://t.co/V7SFhvEurX]

— Dusty (@DustinGiebel) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/DustinGiebel/status/780814613021548544]Granted, the campaign could just be hiding its virtual private network’s address by changing theirs in St. Petersburg - which would just mean that the campaign dropped a pretty penny on its Twitter advertising this morning - but given that hundreds of bloggers[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/02/putin-kremlin-inside-russian-troll-house] are paid by the Russian government to flood forums and social networks at home and abroad with anti-western and pro-Kremlin comments, it’s an interesting coincidence...

Related: Salutin' Putin: inside a Russian troll house[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/02/putin-kremlin-inside-russian-troll-house]

block-time published-time 8.31pm BST

Trump called Machado an 'eating machine' in Stern interview In a 1997 interview with Howard Stern, Donald Trump called the Miss Universe winner Alicia Machado an “eating machine,” revealed audio unearthed by Buzzfeed[https://www.buzzfeed.com/andrewkaczynski/on-howard-stern-trump-called-1996-miss-universe-an-eating-ma?utm\_term=.od7K2bAPd#.sx2ONJGW8].

Machado, who won the Miss Universe contest in 1996, is in the news today after Hillary Clinton used Trump’s comments - he labeled her “Miss Piggy” and “Miss Housekeeping” (she’s originally from Venezuela) - to nail him on gender issues during last night’s debate.

The new audio from Buzzfeed[https://www.buzzfeed.com/andrewkaczynski/on-howard-stern-trump-called-1996-miss-universe-an-eating-ma?utm\_term=.od7K2bAPd#.sx2ONJGW8] of the 1997 Stern interview shows exactly what the conversations around Machado were like at the time (remember, this is a 20-year-old woman who is being discussed by these men).

Stern announces the issue: “The Miss Universe, it turns out, the woman who won last year, blows up to a fat pig. I mean, like obese.”

Trump laughs in the background.

Stern: “Most people would have fired her, because she broke the rules. Mr Trump goes in there and he says “listen you, I’m not going to fire you, but you better get skinny, you better lose some weight.”

Stern adds: “You whipped this fat slob into shape. I don’t know how you did it. I see all these diet plans, everything else. God bless you. You whipped her into shape, and you held the whole pageant together. Congratulations.”

Trump responds: “Well, that was an amazing one. She went from 118 to almost 170.”

Stern: “And you got her right down again to 118, didn’t you?”

Trump: “Well, she’s going to be there. She’s probably 145 or something.”

Trump adds: “It was an amazing phenomena. She weighed 118 when she won... she was as beautiful a woman as I’ve ever seen. She gained about 55 pounds in a period of nine months. She was like an eating machine.”

“What does a girl eat in less than a year to gain [that]?” Stern asks.

“I think she ate a lot of everything,” replies Trump.

This is what Machado looked like when Trump was arranging for the media to turn up at gyms to watch her work out in order to lose the extra weight.

enltrThis is what Alicia Machado looked like when Trump took to publicly & privately humiliating her over her weight. She had just turned 20. pic.twitter.com/jfmMM3jGHW[https://t.co/jfmMM3jGHW]

— Garance Franke-Ruta (@thegarance) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/thegarance/status/780842808240398336]She’s now appearing in pro-Clinton ads, and spoke with the Guardian’s Lucia Graves[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/alicia-machado-miss-universe-weight-shame-trump-speaks-out-clinton] about how Trump weight-shaming impacted her life and affected her health and psychological wellbeing.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.55pm BST

block-time published-time 8.11pm BST

Donald Trump surrogate Rudy Giuliani declared that Hillary Clinton was “too stupid to be president” for being unaware that Bill Clinton had cheated on her with Monica Lewinsky.

The comments came after Giuliani was asked if Trump was a feminist, and Giuliani noted that Trump didn’t mention Bill Clinton’s affairs, but he thought he should hae.

“I sure would’ve talked about what she did to Monica Lewinsky, what that woman standing there did to Monica Lewinsky, trying to paint her as an insane young woman when in fact Monica Lewinsky was an intern,” Giuliani said.

“The president of the United States, her husband, disgraced this country with what he did in the Oval Office and she didn’t just stand by him, she attacked Monica Lewinsky. And after being married to Bill Clinton for 20 years, if you didn’t know the moment Monica Lewinsky said that Bill Clinton violated her that she was telling the truth, then you’re too stupid to be president.”

enltrI asked Giuliani if Trump is a feminist #DebateNight[https://twitter.com/hashtag/DebateNight?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/xWvkgVuKXV[https://t.co/xWvkgVuKXV]

— Alexandra Svokos (@asvokos) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/asvokos/status/780619672760623104]Let’s just remember that Guiliani started dating his current wife Judith when he was mayor of New York City and still married to and living with his second wife, Donna Hanover.

block-time published-time 7.50pm BST

Clinton-Trump debate gets highest ratings on record Around 81 million viewers tuned into to watch Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton battle it out in last night’s debate, making it the highest rated debate in history, according to new figures from Nielsen.

Nielsen’s figures - which is based on viewers watching one of the 12 channels from home, and does not account for online livestreams, viewing parties in other venues or those watching PBS or C-SPAN - show on average 80.9 million people tuned in.

Those additional viewers that were not counted means the number is significantly higher than the 80.9 million figure, noted Brian Stelter on CNN Money[http://money.cnn.com/2016/09/27/media/debate-ratings-record-viewership/].

Previously the highest ever watched debate was when 81 million watched Jimmy Carter take on Ronald Reagan back in 1980.

In 2012, an average of 70 million voters tuned in to Mitt Romney and Barack Obama’s first debate, says Politico[http://www.politico.com/blogs/on-media/2016/09/first-trump-clinton-debate-smashes-ratings-records-228788]. In 2008, John McCain and Obama’s debate averaged 53 million.

block-time published-time 7.11pm BST

Clinton says she’s trying to prove that “love trumps hate,” as she thanks the crowd and walks off to the strains of Ain’t No Mountain High Enough.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.11pm BST

block-time published-time 7.09pm BST

Clinton is attacking Trump in Raleigh abut his comments last night that seemed to insinuate he doesn’t pay federal taxes.

“He actually bragged about gaining the system to get out of the paying his fair share,” notes Clinton.

In last night’s debate, Clinton pushed Donald Trump on why he wasn’t releasing his tax returns, suggesting that perhaps he hadn’t paid any federal income taxes.

“That makes me smart,” replied Trump.

“If not paying taxes makes us smart, what does that make all the rest of us?” asks Clinton in Raleigh on Tuesday.

“I think there’s a strong possibility he hasn’t paid federal taxes for a lot of years. And this is a man who goes around calling our military a disaster... he probably hasn’t paid a penny to support our troops, or our vets, or our schools, or our healthcare systems,” says Clinton.

She says her and husband Bill always pay their taxes, because that’s what Americans should do.

“We pay the highest marginal rate. We try and give 10% to charity. Because we believe in this country. And we believe with the blessings we’ve been given, we should do our part,” adds Clinton.

block-time published-time 6.56pm BST

enltrHillary Clinton rallies in Raleigh, NC the day after the debate pic.twitter.com/pvWndH0zlK[https://t.co/pvWndH0zlK]

— Sabrina Siddiqui (@SabrinaSiddiqui) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/SabrinaSiddiqui/status/780825358442590209]block-time published-time 6.54pm BST

Clinton is comparing her surrogate Mark Cuban to Donald Trump - “He is a real billionaire, by the way,” she quips.

She talks about how Cuban has long used profit-sharing and shared the profits of his sale of his business and turned 300 of his employees into millionaires because of it.

“That’s the kind fo business leadership I want to hold up,” she says, noting that Trump has built his business on the backs of little guys who didn’t get paid.

“I’m glad my dad never had a contract with Donald Trump when he was running his small business,” says Clinton.

block-time published-time 6.51pm BST

Clinton’s speaks of her mother’s upbringing in severe poverty and how she was lucky to find someone that let her live in their house and attend high school.

“When I talk about us being strong together, I’m not just talking about government, I’m talking about what each of us can do to contribute,” says Clinton.

block-time published-time 6.46pm BST

Clinton mentions last night’s debate, and gets huge applause from her audience in Raleigh.

“I got a chance to say a few things,” she laughs, a clear reference to Trump interrupting her repeatedly.

“I do have this old fashioned idea that if I’m asking for your vote, I should tell you what I want to do,” says Clinton.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.48pm BST

block-time published-time 6.45pm BST

In Raleigh, Clinton speaks against the “mean-spirited” transgender bathroom law, House Bill 2.

“Right here in North Carolina, the mean-spirited wrong-hearted decision to pass and sign House Bill 2, has hurt this state. And more than that it’s hurt people. It’s sent a message to so many people ‘well you’re not really one, you’re not really part of us. I think the American dream is big enough for everything,” says Clinton.

Today is National Voter Registration Day, points out Clinton, calling on people to go to iwillvote.com and register to vote. She notes that North Carolina already has issues with voter suppression.

“Everything they could to make voting harder. They were pretty blatant, make it harder for people of color, make it harder for the elderly and make it harder for the young. Some of that’s been rolled back, thankfully, because it was so wrong and i would argue, unconstitutional... we want everyone to exercise his or her right to vote,” she adds.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.48pm BST

block-time published-time 6.34pm BST

Clinton takes to the stage in Raleigh, North Carolina, after a sweet speech from a local nurse and working mother who notes that she’s going to cry as she introduces Clinton to the stage.

“You made me cry,” Clinton tells her, putting her hand on her heart as she thanks her.

“Did anyone see that debate last night? Oh yes, one down, two to go,” declares Clinton to the audience.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.49pm BST

block-time published-time 6.26pm BST

Jeb Bush gets a job at Harvard Failed presidential candidate and former Florida governor is heading back to school, after Harvard’s Kennedy School announced Tuesday that Jeb Bush will be a visiting fellow on education policy, reports AP[http://bigstory.ap.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/7524252ce364452392152e694220ad5f?utm\_campaign=SocialFlow&utm\_source=Twitter&utm\_medium=AP].

Bush - who last popped up in the public eye during a comic bit in the Emmy Awards - where he starred as an Uber driver - will be a guest speaker and teacher during the fall term.

AP says it will begin with Bush delivering the Edwin L. Godkin Lecture at Harvard this Thursday on economic and social mobility.

block-time published-time 6.13pm BST

Hillary Clinton campaigns in Raleigh, North Carolina Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton campaigns in Raleigh, North Carolina, the day after the first presidential debate.

Hillary Clinton campaign in Raleigh block-time published-time 6.03pm BST

A Republican super PAC unveiled a new ad, using Hillary Clinton’s comments from last night’s debate against her in a new attack ad.

The new ad by Future 45 shows Clinton talking about how she has stamina to be president as proven by her years of Secretary of State travel to 112 countries.

“But beyond the flight miles, what’s the Clinton record?” asks the voice-over, before referencing Russia, Libya, ISIS and the Benghazi attack.

“Hillary has experience, but it’s bad experience,” replies Trump.

Future 45 is funded by big GOP donors, the Adelson and Ricketts families.

block-time published-time 5.47pm BST

From the Clinton plane this morning, regarding Trump’s complaints from earlier today that his microphone wasn’t working during the debate.

enltrHillary Clinton to reporters: "Anyone who complains about the microphone is not having a good night."

— Sabrina Siddiqui (@SabrinaSiddiqui) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/SabrinaSiddiqui/status/780781931529138176]block-time published-time 5.45pm BST

When Ted Cruz was in the race, Trump pushed a conspiracy theory that Cruz’s father was somehow involved in the assassination of JFK.

But even with Cruz gone from the race, Trump hasn’t disavowed the claim - even pushing it shortly after the RNC in July. The Weekly Standard tried yesterday[http://www.weeklystandard.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/trump-wont-disavow-conspiracy-theory-that-cruzs-dad-helped-kill-jfk/article/2004559#.V-pSwPfzNFA.twitter] to get Trump surrogates to admit the argument was baseless, but to no avail.

“I think really the fact that Senator Cruz came out and endorsed Mr. Trump I think really says a lot. I think it talks about how the party’s coming together, how it’s united,” said Trump senior advisor Jason Miller.

But Ted Cruz’s chief strategist Jason Johnson took a dig at Miller, who was a former Cruz top spokesman before taking on the Trump role.

enltrWhen Donald talked about 400# 'hackers' I think he meant 'hacks' https://t.co/CCSBcw88hQ[https://t.co/CCSBcw88hQ] pic.twitter.com/d7Z2KLAKH5[https://t.co/d7Z2KLAKH5]

— Jason Johnson (@jasonsjohnson) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/jasonsjohnson/status/780775369276260352]Hat tip to Ben Jacobs.

block-time published-time 5.30pm BST

Comedian Rosie O’Donnell called Donald Trump an “orange anus” after the Republican nominee said in last night’s debate that she “deserves” his criticism, which includes him calling her a “fat pig,” “slob,” and “loser.”

During the debate at Hofstra University, Trump was quizzed on his comments about women’s bodies.

“Some of it’s said — somebody who’s been very vicious to me, Rosie O’Donnell, I said very tough things to her, and I think everybody would agree that she deserves it and nobody feels sorry for her,” said Trump.

In response, O’Donnell tweeted a video from The View where she mocked Trump’s hair and pointed out his bankruptcies, failed marriages and called him a “snake oil salesman.” She says it was this moment that resulted in Trump’s vicious attacks against her.

enltr https://t.co/EvxYa7A4bL[https://t.co/EvxYa7A4bL] --- the 5 mins orange anus can't seem to get over --- tell the truth - shame the donald #ImWithHer[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ImWithHer?src=hash]

— Rosie (@Rosie) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/Rosie/status/780616540395859968]When one of Trump’s supporters tweeted at her that she was “burned” by “President Trump”, she replied:

enltrHE WILL NEVER BE PRESIDENT... @WeinerAnne[https://twitter.com/WeinerAnne]

— Rosie (@Rosie) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/Rosie/status/780612891057594368]Pop star Madonna, who endorsed Clinton back in September, then came out in support of her friend:

enltrMess with my girl Rosie and you're messing with me!!! Cruelty never made anyone a winner. ?? #rebelhearts4ever[https://twitter.com/hashtag/rebelhearts4ever?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/gvkF6HpU47[https://t.co/gvkF6HpU47]

— Madonna (@Madonna) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/Madonna/status/780668180628922368]block-time published-time 5.00pm BST

Cruz applauds Trump's debate performance Ted Cruz, the former Trump foe turned reluctant supporter applauded Trump for his debate performance last night, telling a radio host he had his “strongest debate performance” so far and that the media is only saying Clinton won because they support her.

Cruz was a top college debater and he was regarded as the toughest Republican debater of the primaries.

“Anyone who is swooning at Hillary’s performance last night, that’s a pretty good indication that you’re a card-carrying member of the liberal media, especially in the first half hour. I think Donald very much had the upper hand over Hillary,” said Cruz in a radio interview with Hugh Hewitt on Tuesday.

“And the biggest thing is her answers, they sound old and tired, and I don’t mean that in a comment on her health. It mean it on a comment on her ideas. Her ideas are rehashed 1960s Great Society, big government programs. And to me, they did not rise to the occasion remotely. Now of course the media is going to hyperventilate at how terrific she is, because that’s what they do,” said Cruz.

enltrTrump supporter Ted Cruz offers a full throated defense of Trump's debate performance to @hughhewitt[https://twitter.com/hughhewitt] : pic.twitter.com/GNxLNqVKJa[https://t.co/GNxLNqVKJa]

— Sopan Deb (@SopanDeb) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/SopanDeb/status/780791668123590656]block-time published-time 4.48pm BST

Mic edited together a video of 28 times Trump interrupted Clinton in last night’s debate.

enltrHere’s what it is like to be interrupted 28 times during a debate: #Debates[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Debates?src=hash] #debatenight[https://twitter.com/hashtag/debatenight?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/Br6c8UBMTb[https://t.co/Br6c8UBMTb]

— Mic (@mic) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/mic/status/780616596201111552]But Vox says the total is actually higher, with their count showing[http://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2016/9/27/13017666/presidential-debate-trump-clinton-sexism-interruptions] Trump interrupted her 51 times, while she interrupted him 17 times.

block-time published-time 4.25pm BST

After the conventions back in July, Lauren Leatherby from the Guardian US interactive team, analyzed the post-convention bump Hillary Clinton was experiencing. She noted that debates also influence polls, writing in August[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/14/hillary-clinton-polls-convention-trump-election-data] :

In the past, debates have had a big influence on the number of people who say they will vote for a given candidate. After the 2004 and 2012 convention seasons, both George W Bush and Obama were able to hold onto their convention bumps for a few weeks. (For Bush, his post-convention bump lasted about a month. For Obama, his numbers stayed high for two weeks.)

But, in both cases, the candidates’ poll numbers took a hit after the first debate.

How debates affect candidate's poll numbers[https://interactive.guim.co.uk/embed/2016/08/polling-debates/]Despite trailing Bush in the polls for much of the fall of 2004, a majority of viewers polled thought John Kerry won the first debate. The candidates sparred over the war in Iraq for nearly two-thirds of the debate, and Bush’s defenses appeared weak in the face of Kerry’s persistent criticisms. Bush subsequently lost around five points of his polling lead.

A similar scene played out again in 2012, between another incumbent, Obama, and Republican challenger Mitt Romney. Despite trailing in the polls, Romney was well prepared for the first debate, and Obama – often glancing at his notes – didn’t perform particularly well. More than seven in 10 Americans told Gallup that Romney did a better job, which was reflected in post-debate polls when Obama’s lead decreased by around three points.

If Clinton’s current lead holds up by the first debate in late September (which would be a very long post-convention bump indeed), her debate performance could once again change the balance of the race.

Clinton’s post-DNC bump had disappeared almost entirely by yesterday, with the latest shows pre-debate showing the pair neck-and-neck.

But largely favorable reviews across the board for Clinton’s debate performance may now affect polls - even if that may not reflect the eventual election winner.

block-time published-time 3.53pm BST

Mary J Blige interviews Clinton Hip hop queen Mary J Blige interviewed Hillary Clinton for a new show to be unveiled on Apple Music Friday, with a preview showing Blige questioning Clinton about race and singing to her.

“A lot of people in my community think Obama was blocked in Congress because he was black. How are you going to do what he wasn’t able to do?” asks Blige, in an Apple music preview put on Instagram.

margin:8px 0 0 0; padding:0 4px; An intimate conversation. @therealmaryjblige and @hillaryclinton. #The411 coming September 30 on Apple Music. (Link in bio.)[https://www.instagram.com/p/BK2HMW-gNf\_/]

color:#c9c8cd; font-family:Arial,sans-serif; font-size:14px; line-height:17px; margin-bottom:0; margin-top:8px; overflow:hidden; padding:8px 0 7px; text-align:center; text-overflow:ellipsis; white-space:nowrap;A video posted by Apple Music (@applemusic) on Sep 26, 2016 at 9:12pm PDT

The 411 with Mary Blige appears to be a new Apple Music show where the R&B star interviews people, the name taken from Blige’s 1992 album ‘What’s the 411’.

In another 30-second preview available on iTunes, the camera focuses on Blige, who belts out a cover of Bruce Springsteen’s American Skin[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aQMqWAiWPMs] - which is about the police killing of unarmed black man Amadou Diallo in 1999 - to a rather awkward-looking Clinton.

“It ain’t no secret/No secret my friend/You can get killed/Just for living in your American skin,” she sings as she sits in front of Clinton, reaching out to grab hold of her hand.

“I just want to know where we go from here,” asks Blige. Clinton opens her mouth, and the camera cuts to show name and its September 27 release date.

Just how bizarre will this interview be?

enltr"what will you do to fix the national epidemic of hateration in this dancerie?" pic.twitter.com/jVDy3eJBCP[https://t.co/jVDy3eJBCP]

— Deaux (@dstfelix) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/dstfelix/status/780621259293986816]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.14pm BST

block-time published-time 3.20pm BST

Reviewing moderator Lester Holt Last night Lester Holt, the host from NBC Nightly News, moderated the debate, under a bright spotlight after his colleague Matt Lauer was criticized for going soft on Trump during a major interview and the Trump campaign declaring that Holt’s job was as moderator not fact checker.

Holt pushed back on Trump’s claims that he did never supported the Iraq War and his argument that the stop-and-frisk policy in NYC was a big success, and news outlets including Washington Post[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/holt-strikes-a-moderate-tone-as-debate-moderator/2016/09/26/fd6ce0d6-8403-11e6-a3ef-f35afb41797f\_story.html] and Think Progress[https://thinkprogress.org/lester-holt-succeeds-in-fact-checking-trump-in-real-time-ee9a4d38d110#.ov4xdzfmb] applauded him for fact-checking.

What did others think?

Holt’s a registered Republican, but Dan Gainor wrote on FoxNews.com[http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2016/09/27/lester-holt-spins-debate-for-hillary-6-huge-ways-plays-gotcha-with-trump.html] that Holt pushed hard for Clinton:

Holt reminded viewers he’s liberal[https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=http-3A\_\_newsbusters.org\_blogs\_nb\_geoffrey-2Ddickens\_2016\_09\_06\_presidential-2Ddebate-2Dmoderator-2Dlester-2Dholts-2Dmost-2Dliberal-2Dmoments&d=DQMFaQ&c=cnx1hdOQtepEQkpermZGwQ&r=qQJXqc0Va1bpQwNiPe6xLU0Q39EzGSb9b1gh8nv1aks&m=QJJhyqxNW99FdVVT5maHYWnDrnYwDeP1OYW6\_eMFe60&s=d0eTd\_cVgZLvAEGqSQwgjuVvJVMQhMRr1bqRiQ4MT7o&e=] – from pushing the birther issue to harassing Trump about his tax returns to a wildly biased question about Clinton as “the first woman nominated by a party” not having “the look.” Clinton skated[https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A\_\_www.washingtonpost.com\_news\_the-2Dfix\_wp\_2016\_09\_26\_the-2Dfirst-2Dtrump-2Dclinton-2Dpresidential-2Ddebate-2Dtranscript-2Dannotated\_&d=DQMFaQ&c=cnx1hdOQtepEQkpermZGwQ&r=qQJXqc0Va1bpQwNiPe6xLU0Q39EzGSb9b1gh8nv1aks&m=QJJhyqxNW99FdVVT5maHYWnDrnYwDeP1OYW6\_eMFe60&s=p8PVKLrh4O9Y61uJHyAFSwKxeVyKKervINPjJpx6zTQ&e=] by with a 15-second response on her emails while Trump was asked repeated follow-up questions while Hillary was not. There was no “deplorables” question and Holt promoted the birther meme without noting its origin in the Clinton camp.

Slate’s Isaac Chotiner reckons[http://www.slate.com/blogs/the\_slatest/2016/09/26/grading\_lester\_holt\_s\_performance\_at\_the\_first\_presidential\_debate.html] that Holt asked good, tough questions - just in time.

Holt’s performance, like Hillary Clinton’s, was not a total knockout. But like Clinton’s, it was more than adequate. And in a year like this one, that counts as a victory for a beleaguered press corps.

Holt was good to not get too involved with the debaters, said Michael Calderone in Huffington Post[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/lester-holt-donald-trump\_us\_57e9c8c6e4b0c2407cd8ffb5] :

The biggest critique of Holt one could make ? and some did[http://fortune.com/2016/09/26/presidential-debate-lester-holt-moderator/] on social media ? was that he was too hands-off. However, moderators try to avoid becoming the third debater on stage, and instead force the candidates to spar with one another. There were moments, especially early on, that Holt could have been more forceful in maintaining order. But he also wisely used his discretion to keep the debate going at times instead of sticking to the somewhat arbitrary 15 minutes allotted for each segment.

At the New York Times, Michael M Grynbaum called him[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/27/us/politics/lester-holt-moderator.html?smprod=nytcore-ipad&smid=nytcore-ipad-share&\_r=0] the “minimalist moderator”:

He was silent for minutes at a time, allowing Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump to joust and bicker between themselves — and sometimes talk right over him — prompting some viewers to wonder if Mr. Holt had left the building.

But his reticence as moderator also gave viewers an unfiltered glimpse of the candidates: their views, speaking styles, and reactions under pressure.

Kyle Smith in the New York Post[http://nypost.com/2016/09/26/lester-holt-shows-he-doesnt-know-the-meaning-of-impartial/] said Clinton got off easy compared to Trump:

In the early going, it looked like it was going to be an ideal, Jim Lehrer-style performance from Lester Holt, the “NBC Nightly News” anchor. Lehrer was so boringly nonpartisan, so unwilling to play gotcha that he was always hotly in demand to moderate debates. For the first half or so, Holt gave simple, broad, open-ended questions and let the candidates go at it. He didn’t venture into live fact-checking, didn’t much quarrel with the nominees, didn’t ask persnickety questions... But in the last half of the show, Holt started going after Trump.

block-time published-time 2.49pm BST

Two of the country’s major publications are running campaign ads across their debate coverage this morning.

enltrWSJ and the Washington Post right now, and the banner ads running on top. So much winning happening. h/t @sarahportlock[https://twitter.com/sarahportlock] pic.twitter.com/810K716kru[https://t.co/810K716kru]

— Natalie Andrews (@nataliewsj) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/nataliewsj/status/780761459785687040]On the Guardian website, I’m seeing a Microsoftad, so I think that means journalism wins.

Last night I monitored Red and Blue Twitter, noting how the same debate question and answer was viewed in two completely differently ways depending on what side the supporter was on[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/clinton-trump-first-debate-reaction-twitter].

For example, Trump on trade: his supporters saw it as a dominant showing where he was able to get his message across, Clinton supporters saw him constantly interrupting her in a sexist way.

Who do you think won the debate? Please share in the comments.

block-time published-time 2.33pm BST

On Fox and Friends this morning, Trump claimed that he won the debate because online polls showed it to be true - although those poll numbers may be a little dodgy.

“I know I did better than Hillary and ever poll shows that,” said Trump.

“I won Slate, I won Drudge, I won CBS, I won Time magazine. I won every poll apart from CNN and not many people are watching CNN,” he declared.

Except, Major Garrett from CBS rebuked Trump’s claim:

enltrOn @foxandfriends[https://twitter.com/foxandfriends] @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] said he won a @CBSNews[https://twitter.com/CBSNews] post-debate poll. We did not conduct a post-debate poll.

— Major Garrett (@MajorCBS) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/MajorCBS/status/780747025398763520] Ben Collins from the Daily Beast[http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/09/27/donald-trump-s-online-trolls-turn-on-their-god-emperor.html] notes that the very polls Trump is claiming he won were gamed by Trump supporters on 4chan and Reddit.

...some users took time to attempt to game online polls[https://twitter.com/mighty\_buzzer/status/780610863476518912] soliciting opinions on who won the debate, imploring users to “abuse airplane mode toggling” to allow for more votes for Trump on websites like CNBC, Time, ABC News, and CNN.

Trump then spent the night pointing his Twitter users[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/780656338628145153] to those same poll numbers, which had been brigaded by 4chan and Trump’s Reddit community r/The\_Donald.

block-time published-time 1.53pm BST

Undecided voters pick Clinton as winner, reports Lauren Gambino from Philadelphia.

In a clash between the two most unpopular presidential nominees[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/debate-clinton-trump-recap-presidential-election-hofstra] in modern history, a group of undecided voters in the battleground state of Pennsylvania declared Hillary Clinton the clear winner of Monday night’s debate; but remained deeply pessimistic about their choices in November.

“It’s like asking me to choose between a heart attack and a stroke,” said one of the 27 voters selected to participate in the focus group conducted by Republican pollster Frank Luntz in Philadelphia[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/philadelphia] on Monday.

‘Clinton weaponized Trump’s words’: the reaction to the presidential debate Jill Abramson, Steven W Thrasher, Christopher R Barron, Jamie Weinstein and Lucia GravesRead more

The visceral electoral anger that helped fuel Trump’s rise was felt in the room at the National Constitution Center where the mood was perhaps best encapsulated by Luntz’s opening question: “How the hell did we get here?”

The Pennsylvania[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/pennsylvania] voters shared some of the same entrenched views that voters across the country have expressed over the past 18 months. They described Clinton as a “liar”, “corrupt”, “secretive” and “self-centered”. They labeled Trump “scary”, “fake”, an “egomaniac” and a “shape-shifter”.

The battleground state voters watched the debate from a room inside the National Constitution Center and recorded their snap reactions throughout the 90-minute debate. On display behind the voters were large, expressionistic paintings of an American flag, John F Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, Trump and Clinton by artist and GOP darling Steve Penley.

At the end of the debate, 16 of the 27 participants agreed that Clinton had won while just six believed Trump had won the debate. In near uniformity, the voters said the outcome of the debate was the result of Trump’s failure rather than Clinton’s success.

Read the rest here[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/presidential-debate-focus-group-frank-luntz-hillary-clinton-winner].

Related: Hillary Clinton clear debate winner among group of undecided voters[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/presidential-debate-focus-group-frank-luntz-hillary-clinton-winner]

block-time published-time 1.30pm BST

Hello and welcome to our live-wire coverage of the 2016 race for the White House.

Last night Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton battled it out at Hofstra University in the first 2016 presidential debate. This morning, we’re wading through the reviews, columns and analysis.

First a look at some Guardian stories to check out:

\* Our politics team - Dan Roberts, Sabrina Siddiqui and Ben Jacobs – covered the debate from inside the room[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/debate-clinton-trump-recap-presidential-election-hofstra], declaring that Clinton kept her cool while Trump lost his.

\* Tom McCarthy summed up what we learned at the debate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/27/debate-what-we-learned-clinton-trump-hofstra-recap-presidential-election] – and the importance of the line “ Whew, OK![https://twitter.com/ditzkoff/status/780594971812429825] ”.

\* Alan Yuhas fact-checked[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/debate-fact-check-trump-clinton-live-quotes-hofstra], clarifying exactly which candidates’ arguments hold up to inspection.

“Whew, Ok!” Trump defensive on Fox News this morning Trump has already come out on the defensive on Fox and Friends this morning, declaring that moderator Lester Holt asked him “hostile questions” but didn’t drill Clinton on her own scandals, and said his microphone suffered audio problems possibly “on purpose”.

“I thought it went really well... It was the debate of debates,” Trump declared at 7am.

Trump said he thought the NBC Nightly News host did a “fine” job, although he argued that he got asked much tougher questions, including about his support of the birther conspiracy, his refusal to release his tax returns and former employees’ lawsuits against him.

“He didn’t ask her about the emails. Didn’t ask her about her scandals. Didn’t ask her about the Benghazi deal she destroyed. He didn’t ask her about a lot of things... Didn’t ask about her foundation,” said Trump.

He also echoed his claim made after the debate last night, that after Clinton grilled him on his treatment of women, including former Miss Universe winner Alicia Machado, he wanted to bring up Bill Clinton’s extramarital affairs but didn’t out of respect for their daughter Chelsea Clinton.

“I didn’t feel comfortable doing it with Chelsea in the room,” said Trump.

But he said he might mention the affairs in the next debate. “I may hit her harder in certain ways. I really eased up in certain ways because I didn’t want to hurt anyone’s feelings,” he said.

Trump admitted that Clinton’s comments about Alicia Machado riled him up, as he tried to explain his “Miss Piggy” comments about her:

“She was the winner, she gained a massive amount of weight, it was a real problem,” said Trump. “Not only that, her attitude, we had a real problem with her.”

He noted that the comments happened years ago and says the Clinton campaign “found a girl and talked about her as if she was Mother Theresa and it wasn’t quite that way, but that’s OK, Hillary has to do what she has to.”

enltr"She gained a massive amount of weight, and it was a real problem." —Trump just defended his attacks on Fmr. Miss Universe Alicia Machado. pic.twitter.com/HbVtaBpK3R[https://t.co/HbVtaBpK3R]

— Kyle Griffin (@kylegriffin1) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/kylegriffin1/status/780737548725485568]Trump gave both Clinton and Holt a C+ grade.

#TrumpSniffles not true? Last night Trump appeared to sniffle his way through the debate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/trump-sniffles-presidential-debate-clinton-hofstra], the #Trumpsniffles hashtag trending thanks to the irony of Trump having heath issues after he’s drilled Clinton so hard on her own.

Except... he claims it was a microphone issue and that he wasn’t sniffling.

“I had a problem with my mic that didn’t work, I wonder if it was set up on purpose. In the room they couldn’t hear me, not exactly great... I wonder if it was set up that way,” said Trump.

He said his mic dropped in and out. “I don’t want to believe in conspiracy theories. But it was crackling. To me, it was a bad problem,” said Trump.

When he was specifically asked about the sniffling, he replied:

No, no sniffles. No, the mic was very bad, but maybe it was good enough to hear breathing. But no sniffles. No allergies. No cold.

So this was just a microphone?

undltr #TrumpSniffles[https://twitter.com/hashtag/TrumpSniffles?src=hash] #debatenight[https://twitter.com/hashtag/debatenight?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/fpn9bA19bd[https://t.co/fpn9bA19bd]

— Mashable News (@MashableNews) September 27, 2016[https://twitter.com/MashableNews/status/780585590844563457] Biden’s review Vice-president and Clinton supporter Joe Biden was on Facebook last night[https://www.facebook.com/joebiden/posts/10153743738876104] after the debate to criticize Trump over his bragging that he hadn’t paid federal taxes:

Donald Trump all but admitted he hasn’t paid federal taxes on his income. He says that makes him smart. But what does that say to the factory worker or the nurse or the teacher earning $40,000 or $50,000 or $60,000 a year and paying almost 15% of their income to support our troops, keep our neighborhoods safe and clean, and rebuild our roads? Does he really think these patriotic Americans are not smart? He’s a guy who is proud of a phrase he made famous: “You’re fired.”

In today’s campaign movements: Trump is off to Melbourne, Florida, for a rally tonight (reporter Ben Jacobs will be there). His VP pick Mike Pence was supposed to hold and event in Wisconsin, but that’s since been cancelled. Clinton’s hosting a rally in Raleigh, North Carolina, and has her surrogates out in force today. Her VP pick Tim Kaine has a canvass kickoff in Orlando, while husband Bill is hosting events in Ohio. Joe Biden will speak at a rally in Philadelphia.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.10pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the developments from the Labour conference in Liverpool, including speeches from Sadiq Khan and Tom WatsonSadiq Khan’s speech - Summary and analysis

block-time published-time 6.07pm BST

Tom Watson 's speech - Summary Tom Watson ’s speech was the most substantial anyone has delivered to the Labour conference so far. I’m sorry it has taken a while to post a summary, but Labour were slow sending out the transcript. Anyway, it’s worth it. Here are the key points.

\* Tom Watson warned Labour against “trashing” the record of the Blair and Brown governments. In a comment clearly aimed at some of Jeremy Corbyn ’s supports, which received strong applause, Watson said:

I don’t know why we’ve been focusing on what was wrong with the Blair and Brown governments for the last six years, but trashing our own record is not the way to enhance our brand.

\* He told Labour not to treat capitalism as the enemy. This passage seemed to be aimed at some on the Corbyn wing of the party too.

In the past, big businesses were too easily cast as predators. We meant to say that we would stand up to the abuse of corporate power as the Tories never will. But we ended up sounding like we were anti-business; anti-prosperity; anti-success. We’re not and we never have been. Capitalism, comrades, is not the enemy. Money’s not the problem. Business isn’t bad. The real world is more complicated than that, as any practical trade unionist will tell you. Businesses are where people work. The private sector’s what generates the money to pay for our schools and hospitals.

We can afford the best health service in the world because we are one of the most prosperous countries in the world. That’s a fact and we forget it at our peril. And I don’t say this because it’s what wins elections, I say it because it is true. And people know that it’s true. And that’s why it wins elections.

\* He said he expected an early general election.

I’m sure there’ll be a general election soon. The more often Theresa May says it won’t happen, the more certain I am that it will. And, comrades, we need to be ready.

\* He said Labour could win a general election by building on its achievements in local government.

We owe the British people - our people - an alternative to a government that doesn’t care and a Prime Minster they didn’t vote for. You keep hearing that Labour can’t win, well we can, and we will. And I’ll tell you how we’re going to win: we’re going to win through local government because that’s how we always win.

Our councillors are the engine of Labour’s electoral machine. It’s Labour councilors all over the country who are our leaders and ambassadors in local communities. Our councillors and our trade unions: these are the rocks our movement’s built on.

\* He lavished praise on Labour’s leaders in local government and in the Wales.

What a champion [Sadiq Khan ] is. What an outstanding representative of our great national capital and our historic socialist party - still relevant, resonant, and winning elections in one of the most dynamic cities on earth.

And in Bristol we have got marvellous Marvin, who you have just heard from.

What a hero. And in our other great conurbations next May: Andy Burnham ,

Siôn Simon and Steve Rotherham are going to follow Sadiq’s and Marvin’s example. And Carwyn in Wales. Reminding people what Labour government looks like - how innovative and radical we can be. How growth and prosperity, social justice and fairness all go hand in hand under Labour. And not just doing the right thing - not just compassion - but doing the thing right. Competence.

Watson’s comments about people like Sadiq Khan and Marvin Rees contrasted strongly with what he had to say about Jeremy Corbyn . He praised Corbyn’s performance at the last PMQs, when he attacked Theresa May over grammar schools, but otherwise his praise for Corbyn was conspicuous by its absence.

\* He confirmed his plan to set up an independent commission on the future of work.

In the next Labour government we must judge ourself on our ability to redraw that pie-chart. The problems of inequality aren’t new, but the solutions will need to be. So I’ve put together an independent commission on the future of work, to start influencing policy right now - from opposition.

It will be chaired by Helen Mountfield QC, joined by a world-class team including Naomi Climer, the first ever female President of the Institution of Engineering and Technology, Professor Michael Sandel, Jon Cruddas, Lord Jim Knight and many more. We’ll feed into Jon Trickett ’s work on building a targeted Industrial Strategy and we’ll report back to you next year.

\* He claimed that the Tories only cared about money and power.

Of the real British values the Tories can never understand; of compassion and fairness alongside enterprise and fierce independence. This is no nation of ideologues. We know that and that’s our advantage over the Tories.

They’re blinded by money and power. It’s all they care about. And the old lady next door; and your neighbour’s children; and that migrant family working 60 hours a week and paying taxes: all these can go hang to the Tories. Other people don’t matter. Well that’s not the British way.

Yes, British people want a fair chance for themselves and their families. They want their hard work rewarded. But they also care what happens to the other children in the class, the other people at the bus stop, the others in the lengthening queues waiting months now for life-saving operations.

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

Tom Watson addressing the Labour conference. Photograph: Christopher Furlong/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.15pm BST

block-time published-time 5.09pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn 's interviews - Summary Jeremy Corbyn has done a round of interviews with broadcasters this afternoon. Here are the key points.

\* Corbyn said he would hold a shadow cabinet reshuffle next week. It would not be this week, he said, but it would come before parliament resumes a week on Monday.

I will be appointing ahead of the return of Parliament to ensure that we have an effective shadow cabinet. We are filling the positions, but we are not announcing anything this week. It is all going to come later on.

Corbyn also hinted that the reshuffle might not involve filling all 60-odd vacant frontbench jobs. He said he would “develop a team of the size that we need”. But there is no absolute requirement for the shadow ministerial team to be as large as it was. In the past oppositions have functioned with fewer shadow ministers than they normally have now.

\* He claimed that “lots” of MPs would return to the front bench. “Lots of MPs are coming back,” he said.

\* He restated his opposition to bringing back full shadow cabinet elections. Asked if he would agree to them, he said:

I didn’t vote for it. I’m open to the idea and I understand the argument behind it, but I also think the leader of the party must have the ability to form the general policy areas.

But, despite saying the party leader had to have some right to determine policy direction, he also reaffirmed his commitment to extending party democracy.

I think intrinsically, members need to have much more say in policy making for the longer term. That means we have to engage much earlier on.

\* He said there might be a “special meeting of the policy forum” later this year to consider proposed changes to party rules. Labour’s national executive committee is expected to discuss these proposals, covering policy making and the selection of the shadow cabinet, at a meeting in November.

\* He said he accepted that Labour’s policy was to back Trident - while also suggesting it could change in the future. He also reaffirmed his personal opposition to nuclear weapons.

The policy the party has from previous conference decisions does support the renewal of Trident. As you know, I never agreed with that decision... That’s the existing party policy. I cannot predict what will happen in the future, who will decide what they want to bring forward to conference.

He also said that he wanted to “lead this party in a direction will bring about a nuclear free world.” (In their speeches to the conference yesterday Clive Lewis , the shadow defence secretary, and Emily Thornberry , the shadow foreign secretary, both stressed Labour’s commitment to multilateral nuclear disarmament [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/26/labour-conference-john-mcdonnell-speech-says-labour-will-run-interventionist-government-politics-live?page=with:block-57e8f854e4b03598d1ce8b89#block-57e8f854e4b03598d1ce8b89] - suggesting that this might be a compromise policy around which Labour’s pro and anti-Trident factions could coalesce.)

Asked if he “accepted” party policy, he replied:

Of course I know what the party policy is and of course I understand the decision that was taken. Does it mean there are people in the party who have a moral objection to nuclear weapons? Yes there are.

\* He said he never wanted to use a nuclear weapon. Asked if he would fire a nuclear weapon, he replied: “I never want to use a nuclear weapon.” This is as less provocative answer than the one he gave last year, when asked on Today if he would press the nuclear button. On that occasion he bluntly said no, [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2015/sep/30/labour-conference-jeremy-corbyns-morning-interviews-politics-live?page=with:block-560b8d2be4b00e76364a24d8#block-560b8d2be4b00e76364a24d8] prompting pro-Trident MPs to claim that he had rendered the nuclear deterrent worthless.

\* He played down the nature of the row with Clive Lewis about the wording of his speech.

It’s perfectly normal that there be discussions with shadow cabinet colleagues on statements they are going to make, and that’s what happened. It was discussed and that’s what came out of it. I don’t see it as a huge problem, I don’t see it as a huge issue.

\* He rejected claims that Sadiq Khan ’s speech was directed at him.

How is that a lecture to me? It was a lecture to everybody that we have to come together to get in power... What he was saying was we have to win a national election. On that we are all agreed.

\* He said it was wrong to treat socialism as a dirty word.

Socialism is the basis of what brought the Labour Party about, it’s the basis of what forms our opinions. It’s actually the basis of why we got the NHS . The Labour Party has won lots of elections...

Stop treating the word `socialism’ as if its some sort of bad word we should only talk about late at night. It’s an ideology that’s based on the principle that everyone should contribute and those in need should benefit the most from our common endeavours.

\* He rejected claims that Labour was not reaching out to ordinary voters.

How is a message that is about making sure that everyone in this country has a living wage, that there is real job security, that we end zero hours contracts, that we invest in infrastructure, railways and broadband, schools and hospitals – how is that not a message that reaches out to millions of people all across this country?

\* He said that he had changed the political agenda.

I tell you what – the political agenda has changed – Everyone’s against austerity now, they weren’t a year ago.

\* He said he would tackle concerns about **immigration** partly by trying to standardise living standards across Europe.

What I would do about **immigration** is try to bring about a degree of co-terminosity, a degree of equality of work conditions and wages across Europe.

Jeremy Corbyn . Photograph: Peter Nicholls/Reuters block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.30pm BST

block-time published-time 4.25pm BST

Angela Rayner vows to fight extending grammar schools with 'every breath in my body Angela Rayner , the shadow education secretary, spoke earlier. Here are the main points from her speech.

\* Rayner vowed to fight Theresa May ’s plans for more grammar schools “with every breath in my body”.

If Theresa May is talking about meritocracy, let me tell her that every child has merit.

That is why I will fight, with every breath in my body, against her new grammar schools. She has produced no evidence that grammar schools help social mobility. Selection - or segregation as it should be called - entrenches division and increases inequality...

Conference, Theresa May is telling fairy tales about social mobility and opportunity. Selection is toxic. It tells a clever child they are stupid, strips a child of self-esteem and embeds inequality. Every child has potential. Every child can succeed. No child should be left out or left behind.

Conference, Tony Blair talked about education, education, education. Theresa May wants segregation, segregation, segregation. And our Labour Party will fight it, starting on Saturday when we launch our nationwide campaign against more grammar schools. We’re going to take the fight to the Tories and I appeal to all my MP colleagues to help lead this fight. Together, we can defeat Theresa May .

\* She confirmed that she was setting up a childcare taskforce.

That is why I am proud to announce today, Labour’s new childcare taskforce, to help us transform early years provision for every family in the 21st century. And I’m delighted that Liz Snape, the deputy general secretary of Unison, who you heard from this morning, has agreed to chair that taskforce, working with Labour’s shadow education team and childcare experts.

Our aim will be to provide the care and support for every child to fulfil their potential, and to help parents back to work. Access to affordable, high-quality childcare and early years learning is one of the most effective drivers of social mobility. Getting it right will improve the life chances of countless children across the country. That must be our mission.

Angela Rayner addressing the Labour conference. Photograph: James Gourley/REX/Shutterstock block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.10pm BST

block-time published-time 4.14pm BST

John McDonnell , the shadow chancellor, told a fringe meeting at the Labour conference that he had been told not to describe his approach as “business friendly”.

He was trying to explain what being an “entrepreneurial state” means. The concept has been developed by the economist Mariana Mazzucato , who is advising Labour, and McDonnell said she had told him it was not just about favouring business.

Mariana Mazzucato is advising us on how we become an entrepreneurial state. What does that mean? It means working alongside the wealth creators - entrepreneurs and workers themselves - to see what assistance we can give in the creation of products, the creation of markets. And in that way you create the prosperity.

What she says is, whatever you do, don’t describe yourself as business friendly. That isn’t what this is about.

This is about making sure that we are working in partnership, but laying the climatic conditions in which entrepreneurial talents can be developed. I think that’s the way we are going.

There will be other times where there needs to be a much more direct, interventionist approach by government - rather than just laying the foundations which people can build upon, there might be times when we have to intervene, like we did with steel, which means a much more direct intervention by the state.

block-time published-time 4.07pm BST

Duncan Enright, Labour’s candidate in Witney, where there will be a byelection following David Cameron ’s resignation, addressed the conference earlier. He said the Witney Labour party had more members than all the other parties put together.

Over the last five years Labour has won seat after seat on our councils and we now have amazing councillors right across west Oxfordshire, all working in their communities. Since May 2015, and particularly since Jeremy Corbyn became our leader, our membership has grown hugely and we now have many more members in Witney than the Conservatives, the Liberal Democrats and, in fact, more than all of the other parties put together.

Enright is unlikely to win in the byelection on Thursday 20 October. At the last election Cameron had a majority of more than 25,000.

block-time published-time 4.00pm BST

Tom Watson , Labour’s deputy leader, has just started his speech now. I will post a summary once I’ve got the full text.

block-time published-time 3.59pm BST

Labour has not yet announced the results of the vote on the NEC rule changes, but they have been approved, by colleague Jessica Elgot reports.

enltrI understand that, as expected, #Lab16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Lab16?src=hash] delegates have voted to approve NEC rule changes - huge implications for power balance on committee

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/780776791871021060]block-time published-time 3.57pm BST

Here is a Guardian mashup of Sadiq Khan ’s speech. It’s terrific.

The power of repetition: Sadiq Khan’s message to Labour [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/sep/27/the-power-of-repetition-sadiq-khans-message-to-labour-video]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.14pm BST

block-time published-time 3.53pm BST

The Labour MP Tom Blenkinsop has criticised for Momentum for staging their “The World Transformed” alternative conference (or festival, as they describe it). He told a fringe meeting:

When we talk about unity, it’s very hard when you have got the circus down the road where people set up and pitch up down the road deliberately to undermine and show explicitly the division. That’s an organisation which isn’t actually affiliated to the Labour Party but has some sort of role. There is a divide.

block-time published-time 3.48pm BST

My colleague Dave Hill, who has written a book about Sadiq Khan ’s mayoral election campaign, has written an article with his take on Khan’s speech.

Related: Sadiq Khan mayoral triumph is Labour's blueprint for surviving Corbyn [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/davehillblog/2016/sep/27/sadiq-khan-mayoral-triumph-is-labours-blueprint-for-surviving-corbyn]

Hill says Khan, and other Labour mayors, could develop a champion an alternative version of Labour politics to Jeremy Corbyn ’s.

By this time next year there will almost certainly be Labour “metro mayors” in post in Liverpool and Birmingham as well as Manchester, with varying powers over their cities and surrounding areas. They, along with Carwyn Jones , the First Minister of Wales, will be the most powerful Labour politicians in the UK: high profile and, hopefully, on the road to becoming highly effective at implementing Labour programmes in new forms of regional government.

Their progress, and that of Labour leaders of other big cities - Bristol [https://twitter.com/MarvinJRees?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor], Leeds [http://democracy.leeds.gov.uk/mgUserInfo.aspx?UID=107], Newcastle [http://www.chroniclelive.co.uk/news/north-east-news/give-refugee-children-home-uk-11936510] and more - in the years leading up to 2020 will depend less on the endeavours of their party’s national leader than on their marshalling of the resources they have at their disposal and their ability to persuade, enthuse and cajole a range of interest groups – housing providers, public sector bodies, educators, voluntary organisations, businesses and so on - to pursue progressive common goals. In the longer term, they will want to talk to the Conservative national government into giving them greater leeway to do things their way in the post-Brexit national interest.

Collectively these governing Labour politicians could, in effect, represent a parallel, much broader Labour Party than the narrow one Corbyn leads; a very different political entity sharing the same name.

block-time published-time 3.13pm BST

A left wing member of Labour’s ruling body who took to the the stage at the party’s annual conference to protest at impending rule changes has voiced concern that it could put the right wing of the party in control, pitting it against Jeremy Corbyn .

Christine Shawcroft said it was a failed attempt to force a card vote on rule changes which she says could allow anti-Corbyn MPs to dominate the national executive committee.

Shawcroft wanted to to kill off a proposal to hand seats on the NEC to Scottish and Welsh politicians. At a meeting tonight, the NEC will meet again to choose the body’s new chair, a crucial post to controlling the NEC for the next year, she said.

There has been an attempt by the right of the party to control the ruling body. If these changes go through, I think this could be used to change the structures of the party to give Jeremy’s opponents more say.

It is likely to go through, but at the moment there is a delicate balance of votes. I would like to see more people voted on the NEC from constituency parties. The post of chair will be crucial to getting such rule changes through.

block-time published-time 3.08pm BST

Paul Flynn urges Labour MPs to return to the front bench Sadiq Khan ’s speech may have been the most newsworthy of the morning, but the most enjoyable was Paul Flynn . Flynn, a leftwinger, has spent most of his career on the backbenches as a member of the awkward squad but he was appointed to the shadow cabinet in the summer when the resignations happened. Flynn doubles up as shadow Welsh secretary and shadow leader of the Commons. His promotion was all the more remarkable because he is 81.

Flynn started with a joke about his age. He was speaking as a “grateful recipient of Jeremy’s job creation scheme for geriatrics”, he said. But his speech, which he delivered in his capacity as shadow leader of the Commons, contained some strong lines.

\* Flynn appealed to the Labour MPs who resigned from the front bench to return. He said he disagreed with Len McCluskey , the Unite general secretary, who gave a speech yesterday saying the “merchants of doom” should quit. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/26/labour-conference-john-mcdonnell-speech-says-labour-will-run-interventionist-government-politics-live?page=with:block-57e92dc5e4b01a7059fc9dac#block-57e92dc5e4b01a7059fc9dac] Flynn said:

Len McCluskey made a speech for unity yesterday but there is one phrase in it - the one that he stole from Shakespeare - that I must disagree with, because he did say ‘some should depart the field’. No, no, no.

We’ve got some of our best people sitting on the subs bench, you don’t score goals from the subs bench. Some resigned, they all did for honourable reasons. It took courage for many of them to resign, it’s going to take greater courage for many of them to come back and we must make it possible for them to return with dignity and respect.

\* He said Labour should abandon negativity.

In the last 12 months we’ve been locked in a gap year of negativity, of pessimism, of hopelessness, by many in our party. It seemed at times a competition to see who could be the most pessimistic about our future and our prospects - we’ve got to end that. It’s time to now to give unity a chance. Take all the bile and the hatred together, put it in a box, bury it deep underground, put six feet of concrete on top and then put a sign saying ‘never should the last 12 months be unearthed from its dishonest grave’.

Flynn insisted that Labour could win. To back his point, he recalled helping out during the 1945 general election campaign with his brother. He was only 10 at the time, but he remembers his mother telling him he was wasting his time. She told him:

Look, boys, you are on the right side, it’s the Labour party, it’s our party, but this candidate cannot win because of prejudice. You cannot win in Wales as a candidate if you’ve got an Irish name. And no one called Jim Callaghan has any future in politics.

Callaghan was elected MP for Cardiff South in 1945, and of course went on to become prime minister.

\* Flynn claimed that Labour had enjoyed “marvellous results” in elections over the last year.

The trouble with unity is that it is not sexy. The media, the press, are not interested in it. They are interested in rows, they are interested in division, they are interested in conflict. But they don’t notice the brilliant year we’ve had: magnificent election results. Instead of the polls, look at what happens when real people use real votes in real elections. Marvellous results in all the mayoral elections, in all the byelections. In Wales we gained three parliamentary seats that we lost a year ago.

Flynn seems to be using the word “brilliant” rather loosely. For a more accurate assessment of Labour’s electoral record over the last year, read this UK Polling Report blog by Anthony Wells. [http://ukpollingreport.co.uk/blog/archives/9749]

\* Flynn mocked David Cameron ’s resignation honours list.

The Daily Mail, of all people, described his honours list as devalued, debased, discredited, egregious, grubby, tawdry, tainted, tarnished - otherwise alright.

\* He said Britain needed “root and branch reform of our democracy”. But reform needed to happen by cross-party agreement, he said.

The only House in the world where we have chieftains, hereditary chieftains in parliament, is ourselves and Lesotho. Only another country, Iran, has clerics as lawmakers. We need a thorough reform of our democracy. It must be done on an all-party basis. It must be done with the consent of all parties so that we get a fresh democracy that’s fair, that’s durable, that’s democratic.

Paul Flynn addresses the Labour conference. Photograph: James Gourley/REX/Shutterstock block-time published-time 2.30pm BST

Wendy Nichols, who is chairing the afternoon’s session, has just told delegates that Iain McNicol , the Labour general secretary, has ensured that the stand giving away free copies of the Sun will take them away. (See 12.44pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/27/labour-conference-jeremy-corbyn-tom-watson-says-party-must-prepare-for-fourth-industrial-revolution?page=with:block-57ea5a9ee4b0370914a06f68#block-57ea5a9ee4b0370914a06f68], the Labour general secretary, has ensured that the stand giving away free copies of the Sun will take them away. (See

block-time published-time 2.27pm BST

Sadiq Khan attracted a crowd as he gave interviews after his speech. These are from ITV ’s Chris Ship and the Guardian ’s Rowena Mason.

enltrCrowds have formed to listen to Labour's winning elected politician (by voters rather than members) @SadiqKhan [https://twitter.com/SadiqKhan] pic.twitter.com/hP1YhWIeLi [https://t.co/hP1YhWIeLi]

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/780748820648980480]enltrIt's not quite Borismania c.2012 but Sadiq getting a lot of conference attention pic.twitter.com/iB3nl5Sata [https://t.co/iB3nl5Sata]enltrIt's not quite Borismania c.2012 but Sadiq getting a lot of conference attention

— Rowena Mason (@rowenamason) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rowenamason/status/780749895338758144]In an interview Khan admitted that he had not spoken to Jeremy Corbyn for months.

enltr"To be honest there's lots of people I should probably be speaking to - ask my wife." Sadiq on why he hasn't talked to Corbyn in months.

— Pippa Crerar (@PippaCrerar) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PippaCrerar/status/780751588323319809]He also dismissed suggestions he wanted to be Labour leader.

enltrSadiq asked by @chrisshipitv [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv] if he cd see himself as Lab leader: No, not ever - I've got the best job in the world, why wd I wanna leave it?

— John Ashmore (@smashmorePH) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/smashmorePH/status/780752171059015680]It would be wise to take this final remark with a lorryload of salt. A source points out that Khan recently appeared on a platform with Mauricio Macri , the former mayor of Buenos Aires, and Matteo Renzi, the former mayor of Florence. Both Macri and Renzi told Khan that being mayor was the best job in the world.

That may be so. But Macri is now president of Argentina, and Renzi is prime minister of Italy.

enltrTalking with @billclinton [https://twitter.com/billclinton], @NOIweala [https://twitter.com/NOIweala], @mauriciomacri [https://twitter.com/mauriciomacri] & @matteorenzi [https://twitter.com/matteorenzi] about the challenges facing London after Brexit pic.twitter.com/FE9MoIiWpc [https://t.co/FE9MoIiWpc] about the challenges facing London after Brexit

— Sadiq Khan (@SadiqKhan) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SadiqKhan/status/777926549391679490]block-time published-time 2.19pm BST

The afternoon conference session has just got going. One of the delegates has just complained strongly about free copies of the Sun being given away at the conference. (See 12.44pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/27/labour-conference-jeremy-corbyn-tom-watson-says-party-must-prepare-for-fourth-industrial-revolution?page=with:block-57ea5a9ee4b0370914a06f68#block-57ea5a9ee4b0370914a06f68] Wendy Nichols, who is chairing the afternoon session, said this was being addressed.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.29pm BST

block-time published-time 2.18pm BST

This is from Newsweek ’s Josh Lowe.

enltrSadiq Khan is a very talented politician. But his route to power in London didn't have to navigate the **immigration** quagmire. Labour does.

— Josh Lowe (@JeyyLowe) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JeyyLowe/status/780744093471236096]block-time published-time 2.02pm BST

The Unison general secretary Dave Prentis liked Sadiq Khan ’s speech.

enltrBrilliant speech from @sadiqkhan [https://twitter.com/SadiqKhan] - Labour can achieve so much in power. Let's take the fight to the Tories and win #labourinpower [https://twitter.com/hashtag/labourinpower?src=hash] - Labour can achieve so much in power. Let's take the fight to the Tories and win

— Dave Prentis (@DavePrentis) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DavePrentis/status/780739884646559744]block-time published-time 1.51pm BST

Here is my colleague Jessica Elgot ’s story about the NEC rule changes. Delegates have voted, but it was a card vote and it will take a while before the votes are counted. But Labour officials are very confident the proposals will be agreed.

Related: Jeremy Corbyn expected to lose majority support of Labour NEC [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/27/jeremy-corbyn-expected-to-lose-majority-support-of-labour-nec]

block-time published-time 1.37pm BST

Sadiq Khan 's speech - Summary and analysis Shortly before Sadiq Khan addressed the conference, someone on the platform made a joke about his being the son of a bus driver. It was a tribute to the way, during the London mayoral campaign, Khan relentlessly and unashamedly kept going on about his upbringing at every opportunity. It worked, because there is not a soul in London who does not know what Khan’s dad did for a living. Khan is someone who understands the importance of repetition.

But this speech took the art of repetition to a whole new level. At times it was veering into self-parody. Essentially, almost every sentence was about how Labour can only achieve things if it is “in power”. It certainly wasn’t subtle, and some will accuse him of overkill, but if Khan’s only concern was to get his message across, then it was certainly effective.

And what was the message? Khan backed Owen Smith in the leadership contest because he thought Jeremy Corbyn could not win an election. He explained his thinking in an Observer article. In his speech today Khan did not criticise Corbyn directly, and he specifically said that the leadership issue was settled. But he did not retract anything he said during the summer. His focus on the importance of Labour being able to win elections to get things down could be seen as a firm reminder to Corbyn that he will be judged by electoral performance, but it sounded more as if Khan was advertising his own credentials as an election winner. He seemed to be putting down a marker for the future, signalling that if Labour needs an election-winner when the Corbyn era is over, Khan will be available.

Here are the key points.

\* Khan said Labour should focus on winning power.

After the election this summer the leadership of our party has now been decided and I congratulate Jeremy on his clear victory. Now it’s time for us all to work together towards the greatest prize: getting Labour back into power.

\* He stressed that Labour was in power in local government and in Wales, if not at Westminster.

With Labour in power, Britain is a fairer country - a more equal country and a more just country. And Labour is in power right now - not just in London but in Wales too. Labour re-elected with the First Minister, Carwyn Jones , and in Bristol with the new Mayor, Marvin Rees. Labour is in power right now in Liverpool, Manchester and Southampton; in Newcastle, Glasgow and Cambridge; in Birmingham, Nottingham, Leeds and Cardiff too.

Labour is in power in towns and cities the length and breadth of Britain. And Conference, where Labour is in power it’s thanks to your hard work. Thanks to Labour members, activists and supporters. Thanks to the trade unions and the working people they represent. Thanks to the Labour staff who work so hard for us.

\* He explained why being in power was so important.

With Labour out of power, the number of affordable new homes built falls, the cost of rent rockets, and the number of homeless people sleeping on our streets rises. But it’s only with Labour in power that we can make tackling the housing crisis our number one priority; we can create new teams like Homes for Londoners, to get more genuinely affordable homes built; or a new social letting scheme to stop renters being ripped off; we can enact new policies like the London Living Rent to put home ownership back within reach for our young people; and we can make tackling homelessness and rough sleeping a real priority - because it’s a stain on our great nation.

Most of the speech consisted of Khan making this point again and again, but applying it to issues like housing, air pollution, social integration, inequality, education, Brexit and the public services.

\* He stressed that EU citizens in Britain are welcome.

I’d like to take a moment to speak to the European citizens living across Britain, and who make a huge contribution to our NHS , schools, on construction sites and in business: you make a massive contribution to our country; economically, socially and culturally. Thank you. Thank you for all that you do to make our country great. You are welcome here.

Jeremy Corbyn looks on as Sadiq Khan addressed the Labour conference. Photograph: Paul Ellis/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 1.04pm BST

I’ve got the full text of Sadiq Khan ’s speech.

The word “power” occurs 38 times.

block-time published-time 12.55pm BST

Sadiq Khan , the mayor of London, has just finished addressing the conference now. In his speech he focused repeatedly on the need for Labour to get into power.

In fact, he seemed to be trying to set a world record for use of the word “power” in a single speech.

I will post a summary when I’ve got the full text.

enltrLabour in power in towns & cities across Britain can show the way back to power for our party in Westminster. #Lab16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Lab16?src=hash] https://t.co/K34UfYPnk2 [https://t.co/K34UfYPnk2]

— Sadiq Khan (@SadiqKhan) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SadiqKhan/status/780702536936394752]block-time published-time 12.44pm BST

An exhibitor at the Labour conference has been told to stop giving away free copies of the Sun, Politics Home report. [https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/culture/news/79348/labour-bans-copies-sun-its-party-conference] Labour acted after the Liverpool mayor Joe Anderson protested, saying it was a “disgrace” that the paper was being given away. [http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/mayors-fury-sn-newspaper-being-11943796] The Sun is still loathed on Merseyside, and boycotted by newsagents, because of its infamous Hillsborough coverage 27 years ago.

block-time published-time 12.36pm BST

Diane Abbott says Labour would restore bursaries for student nurses Here are the main points from the speech from Diane Abbott , the shadow health secretary.

\* Abbott said Labour would restore bursaries for student nurses.

Many students will not be able to afford to study without the bursary and others will be frightened of debt. I want to make it clear that Labour will restore the bursary.

\* She said Labour would set up a new unit to tackle waste in the NHS . It would look at overcharging for PFI contracts, she said. It would also consider reducing or eliminating PFI over time.

\* She proposed the “renationalisation” of the NHS . She said Labour would make sure the health secretary was accountable for the NHS , something that was taken away by the Health and Social Care Act. She also said Labour would end “damaging competition and marketisation in the NHS ” and remove the private sector “where it is ripping-off the NHS ”.

\* S he said Labour would invest more in mental health services.

Labour in government will put the money behind this. We want an end to shame and an end to the tacit acceptance that the mentally ill are somehow second class citizens in our healthcare system.

\* She said Labour would tackle overcharging by big pharmaceutical companies.

It’s Abbott’s birthday and at the end of her speech delegates sang happy birthday to her. This is from the BBC ’s Peter Henley.

enltrThey're on their feet for @dianeabbott\_mp [https://twitter.com/dianeabbott\_mp] at #Lab16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Lab16?src=hash] and 2 rounds of Happy Birthday ?? pic.twitter.com/ymFamxUvY7 [https://t.co/ymFamxUvY7] and 2 rounds of Happy Birthday ??

— Peter Henley (@BBCPeterH) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCPeterH/status/780730923931340801]block-time published-time 12.24pm BST

In her speech Diane Abbott is saying Labour is the only party that can save the NHS . She has also set out her thinking today in an article for the Guardian .

Related: Labour is the only party that can save the NHS | Diane Abbott [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/27/labour-save-nhs-privatisation-cuts]

block-time published-time 12.22pm BST

Diane Abbott , the shadow health secretary, is addresssing the party conference now. I will post a summary of her speech in a moment.

enltrShadow health secretary Diane Abbott set to address #Lab16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Lab16?src=hash]. Jeremy Corbyn currently sat next to her. pic.twitter.com/7XOLRCinY8 [https://t.co/7XOLRCinY8] currently sat next to her.

— Jack Maidment (@jrmaidment) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jrmaidment/status/780725508078174208]block-time published-time 11.31am BST

Here are three articles from today’s papers about the conference that are worth reading.

\* William Hague, the former Conservative leader, says in his Daily Telegraph column that Jeremy Corbyn’s opponents have been useless. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/26/moderate-labour-rebels-have-been-utterly-hopeless-they-should-fo/]

First, a group of them (which included Sadiq Khan ) nominated Corbyn for the leadership on the assumption that he could never win it – one of the biggest misjudgements since Stalin was accepted as general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in 1922 because he posed no threat to his colleagues

Second, the open challenge to Corbyn’s leadership was launched too soon. In the Conservative Party, where the overthrow of leaders is an art form nurtured and treasured over two centuries, we would never have made this error. The rule of thumb is that it takes a good two years for a party to despair even of a very unsuccessful leader. By jumping the natural starting gun, the moderates left some Labour members able to say that their leader was still new and hadn’t been given a chance.

Third, that premature challenge was not spearheaded by a real alternative. Owen Smith was not only unprepared for the fight but offered merely a less doctrinaire version of Corbyn himself, rather than a different vision of Labour’s future. Thus the central argument about the whole direction of the party was never fought out, and the leadership election actually shifted the terms of Labour’s debates further to the Left.

Ironically, on one point at least, Hague’s analysis is identical to John McDonnell ’s. McDonnell famously said the Labour plotters had been “fucking useless”. [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/media/2016/07/watch-john-mcdonnell-labels-labour-rebels-fing-useless]’s.

\* Rachel Sylvester in the Times (paywall) says Labour as a party is out of touch with modern Britain. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/comment/labour-remains-stuck-as-the-world-moves-on-5zc6v0wdx]

The truth is that Labour’s biggest problem is not Mr Corbyn himself but the fact that the world has moved on and the party has not. Although its battles are conducted on Twitter and Facebook , it is still an analogue organisation in a digital age. Even its name looks like an anachronism. This is a party of “the workers”, which grew out of the trade union movement but which has failed spectacularly to understand that the nature of work has changed over the past 30 years.

The number of self-employed people is predicted to overtake public sector workers by 2018 as the internet transforms the way business is done. About 16 per cent of people in this country now work for themselves — up from 8.7 per cent in 1975 — and it’s a trend that will only accelerate with the rise of automation.

The self-employed will be an ever more powerful economic and political force, but Labour has nothing to say to these voters. Its policies on full employment or workers’ rights are irrelevant to them and its statist solutions are likely to be anathema to this instinctively individualistic group. These are not all thrusting entrepreneurs setting out to become millionaires by setting up their own companies. Many are freelancers cobbling together jobs, or people making a part-time living through the sharing economy — Uber drivers or those renting out a room on Airbnb . To the extent that it thinks about them at all, Labour sees them as victims of corporate exploitation, but many like the flexibility and control they get from being their own boss. They do not think of themselves as “the workers”; in fact work is not their defining identity at all.

\* Angela Rayner, the shadow education secretary who left school without any good GCSEs, tells the Morning Star in an interview she has encountered a “sneer of arrogance” from Tories. [http://morningstaronline.co.uk/a-1d3c-The-Tories-grammar-school-policy-would-take-us-back-to-the-1950s#.V-pPBSMrJZ0]

[Rayner’s] combative Commons displays on the subject have seen her become a front-bench favourite of Labour members.

And the passion she exudes for education and the party will ensure a packed hall for her speech today.

It will be a very different reception to the “sneer of arrogance” she has encountered from the Tory benches since taking the role. “I think some of them think: ‘What does she know, she wasn’t educated, she says it herself.

“But actually I’ve got a masters in real life and I know from the evidence this is bad for our kids.”

block-time published-time 11.06am BST

In the debate on the NEC rule changes Mike Katz, from the Jewish Labour Movement, complained that the party was not doing more to tackle antisemitism. He told delegates:

Conference, I don’t want to be here because I wish there hadn’t been an upsurge in antisemitics, Islamophobic, misogynistic and homophobic vile hate speech in our party, even here, in our exhibitions and on our fringe, I’m sad to report. Jeremy [Corbyn] has said it, Tom [Watson] has said it, we have all said it; there is no place for this in our party. We must root it out.

Against this backdrop, is there any wonder that support for Labour amongst British Jews is said to be as low as 7%. It makes me weep; the party of Manny Shinwell, the party that has done more than any other to promote tolerance and inequality, the party to which the Jewish Labour Movement has been affiliated since 1920, is not seen as a welcoming home for Jews.

Katz said that Corbyn had acted to address antisemitism, but he said that measures to specifically tackle antisemitism should have been included in the rule changes being voted on today.

block-time published-time 10.52am BST

The 15 national executive rule changes - Details The national executive committee’s rule changes are controversial because they include plans to let the Labour leaders in Scotland and Wales nominate one person each to sit on the NEC. Kezia Dugdale, the Scottish leader, and Carwyn Jones , the Welsh leader, are both seen as opponents of Jeremy Corbyn , and Corbynites fear this rule change will result in the anti-Corbyn faction on the NEC getting too extra votes. Currently Corbyn has a small majority on the NEC on some issues, but it is finally balanced. The Corbynites wanted the new Scottish and Welsh NEC representatives to be chosen by party members, which would probably have led to Corbyn supporters being elected.

But some of the other changes are quite significant. Here is a full list of what they are.

1 - Clarification that a sitting leader does not need to be nominated by 20% of MPs and MEPs to stand in a leadership election if challenged. This change is being introduced because the current rules are ambiguous. Labour’s NEC decided that Corbyn could stand in the leadership contest without getting fresh nominations, but because the rules were not 100% clear, a Labour member took the party to court in an unsuccessful attempt to get that decision overturned.

2 - Clarification of for how long someone needs to have paid affiliation fees to attend a CLP AGM (60 days).

3 - Tightening of rules allowing the party to exclude people convicted of serious offences from joining, to include people subject to rulings from civil courts relating to their behaviour. This is intended to ensure Labour can exclude people who might be a threat to children but who have not been convicted of a criminal offence.

4 - Giving the national women’s conference a formal role in policy making.

5 - Toughening up penalties for Labour groups that do not follow gender balance rules.

6 - Banning Labour councillors from voting for an illegal budget.

7 - Obliging Labour mayors and police and crime commissioners to report to Labour organisations and conferences.

8 - Changing the way Labour councillors pay a levy to the party.

9 - Adding two members to the NEC, a frontbench member of the Scottish parliament nominated by the Scottish leader and a frontbench member of the Welsh assembly nominated by the Welsh leader.

10 - Allowing the Scottish and Welsh leaders to attend the Clause 5 meetings that determine the party’s election manifesto.

11- Putting the Scottish and Welsh executives in charge of deciding their own Westminster candidates.

12 - Putting the Scottish and Welsh executives in charge of setting rules for the selection of candidates for the devolved bodies.

13 - Putting the Scottish and Welsh executives in charge of setting rules for the selection of council candidates in Scotland and Wales.

14 - Formalising the posts of Scottish deputy leader and Welsh deputy leader.

15 - Formalising the new rule changes affecting Scotland and Wales.

block-time published-time 10.26am BST

At the Labour conference Andy Kerr, a member of the national executive committee, is now opening the main debate on the proposed national executive committee rule changes.

block-time published-time 10.08am BST

Paddy Lillis, the NEC chair who is chairing this morning’s session, called a vote on a show of hands on whether to agree a “reference back” so that delegates could vote on all 15 proposed rule changes separately. There were loud protests when he did not agree a card vote, but Lillis said there was a clear majority against a reference back. Manuel Cortes , the TSSA general secretary who proposed a reference back, then came to the stage to protest, saying party rules said there should be a card vote. Lillis over-ruled him, saying it was clear from the show of hands who won.

Now that’s over it is seems certain that the proposed rule changes will be agreed quite comfortably.

block-time published-time 9.47am BST

The Labour conference has opened, and there will be a debate on the proposed changes to party rules (including giving Scotland and Wales a seat on the national executive committee). But, being the Labour party, at first they are having a debate about who to hold the vote. Labour HQ wants a single ‘take it or leave it’ vote on all 15 proposed rule changes. But some delegates are now arguing for individual votes on each measure.

block-time published-time 9.42am BST

Labour conference backs call for possible referendum on final Brexit deal There were not many policy issues that divided Jeremy Corbyn and Owen Smith during the leadership contest but one was Europe. Corbyn said the party should accept the Brexit vote, and focus on getting the best possible deal. Smith said that any final deal should be put to the public, in a second referendum or a general election, and that he would like the UK to stay in the EU .

Interestingly, the Labour party conference has backed the Owen Smith position. There has not been a formal debate on Brexit at the conference, but yesterday’s economy debate included various composite motions on employment rights, including one proposed by the TSSA union . It was passed unanimously, and no one paid much attention to the detail, but it included a line saying the UK should retain the option of staying in the EU .

Here is the key passage.

[Conference] recognises that many of those who voted to leave the EU were expressing dissatisfaction with EU or national policy and were voting for change, but believes that unless the final settlement proves to be acceptable then the option of retaining EU membership should be retained. The final settlement should therefore be subject to approval, through parliament and potentially through a general election, or a referendum.

In practice, the significance of this is limited. According to party officials, the fact that the composite was passed does not mean that demanding a possible second referendum is now official party policy. Instead the motion will feed into the national policy forum policy-making process. And in practice Corbyn’s election victory means he has a mandate for his ‘it’s settled’ position.

But the fact that conference has passed this motion will embolden those Labour MPs, like Smith, who are demanding a second referendum. And if the Commons ever ends up voting on amendments to Brexit legislation demanding a second referendum, as seems inevitable, Labour MPs will be able to use composite 1 as justification for backing those amendments.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.00am BST

block-time published-time 9.05am BST

Labour does not feature much on the newspaper front pages this morning although, given the splash headline on one of the few papers that does lead on Labour, Jeremy Corbyn may consider that a blessing.

enltrTuesday's Daily Mail front page:

Labour in la-la-land #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/hjgkCbCMOs [https://t.co/hjgkCbCMOs]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/780517261501198336]If you’re interested, you can read how the Mail explains its headline here. [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/780517261501198336]If you’re interested, you can read how the Mail explains its headline

Our coverage is rather different. You can read most of our conference stories here. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/labour]

In the past Tuesday at Labour conference has always been the day of the leader’s speech, but this year Jeremy Corbyn is doing what most other party leaders do and using his keynote speech to close the conference. The advantage of this arrangement, for all political leaders, is that the speech gets reported in full, but the media can’t then spend the next 24 hours prowling the conference finding party members to slag it off. Instead Tom Watson , Labour’s deputy leader, gets to take the Tuesday afternoon slot.

Here is a round-up of the overnight Labour conference stories.

\* Tom Watson , Labour’s deputy leader, will say that the party must develop policies to stop automation harming workers. Announcing the launch of an independent commission into the future of work, Watson will highlight research saying that more than a third of workers think their job security will be harmed by automation, while a fifth think it will hit their wages. He will tell the conference:

New automated technologies are fusing with the internet, and creating models of work and jobs we haven’t seen before. Daily we hear stories of machines and systems that can do things we thought only humans could do - driving cars, drafting contracts, even composing music.

It’s been called the fourth industrial revolution - a new era of fast, technology-driven change, which we’re beginning to feel in everything we do.

And it’s uncertain because it isn’t yet fulfilling its potential to change working lives for the good - we aren’t seeing it. Too many people whose grandparents were trade unionists with secure jobs are now working 60-hour weeks, below the minimum wage, without any support from a union. The dark side of the gig economy.

\* Diane Abbott , the shadow health secretary, will tell the conference in her speech later that Labour will rescue the NHS . She will unveil various proposals, including: focusing more on public health and preventative health care; prioritising mental health services; and ending “damaging” competition and marketisation in the NHS , “removing the private sector where it is ripping-off the NHS ”.

\* Sadiq Khan , the mayor of London, will tell the conference in his speech that the party must focus on winning power. Saying that the leadership issue is now settled (Khan backed Owen Smith , not Corbyn), he will say:

It’s only with Labour in power that we can create a fairer, more equal and more just Britain.

Labour out of power will never, ever be good enough... The people who need us the most are those who suffer the most when Labour is not in power.

\* Angela Rayner , the shadow education secretary, will say every parent should have the right to quality, afforable childcare in her speech to the conferrence. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37475733] She will announce a review of childcare provision and early-years education. She will say:

Our aim will be to provide the care and support for every child to fulfil their potential, and to help parents back to work. Getting it right will improve the life chances of countless children across the country. That must be our mission.

\* John McDonnell , the shadow chancellor, told Newsnight last night that, despite Clive Lewis’s speech yesterday signalling that Corbyn will not try to overturn Labour’s pro-Trident policy, [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/26/jeremy-corbyn-puts-aside-objections-to-renewing-trident] the policy could still be changed. McDonnell said:

[Lewis’s] view is that the matter has been decided for the time being. But it is always open for our party members to raise these issues.

\* Corbyn is being urged by allies to sack McDonnell, the Times (paywall) reports. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/allies-urge-corbyn-to-get-rid-of-mcdonnell-20scgm8df] But it says Corbyn is refusing to countenance the idea. Here’s an extract from its story.

Moderate Labour MPs claim that the language used by Mr McDonnell acts as a “nod and a wink” to leftwingers to target them with abuse online.

Some of Mr Corbyn’s closest allies have told the leader that removing his old friend from his post would be the “single best thing” he could do to repair relations in the party...

A senior source said: “We had the chance to reach out right at the start, but that fell apart when [Mr Corbyn] appointed McDonnell. He’s been told directly to get rid of him but he can’t.

“It would be the single best thing he could do to bring the party back together. It would immediately remove the major block stopping MPs from coming back.”

Here is the agenda for the day.

9.30am: Conference opens. Paddy Lillis, chair of the national executive committee, will introduce Jeremy Corbyn ’s policy plan, Diana Holland, the national treasurer, produces her report and then there is a debate on party rule changes, including those giving Scotland and Wales a seat each on the NEC.

10.45am: Debate on housing.

11.15am: Debate on social care.

12.05pm: Speech from Paul Flynn , shadow leader of the Commons.

12.30pm: Sadiq Khan , the mayor of London, speaks.

2.15pm : Debate on children and education, with a speech from Angela Rayner , teh shadow education secretary.

3pm: Debate on energy.

3.30pm: Marvyn Rees, the mayor of Bristol, speaks.

3.40pm: Tom Watson , the deputy leader, speaks.

If you want to follow or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments below the line but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Full report: Clinton stays calm as Trump whips himself into frenzyPresidential debate fact-check: Trump’s and Clinton’s claimsTrump’s sniffles distract viewers at first presidential debate with ClintonGuardian panel verdict: Clinton weaponzied Trump’s wordsSupport the Guardian’s independent political coverage by making a one-time contribution or becoming a member

block-time published-time 4.58am BST

Summary The first presidential debate is in the can. Here’s a summary of what happened:

\* Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump engaged in an occasionally raw series of clashes on topics from trade policy to the Iran deal to Trump’s taxes.

\* The Republican candidate came out swinging on Nafta and on, he said, his Democratic rival’s failed record of public service. His most aggressive attacks had Clinton appealing to “ fact checkers [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/debate-fact-check-trump-clinton-live-quotes-hofstra] ” instead of offering rebuttals.

\* Clinton’s performance was magisterial. She slipped easily into the details of many policy areas – cyber warfare, community policing, paid family leave – that Trump could not touch.

\* Clinton also scored the biggest moment of wit, at the end of a long Trump boast about his temperament, which he delivered hotly. “Whew, OK!” she said when he was through, smiling.

\* Clinton flayed Trump on his refusal to release his tax returns, on his “long record” of “racist behavior,” on his lack of knowledge about the deal to withdraw US troops from Iraq, on climate change being a Chinese “hoax,” and on and on. But his best line was: “Hillary’s got experience but it’s bad experience.”

\* Clinton’s best line (apart from “whew, OK!”): “I think Donald just criticized me for preparing for this debate. And yes I did. And you know what else I prepared for? I prepared to be president. And that’s a good thing.”

\* Clinton’s runner-up best line, in reply to a Trump charge that “we don’t have the money because it’s been squandered on your ideas”, was: “Maybe it’s because you haven’t paid your taxes!”

\* There were lots of manterruptions [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/sep/26/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-presidential-debate-live?page=with:block-57e9cf34e4b0a785ec48bcd8#liveblog-navigation]. Trump also had the sniffles.

\* Trump lost altitude quickly after the first half hour, shifting from pointed interruptions to a more incoherent, sloppy pattern of interruption.

\* Trump tried to deny five years of spreading birtherism – the conspiracy theory that Barack Obama was born outside the US. Clinton replied sharply: “It can’t be dismissed that easily... He has a long record in engaging in racist behavior.”

\* Trump cast doubt on the notion that the hacking of the Democratic National Committee was Russia-backed. He said it may have been China, or bizarrely, a “400lb person sitting on their bed”.

\* Clinton said neighborhood security would come from community policing and getting guns off streets while Trump called for “law and order” and “stop-and-frisk”.

\* Clinton poked fun at Trump’s unlimited indictment of her record. “I have a feeling that by the end of this evening everything is going to be my fault,” she said. Then Trump agreed with her.

enltr. @HillaryClinton [https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] after Trump's comment about her temperament: "Whew! Okay." https://t.co/LFGeC7wIJD [https://t.co/LFGeC7wIJD] after Trump's comment about her temperament: "Whew! Okay." #Debates [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Debates?src=hash] after Trump's comment about her temperament: "Whew! Okay." https://t.co/0bZczb87cv [https://t.co/0bZczb87cv] after Trump's comment about her temperament: "Whew! Okay."

— ABC News Politics (@ABCPolitics) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ABCPolitics/status/780599581994209280]

\* Clinton launched a last-minute attack on Trump for his insults of women. She introduced the world to Alicia Machado, a beauty pageant contestant who said Trump called her “Miss Piggy” and “Miss Housekeeping”.

enltrThe woman Trump called “Miss Piggy” has a name: Alicia. #debatenight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debatenight?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/XlthzE8X8j [https://t.co/XlthzE8X8j]

— Hillary Clinton (@HillaryClinton) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/780597333650239488]esltrGracias señora @HillaryClinton [https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] su respeto a las mujeres y nuestras diferencias la hacen grande! Estoy con usted!

— Alicia Machado (@machadooficial) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/machadooficial/status/780598124075110401]block-time published-time 4.40am BST

Trump held off on Bill Clinton's 'indiscretions' After Clinton attacked Trump at the end over his insults of women, Trump said he was resisting attacking Clinton on... something. Now he has told Fox News’ Sean Hannity a bit more about what he was thinking:

I didn’t want to say – her husband was in the room along with her daughter, who I think is a very nice young lady – and I didn’t want to say what I was going to say about what’s been going on in their lives... I decided not to say it. I thought it would be very disrespectful to Chelsea and maybe to the family. But she said very bad things about me... it’s a disgrace.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.43am BST

block-time published-time 4.32am BST

Clinton has popped up at a student watch event at Hofstra. She’s thanking the student organizers for everything they’ve done. “We need to turn out a big vote here in New York,” she says. And in Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Hampshire.

“You saw tonight how high the stakes are, didn’t you?” she says.

block-time published-time 4.10am BST

Asian shares recovered and the Mexican peso surged on Tuesday as investors seemed to award the first US presidential debate to Clinton over Trump, Reuters reports:

Markets have tended to see Clinton as the candidate of the status quo, while few are sure what a Trump presidency might mean for US foreign policy, trade and the domestic economy.

MSCI’s broadest index of Asia-Pacific shares outside Japan bounced to be up 0.2%, while South Korea and Shanghai inched higher.

Japan’s Nikkei more than halved its losses and was down 0.4% by late morning, while the U.S. dollar edged up to 100.74 yen from a low of around 100.08.

EMini futures for the S&P 500 also recouped all its losses to trade 0.5 percent firmer.

block-time published-time 3.54am BST

Trump says he will 'absolutely' accept outcome of election Trump walks through the spin room. He’s asked, “will you accept the outcome of this election?”

“Oh yes, absolutely I will,” he says.

From the horse’s mouth.

block-time published-time 3.48am BST

Top three most-Tweeted debate moments, via the good folks at Twitter :

1. Trump says he has “good temperament”

2. Trump comments on stop and frisk

3. Trump and Clinton exchange over plan for defeating ISIS

block-time published-time 3.46am BST

Snap reaction:

enltrJust ran into Scott Walker who called it a "draw" but said Trump "spent too much time on defense, which really exposed his inexperience"

— Glenn Thrush (@GlennThrush) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GlennThrush/status/780598015996207104]enltrNotice Trump sniffing all the time. Coke user?

— Howard Dean (@GovHowardDean) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GovHowardDean/status/780588448470163456]enltr. @HillaryClinton [https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] is tough as nails. She put @realDonaldTrump [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] in his place. Now let's put her in hers: the White House. #DebateNight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/DebateNight?src=hash] in his place. Now let's put her in hers: the White House.

— Martin O'Malley (@MartinOMalley) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MartinOMalley/status/780598233097768961]enltrDonald Trump proved once and for all he cannot change: ignorant, bullying, dishonest -- even worse than I expected and I didn't expect much.

— Tony Schwartz (@tonyschwartz) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tonyschwartz/status/780598171110170624]enltrMost debates are all about the first 30 minutes. This one was about the last 30 minutes.

— Patrick Murray (@PollsterPatrick) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PollsterPatrick/status/780598091812573184]enltrTrump might have been verge of blowing himself up there but pulled back

— Rich Lowry (@RichLowry) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RichLowry/status/780597339413176320]enltrClinton clearly won. But I emphasize that I have no idea how people will see it or how it will affect polls. That's just how I saw it. 3/3

— Jon Ralston (@RalstonReports) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RalstonReports/status/780599025443700736]enltrWho won tonite's debate?

In my focus group, 6 people said Trump and 16 said Clinton. #DebateNight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/DebateNight?src=hash]

You can say here: https://t.co/rFZYklEsdr [https://t.co/rFZYklEsdr]

— Frank Luntz (@FrankLuntz) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/FrankLuntz/status/780598663978418176]block-time published-time 3.43am BST

The cast of early 2000s hit sitcom Will & Grace reunited for a special election episode released Monday packed with 2016 campaign jokes - mocking Trump University and joking that voters should support Hillary Clinton because pop star Katy Perry does.

A nine-minute mini-episode was put online just an hour before the debate on Monday, although the actors had hinted it was coming earlier today. As Brian Moylan predicted in the Guardian this afternoon [https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/sep/26/will-grace-coming-back-return-viral-video-clinton], the actors - several of whom are known Clinton backers - are basically just doing the show as a pro-Clinton ad - but at least it’s funny. As always, Karen Walker, the sardonic troublemaker who is the lone Trump supporter, gets all the best lines.

“You know Donald is one of my oldest friends. I helped him pick out Melania!” she says.

They talk about **immigration** and Latinos, and Karen, speaking about her maid Rosario (who was revealed as undocumented **immigrant** during the show), quips: “She owes me, I sent her to college.”

“You sent her to Trump University! To study dusting!” says Will.

“It’s what they teach,” replies Karen.

In the show, Karen had supposedly shot at Rosario, but that just became a comment about gun control.

“If Crooked Hillary had her way, I wouldn’t have that gun and I’d have to use my cannon and Rosario would be dead,” said Karen.

When Will complains that Trump uses hateful language to talk about people, Karen turns to Grace.

“Did you hear what your pussy gay Muslim boyfriend just said?” she asks.

Will’s friend Jack stars as the undecided voter who is considering not bothering to cast a ballot in November.

“But does my vote even matter? How can one unemployed white fella registered in Pennsylvania make a difference?” he asks.

Grace attempts to appeal as Clinton being the first female president. But Jack isn’t convinced, saying he hasn’t heard “the one thing that will convince me to vote for one candidate over the other”.

But Will knows exactly what to stay to win over the urban gay Jack. “Katy Perry likes Hillary,” he says.

At the end of the “episode”, the words #votehoney appears. Votehoney.com redirects viewers straight to hillaryclinton.com [http://hillaryclinton.com/].

block-time published-time 3.41am BST

It’s over. What do you think? Winner? Loser? Highlights? Lowlights?

block-time published-time 3.40am BST

Fact check: ICE Trump: “I was just endorsed by ICE.”

**Immigration** and Customs Enforcement is a government agency. It does not endorse political candidates. A group of former customs officials endorsed Trump just before the debate.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.40am BST

block-time published-time 3.39am BST

Last question: will you accept the outcome of the election?

Clinton says she will. But she’s asking for support because she believes livelihoods and families depend on it.

Trump says he wants to make America great again.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.43am BST

block-time published-time 3.38am BST

enltrDoes Trump have the right temperament to be president? 35% said yes. How about Clinton? 58% said yes. https://t.co/xNSvANQbjA [https://t.co/xNSvANQbjA] pic.twitter.com/77UcwY0Sj8 [https://t.co/77UcwY0Sj8]

— Mona (@MonaChalabi) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MonaChalabi/status/780597098664386560]block-time published-time 3.37am BST

Fact check: the nuclear deal with Iran Trump on the Iran nuclear deal: “One of the worst deals ever made by any country in history.” He said $400m in cash was part of that deal – and Clinton was responsible.

Clinton had nothing to do with the delivery of $400m to Iran as part of a settlement for a failed arms deal that Tehran’s pre-revolutionary government had made with the US in the 1970s.

The State Department under John Kerry has admitted, however, that it wanted to use that money as “leverage” [http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/400m-iran-cash-payment-leverage-prisoner-release-state/story?id=41482397] to secure the sailors’ release, although its transfer had been mediated through an international court. The money was delivered as foreign currency because US law bars any transaction in US dollars and sanctions make bank transactions difficult.

The US is not giving any of its own money to Iran as part of an international nuclear arms deal [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/14/iran-nuclear-deal-expected-to-be-announced-in-vienna] meant to prevent the construction of weapons. The deal gradually unfreezes assets [https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/statements/iaea-director-general%E2%80%99s-statement-iran] that belong to Iran but were frozen under sanctions related to the nation’s nuclear program. Sanctions related to human rights, terrorism and other issues remain in place and still lock Iran out of billions.

Trump’s guess of how much Iran will benefit by unfrozen assets is far higher than most experts’ estimates, though not inconceivable. Treasury secretary Jack Lew has put the number at $56bn [http://www.c-span.org/video/?327246-1/secretaries-kerry-moniz-lew-testimony-iran-nuclear-agreement], and Iranian officials have said $32bn [http://www.presstv.com/Detail/2016/01/19/446415/Iran-32bn-unfrozen-assets] and $100bn [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iran-claims-100-billion-now-freed-in-major-step-as-sanctions-roll-back/2016/02/01/edfc23ca-c8e5-11e5-a7b2-5a2f824b02c9\_story.html]. Independent economists have calculated that Iran will free up anything between $30bn to $100bn [http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iran-frozen-assets-20160120-story.html]. Complicating the math are Iran’s debts: it will have to pay off tens of billions to countries such as China [http://www.cfr.org/world/getting-china-sanction-iran/p24212].

There is no evidence that the brief capture in January of 10 American sailors [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/13/iran-releases-us-navy-boat-crews-who-entered-territorial-waters-state-tv] had any effect on the nuclear deal, which had been finalized five months earlier, although the incident rattled fragile relations between Washington and Tehran. A few days after the sailors were released, United Nations inspectors confirmed that Iran had complied [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/17/world/middleeast/iran-sanctions-lifted-nuclear-deal.html] with the deal.

What Iran does next remain an open question – subject to inspection by UN officials – and Clinton’s argument in favor of the deal hinges on a degree of good faith that Tehran will comply by the terms of the deal.

block-time published-time 3.33am BST

Donald Trump has questioned Hillary Clinton’s temperament, perhaps because voters are questioning Donald Trump ’s temperament. A poll conducted by Monmouth University [http://www.pollingreport.com/wh16.htm] just last week found that 61% if respondents didn’t think Trump “has the right temperament to be president” while just 39% said the same of Clinton.

block-time published-time 3.32am BST

Trump says the Iran deal “was one of the first deals ever made by any country in history.”

Holt tries to move on.

Trump: “I met with Bibi Netanyahu the other day. Believe me, he is not a happy camper.

Clinton: “I want to reassure our allies in Japan and South Korea and elsewhere that we have mutual defense treaties and we will honor them... I want to on behalf of myself and I think on behalf of the majority of the American people say that ‘our word is good.’

“There’s no doubt that we have other problems with Iran... and Donald never tells you what he would do.. would he have bombed Iran?

“He should tell us what his alternative should be. It’s like his plan to defeat Isis. He says it’s a secret plan, but the only secret is that he has no plan...

“Are we going to lead the world with strength in accordance with our values? That’s what I intend to do... we cannot let those who would try to destabilize the world... to be given any opportunities at all.”

block-time published-time 3.31am BST

Fact check: Nato and a hotel Trump has claimed that Nato must turn to a directly anti-terror campaign in the Middle East, and that his urging has already influenced the alliance.

But Nato has had a Defense Against Terrorism program [http://www.nato.int/nato\_static\_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf\_2014\_10/20151029\_141007-dat-prog.pdf] since June 2004, almost a full 12 years before Trump called the alliance “obsolete”. In July its member nations decided to increase efforts [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/nato-muscles-up-to-fight-isis-1468968122] against Isis, specifically, in Syria and Iraq, as its leaders had discussed for months. Trump was not involved.

Trump also claimed that his new Washington DC hotel came in before schedule and under budget.

Not quite. Per the AP:

A June 2013 press release posted on the Trump Organization ’s website announced [http://www.trump.com/getmedia/8bfa0933-d7bb-45b6-bf5d-1e28af1a6951/OPO/] that the redevelopment of the old post office was “expected to start in 2014 with the hotel opening scheduled in 2016.” A few months later, the Trump Organization announced the expected grand opening of the hotel would happen at the end of 2015 [http://www.trump.com/getmedia/74de47aa-15c0-4328-a9cf-82f17624c4ad/GHAOPO/]. The Trump Organization said in a third statement in 2013... completion was expected in late 2015 [http://www.trump.com/getmedia/7b3402f3-96ff-4a74-ab4a-300f006dad4c/OPODesign/].

In 2014, the Trump Organization went back to announcing the hotel would open in mid-2016 [http://www.trump.com/getmedia/fa325427-ee75-4e6c-b496-31350e8f2ca7/JoseAndresatTIHT/]. In February, in the midst of Trump’s presidential campaign, the organization shifted and announced [https://www.trumphotelcollection.com/washington-dc/press/trump-international-hotel-washington-dc-set-to-open-two-years-ahead-of-schedule] the hotel was planned to open in September, “almost two years ahead of schedule, which is unheard of for a project of this size and complexity,” Ivanka Trump is quoted as saying.

And during a March visit to the site, Donald Trump said, “We’re two years ahead of schedule. We’re going to be opening in September.”

The hotel is now only partly open [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/digger/wp/2016/09/14/eleven-things-you-should-know-about-trumps-new-d-c-hotel-even-if-youre-not-going-to-go-there/].

block-time published-time 3.28am BST

Holt moves to the last segment. Do you support the current policy on “first use” of nuclear weapons? It’s a bit of a gotcha question. He’s talking about no first use.

Trump blathers about Russia, then says, “I would certainly not do first strike.”

He says China should “go into North Korea.” Then he says Iran has power over North Korea. He’s casting an extremely wide net for this answer.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.29am BST

block-time published-time 3.28am BST

As the candidates debate “securing America” with a particular focus on the threat of Isis and each candidate’s stance on the Iraq war, this chart offers some context:

block-time published-time 3.27am BST

Clinton quotes Trump as saying “you know if they taunted our sailors, I’d blow them out of the water...” referring to sailors taken captive by Iran.

Clinton continues on Trump’s temperament: “The worst.. has been about nuclear weapons. He has said repeatedly that he does not care if other countries got nuclear weapons..

His cavalier attitude about nuclear weapons is so deeply troubling... A man who could be provoked with a tweet should not have his finger anywhere near the button.

Trump:

That line is getting a little bit old.

Clinton:

It’s a good one, though. Well describes the problem.

block-time published-time 3.24am BST

Clinton tweaks Trump for temperament boast Trump: “I have much better judgment than he does. There’s no question about that. I also have a much better temperament than she does...

I think my strongest asset maybe by far is my temperament. I have a winning temperament.

He’s raving about his perfect temperament.

Holt: Secretary Clinton?

Clinton: “Whoo! OK... ” She makes fun of him and gets a laugh.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.26am BST

block-time published-time 3.21am BST

Holt says that Trump supported the war in Iraq.

Trump flies off the handle: “That is a mainstream media nonsense put out by her!”

Holt: “The record shows otherwise.”

Trump: “The record shows that I’m right.”

Then he runs through his own history of his positions. He talks about Sean Hannity telling him, Trump, that he, Trump, opposed the war.

Trump is still talking. “If somebody would call up Sean Hannity, he and I used to have arguments.”

block-time published-time 3.21am BST

Fact check: Isis, Libya and Iraq Trump: “President Obama and Secretary Clinton created a vacuum” for Isis.

The claim that Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton created the conditions for Isis ignores that its first segments [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/19/world/middleeast/in-rise-of-isis-no-single-missed-key-but-many-strands-of-blame.html] formed [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/11/world/middleeast/us-actions-in-iraq-fueled-rise-of-a-rebel.html] out of the post-invasion civil war [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/11/-sp-isis-the-inside-story] in Iraq, while George W Bush was president; that the group took root in Syria’s civil war, where the US did not intervene until 2014; and that Obama withdrew American forces in 2011 under the timeline [http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/12/20081214-2.html] agreed on by Bush and Baghdad [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/22/world/middleeast/united-states-and-iraq-had-not-expected-troops-would-have-to-leave.html].

Clinton: “Donald supported the invasion of Iraq.”

Trump: “Wrong.”

This is a lie. In the months before the Iraq war began, the businessman made a tepid endorsement of invasion to radio host Howard Stern [https://soundcloud.com/buzzfeedandrew/trump-on-the-howard-stern-show-on-sept-11-2002?utm\_source=soundcloud&utm\_campaign=share&utm\_medium=twitter], who asked him whether he thought the US should attack Saddam Hussein.

“Yeah, I guess so,” Trump answered.

A few weeks later he told Fox News that George W Bush was “doing a very good job”. Several weeks after the invasion, Trump told the Washington Post: “ The war’s a mess [https://www.washingtonpost.com/pb/archive/lifestyle/2003/03/25/hollywood-partyers-soldiering-on/06327347-83d3-44c4-ab7b-dcd6fbda5437/?resType=accessibility].” In August 2004 he told Esquire [http://www.esquire.com/news-politics/interviews/a37230/donald-trump-esquire-cover-story-august-2004/] : “Two minutes after we leave, there’s going to be a revolution, and the meanest, toughest, smartest, most vicious guy will take over.”

Even in an interview [https://www.buzzfeed.com/christophermassie/a-guide-to-donald-trump-early-flip-flops-on-the-iraq-war?utm\_term=.vq5VjeKwe#.uy2eDvV5v] cited by the Trump campaign to explain his “opposition”, Trump expressed impatience with Bush for not invading sooner. “Whatever happened to the days of the Douglas MacArthur? He would go and attack. He wouldn’t talk.”

Trump also supported complete withdrawal from Iraq, even in the event of continued civil war or authoritarian violence there. “You know how they get out? They get out. That’s how they get out. Declare victory and leave,” he told CNN [http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0703/18/le.01.html] in 2007. “This is a total catastrophe, and you might as well get out now because you’re just wasting time, and lives.”

Like Clinton, Trump also supported military strikes in Libya, saying in a February 2011 video blog [https://www.buzzfeed.com/andrewkaczynski/trump-claims-he-didnt-support-libya-intervention-but-he-did?utm\_term=.cxLgP37W3#.je5XJqPgq] that the US should take “immediate” action against dictator Muammar Ghaddafi.

“We should go in, we should stop this guy, which would be be very easy and very quick. We could do it surgically.” No one supported an occupation to “build democracy” there in the model of George W Bush’s occupation of Iraq.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.28am BST

block-time published-time 3.19am BST

Trump accuses Clinton of turning Iran into “a major power.”

On Nato, “they have to understand I’m a business person,” Trump says. He accuses allies of not “paying their fair share.”

Then Trump claims credit for Nato opening up a major terror division.

“I think we have to get Nato to go into the Middle East with us, and we have to knock the hell out of Isis, and we have to do it fast.”

Then Trump says that in fact Clinton did pull out the troops.

Clinton: We’ve covered this ground.

block-time published-time 3.17am BST

Holt brings up domestic and homegrown terrorism. How to prevent those? Trump is first.

Trump goes back to Isis. He blames the formation of Isis on the precipitous withdrawal from Iraq. He suggests leaving 10,000 troops behind. “We should’ve taken the oil … Isis would not have been able to form either,” he says.

Trump refers to “Libya, which was another one of her disasters.”

Clinton again appeals to the refs, to the “fact-checkers.” Clinton says Trump supported the invasion of Iraq...

Trump: “Wrong. Wrong.”

... and Clinton says that George W Bush made an agreement to leave Iraq, not Obama.

This is basic history. Will it fly?

Clinton is on to the homegrown terrorism problem. She calls for an “intelligence surge.” She says that the US must work with Nato and allies to improve intelligence and turn attention to terrorism. “Donald has consistently insulted Muslims abroad, Muslims at home, when we need to be cooperating.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.19am BST

block-time published-time 3.16am BST

Fact check: foreign policy Clinton: Trump has been “praiseworthy of Vladimir Putin”.

Trump: “Wrong.”

Trump has repeatedly called Russia’s president a “strong leader” and spoken approvingly – “praise” by nearly any definition – of this strength and Putin’s polling numbers. For instance, on 18 December 2015 he told MSNBC [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2015/12/18/donald-trump-praises-putin-as-strong-leader/] : “I’ve always felt fine about Putin. I think that he’s a strong leader.”

He added: “He’s running his country and at least he’s a leader, unlike what we have in this country.”

Last September, he told Fox News [http://www.cbsnews.com/news/donald-trump-gives-russias-putin-an-a-in-leadership/] : “In terms of leadership [Putin’s] getting an A.” In a 10 March debate [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YaA2rmuJu9c], Trump tried to hedge on semantics. “Strong doesn’t mean good,” he said. “Putin is a strong leader, absolutely. He is a strong leader. Now I don’t say that in a good way or a bad way. I say it as a fact.”

Trump: Clinton has been “fighting Isis your entire adult life.”

The Islamic State’s first segments [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/19/world/middleeast/in-rise-of-isis-no-single-missed-key-but-many-strands-of-blame.html] formed [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/11/world/middleeast/us-actions-in-iraq-fueled-rise-of-a-rebel.html] out of the post-invasion civil war [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/11/-sp-isis-the-inside-story] in Iraq, while George W Bush was president. The group took root in Syria’s civil war, where the US did not intervene until 2014. The terror group largely formed out of the remnants of Saddam Hussein’s government and the factions that formed al-Qaida in Iraq – all of which happened in the last decade or so. The group also gained international notoriety only in 2014, when it invaded Iraq in significant forces and when Clinton was out of office.

Trump: “Whether [the DNC hack] was Russia, whether that was China, whether that was another country, we don’t know.”

Several independent security firms, in addition to intelligence officials, have p ointed to Russian-backed hackers [https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/jul/29/cozy-bear-fancy-bear-russia-hack-dnc] as the culprits behind a hack of the Democratic National Committee . Trump is correct in an extremely technical sense: no one has provided 100% proof that Russia was behind the hack, and the Obama administration has proven loath to escalate a hacking war. But security experts have found technical fingerprints that seem to hint back toward Russia, just as they have found links back to Chinese hacks in unrelated cases [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/01/world/asia/us-decides-to-retaliate-against-chinas-hacking.html].

block-time published-time 3.13am BST

Clinton says she has a plan to defeat Isis that involves combatting them online. “But we also have to intensify our air strikes against Isis and … support our Arab and Kurdish partners...”

“We’re making progress, our military is … in Iraq,” she says. “We’re hoping that within a year we’ll be able to push Isis out of Iraq.”

She ignores Trump’s defense of Russia on the hacking. She says that taking out Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is a top plank in her plan to take out Isis.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.15am BST

block-time published-time 3.11am BST

Donald Trump has tried to deflect a question about how he demanded to see Barack Obama’s birth certificate. Those racist attitudes are still prevalent among the Republican’s supporters.

A poll in May found that two-thirds [http://www.rollcall.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/politics/poll-two-thirds-trump-supporters-think-obama-muslim] of voters with a favorable opinion of Donald Trump believed Barack Obama was a Muslim and 59% believed Obama was born outside of the US.

block-time published-time 3.11am BST

Trump defends Russia from accusation of hacking DNC Trump says he was endorsed by more than 200 admirals and generals “and many more are coming.” “So when secretary Clinton says this... I’ll take the admirals and the generals over the political hacks.”

That line may not play well in northern Virginia.

Trump casts doubt on the notion that the DNC hacking was Russia-backed. He says it may have been China, or bizarrely, a “400-lb person sitting on their bed.”

“Under President Obama, we’ve lost control of things we should have had control over.. we have to get very, very tough on cyber and cyber warfare.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.14am BST

block-time published-time 3.09am BST

Clinton takes a question on cyber war. She says that Trump has praised Russian president Vladimir Putin. Trump does something strange to the microphone. Kind of swoops on it and blows into it with his full round mouth.

Clinton: “We need to make it very clear.. the United States has much greater capacity, and we are not going to sit idly by to let state actors go after our information.

“I was so shocked when Donald publicly invited Putin to hack into Americans. That is just unacceptable... Donald is unfit to be commander-in-chief.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.11am BST

block-time published-time 3.07am BST

Fact check: birtherism Trump blames Sidney Blumenthal, a friend of the Clinton’s, and Patti Solis Doyle, a 2008 campaign manager [http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/Vote2008/story?id=4269776], for creating the false claim that Barack Obama was not born in the United States.

There is no evidence that Clinton or her campaign had anything to do with the false rumors that Barack Obama was not born in the United States, nor did Clinton have anything to do with Donald Trump ’s five years of questions about birth certificates, which he finally recanted last Friday.

Trump’s campaign has tried to blame several people who were, if at all, tangentially related to the Clinton campaign. There is no evidence that Solis Doyle had anything to do with the claim either. She told CNN that there was a volunteer coordinator in Iowa who forwarded the email [http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/16/politics/hillary-clinton-patti-solis-doyle-birther-donald-trump/] and that the volunteer was dismissed, and that she called the Obama campaign to apologize.

A former aide named Mark Penn wrote a 2007 memo [https://www.scribd.com/doc/4097983/Penn-Strategy-Memo-3-19-07#fullscreen&from\_embed] that Obama’s “lack of American roots” could “hold him back”. But he added: “We are never going to say anything about his background.” The Clinton campaign never [http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/magazine/archive/2008/09/the-front-runner-s-fall/306944/] that Obama’s “lack of American roots” could “hold him back”. But he added: “We are never going to say anything about his background.” The Clinton campaign acted [http://www.politico.com/story/2008/08/clinton-told-to-portray-obama-as-foreign-012420] on his advice, and he was dismissed [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/07/us/politics/07hillary.html] in April 2008.

Some Clinton supporters have been blamed over anonymous chain emails [http://www.snopes.com/politics/obama/citizen.asp] questioning Obama’s citizenship, but none of the rumormongers were linked to the campaign. Philip Berg, a former Pennsylvania official who supported Clinton, filed a lawsuit in 2008 over Obama’s birth certificate; the suit was thrown out because it was groundless [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/law/2014/01/29/supreme-court-ousts-attorney-who-sued-to-oust-obama/]. Sidney Blumenthal, an old friend of the Clintons who frequently sent them unsolicited advice, reportedly asked reporters [http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/politics-government/election/article102354777.html] to investigate Obama’s birth, but he has denied this and denounced the conspiracy.

As fellow fact-checkers at Politifact have noted, a Texas volunteer for Clinton named Linda Starr eventually joined Berg’s failed lawsuit [http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2015/sep/23/donald-trump/hillary-clinton-obama-birther-fact-check/] ; there is nothing to suggest Starr had any influence in the campaign at any level. Campaign volunteers who forwarded emails falsely alleging Obama is Muslim resigned [http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2015/sep/25/obama-muslim-myth-clinton-connection/] when they were found out.

Trump did not answer the question about what convinced him that the president was born in the United States, even though Obama’s birth certificate has been public for the five years that has Trump continued questioning [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/02/27/about-that-donald-trump-speech-at-cpac/] his birthplace.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.10am BST

block-time published-time 3.07am BST

Clinton describes Trump's 'long record' of 'racist behavior' Holt asks Trump about what changed his mind about the “birther” babble, which Trump reversed himself on recently after five years.

Trump says that Clinton aide Sydney Blumenthal started it and he ended it. Then he lists things he’d like to get on to – trying to put the conversation behind him.

Holt: The birth certificate was produced in 2011, you continued to press the issue in 2012, 2013, 2014...

“Nobody was caring much about it,” Trump says. He returns to Sydney Blumenthal.

Trump says he did a “great job and a great service” for the country and the president by demanding the birth certificate.

Clinton: “Just listen to what you heard... he tried to put the whole racist, birther lie, to bed. But it can’t be dismissed that easily. He has started his campaign activity based on this racist lie... because some of his supporters.. believed it or wanted to believe it.

Donald started his career back in 1973 being sued by the justice department for racial discrimination...

He has a long record in engaging in racist behavior. And the birther lie was a very difficult one. Barack Obama is a man of great integrity. I would like to remember what Michelle Obama said...

When they go low, we go high.

Trump accuses Clinton of disrespecting Obama in her debates with him. Then he defends the 1970s lawsuits.

We settled the suit with zero with no admission of guilt. They sued so many people.”

Then he says “I have been given great credit for what I did” in Palm Beach, referring to the integration of a club.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.12am BST

block-time published-time 3.01am BST

Fact check: race and gun crime Clinton claimed that African American men are more likely to be killed by guns than other demographics, and is broadly correct.

She is broadly correct [http://fivethirtyeight.com/datalab/black-americans-are-killed-at-12-times-the-rate-of-people-in-other-developed-countries/] that African American man are disproportionately affected by gun violence, including by police [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/31/the-counted-police-killings-2015-young-black-men]. She’s also correct that crime rates are overall still down from where they were in the 1990s [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/rate-murder-fbi-increase], but she omits the 10.8% single-year increase in murders in 2015. The recent spike in violent crime has been concentrated in a handful of cities, such as Chicago, Washington DC and Baltimore.

Trump: “African Americans and Hispanics are living in hell because it’s so dangerous. In Chicago they’ve had thousands of shootings since January 1st … Almost 4,000 people in Chicago have been killed since Barack Obama became president.”

Trump often cites Chicago’s shooting crisis as evidence that the US is plagued by dangerous crime, but even that city, which has the most homicides in the US [http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/09/08/us/us-murder-rates.html], but not even that city compares to a “war zone” as Trump says. In 2015, Chicago had 2,988 people who were victims of gun violence, according to the Chicago Tribune [http://crime.chicagotribune.com/chicago/shootings/], and 488 homicides in all. The city has more than 500 homicides [http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/breaking/ct-chicago-violence-labor-day-tuesday-20160906-story.html] so far this year, per the paper, and more than 2,100 victims of gun violence.

In Afghanistan – a country Trump often compares the city to – between January and June 2016, 1,601 civilians have been killed and 3,565 injured, according to the United Nations. [http://unama.unmissions.org/afghanistan-record-level-civilian-casualties-sustained-first-half-2016-un-report] The figures include 388 killed and 1,121 injured children. The UN reported 3,545 civilians killed and 7,457 injured in 2015. More than 80,000 people have been displaced by violence [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/18/world/middleeast/civilian-casualties-in-afghan-war-are-unabated-in-2016.html] this year. The US and Afghan forces control only about 70% of the country, while the Taliban and militants control the other 30%, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff told the Senate [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/09/22/u-s-backed-forces-control-70-percent-of-afghanistan-us-military-chief-says/] on Thursday.

Trump on stop and frisk police tactics: “Stop and frisk which worked very well in New York it … it brought the crime rate way down.”

The controversial police tactic of stop and frisk, which became a hallmark of New York policing through the mayorships of Rudy Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg , has landed the city in federal court, where a judge ruled it unconstitutional [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/12/new-york-stop-and-frisk-unconstitutional-judge]. One research paper, unpublished through peer review, found modest drops [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2013/08/20/ray-kelly-says-stop-frisk-saves-lives-theres-no-good-evidence-for-that/] in some crimes. A second paper [http://www.jjay.cuny.edu/rosenfeld\_fornango.pdf], published through peer review, found problems in the first study and “few significant effects” of the tactic.

A New York Civil Liberties Union report [http://www.nyclu.org/publications/report-stop-and-frisk-during-bloomberg-administration-2002-2013-2014], on 12 years’ worth of police data, found young black and Hispanic men were targeted for stops at a vastly higher proportion than white men: more than half the people searched were black and about 30% were Hispanic. Among more than 5m stops during the Bloomberg administration, police found a gun less than 0.02% of the time, according to the report. NYPD , on 12 years’ worth of police data, found young black and Hispanic men were targeted for stops at a vastly higher proportion than white men: more than half the people searched were black and about 30% were Hispanic. Among more than 5m stops during the Bloomberg administration, police found a gun less than 0.02% of the time, according to the report. records between 2004 and 2012 [http://www.slate.com/articles/news\_and\_politics/jurisprudence/2013/08/new\_york\_s\_stop\_and\_frisk\_policy\_is\_neither\_effective\_nor\_constitutional.html] show similar figures: in 4.4m stops, weapons were seized from 1.0% of black people, 1.1% from Hispanic people and 1.4% of white people.

New York’s long-term decline in crime rates began before Giuliani took office in the 1994, and its causes were and are diverse [http://www.city-journal.org/html/how-new-york-became-safe-full-story-13197.html] : data-driven policing with the Compstat system [http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/inside-look-system-cut-crime-new-york-75-percent-n557031], the growth of the police force by 35% [https://www.brennancenter.org/publication/what-caused-crime-decline] over the decade, incarceration increases by 24% [http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/politics/archive/2016/04/what-caused-the-crime-decline/477408/], and the 39% unemployment decline [http://www.nber.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/digest/jan03/w9061.html] that matched with national economic growth. Not even the loudest supporters of stop and frisk, including Bloomberg, whose last term Trump has called “a disaster”, have argued the tactic alone reduced crime to its current lows.

Trump said that the tactic was not ruled unconstitutional because of a judge “who was against policing”, but his personal opinion about the judge does not mean she did not rule it unconstitutional.

Trump: “We have to take the guns away from the people that shouldn’t have them … these are bad people.”

This argument flies in the face of Trump’s pro-gun rights stance for legal owners; he has repeatedly and falsely insisted that Clinton wants to take away guns from legal owners.

Trump claimed that New York’s crime rate is up since the end of stop and frisk. It remains near historic lows [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/27/nyregion/anxiety-aside-new-york-sees-drop-in-crime.html].

enltrNo, murders in New York City are not up this year. They are down 4.3%. Shooting incidents have dropped by even more: https://t.co/enQFutOeQh [https://t.co/enQFutOeQh] pic.twitter.com/wuBeFxIAyn [https://t.co/wuBeFxIAyn]

— Lois Beckett (@loisbeckett) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/loisbeckett/status/780593501411151873]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.28am BST

block-time published-time 2.59am BST

Trump “agrees” that no-fly lists should apply to background checks. Then he tells Clinton that her 1996 crime law-era reference to “Super-predators” was harmful.

Trump then returns to stop-and-frisk and says Clinton secretly agrees with him that it was a great program.

Trump says murders are up in New York. Clinton says they’re down.

Clinton says effective policing is necessary not “things that sound good.” And “no one should disagree about respecting the rights of young men who live in those neighborhoods.”

Holt tries to get in.

“The African American community has really been let down by politicians... the community within the inner cities have been abused and used in order to get votes by Democratic politicians because that’s where it is.”

Trump says: “I’ve been all over the place.. you decided to stay home, and that’s OK.”

Clinton has this answer pre-cooked:

I think Donald just criticized me for preparing for this debate. And yes I did. And you know what else I prepared for? I prepared to be president. And that’s a good thing.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.07am BST

block-time published-time 2.59am BST

Hillary is talking about “systemic racial discrimination in the criminal justice system”. The stats back her up.

According to 2008 data [http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbse&sid=18] from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, white, black and Hispanic drivers were stopped at similar rates by police. But black drivers were about three times more likely than white drivers to be searched during a traffic stop.

A 2013 study in the Yale Law Journal [http://repository.law.umich.edu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2497&context=articles] found that in cases when judges have discretion over how long a sentence should be for a specific crime, they tend to select longer sentences for black men than white men, even if they have the same criminal history.

block-time published-time 2.58am BST

Trump always pumps himself up as a businessman and a billionaire, but Clinton points out that his businesses have filed for bankruptcy on six occasions, that workers have sued for him not receiving payment, and that he refuses to release his tax returns.

Again, that exchange is different depending on who you support.

On the right

Washington Times writer:

enltrWow. Hillary Clinton scolding somebody else for hiding things from the public?

— Charlie Hurt (@CharlesHurt) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/CharlesHurt/status/780582137556787204]A Trump surrogate and conservative commenter:

enltr"It's about time we have someone running this Country, who knows a thing about money!"- @realDonaldTrump [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] #Debates2016 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Debates2016?src=hash] #MAGA [https://twitter.com/hashtag/MAGA?src=hash]

— Scottie Nell Hughes (@scottienhughes) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/scottienhughes/status/780582629133266945]A conservative:

enltrTrump got rich by creating phenomenal buildings and structures.

Hillary got rich by selling out America to foreign adversaries.

— Charlie Kirk (@charliekirk11) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/charliekirk11/status/780582990644510720] On the left

President of the Center for American Progress:

enltrHe's hocking his hotel.

This whole thing is a take on all of us.

— Neera Tanden (@neeratanden) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/neeratanden/status/780583538479554561]Vermont senator and Clinton rival-turned-supporter Bernie Sanders:

enltrMany of these lawsuits were filed by working class americans who worked for Trump and never got paid.

— Bernie Sanders (@BernieSanders) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BernieSanders/status/780583431378010112]Politico reporter:

enltr“I take advantage of the laws of the nation” is not a great sound byte.

— Jimmy Vielkind (@JimmyVielkind) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JimmyVielkind/status/780583493067825152]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.04am BST

block-time published-time 2.55am BST

Clinton calls for restricted gun access Clinton on guns: “We’ve got too many military-style weapons on the streets. In a lot of places, our police are outgunned … we need to keep guns out of the hands of those who’d do harm...

“There are things we can do and we ought to do it in a bipartisan way.”

Good question from Holt: are you saying that police have an implicit bias against black men?

Clinton: “I think the implicit bias is a problem for everyone, not just police... too many of us in our great country jump to conclusions about each other.”

She calls for all of us to ask questions about “Why am I feeling this way?”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.59am BST

block-time published-time 2.53am BST

Clinton hits Trump for 'dire negative picture of black communities' Trump says “you need better relationships between the community and police.. there’s some bad things going on … we need law and order and we need law and order in the cities.”

Clinton is still listening. Now she speaks.

“I’ve heard Donald say this at his rallies, and it’s really unfortunate that he paints such a dire negative picture of black communities in our country.”

“There’s a lot we should be proud of.”

Clinton says “stop-in-frisk was found to be unconstitutional.” She says it was not effective. “It’s just a fact that if you’re a young African American man, and you do the same thing as a young white man, you’re more likely to be charged, convicted and imprisoned...”

“We can’t just say ‘law and order’. We need to come up with a plan.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.55am BST

block-time published-time 2.51am BST

Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton at the presidential debate on Monday. Photograph: Rick Wilking/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 2.49am BST

Trump: African Americans and Hispanics are living in hell Trump says Clinton won’t say “law and order”. “We need law and order in our country.”

Then he describes an inner-city hellscape:

African Americans and Hispanics are living in hell because it’s so dangerous. You walk down the street you get shot.

He says the country needs law and order. He mentions stop and frisk, says Rudy Giuliani is in the audience and “it worked very well in New York.”

Clinton is looking at him evenly.

Holt follows up on stop-and-frisk. He says it was unconstitutional because it targets nonwhite men.

“No you’re wrong,” Trump says. “It went before a judge who was a very against-police judge.”

Holt: “The argument is that it causes racial profiling.”

Trump flatly denies the correlation.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.00am BST

block-time published-time 2.49am BST

The candidates are currently discussing racial justice in America. But some voters clearly have other priorities. When Pew Research Center [http://www.people-press.org/2016/07/07/4-top-voting-issues-in-2016-election/] asked what voters consider as “very important”, treatment of racial and ethnic minorities comes tenth on the list.

Voters’ priorities. Photograph: Pew Research Center block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.58am BST

block-time published-time 2.46am BST

Clinton: 'race often determines too much' Holt brings up police shootings of black men and asks about healing along lines of race and racism.

“Unfortunately, race often determines too much,” she says. Where they live, how they’re treated in the criminal justice system. “We have to restore trust between communities and the police. We have to work to make sure that our police are using the best training, the best techniques, that they’re well prepared to use force... everyone should be respected by the law and everyone should respect the law.”

She says her platform would address criminal justice reform. “And we’ve got to get guns out of the hands of people who should not have them.” She refers to the gun epidemic. “We have to tackle the plague of gun violence.”

block-time published-time 2.44am BST

Trump says he’s opening a hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. “So if I don’t get there one way, I’ll get there another.”

Trump is ranting about the budget. We use the word ranting because his teeth are bared, he’s chopping the air with his hands and his voice is at high volume.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.01am BST

block-time published-time 2.43am BST

Fact check: tax plans Trump claimed that his tax plan will be the largest cuts since Ronald Reagan and create jobs, while in his words Clinton’s would create a huge tax hike.

Trump’s tax plan would disproportionately help the wealthiest Americans [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/08/donald-trump-tax-plan-business-income-middle-class], saving them millions of dollars and adding trillions to the national debt, according to an analysis by the Tax Foundation [http://taxfoundation.org/article/details-and-analysis-donald-trump-tax-reform-plan-september-2016], a conservative thinktank. He would reduce the business tax rate to 15%, eliminate the estate tax (aka the “death tax”), which mostly affects wealthy inheritors, and would reduce revenue from taxes by about $5tn. According to the Foundation, the top 1% of earners would see a 10.2% increase to their incomes.

Clinton’s tax plan [https://www.hillaryclinton.com/briefing/factsheets/2016/01/12/investing-in-america-by-restoring-basic-fairness-to-our-tax-code/] does not change tax rates for the middle class, but does increase taxes by 4% on people who have an adjusted income of more than $5m, as well as closing corporate loopholes. Only about 0.5% [https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/tax-policy/tax-analysis/Documents/TP-4.pdf] of small businesses in the US reported a profit of more than $1m in 2011, according to the US Treasury Department . Clinton would increase tax revenue by $1.1tn by taxing the top 1% of earners, increasing the estate tax and eliminating fossil fuel subsidies, and by implementing and a more complex tax code, according to the Tax Policy Center [http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/publications/analysis-hillary-clintons-tax-proposals].

Trump has not proven that he pays any federal income tax, and did not deny that he doesn’t pay, saying simply that it would prove he’s “smart”.

block-time published-time 2.43am BST

Trump: “It’s about time that this country had somebody running it who has some idea about money.” He appears to be referring to himself.

Then he compares La Guardia unfavorably to Dubai, Qatar and Chinese airports. Then he lists all the infrastructure he would build.

“We don’t have the money because it’s been squandered on your ideas,” Trump says.

Maybe it’s because you haven’t paid your taxes, she says. Good line.

Clinton hits Trump for not paying people:

I’ve met a lot of people who were stiffed by you and your businesses, Donald... who you refused to pay when they finished the work that you asked them to do.

Clinton says there’s an architect in the audience who was not paid by Trump for his work.

Clinton: “Do the thousands of people who you have stiffed in the course of your business not deserve some kind of apology?”

Trump says the person probably did not do good work.

She points out he’s taken business bankruptcy six times: “You even at one time tried to suggest that you would negotiate down the national debt. Sometimes there’s not a direct transfer of skills … but sometime what would happen in business would be disastrous for government.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.02am BST

block-time published-time 2.41am BST

Manterruptions Notice how Donald Trump keeps on talking over Hillary Clinton? Social scientists around the country will probably be shrugging with a “go figure”. In 1975, two sociologists conducted a study by loitering in public places like coffee shops and drug stores with a tape recorder, listening to two-person conversations they overheard. They found [http://web.stanford.edu/~eckert/PDF/zimmermanwest1975.pdf] men were responsible for 47 of the 48 interruptions they overheard.

A separate study [http://jls.sagepub.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/content/early/2014/05/09/0261927X14533197?papetoc] in 2014 found pretty similar results. When men were talking to women, they interrupted 2.1 times over a three-minute dialogue - when they were talking to men, they interrupted 1.8 times on average. When women were talking to women, they interrupted even more though, 2.9 times per 3 minutes on average. But the women interrupted just once if their talking partner was male.

block-time published-time 2.40am BST

Debating trade - one of Donald Trump ’s biggest claims is that he’s against trade deals such as TPP and NAFTA - has created the most aggressive moment between the two so far, with Trump and Clinton both yelling at each other. But the winner of the spat depends on which side you’re on.

On the right:

Author of Reclaiming the American Right: Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement:

enltrHe's slaughtering her.

— Justin Raimondo (@JustinRaimondo) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JustinRaimondo/status/780578314352111616]

Conservative commentator AJ Delgado:

enltrTrump is ON FIRE!!!!! #NAFTA [https://twitter.com/hashtag/NAFTA?src=hash] #TPP [https://twitter.com/hashtag/TPP?src=hash]

— A.J. Delgado (@AJDelgado13) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AJDelgado13/status/780578293019922433]A Breitbart News reporter:

enltrWow.. Trump killing Clinton on NAFTA. She has no idea what to do except repeat B.S. talking points.

— John Hayward (@Doc\_0) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Doc\_0/status/780578352553947137]GOP strategist:

enltrTrump is winning so far. The first 15-20 minutes are crucial. #debatenight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debatenight?src=hash]

— Matt Mackowiak (@MattMackowiak) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MattMackowiak/status/780578514986827778] On the left:

Political junkie:

enltrDonald Trump can't help himself. He's drunk, ractist uncle at Thanksgiving. #debatenight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debatenight?src=hash] #debates [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debates?src=hash]

— Russell Drew (@RussOnPolitics) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RussOnPolitics/status/780578391951020032]Progressive columnist:

enltrHow many women watching now are remembering men in their lives who yelled at them wouldn't let them talk? #Debates2016 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Debates2016?src=hash]

— Julia Ioffe (@juliaioffe) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/juliaioffe/status/780578983800954881]Slate editor:

enltrI'm becoming a better parent tonight learning from Hillary Clinton's patience and even demeanor.

— Franklin Foer (@FranklinFoer) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/FranklinFoer/status/780578666883547137]block-time published-time 2.39am BST

Media reports today have claimed that as many as 100 million people [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/business/media/presidential-debate-audience.html] could be tuning in to watch this debate - a number vaguely attributed to “network executives and political strategists”. Wherever the number comes from, it really does seem to be epic by historical standards - is it though?

Nielsen, the market research company which tracks such numbers, looked at 50 years of household viewership [http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/news/2016/from-your-house-to-the-white-house-the-top-presidential-debates.html] for televised presidential debates (note, they’re looking at households though so it’s a slightly different measure). They found that the biggest debate was the one between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney on 3 October 2012 which attracted 46.2 million households.

And, as the candidates debate the economy, remember that viewers will have different attitudes about where the country is at. According to polling by Pew Research Center , Republicans are much less likely than Democrats to say that “economic conditions in the country are excellent” or “very good”.

Nielsen Photograph: Nielsen block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.43am BST

block-time published-time 2.38am BST

Clinton on Trump's taxes: 'there's something he's hiding' Clinton gets the mic. She says candidates going back 40 years have released their returns. “So you’ve gotta ask yourself, why won’t he release his tax returns? Maybe he’s not as rich as he says he is. Maybe he’s not as charitable... third, he owes $600m to foreign banks... or maybe he doesn’t want the American people, all of you watching to know he didn’t pay any income taxes.”

Trump: “That makes me smart.”

Clinton: “Zero for troops, zero for vets.. it must be something really important, or terrible, that he’s trying to hide... I have no reason to believe that he’s ever going to release his tax returns. Because there’s something he’s hiding... were he ever to get near the White House. What would be these conflicts? Who does he owe money to?

I made a mistake using private email.

Trump: That’s for sure.

Clinton: I take responsibility.

Trump: That was not a mistake. That was done purposefully.

She’s blinking at him. He may be in conspiracy territory here.

“As far as my tax returns, you don’t learn that much from tax returns, I can tell you.. the other things, I’m extremely under-leveraged.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.03am BST

block-time published-time 2.36am BST

It’s ironic (or just plain awful) that voters who are faced with a choice between two of the most unpopular candidates [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/04/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-general-election-analysis] in history must do so on a medium they also thoroughly distrust.

According to data published by Pew Research Center [http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/09/26/from-universities-to-churches-republicans-and-democrats-differ-in-views-of-major-institutions/] today, 70% of US adults believe the news media is having a negative effect on the country. By contrast, 50% say the same about banks and financial institutions. When analyzed by partisanship, those views are even stronger among Republicans than Democrats.

Trust in institutions. Photograph: Pew block-time published-time 2.34am BST

Holt asks Trump about releasing his tax returns. “Don’t Americans have a right to know?”

Trump says he’s under audit.

It will be released as soon as the audit’s finished... but you will learn more about Donald Trump where I have filed a 100-page.. the income is filed at $694m this past year.. you would’ve told me I was going to make that [X] years ago I would’ve been surprised.

That’s the kind of thinking our country needs.

Holt says the IRS says he can still release his returns even under audit.

Trump replies that he’s always under audit. “I will release my tax returns against my lawyer’s wishes when she releases her 33,000 emails that were deleted.”

Some people in the hall clap for that.

Holt: “So it’s negotiable?”

Holt tells the audience to be quiet.

block-time published-time 2.31am BST

Trump: 'our country is suffering' Clinton says we need “broad-based inclusive growth.” She spins through a few rather automatic talking points.

Trump says Clinton is “all talk, no action, sounds good, never going to happen. Our country is suffering because of people like secretary Clinton.”

“We are in a big, fat, ugly bubble.. and we have a Fed that is doing political things...”

block-time published-time 2.29am BST

Trump is now kind of ranting alone onstage about “bureaucratic red tape” and corporate inversions. “We have no leadership, and honestly that starts with secretary Clinton.”

“I have a feeling that by the end of this evening everything is going to be my fault,” she says.

He agrees with her. Everything is her fault.

She smiles. “Join the debate by saying more crazy things.”

Trump jumps in again: “There’s nothing crazy about not letting our companies bring their money back into our country.”

He’s interrupting her continuously now.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.30am BST

block-time published-time 2.27am BST

Donald Trump is sniffling - but only anti-Trump people are acknowledging it, with clear schadenfreude after conservative bloggers pushed stories about Clinton’s ill health and supposed coughing fits for months.

Democrat strategist Stu Loeser:

enltrTwelve of those snorts so far. 13. 14. 15. 16.

— Stu Loeser (@stuloeser) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/stuloeser/status/780576359366135808]A progressive tweeter:

enltrTrump's got the sniffles.

— southpaw (@nycsouthpaw) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/nycsouthpaw/status/780576256735731712]New York Times TV critic:

enltrIf Hillary were sniffling like that Drudge would have her on deathwatch

— James Poniewozik (@poniewozik) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/poniewozik/status/780576584109584385]Rick Wilson, who is a Republican but not a Trump fan:

enltrTrump keeps sniffling and snorting. Where are the experts on his obvious case of bird flu?

— Rick Wilson (@TheRickWilson) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/TheRickWilson/status/780576384485822464]But Trump fans aren’t mentioning it at all.

block-time published-time 2.27am BST

I’m monitoring red and blue Twitter tonight, to see how different sides report the same thing depending on their political opinions.

Speaking of red and blue, Trump has Clinton is wearing a red pantsuit (the traditional Republican color), while Trump has dumped his red tie for a blue one. It’s a choice that both sides are already commenting on.

On the left, Obama’s former speechwriter...

enltrLook at that power red next to that beta blue.

— Jon Lovett (@jonlovett) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jonlovett/status/780574208468275201]And the president for the Center of American Progress:

enltrNo white power tie for Trump.

— Neera Tanden (@neeratanden) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/neeratanden/status/780574029073842177]And on the right, conservative blogger Ben Shapiro:

enltrHillary wears Communist red. Trump wears the Serious Face. https://t.co/p1BZLeg4EQ [https://t.co/p1BZLeg4EQ]

— Ben Shapiro (@benshapiro) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/benshapiro/status/780574184350978048]And alt-right blogger Richard B Spencer:

enltrIntriguingly, Hillary wears a RED pantsuit and Donald wears a BLUE tie.

Subliminal outreach.

— Richard B. Spencer (@RichardBSpencer) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RichardBSpencer/status/780574127916654593]block-time published-time 2.27am BST

Trump:

You are going to approve one of the biggest tax cuts in history. You are going to drive businesses out... you are going to regulate these companies out of business...

You have regulations on top of regulations.. and you want to increase the regulations and make them even worse. I’m going to cut taxes big league, and you’re going to raise taxes

Clinton stops Holt from trying to move on. She says Trump cannot go on unanswered. “I kind of assumed that there would be a lot of these charges and claims,” she says. She refers people to her web site to fact-check Trump.

Holt tries to move on. Trump won’t be silenced. “Just go to her web site to fight Isis,” he mocks her. He says General MacArthur would not have said that.

Then he makes another accusation against her: “You’re telling the enemy everything we want to do. No wonder you’ve been fighting Isis your entire adult life.”

Clinton appeals to the refs; “Fact checkers, please.” The pummeling of his attacks, as aggressive, and fantastic, as they are, has an intense energy.

block-time published-time 2.23am BST

Trump launches attack Trump attacks Clinton: “You’ve been doing this for 30 years. Why are you just starting to think about this right now?”

Clinton: “Well, actually, I have thought about this quite a bit.... I think my husband did quite a good job in the 1990s...

Trump interrupts her, sort of inaudibly. She smiles more broadly and continues.

“Incomes went up for everybody... manufacturing jobs also went up in the 1990s, if we’re actually going to look at the facts.”

Then she spouts a bunch of statistics.

“When you haven’t done it for 30 years... your husband signed Nafta, which is one of the worst things that ever happened. You go to Ohio, you go to Pennsylvania... Nafta is one of the worst things signed anywhere...”

It’s a bracing attack. He accuses her of supporting TPP. He’s really going after her. “You called it the gold standard.”

“That is just non-accurate,” Clinton says. “Well, Donald, I know that you live in your own reality, but that was not the facts...”

“Was it President Obama’s fault?”

“There are different views about our country, our economy and...”

Trump: “You have no plan. Secretary Clinton you have no plan.”

Clinton: “I do. I wrote a book about it... We have a very robust set of plans.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.27am BST

block-time published-time 2.22am BST

Fact check Trump: “Our jobs are fleeing the country, they’re going to Mexico they’re going to many other countries … Hundreds of hundreds of companies are doing this.”

Trump is primarily talking about the North American Free Trade Agreement , but the long-term decline in manufacturing around the United States can’t only be attributed to the trade deal. Economists still debate the effect of the deal on jobs, since US trade with Canada and Mexico is modest at best. In 2015, the Congressional Research Service wrote [http://www.npr.org/2016/06/22/483100251/fact-check-trumps-speech-on-clinton-annotated] : “Nafta did not cause the huge job losses feared by the critics or the large economic gains predicted by supporters.”

Manufacturing is down 37% since its peak in 1979 [https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/MANEMP], but this change has a great deal to do with the general shift toward a service-based economy, which the US has had surpluses in in recent years. It’s true that many manufacturing jobs have been outsourced, especially since China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001, but it’s also true that the US has added more than 800,000 factory jobs since 2010.

Trump: “My father gave me a small loan in 1975.”

Trump never struggled for money or started with anything modest. In 1978 his father gave him a loan totaling almost $1m – about $3.7m today – and acted as guarantor for the young Trump’s early projects. A 1981 report by a New Jersey regulator [https://www.scribd.com/doc/301761265/Report-on-Donald-Trump-to-Casino-Control-Commission] also shows a $7.5m loan from the patriarch, and years later he bought $3.5m in gambling chips [http://articles.philly.com/1991-04-09/news/25780577\_1\_casino-control-act-donald-trump-casino-owners] to help his son pay off the debts of a failing casino, which was found to have broken the law by accepting them [http://articles.philly.com/1991-04-09/news/25780577\_1\_casino-control-act-donald-trump-casino-owners]. Trump also borrowed millions against his inheritance [https://www.buzzfeed.com/christophermassie/donald-trump-in-deposition-96-million-i-borrowed-from-dads-e?utm\_term=.eboXJGMWG#.qbNV4Jl1J] before his father’s death, a 2007 deposition shows.

Trump has not proven that he is worth $10bn, though his tax returns, which he has refused to release, could provide a clearer picture of his worth. His financial filings suggest he has less than $250m in liquid assets [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/self-financing-campaign-all-the-way-would-have-been-a-stretch-for-trump-1463341722], according to a Wall Street Journal analysis. Trump has a history of overstating his properties: he has, for instance, told the FEC that a New York golf club is worth $50m but also argued in court that it is worth only $1.4m [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/12/donald-trump-briarcliff-manor-golf-course-tax].

“Donald is one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis.”

Clinton is correct, and Trump unrepentant. In a video made in 2006 for his defunct and legally embattled Trump University, Trump said he hoped for a real estate “bubble burst”.

“I sort of hope that happens because then people like me would go in and buy” property and “make a lot of money,” he said.

“That’s called business by the way,” Trump interrupted Clinton.

Clinton: “Donald says climate change is a hoax created by the Chinese.”

Trump: “I did not, I do not say that.”

Trump did say that, in a 2012 tweet, right here:

enltrThe concept of global warming was created by and for the Chinese in order to make U.S. manufacturing non-competitive.

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) November 6, 2012 [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/265895292191248385]block-time published-time 2.19am BST

Trump: “she talks about solar panels.. we invested in solar panels, that was a disaster... our energy policies are a disaster... you can’t do what you’re looking to do with $20tn in debt... [Obama] has doubled it in almost eight years... seven and a half years to be semi-exact.”

block-time published-time 2.18am BST

Clinton: “Donald thinks that climate change is a hoax perpetrated by the Chinese.”

Trump: “I did not say that. I did not say that. I did not say that.”

Clinton just continues.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.16am BST

block-time published-time 2.17am BST

Clinton: 'Donald... rooted for the housing crisis' Clinton says, “Let’s stop for a second and remember where we were eight years ago.”

She says the recession was owing to “tax policies that slashed taxes on Wall Street... in fact Donald was one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis...

Trump: That’s called business, by the way.

Clinton: 9 million people lost their jobs... The last thing we need to do is to go back to policies that failed us. She cites a nonpartisan tax study saying his plan would create a $5tn debt over ten years.

block-time published-time 2.15am BST

Trump is sniffling a lot. He’s on to Nafta. He says “secretary Clinton and others, politicians, should have been doing this for years... what’s happened to our jobs and our economy... we are $20tn, we cannot do it.

Holt: How do you bring back American manufacturing.

Trump: Don’t let the companies leave... “You say, fine... if you think you’re going to make... whatever you make and bring them into our country without a tax, you’re wrong.”

Clinton is watching him respectfully, attentively. He’s repetitious.

block-time published-time 2.14am BST

Trump falls for it. He says his father gave him “a small amount of money” in the 1970s and he built it into buildings. He’s a bit tetchy on the inheritance issue, and on his own brilliant record as a businessman.

“Let me give you the example of Mexico,” he says, and starts talking about the Vat tax.

Does he have a sniffle? Is he sick?

block-time published-time 2.12am BST

Clinton: 'Donald is very fortunate in his life' “Donald is very fortunate in his life, and that’s all to his benefit... he borrowed $14m from his father, he really believes the more you help wealthy people, the better off you’ll be.”

Clinton contrasts her father’s experience dying drapery fabrics.

block-time published-time 2.12am BST

Trump on child care: 'I think Hillary and I agree' Now Trump. “Our jobs are fleeing the country,” he says. “They’re going to Mexico. You look at what China is doing... they’re using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China.”

He returns to Mexico. They’re building plants. “With the United States, not so much... thousands of jobs...

As far as child care is concerned.. I think Hillary and I agree on that... but we have to stop our jobs from being stolen from us.

He returns to Mexico. Then he says “I’ll be reducing taxes tremenodously,” and that’s “going to be a job creator.”

Two minutes is tough for him?

Trade is an important issue,” Clinton says. We are 5% of the world’s population. We have to trade with the other 95%.”

She says, “The kind of plan Donald has put forth would be trickle-down economics, all over again.”

Then she tries, clumsily, a pseudo-zinger: “I call it Trumped-up trickle down economics.”

block-time published-time 2.08am BST

Let’s begin. Achieving prosperity. Holt frames the question. There’s been six years of jobs growth and increasing incomes.

This question is for Clinton. “Why are you a better choice to create jobs to put $$ in the pockets of American workers?”

Clinton thanks the moderator and crowd. What kind of country will we be, she asks. She says she thinks about her granddaughter, who’s turning two.

“I want to invest in you. I want to invest in the future.”

“We also have to make the economy fairer,” she says.

She’s quite poised. She is speaking not quickly. Paid family leave, earned sick days, affordable child care, wealthy pay their fair share.

Finally we tonight are on the stage tonight, Donald Trump and I. Donald it’s good to be with you... you have to judge us, who can shoulder the immense, awesome responsibilities of the presidency...

block-time published-time 2.05am BST

Here are the candidates. He’s in a blue tie, she’s in a red pantsuit. So that’s different.

They shake hands. They are both smiling ear-to-ear. 72 teeth between them.

block-time published-time 2.04am BST

Candidates take stage Holt begins. He announces six segments, 15 minutes long. He’ll begin each segment with identical leadoff questions. Each candidate will have two minutes to respond. They’ll go from there.

Here come the candidates.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.05am BST

block-time published-time 2.03am BST

Go time... we’re within a minute, Holt has just informed the audience.

enltrgo time. pic.twitter.com/VBYEZpkmLo [https://t.co/VBYEZpkmLo]

— Molly Redden (@mtredden) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/mtredden/status/780572844434554881]block-time published-time 2.02am BST

Can Trump clear the “adequately competent” bar?

enltr. @realDonaldTrump [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] will pass the test of being adequately competent & will get a big boost in acceptability. https://t.co/IjwV9chPax [https://t.co/IjwV9chPax] will pass the test of being adequately competent & will get a big boost in acceptability. #debates [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debates?src=hash] will pass the test of being adequately competent & will get a big boost in acceptability. pic.twitter.com/PzJT2ToIcP [https://t.co/PzJT2ToIcP] will pass the test of being adequately competent & will get a big boost in acceptability.

— Newt Gingrich (@newtgingrich) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/newtgingrich/status/780568639548293125]block-time published-time 1.59am BST

Ignore everything?

enltrThings to ignore on #debatenight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debatenight?src=hash]

1. Snap polls.

2. Body language experts.

3. Anyone in the spin room.

4. The Internet.

5. The debate.

— Paul Fairie (@paulisci) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulisci/status/780570726235418624]Thanks again for joining – and please jump in below the line!

block-time published-time 1.57am BST

Moderator Lester Holt takes the stage.

Here we go. Holt tries some charm:

That thud you heard backstage was the sound of my knees buckling when [the announcement came] of a potential audience of 100m tonight.

He says he’ll give a one-minute warning when they’re about to go on air.

Psst, Lester: you’re on air.

block-time published-time 1.55am BST

Melania Trump and Bill Clinton are welcomed to the hall.

They’re not together. They enter separately. Clinton alone. Melania Trump trailed by her husband’s family. The two meet in the middle and shake hands. We know they have hung out at least twice – at the 2000 US Open tennis tournament and at her wedding.

block-time published-time 1.52am BST

Both candidates are tweeting about Clinton.

enltrLet's do this. #DebateNight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/DebateNight?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/NkPEGHzucT [https://t.co/NkPEGHzucT]

— Hillary Clinton (@HillaryClinton) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/780570465681235968]enltrWhy isn't Hillary Clinton 50 points ahead? #DebateNight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/DebateNight?src=hash]enltrWhy isn't Hillary Clinton 50 points ahead? pic.twitter.com/iux7icIkaT [https://t.co/iux7icIkaT]enltrWhy isn't Hillary Clinton 50 points ahead?

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/780569413321789440]block-time published-time 1.50am BST

Ten minutes to go. Here’s HuffPost Pollster’s updated national average [http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-general-election-trump-vs-clinton] :

HuffPost Pollster’s national average. Photograph: HuffPost Pollster block-time published-time 1.47am BST

Debate rules: no clapping, no booing Representatives of the debate commission have taken the stage to beseech the crowd not to interrupt the candidates and to keep their partisan cheering to a minimum.

enltr"This is not like the primary debates – there's no clapping, there's no cheering, there's no booing, there's no sound."

Let's see.

— Scott Bixby (@scottbix) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/scottbix/status/780568779130540033]block-time published-time 1.44am BST

In the house:

Rudy Giuliani kisses the hand of businessman Sheldon Adelson’s wife Miriam Ochsorn. Photograph: Win McNamee/Getty Images Did you hear what Wildstein said? Photograph: Carlos Barria/Reuters Don King et al. Photograph: Andrew Gombert/EPA Sheldon Adelson. Photograph: Mike Segar/Reuters The Trump pool reporter, Time magazine’s Zeke Miller, sends a list of people spotted in the room:

\* Mark Cuban (who appears to be seated in the front row)

\* Dan Malloy

\* Jesse Jackson

\* Andrew Cuomo and Sandra Lee

\* Reince and Sally Priebus

\* Donna Brazile

\* Don King

\* Rudy Giuliani in conversation with Sheldon Adelson

\* Eliot Engel

\* Chuck Schumer

\* Steve Israel

\* Mike Flynn

\* One of the Baldwin brothers with a Trump button

\* Bill de Blasio

\* Ray Washbourne

\* Charles Rangel calling out to Don King: “Welcome home, welcome home, we missed you.”

\* Mike Pence sitting up front

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.47am BST

block-time published-time 1.38am BST

Video streams Twenty minutes or so to go. Here are live video streams of the action, via Reuters and PBS:

block-time published-time 1.36am BST

Donald Trump could have an inherent advantage in this presidential debate purely because his speaking voice is a couple of notes lower than his opponent Hillary Clinton’s. Don’t take my word for it (you probably wouldn’t if I was reading this aloud) - this is based on a study [http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0051216] into human voice pitch research conducted in 2012. The methodology couldn’t be more relevant to this debate.

In the study, 10 women and 10 men were recorded saying the phrase “I urge you to vote for me this November” - a sentence that’s about elections and yet is politically neutral. The researchers then manipulated the sounds of the recordings to be lower or higher and played them to a bunch of men and women who were asked which hypothetical candidate they’d vote for. They found that male and female leaders with lower-pitched voices (ie those that are more stereotypically masculine) were preferred by both men and women.

Here’s how the authors interpreted the results: “This bias could be a consequence of lower-pitched female voices being perceived as more competent, stronger, and more trustworthy … [and] in the case of men’s voices, men with lower-pitched voices are larger, stronger, and more aggressive.”

The findings can be corroborated by any woman who has ever spoken in a meeting.

Reaction to female and male candidates compared block-time published-time 1.35am BST

We’ve asked for your favorite music to fact-check to. (Is this turning into your favorite Ramones to fact-check to? Hampstead’s not so far from Forest Hills...)

Here’s a winner:

enltr. @TeeMcSee [https://twitter.com/TeeMcSee] if you're going to listen to the Ramones when you fact check, maybe Bonzo goes to Bitberg might work https://t.co/59YkGuB6zT [https://t.co/59YkGuB6zT] if you're going to listen to the Ramones when you fact check, maybe Bonzo goes to Bitberg might work

— Mary Higgins (@worldofhiglet) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/worldofhiglet/status/780565848368963584]block-time published-time 1.28am BST

It's debate time If you’re just joining us – welcome to our live-wire coverage of the first presidential debate of the 2016 general election.

Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump are scheduled to take the stage at Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York, at 9pm ET. The debate will last 90 minutes and be moderated by Lester Holt, host of NBC Nightly News. Clinton has won a coin flip and will take the first question.

The Commission on Presidential Debates has announced three amorphous topics for debate: America’s Direction, Achieving Prosperity and Securing America. So … anything, basically.

Eagle? Check. Founding documents? Check. Lecterns? Check. Let’s do this. Photograph: Drew Angerer/Getty Images What must the candidates do this evening? In one version of the prevailing punditry, Clinton must avoid feeding voter doubts about her trustworthiness, while Trump must avoid coming across as a massive [redacted]. Sense a double standard? You’re not alone [https://twitter.com/IAStartingLine/status/780469063659114496?lang=en].

The goal for the candidates, of course, is to capture those voters who have yet to make up their minds, especially those living in swing states like Florida and Ohio and Pennsylvania. Such a voter may not react to the same thing the crowd reacts to, the campaigns react to or, needless to say, the media reacts to. Watch and judge for yourself, America... and the world.

They’re going to start soon. Both candidates arrive onstage as practiced debaters, though Trump does not have any experience facing just one other person. He participated in a dozen primary-season debates this cycle, while Clinton participated in nine … plus the two dozen she showed up for in 2008.

Thank you for reading, and please join us in the comments!

enltrBrb getting Oreos.

— Scott Bixby (@scottbix) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/scottbix/status/780564439514963969]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.31am BST

block-time published-time 1.19am BST

Here’s Clinton aide Philippe Reines – best-known among journalists as the state department spokesman who told a reporter to fuck off [http://www.politico.com/blogs/media/2015/03/how-philippe-reines-handles-the-press-203496] – playing Trump in a debate prep session:

enltrThere are multiple Trumps. But only one Philippe.

(h/t @jmpalmieri [https://twitter.com/jmpalmieri] ) pic.twitter.com/I5cY3QW40B [https://t.co/I5cY3QW40B] )

— Brian Fallon (@brianefallon) September 27, 2016 [https://twitter.com/brianefallon/status/780558043457196033]Re-upping from before:

enltrIn Clinton mock debate, Philippe Reines wore red tie & did "the cobra" -- a hand gesture Trump often makes, per aide pic.twitter.com/qEgIDzy75u [https://t.co/qEgIDzy75u]

— MJ Lee (@mj\_lee) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/mj\_lee/status/780545099688251392]block-time published-time 1.14am BST

Clinton won tonight’s coin toss – and will get the first question of the night:

enltrClinton wins coin toss, gets first question at tonight's debate: https://t.co/xKA6pkSdqH [https://t.co/xKA6pkSdqH] @SunlenSerfaty [https://twitter.com/SunlenSerfaty] on #TheLead [https://twitter.com/hashtag/TheLead?src=hash] on

— Jake Tapper (@jaketapper) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jaketapper/status/780523178426851329]block-time published-time 1.07am BST

One hour to the opening bell Here’s one way to look at it:

enltrtonight, we are pretty much sending Hillary Clinton to drill into a giant asteroid & nuke it from the inside before it can destroy the earth

— david ehrlich (@davidehrlich) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/davidehrlich/status/780409698482810880]enltr. @MELANIATRUMP [https://twitter.com/MELANIATRUMP] on the scene for #debatenight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debatenight?src=hash] on the scene for #debates [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debates?src=hash] on the scene for #Debates2016 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Debates2016?src=hash] on the scene for pic.twitter.com/nsKnUO1Gld [https://t.co/nsKnUO1Gld] on the scene for

— Patrick Cornell (@PCornellCNN) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PCornellCNN/status/780556999163543554]block-time published-time 12.44am BST

Hillary Clinton engages in some pre-debate trolling by tweeting footage of the 2011 White House correspondents’ dinner, in which Barack Obama skewered Donald Trump , who attended the dinner and who that year had become the foremost exponent of birther babble.

“Trump was so humiliated by the experience, they say, that it triggered some deep, previously hidden yearning for revenge,” wrote Roxanne Roberts, who was seated nearby, in the Washington Post [https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/i-sat-next-to-donald-trump-at-the-infamous-2011-white-house-correspondents-dinner/2016/04/27/5cf46b74-0bea-11e6-8ab8-9ad050f76d7d\_story.html].

enltr“You didn’t blame Little John or Meat Loaf. You fired Gary Busey.

These are the kinds of decisions that would keep me up at night." pic.twitter.com/njW7YAxf5I [https://t.co/njW7YAxf5I]

— Hillary Clinton (@HillaryClinton) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/780540877047341057]block-time published-time 12.35am BST

Ninety minutes to go until the candidates take the stage. What’s your favorite fact-checking music?

How’s everyone feeling out there tonight?

undltr pic.twitter.com/mOxAnNJimO [https://t.co/mOxAnNJimO]

— (((Harry Enten))) (@ForecasterEnten) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ForecasterEnten/status/780546550309224449]block-time published-time 12.29am BST

Historic video of Trump, capless and tieless, exiting his vehicle, giving a thumbs up, giving a second, more vigorous thumbs up, and then walking away.

enltrVIDEO: Donald Trump arrives at Hofstra University for #Debatenight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Debatenight?src=hash]. https://t.co/vZT1RazpjT [https://t.co/vZT1RazpjT].

— AP Politics (@AP\_Politics) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AP\_Politics/status/780548826960629760]enltrIn Clinton mock debate, Philippe Reines wore red tie & did "the cobra" -- a hand gesture Trump often makes, per aide pic.twitter.com/qEgIDzy75u [https://t.co/qEgIDzy75u]enltrIn Clinton mock debate, Philippe Reines wore red tie & did "the cobra" -- a hand gesture Trump often makes, per aide

— MJ Lee (@mj\_lee) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/mj\_lee/status/780545099688251392]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.30am BST

block-time published-time 12.25am BST

What would you ask the candidates? What do you want moderator Lester Holt to ask? Tell us in the comments.

Here’s Dan Roberts with his list of 10 awkward debate questions to put Clinton and Trump on the spot:

For Donald Trump How can you be trusted with the nuclear codes?

Did you support US intervention in Iraq and Libya?

Why would Mexico pay for you to build a wall?

Is there anyone you regret offending?

What evidence do you have against climate change?

For Hillary Clinton: What single policy should your campaign be known for?

Do you believe in globalisation?

How would your counter-terrorism policy differ from Obama’s?

Why are you so secretive?

How would you reduce income inequality?

Click through for Dan’s analysis of each question:

Related: 10 awkward debate questions to put Clinton and Trump on the spot [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/24/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-debate-awkward-questions]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.26am BST

block-time published-time 12.22am BST

Make or break: the defining moments of presidential debates Here’s David Smith writing on watershed moments from presidential debates past:

1980: Carter accused Republican Ronald Reagan of planning to cut Medicare healthcare funding for the elderly. Reagan, who had complained that Carter was misrepresenting his positions on numerous issues, said with a chuckle: “There you go again.” The audience erupted. The duel attracted 80.6 million viewers, the most ever for a presidential debate, according to Nielsen, though Clinton v Trump is expected to shatter that record.

Read the full piece here:

Related: Make or break: the defining moments of presidential debates [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/25/us-presidential-debates-famous-moments]

block-time published-time 11.56pm BST

Take it from a guy who was in Congress for 60 years:

enltrDonald Trump couldn't pour piss out of a boot if the instructions were printed on the heel. Looking forward to this debate.

— John Dingell (@JohnDingell) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JohnDingell/status/780534119197442049](Dingell, 90, is a Democrat.)

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.26am BST

block-time published-time 11.53pm BST

This is going to be a zoo, isn’t it.....

enltrVIPs starting to filter into spin room. @mike\_pence [https://twitter.com/mike\_pence] and @mcuban [https://twitter.com/mcuban] and pic.twitter.com/MMExyIVyiM [https://t.co/MMExyIVyiM] and

— Anthony Zurcher (@awzurcher) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/awzurcher/status/780539929457754112]enltrIt's going to be one of those nights....Don King setting expectations for Trump in media room ahead of #Debates2016 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Debates2016?src=hash]enltrIt's going to be one of those nights....Don King setting expectations for Trump in media room ahead of pic.twitter.com/jvSlkfuk30 [https://t.co/jvSlkfuk30]enltrIt's going to be one of those nights....Don King setting expectations for Trump in media room ahead of

— Ed O'Keefe (@edatpost) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/edatpost/status/780542122160160768]enltrDon King stomped a man to death because he owed him $600. https://t.co/ERJewIOvrY [https://t.co/ERJewIOvrY]enltrDon King stomped a man to death because he owed him $600.

— Scott Bixby (@scottbix) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/scottbix/status/780542693512544256]That was in the mid-60s though. Something like $4,500 in current dollars.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.06am BST

block-time published-time 11.44pm BST

American politics is not for sa– oh, Mr Adelson. Right this way:

enltrThe Adelsons have some prime real estate in Trump section -- 4 seats, 3rd row #Debates2016 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Debates2016?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/VGYKeJwqET [https://t.co/VGYKeJwqET]

— Jake Tapper (@jaketapper) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jaketapper/status/780537366540943361]block-time published-time 11.41pm BST

This is unprecedented for any of the primary debates or the conventions, as far as we experienced or heard about: the powers that be at the debate site are scanning for rogue hotspot connections and disabling them so they can charge people to use the local network.

enltrTechnicians patrolling #debatenight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debatenight?src=hash] press file using this device to detect & shut down hotspots, so they can sell $200 wifi accounts instead pic.twitter.com/JzbkzlZR1g [https://t.co/JzbkzlZR1g] press file using this device to detect & shut down hotspots, so they can sell $200 wifi accounts instead

— Kenneth P. Vogel (@kenvogel) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/kenvogel/status/780532591992594432]Update: there’s also a trigger warning placard outside the hall . – For a different event, we’re informed.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.13am BST

block-time published-time 11.33pm BST

About 350 souvenir tickets to tonight’s debate for Hofstra University students misspell the Democratic nominee’s name:

enltrUm, @HofstraU [https://twitter.com/HofstraU] —please get your shit together and, I dunno, SPELLCHECK THE NAMES OF THE #debatenight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debatenight?src=hash] participants?! IS THAT SO MUCH TO ASK? pic.twitter.com/AsUnJjApNH [https://t.co/AsUnJjApNH] participants?! IS THAT SO MUCH TO ASK?

— Alicia Lutes (@alicialutes) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alicialutes/status/780533948455657472]Hofstra University spokeswoman Karla Schuster said in a statement [http://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/Hofstra-University-Presidential-Debate-Ticket-Gaffe-Hillary-Clinton-Name-Misspelled-394865061.html] emailed to NBC 4 New York:

These tickets are not official tickets to the debate. They were printed at the last minute to create a souvenir for the students. We’ll be reprinting them for all those who won tickets.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.46pm BST

block-time published-time 11.30pm BST

What will the first debate question be?

#ff @johnjharwood [https://twitter.com/JohnJHarwood], who supplies precedents:

enltrFIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 1960, to JFK - The VP has said you were naive and at times immature. Why do you think people should vote for you?

— John Harwood (@JohnJHarwood) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JohnJHarwood/status/780530342859907072]FIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 1976 to Carter: Your #1 priority is reducing unemployment. What specifically would your first step be next January?

FIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 1980, to Carter - What are differences between the two of you on the uses of American military power?

FIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 1984, to Reagan - In 1980 you promised to balance the budget. We’ve had bigger deficits. Do you have a secret plan?

enltrFIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 1988, to Bush - What is it about these times that drives or draws so many Americans to use drugs?

— John Harwood (@JohnJHarwood) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JohnJHarwood/status/780531498466222081]FIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 1992, to Perot - What do you believe tonight is the single most important separating issue of this campaign?

FIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 1996, to Clinton - How would you define the difference in your view of the role of federal government w/Sen Dole?

FIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 2000, to Gore - You’ve questioned that Gov Bush has the experience to be president of US. What exactly do you mean?

FIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 2004, to Kerry - Do you believe you could do a better job than President Bush in preventing another 9/11?

FIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 2008, to Obama and McCain - Where do you stand on the financial recovery plan?

FIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 2012, to Obama and Romney - What are major differences between the two of you about how you would create new jobs?

Which was the best first debate question?

Which would you use tonight? How about:

FIRST DEBATE QUESTIONS: 2016, to Trump and Clinton: You’re the two most loathed presidential nominees in US history. Why do you think that is?

block-time published-time 11.19pm BST

Trump arrives at Hofstra The reportorial pool attending Trump reports that he is on the scene now at Hofstra university. MSNBC had footage of him exiting an SUV and entering a building.

Anybody feeling butterflies yet?

Ben Wilke, 19, poses outside Hofstra University . Photograph: Shannon Stapleton/Reuters block-time published-time 11.12pm BST

The Guardian’s Dan Roberts, Sabrina Siddiqui and Ben Jacobs are on the scene at Hofstra university in Hempstead, New York:

block-time published-time 11.10pm BST

Haters and losers and bears, oh my!

enltrTrump tweeted this two years ago today: https://t.co/vT8oJdagRE [https://t.co/vT8oJdagRE]

— Hunter Schwarz (@hunterschwarz) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/hunterschwarz/status/780522618072031232]enltrI wonder if I run for PRESIDENT, will the haters and losers vote for me knowing that I will MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN? I say they will!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 26, 2014 [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/515635087275474944]block-time published-time 11.08pm BST

It’s that kind of night in America. (What is the Portland police department going to do if Trump wins the presidency? Send out a drunken driving advisory for every state of the union address, every Brady briefing room appearance, every time Trump walks out of the White House and gets his helicopter?)

enltrIf you are planning to consume alcohol or marijuana while watching #DebateNight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/DebateNight?src=hash] please do not get behind the wheel. pic.twitter.com/g2Ib33M1aX [https://t.co/g2Ib33M1aX] please do not get behind the wheel.

— Portland Police (@PortlandPolice) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PortlandPolice/status/780515808963207168]( @monachalabi [https://twitter.com/monachalabi?lang=en] )

block-time published-time 10.58pm BST

Trump directed erstwhile income to foundation – report The Trump campaign has elected not to answer questions about suspect donations by the Trump foundation – seemingly for political purposes – or purchases by the foundation – seemingly to cover Trump’s personal costs, or even to settle lawsuits tied to Trump’s for-profit businesses.

We know all about the strange way the Trump foundation operates thanks to dogged reporting by David Fahrenthold of the Washington Post [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-directed-23-million-owed-to-him-to-his-charity-instead/2016/09/26/7a9e9fac-8352-11e6-ac72-a29979381495\_story.html].

Late this afternoon, Farenthold published another bombshell: after Trump stopped giving money to his foundation years ago, it received millions in payments from companies that owed money to Trump or one of his businesses “but were instructed to pay Trump’s tax-exempt foundation instead, according to people familiar with the transactions”.

From the Post report:

In cases where he diverted his own income to his foundation, tax experts said, Trump would still likely be required to pay taxes on the income. Trump has refused to release his personal tax returns. His campaign said he paid income tax on one of the donations, but did not respond to questions about the others.

That gift was a $400,000 payment from Comedy Central , which owed Trump an appearance fee for his 2011 “roast.”

Then there were payments totaling nearly $1.9 million from a man in New York City who sells sought-after tickets and one-of-a-kind experiences to wealthy clients.

That man, Richard Ebers, bought goods and services — including tickets — from Trump or his businesses, according to two people familiar with the transactions, who requested anonymity because they were not authorized to speak about the payments. They said that Ebers was instructed to pay the Donald J. Trump Foundation instead. Ebers did not respond to requests for comment.

The gifts begin to answer one of the mysteries surrounding the foundation: Why would other people continue giving to Trump’s charity when Trump himself gave his last recorded donation in 2008?

Read the full piece here [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-directed-23-million-owed-to-him-to-his-charity-instead/2016/09/26/7a9e9fac-8352-11e6-ac72-a29979381495\_story.html].

block-time published-time 10.48pm BST

Here’s Guardian Washington correspondent David Smith with a longer explanation for that series of Barack Obama photos a couple blocks back:

Barack Obama was honoured in a traditional blanketing ceremony on Monday and sought to reassure American Indians and Alaska Natives that his departure from office will not mean they are forgotten.

Obama has visited more of America’s 567 federally recognised tribal communities than any president and was introduced at their annual White House conference as a man who “kept his campaign promises”. There is trepidation in Indian Country at the possibility of Donald Trump taking his place.

The president donned a hat and was wrapped in a blanket by Brian Cladoosby, president of the National Congress of American Indians and chairman of the Swinomish Indian Tribe, as an honour song filled the Mellon Auditorium. Cladoosby praised Obama’s legacy on Native American issues and warned delegates that “there is no guarantee going forward there will be the same commitment from the next administration”.

Tip o’ the basket. Photograph: AUDE GUERRUCCI / POOL/EPA Obama described it as an “amazing honour” before removing the hat and blanket and giving a short speech that noted his administration had restored more than 428,000 acres of tribal homelands to their original owners. “I’ve been proud of what we’ve been able to do together,” he said. “We haven’t solved every issue. We haven’t righted every wrong. But together, we’ve made significant progress in almost every area.”

The president continued: “We’ve got to keep fighting to the finish line. Even after my time in this office comes to an end, I’m going to be standing alongside you because I believe that, yes, our progress depends in part on who sits in the Oval Office, and whether they’re setting the right priorities, but lasting progress depends on all of us, not just who the president is.”

Demonstrators gathered half a block away to protest against a $3.7 billion oil pipeline near the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. Obama was applauded as he acknowledged the controversy: “I know that many of you have come together across tribes and across the country to support the community at Standing Rock. And together, you’re making your voices heard.”

Interior secretary Sally Jewell told the conference that the administration will soon ask federal agencies to require that Native American treaty rights be considered in decision-making on natural resource projects.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.49pm BST

block-time published-time 10.39pm BST

Green party candidate ejected from debate vicinity First the commission on presidential debates excluded Green party candidate Jill Stein from the debate stage.

Now Stein has been ejected from the vicinity:

enltrWe were on our way to an interview with @MSNBC [https://twitter.com/MSNBC] when we were stopped by Hofstra security and Nassau County police just now. #debatenight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/debatenight?src=hash] when we were stopped by Hofstra security and Nassau County police just now. pic.twitter.com/Y0fQjih47Y [https://t.co/Y0fQjih47Y] when we were stopped by Hofstra security and Nassau County police just now.

— Dr. Jill Stein (@DrJillStein) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DrJillStein/status/780472077698555904]Stein was escorted off campus. Gothamist has further: [http://gothamist.com/2016/09/26/stein\_escorted\_off\_hofstra\_campus\_debate.php?utm\_source=Gothamist+Daily&utm\_campaign=84c42c2b92-RSS\_EMAIL\_CAMPAIGN&utm\_medium=email&utm\_term=0\_73240544d8-84c42c2b92-15299741]Stein was escorted off campus.

A Nassau County police spokesperson told the Long Island Press [https://www.longislandpress.com/2016/09/26/jill-stein-third-party-candidate-escorted-off-hofstras-campus/?utm\_source=dlvr.it&utm\_medium=twitter] that Stein lacked the appropriate credentials to be on campus ahead of tonight’s presidential debate [http://gothamist.com/2016/09/25/where\_to\_watch\_the\_debates\_without.php].

block-time published-time 10.25pm BST

Let’s do this. President Barack Obama receives a traditional blanket and hat during the 2016 White House Tribal Nations Conference at the Andrew W. Mellon Auditorium, September 26, 2016, Washington, DC. Photograph: Pool/Getty Images Hm. Photograph: AUDE GUERRUCCI / POOL/EPA Cheese. Photograph: AUDE GUERRUCCI / POOL/EPA block-time published-time 10.04pm BST

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And if you haven’t been reading our daily roundup of election news, The Campaign Minute, there are still seven weeks of... fun?... left. Read today’s version below, and scroll to the end to have the Minute delivered free to your inbox:

Related: The big debate: tonight's the night [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/sep/26/big-debate-tonight-is-the-night]

block-time published-time 9.41pm BST

Still time to run out and grab dinner before the debate. Thanksgiving dinner:

enltrOh man - still more than 4 hours left on those countdown clocks

— John Harwood (@JohnJHarwood) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JohnJHarwood/status/780506556391493632]block-time published-time 8.59pm BST

Fifty-six years ago today: John F. Kennedy vs. Richard Nixon. More than half a century ago tonight, more than 60 million Americans tuned in to the first televised presidential debate in American history. ABC News’ Bob Fleming hosted the hour-long debate between then-senator John F. Kennedy and then-vice president Richard Nixon, each of whom were allowed to give one eight-minute opening statement (that’s pretty long!) and were allowed 150 seconds to answer a series of questions from Fleming, with a 90-second opportunity for rebuttal. The closing remarks were three minutes long.

Those watching the televised debate saw Kennedy - young, handsome and recently tanned after a trip in California - as the victor, while dismissing Nixon as appearing sweaty, uncomfortable and untrustworthy.\* Radio listeners, meanwhile, gave Nixon the edge.

\*Of course, time would later prove the superficial judgments of the American television-watching public to be depressingly accurate.

block-time published-time 8.39pm BST

Trump campaign releases white paper on economic plan Hours before his upcoming televised duel with Hillary Clinton at Hofstra University on Long Island, Donald Trump ’s campaign has released a white paper for his full economic policies [https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/Trump\_Economic\_Plan.pdf], a first for his campaign.

Donald Trump signing a $5 bill. Photograph: Jonathan Ernst/Reuters “Donald Trump ’s economic plan proposes tax cuts, reduced regulation, lower energy costs and eliminating America’s chronic trade deficit,” the campaign stated in a release, describing the 31-page paper penned by economist and policy advisor Peter Navarro and leveraged buyout billionaire Wilbur Ross. “Trump’s goal is to significantly increase America’s real GDP growth rate and thereby create millions of additional new jobs and trillions of dollars of additional income and tax revenues.”

The Trump plan, the campaign states, “generates positive and substantial tax revenue offsets from its synergistic suite of trade, regulatory and energy policy reforms,” a frequent claim made by laissez faire economists.

The report purports to fill “analytical gap” from the non-partisan Tax Foundation’s analysis of Trump’s tax plan [http://taxfoundation.org/article/details-and-analysis-donald-trump-tax-reform-plan-september-2016], which the Tax Foundation deduced would reduce government revenue by between $2.6 trillion and $3.9 trillion.

The campaign release incorrectly implies that “the Tax Foundation does not score other elements of the Trump economic plan that are growth-inducing and therefore revenue-generating.” In fact, the $3.9 trillion figure accounts for what Trump says would be a larger economy - without that as a given, Trump’s plan would reduce federal revenue by between $4.4 trillion and $5.9 trillion, according to the tax foundation.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.41pm BST

block-time published-time 8.29pm BST

Hillary Clinton has made an aggressive play [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/19/hillary-clinton-appeal-millennial-voters-stop-donald-trump] for younger voters this cycle, highlighting her campaign’s message of diversity and inclusiveness compared to that of Donald Trump , ’s history of “a candidate with a long history of racial discrimination in his businesses, who retweets white supremacists, who led the birther movement to delegitimize our first black president.”

But on the day of the first presidential debate of the general election campaign, Trump has jumped ahead of Clinton on sheer millennial-era social media savvy with the creation of a nationwide Snapchat geofilter, which allows Snapchat users to shoot a selfie of themselves under the banner “Donald J. Trump vs. Crooked Hillary,” as red-and-blue fireworks explode above his campaign slogan, “Make America Great Again.”

Debate Day Snapchat Photograph: Snapchat (Yes, that’s me.)

It’s an unusual technical fail on the part of the Clinton campaign, which famously bought anti-Trump geofilters during the Republican National Convention in Cleveland in July.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.59pm BST

block-time published-time 8.11pm BST

A classic from John Kasich’s former senior strategist:

enltrImagine a NASCAR driver mentally preparing for a race knowing one of the drivers will be drunk. That's what prepping for this debate is like

— John Weaver (@JWGOP) July 27, 2015 [https://twitter.com/JWGOP/status/625810551243825152]block-time published-time 8.00pm BST

Another poll shows Clinton leading ahead of tonight's debate Six hours before the first presidential debate of the 2016 general election campaign, a new poll from NBC News and SurveyMonkey ’s weekly tracking poll shows Hillary Clinton leading Donald Trump by 5 points, 45% to 40%, with no change from the week before.

Libertarian nominee Gary Johnson trails behind with 10% support, and Green nominee Jill Stein has 3% support. In a face-to-face matchup against Trump, Clinton increases her lead to 7 points, 51% to 44%, an increase from last week’s margin of 5 points.

Weekly tracking numbers. Photograph: NBC News/SurveyMonkey block-time published-time 7.54pm BST

Fact check: The Republicans were not a “third-party” in the traditional sense, since the Whig party was declared “dead - dead - dead!” by senior members in 1852 after a demonstrative loss to Democratic presidential candidate Franklin Pierce. The party was later functionally split in two, Solomon-style, by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act that led to “Bleeding Kansas,” and had functionally ceased to exist by 1860.

enltr3rd Party candidate has never won? Hmm...Abraham Lincoln? pic.twitter.com/ScLZs3WZzD [https://t.co/ScLZs3WZzD]

— Gov. Gary Johnson (@GovGaryJohnson) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GovGaryJohnson/status/780474591235993601]block-time published-time 7.30pm BST

Donald Trump is too 'mentally challenged' for Between Two Ferns, says Zach Galifianakis Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton’s appearance [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/22/hillary-clinton-zach-galifianakis-between-two-ferns-trump] on Zach Galifianakis’ hit comedy web series Between Two Ferns has shattered viewership records for the show, but that doesn’t mean its host wants a repeat performance with her rival for the presidency.

“No - that doesn’t interest me,” Galifianakis told the Los Angeles Times [http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/tv/la-et-st-zach-galifianakis-clinton-between-two-ferns-20160924-snap-story.html] about doing a segment with Donald Trump . “Doing it the other way doesn’t interest me.”

Trump, Galifianakis said, is “the kind of guy who likes attention - bad attention or good attention. So you’re dealing with a psychosis there that’s a little weird.” He continued: “I wouldn’t have somebody on that’s so mentally challenged. And you can print that.”

Clinton’s willingness to be skewered in Between Two Ferns is not without precedent: in 2014, Barack Obama gamely appeared on the show [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/11/obama-zach-galifianakis-between-two-ferns] to talk about healthcare. The interview was watched online more than 11m times on its first day online, increasing traffic to healthcare.gov [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/12/obama-between-two-ferns-healthcare-traffic-boost] by 40%.

block-time published-time 7.02pm BST

This Priorities USA ad might be a little too subtle:

block-time published-time 6.57pm BST

The government’s key witness in the George Washington Bridge lane-closing case testified on Monday that he interpreted an email from one of the defendants that it was “time for some traffic problems” as an order to put a political revenge plot into action and that he immediately told Governor Chris Christie’s campaign manager.

David Wildstein. Photograph: Julio Cortez/AP David Wildstein worked for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey , the agency that operates New York-area bridges, tunnels, ports and airports. He pleaded guilty last year [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/may/01/chris-christie-david-wildstein-bridgegate] to conspiring to cause traffic gridlock near the bridge to punish Fort Lee’s Democratic mayor for not endorsing the Republican governor.

Bridget Kelly, Christie’s former deputy chief of staff, has claimed the email from mid-August 2013 was a joke, but Wildstein testified on Monday that he didn’t take it as one.

“I understood that to mean it was time to change the lanes configuration at the upper level of the George Washington Bridge in order to create traffic in the borough of Fort Lee,” Wildstein said. “We had had joking emails before. I did not think she was joking.”

Wildstein also said he told Christie’s campaign manager, Bill Stepien, about the plot within 24 hours of that email and told him that he would create a traffic study as a cover story.

Related: 'Traffic problems' email was no joke, key witness in Bridgegate trial says [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/bridgegate-christie-traffic-problems-david-wildstein]

block-time published-time 6.33pm BST

While his running mate goes toe-to-toe with Donald Trump in the first presidential debate of the general election campaign tonight, Virginia senator Tim Kaine will join the Human Rights Campaign for a debate watch party in Orlando tonight, along with former congresswoman Gabby Giffords and her husband, retired astronaut Mark Kelly.

The trio will join HRC president Chad Griffin as part of its #TurnOUT campaign, which aims to register and mobilize LGBTQ voters in battleground states to support pro-gay and pro-gun control candidates.

“What we do between now and Election Day will determine the kind of America we wake up to November 9th,” Griffin said in a statement. “Our ground game is stronger than ever. But we’ve also dedicated significant resources to actionable and effective online organizing efforts - from tweet-ups, and Snapchat filters, geo-targeted ads, and more, HRC is fighting to ensure the voice of our community is heard loud and clear this November.”

block-time published-time 6.18pm BST

How are Clinton and Trump polling before the first debate? In January, I wrote [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/datablog/2016/jan/27/dont-trust-the-polls-the-systemic-issues-that-make-voter-surveys-unreliable] that “in the first 26 days of this year, 186 political polls were released”. Since then, I’ve lost count.

Hostra University students playing the roles of the candidates and moderator go through a rehearsal for the first presidential debate at Hofstra University . Photograph: Rick Wilking/Reuters New numbers are released every day by different organizations (some academic, some corporate and some media businesses themselves), and they all depict a slightly different political reality.

To state the obvious, in 2016 political reality is very different from that of previous presidential elections. And not just because the two remaining candidates are the least popular for more than 30 years [http://i0.wp.com/espnfivethirtyeight.files.wordpress.com/2016/05/enten-generaldislike-1.png?quality=90&strip=all&w=575&ssl=1]. It’s also because polls, which have come to be the manna of political analysts, now offer less help in making sense of it all.

In past elections, the polls had settled down by Labor Day. This year, they continue to point all over the place. On Sunday, a survey by the Economist and YouGov [https://today.yougov.com/news/2016/09/25/yougoveconomist-poll-september-22-24-2016/] found that Hillary Clinton had a lead of 4%. Less than 24 hours later, a poll from the LA Times and USC Tracking [http://www.latimes.com/politics/] put Donald Trump 4% ahead.

Both pollsters are considered credible, which makes this even more confusing.

This series is intended to help you make sense of the ceaseless onslaught of numbers by taking a closer look at just one poll. But to start us off, I want to talk about a crucial tool in polling analysis: the average [http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/us/general\_election\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5491.html].

The site Real Clear Politics [http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/us/general\_election\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5491.html] (RCP) takes the average of all recent credible polls to create a moving average. Right now, RCP has Clinton with 45.9% of the vote while Trump has 43.8%, meaning that the Democratic nominee is ahead by 2.1%.

Notice how Democrats [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/democrats] aren’t singing from the rooftops or gloating on Twitter ? It’s because 2.1% means nothing.

It’s so small, it could be down to errors in the ways that polls are conducted. It’s so narrow, it could easily be reversed by individuals who change their mind or who are not honestly disclosing how they plan to vote.

The takeaway? Going into tonight’s debate [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/25/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-debate-gennifer-flowers], the two candidates are neck and neck.

But how much do debates matter? As my former colleague Lauren Leatherby has pointed out [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/14/hillary-clinton-polls-convention-trump-election-data], they have hurt candidates in the polls (see Barack Obama in 2012 and George Bush in 2004). But ultimately those candidates have been able to recover by election day (see, uh, the same candidates).

So even if tonight produces a clear loser, the November vote is not a done deal.

Related: How are Clinton and Trump polling before the first debate? [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/skeptical-polling-clinton-trump-before-first-debate]

block-time published-time 6.00pm BST

Monmouth poll: Clinton has 4-point lead over Trump Eight hours before going toe-to-toe at the first presidential debate of the general election campaign, Hillary Clinton has a four-point lead over Donald Trump among likely voters nationwide, according to a just-released Monmouth University poll. It’s a three-point drop from her lead one month ago, but a more positive position than the latest numbers from Bloomberg, which show Trump taking the lead in race that includes third-party candidates.

Hillary Clinton Photograph: Matt Rourke/AP Clinton is currently polling at 46% among likely voters, according to Monmouth, while Trump commands the support of 42% of likely voters. Libertarian party nominee Gary Johnson is polling at 8% in the survey and Green nominee Jill Stein is at 2%. Among all registered voters, and not just those most likely to vote in the upcoming election, Clinton leads with 45%, while Trump falls slightly further behind with 40% Trump.

Among her compatriots in the Democratic party, Clinton has the support of 91% of party members, while Trump has won 85% of Republicans. This is an improvement for Trump, who previously counted only one-in-four Republican voters in his corner. Monmouth’s polling suggests that independents are cutting right, supporting Trump over Clinton by 39% to 33%, a precipitous drop for the former secretary of state, who held a five-point lead among independent voters in late August.

The generation gaps are in keeping with previous polling. Clinton leads among millennial voters under the age of 35 by 48% to Trump’s 28%, while voters 35 to 54 support Trump at and Clinton at 41%. For voters older than 55, support is similarly divided, with 47% supporting Clinton and 46% supporting Trump.

“Clinton’s support has softened since the summer, but she has still managed to grab a share of those who tend to vote Republican,” Patrick Murray, director of the Monmouth University Polling Institute, said in a statement.

The historically unpopular major-party candidates are still viewed negatively by large majorities of the electorate. According to the survey, 36% of voters view Clinton positively, while 54% view her negatively. Trump fares even worse - 32% of voters view him positively, and 57% view him negatively.

Three-in-four voters (75%) plan to watch tonight’s debate, but that doesn’t mean the debate will necessarily change minds: Only 48% of undecided voters or those supporting a third-party candidate plan to watch tonight, while eight-in-ten supporters of Clinton and Trump hope to watch.

“Pundits expect that a lot will be riding on the first debate. The voters? Not so much,” said Murray.

block-time published-time 5.41pm BST

Five awkward questions Hillary Clinton might field tonight: Trump v Clinton: an analysis of debate styles [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/24/trump-clinton-presidential-debate-styles-video] What single policy should your campaign be known for?

Harder than it sounds, or should be, this question gets at a weakness which many critics feels lies at the heart of the campaign. Instead of one signature issue, Clinton has dozens of detailed policies on a host of subjects. It may make her a great president one day, but for now voters struggle to understand what slogans such as “stronger together” mean in practice. If Clinton were forced to pick one concrete thing for viewers to remember her for, what would it be?

Do you believe in globalisation?

Over many years in public life, the former secretary of state has understandably embraced an evolving set of economic positions. But few have come further than Clinton on the subject of free trade deals and the damage they may or may not have done to American manufacturing. She says she opposes the Trans-Pacific Partnership now proposed by Obama, but is it a principled opposition or a mere pragmatic response to Trump? Are there limits to the benefits of globalisation for US workers?

How would your counter-terrorism policy differ from Obama’s?

In the face of continued terrorist attacks, the issue of “defending America” will be top of Monday’s agenda. Yet Clinton risks being caught between defending the legacy of an Obama administration in which she served and acknowledging that not everything is working out well right now. How would she defeat Islamic State? Would she be more or less hawkish in Iraq and Afghanistan? If nothing changes, then Trump may be able to pin her to a range of foreign policy failures.

Why are you so secretive?

From emails [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/03/hillary-clinton-email-server-potential-vice-presidents-defend-brown-booker-becerra-perez] to pneumonia [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/15/hillary-clinton-returns-campaign-pneumonia], Clinton has repeatedly got herself into trouble by going out of her way to hide information from the public. The obvious question is: what does she have to hide? The usual explanation is that Clinton has been on the receiving end of so many smears over the years that she has learned to be cautious, but this should also teach her to be wary of cover-ups. Why should someone who ignores medical advice to rest, or legal advice to keep email on government servers, be trusted to take wise decisions in office?

How would you reduce income inequality?

Supporters would argue that Clinton has provided many answers to this question: from infrastructure spending and a jobs program to minimum wage increases and taxing the rich. Yet many still wonder if a campaign so heavily funded by America’s rich and powerful really understands or is committed to helping its middle class. Her answers may be more nuanced than Trump’s crude protectionism, but they need to cut through with voters if she is to blunt his appeal in the rust belt.

Related: 10 awkward debate questions to put Clinton and Trump on the spot [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/24/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-debate-awkward-questions]

block-time published-time 5.15pm BST

What are the third-party candidates up to? Jill Stein Photograph: Derek Henkle/AFP/Getty Images Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton and Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump will be the only two candidates to participate in tonight’s presidential debate at Hofstra University on Long Island - polling limitations have limited the field to just the two major-party candidates, as has happened in every presidential debate since 1992 - but that doesn’t mean that the other would-be presidents have given up on participating in some capacity.

Former New Mexico governor and Libertarian presidential nominee Gary Johnson will watch tonight’s debate from New York City with his running mate, Bill Weld, and will be livetweeting the proceedings from Twitter’s offices in Chelsea.

Green party nominee Jill Stein, meanwhile, plans to “literally insert herself” into the debate tonight, responding to each of the debate questions via Periscope livestream. Responses will also be livestreamed via Facebook Live on her Facebook page. “In effect, using a range of cutting-edge social media tools, Jill Stein will literally ‘insert’ herself into the debate process,” according to Meleiza Figueroa, Stein’s press director.

block-time published-time 4.55pm BST

In the latest episode of Last Week Tonight, host John Oliver dedicated much of the show to make the case that Donald Trump’s worst scandals “trump” those of opponent Hillary Clinton.

To view the full episode in the US click here [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h1Lfd1aB9YI]“This campaign has been dominated by scandals, but it is dangerous to think that there is an equal number on both sides,” he said. “And you can be irritated by some of Hillary’s – that is understandable – but you should then be fucking outraged by Trump’s.

“Ethical failings in a politician are like raisins in a cookie,” he explained. “They shouldn’t be there. They disgust people. But most politicians have at least a few raisins.

“Hillary is a cookie like this one,” he said, holding an oatmeal raisin cookie. “She arguably has more raisins than average.”

As for Trump? “The man is a fucking raisin monsoon,” yelled Oliver, as a torrent of raisins rained down on his desk.

Related: John Oliver tears into Wells Fargo over banking scandal [https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/sep/26/john-oliver-wells-fargo-last-week-tonight]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.21pm BST

block-time published-time 4.43pm BST

Three days after he endorsed onetime foe Donald Trump, Texas senator Ted Cruz sat down for an interview with one of his most infuriated former supporters: Glenn Beck.

The interview is, as you might imagine, extremely uncomfortable.

“I tried very very hard, as did you, to prevent it from being a binary choice between Hillary and Donald Trump and I think it is fair to say there was no other Republican candidate who left more on the field and did more to stop Donald from being the nominee than I did,” Cruz protested, “but the voters made a different decision and you have to respect the democratic process even if you may not be terribly happy with the outcome.”

In a statement posted to Facebook [https://www.facebook.com/tedcruzpage/posts/10154476728267464] on Friday, Cruz declared that “after many months of careful consideration, of prayer and searching my own conscience, I have decided that on Election Day, I will vote for the Republican nominee, Donald Trump.”

Citing Trump’s release of a long list of potential supreme court justices he would nominate to replace the late Antonin Scalia, Cruz said that, in his eyes, the list indicated that the nominee is “critically committed that the only nominees he would consider for the court were on that list. Now that was a major shift.”

block-time published-time 4.28pm BST

Five awkward questions Donald Trump might field tonight: Trump v Clinton: an analysis of debate styles [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/24/trump-clinton-presidential-debate-styles-video] How can you be trusted with the nuclear codes?

A symbolic question, but one that goes to the heart of concerns about Trump’s suitability for the job of commander-in-chief. He has made a number of erratic comments appearing to suggest a cavalier approach to nuclear proliferation; he has also threatened to undermine both Nato and a longstanding commitment to non-nuclear allies in Asia. Combining all this with a general belligerence that terrifies even generals, Trump has much to do to reassure voters he is not a dangerous loose cannon.

Did you support US intervention in Iraq and Libya?

Trump has tried to have his cake and eat it on the subject of Middle East policy, attacking Clinton for backing regime change in Iraq and Libya while implying he was opposed to both wars at the time. But though this real estate investor’s foreign policy views were not then widely sought out, there is a plenty of evidence [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2016/02/25/timeline-of-trumps-comments-on-iraq-invasion-not-loud-not-strong-and-no-headlines/?postshare=7121471286662065&tid=ss\_tw] to suggest he kept any opposition very quiet. Asked if he backed the invasion of Iraq, he said: “I guess so.”

Why would Mexico pay for you to build a wall?

The flagship policy of building a physical wall on the southern border is frequently embellished with a boast that Trump would make sure Mexico paid for its construction. A recent meeting with the Mexican president [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-meeting-president-pena-nieto-immigration], however, made clear that this is highly unlikely. Trump appeared to mislead supporters almost immediately afterward and continues to ignore evidence that Mexican net migration into the US has dropped to near zero in recent years. The mechanics of his deportation policy are even vaguer.

Is there anyone you regret offending?

An open question that could lead Trump into uncharted territory. For over a year, the Republican nominee has outraged Muslims, African Americans, women, Latinos and disabled people with a series of ever-more outrageous comments. Any attempt to hold him to account for offensive language was dismissed as mere political correctness. Attacking the family of a Muslim war hero [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/07/humayun-khan-donald-trump-military-arlington-national-cemetery] after the Democratic convention finally seemed to damage Trump in the polls, though, and prompted a half-apology. Who else will he say sorry to?

What evidence do you have against climate change?

Like many Republicans, Trump has repeatedly suggested that action to prevent man-made climate change is unnecessary because he does not “believe” it is real. He is even threatening to pull the US out of the Paris climate accord [http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/21/politics/scientists-open-letter-trump-climate-change/]. Yet in the face of overwhelming evidence from world scientists, surely the onus is now on skeptics to prove their claims with facts and numbers of their own. What proof does Trump have that climate change is a “hoax”?

Related: 10 awkward debate questions to put Clinton and Trump on the spot [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/24/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-debate-awkward-questions]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.41pm BST

block-time published-time 4.15pm BST

Jill Abramson: ‘Saving the country from Donald Trump isn’t enough of a message’ Hillary Clinton waves. Photograph: Carlos Barria/Reuters Dear Hillary Clinton [https://medium.com/u/762ff63cce75],

The debates give you the best opportunity to describe a real vision of where you want to lead the country and to get voters excited about a future you can help create as president.

Saving the country from Donald Trump isn’t enough of a message. Your toughness and readiness to do battle with him have been amply demonstrated. Most voters already know why they should not vote for Trump.

But they are not sure they can trust your leadership to bring about change in Washington, DC. They worry that you will be “more of the same.” So it’s vital that you have a crisp, forward-looking message about why you want to be president, where you’ll lead the country, and how you will improve the lives of people. Many of your specific policy proposals actually do this. Show that you are excited about enacting them and that you have a record of getting things done by building bipartisan alliances. Cite your accomplishments, so the audience knows it can count on you to get the job done. Rinse and repeat.

Stay on the high road and don’t let Trump drag you down.

Best of luck,

Jill Abramson

block-time published-time 4.01pm BST

The topic of live fact-checking during tonight’s presidential debate has become one of the most heated issues relating to the first face-to-face confrontation between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump - we honestly can’t say why [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/series/lyin-trump-a-weekly-fact-check] - and one network appears ready and willing to take on the challenge.

According to Politico [http://www.politico.com/blogs/on-media/2016/09/bloomberg-to-fact-check-debate-on-screen-228670], Bloomberg TV, which you might recognize as the most orange-data-choked channel in your cable package, will fact-check tonight’s debate at Hofstra University on Long Island in real time onscreen, setting it apart from other networks that don’t want to appear biased. (Biased towards reality, we guess?)

Anchor and debate host Lester Holt has a history of fact-checking [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/lester-holt-debate-moderator-trump-clinton-fact-check-election] during his interviews, but hasn’t made it known whether he plans on correcting falsehoods from either candidate. Janet Brown, the executive director of the Commission on Presidential Debates that organizes the debates every election, told CNN [http://money.cnn.com/2016/09/25/media/janet-brown-presidential-debate/] that “I don’t think it’s a good idea to get the moderator into essentially serving as the Encyclopedia Britannica,” and that “I’m not sure, what is the big fact, and what is a little fact?”

The Guardian will also be fact-checking tonight’s debate live.

block-time published-time 3.44pm BST

Hillary Clinton announces guests for first debate At 9pm tonight, Hillary Clinton will take to the stage at Hofstra University on Long Island with an audience of 100 million people watching at home - and four special guests in the debate hall itself.

Clinton’s guests to the debate “are people who she has worked with and fought for during her career in public service,” according to the campaign, which extended invitations to four voters who “embody some of the causes of [Clinton’s] career”:

\* Lauren Manning: One of the most severely injured survivors of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Manning spent more than six months in the hospital after sustaining burns to more than 80% of her body. Clinton, then serving as the junior senator from New York, met Manning in the hospital and worked with her upon her release for increased benefits for 9/11 survivors and first responders. Manning spoke at the Democratic National Convention this summer about her relationship with Clinton: “She came through. Not for the cameras, not because anyone was watching, but because that’s who she is. Kind. Caring. Loyal.”

\* Maxine Outerbridge: Outerbridge is a 27-year-old single mother and a survivor of domestic violence who credits the Children’s Health Insurance Program that Clinton helped create during her time as first lady with helping her get her college degree and work her way out of poverty.

\* Anastasia Somoza: Somoza, who has cerebral palsy, first met Clinton when she was 9 years old, and has since become an advocate for people with disabilities, serving as Clinton’s Special Advisor for International Disability Rights during Clinton’s tenure as secretary of state. Somoza is also the face of a new testimonial advertisement criticizing Donald Trump’s comments regarding a reporter with a disability: “I honestly feel bad for someone with so much hate in his heart.”

\* Aleatha Williams: Williams first met Clinton after becoming pen pals with the then-first lady as a student in the Bronx. Clinton continued the relationship for years, attending Williams’ high-school graduation.

block-time published-time 3.10pm BST

During the first presidential debate tonight, the Guardian Mobile Innovation Lab [https://medium.com/the-guardian-mobile-innovation-lab] and the Guardian US opinion desk will send experimental web notifications with real-time opinions from Guardian columnists as they watch the debate between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton.

These experimental alerts, available to users of Android devices who have an updated Chrome browser installed on their phones, will supplement the news alerts sent from the Guardian’s Android [https://www.theguardian.com/technology/android] app with reactions from Guardian columnists Richard Wolffe [https://www.theguardian.com/profile/richard-wolffe] and Lucia Graves [https://www.theguardian.com/profile/lucia-graves]. They will be sent at key moments throughout the debate, while the Guardian app news alerts will provide only the most important updates. (The alerts can also be received through desktop Chrome browsers but unfortunately not iPhones. We’re working on a way to release iOS versions of our notifications experiments and hope to have that ready next month.)

During the debate, you will hear from the columnists with their quick takes on the candidates’ policy statements, their debating styles, and who’s winning and who’s losing.

This project is the latest installment in ongoing experimentation with notifications, part of the Mobile Lab’s mission to learn more about mobile storytelling. After the experiment, we’ll send out a survey soliciting feedback on the experience.

Sound interesting? Want to sign up? Web notifications are currently only available on Chrome on Android devices or desktop. If you have an Android mobile phone (Samsung, included!), open this page [https://www.gdnmobilelab.com/debates/] in a Chrome browser and tap to sign up.

block-time published-time 2.52pm BST

**Immigration** officers endorse Donald Trump A union representing 7,600 federal **immigration** officers has endorsed Donald Trump’s presidential bid [https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/immigration-and-customs-enforcement-officers-endorse-donald-j.-trump-for-pr] ahead of the upcoming presidential debate tonight, a boon to a candidate who has made **immigration** the centerpiece of his campaign’s platform.

Donald Trump at a news conference near the U.S.- Mexico border outside of Laredo, Texas. Photograph: Rick Wilking/Reuters In a statement, Chris Crane, the union’s president, blamed “the unconstitutional executive orders of President Obama, embraced by Hillary Clinton,” for regulations preventing the union’s members “from enforcing the most basic **immigration** laws.”

“Donald Trump reached out to us for a meeting, sat down with me to discuss his goals for enforcement, and pledged to support ICE officers, our nation’s laws and our members. In his **immigration** policy, he has outlined core policies needed to restore **immigration** security -- including support for increased interior enforcement and border security, an end to Sanctuary Cities, an end to catch-and-release, mandatory detainers, and the canceling of executive amnesty and non-enforcement directives.”

According to the statement, which characterized the union’s endorsement as a first in its history, Clinton received the support of only 5% of the union’s members.

The National **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement Council [http://iceunion.org/\] represents 7,600 officers, agents and employees who work for US **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement, a branch of the Department of Homeland Security responsible for responsible for security along the American border.

block-time published-time 2.36pm BST

Hofstra University debate: what you need to know With T-minus 12 hours until the first of three presidential debates between Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton and Republican nominee Donald Trump, here’s a rundown of the whos, wheres and whens of tonight’s debate - including some predictions and runups from the Guardian’s crack political reporting team.

Workers make adjustments to the set for the first presidential debate at Hofstra University. Photograph: Drew Angerer/Getty Images Who: Aside from Clinton and Trump, the debate will be moderated by NBC’s Lester Holt, the most-watched daily news broadcaster in the country with a reputation as a persistent fact-checker [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/26/lester-holt-debate-moderator-trump-clinton-fact-check-election] despite a 12-year stint as a weekend morning host. Trump has expressed displeasure with the selection of Holt, dismissing him as a Democrat in an interview with Fox News last week. (Holt is a registered Republican. [https://twitter.com/davidfolkenflik/status/778315866903642112?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw] )

When: Tonight’s debate will begin at 9pm ET, running for 90 minutes without commercial interruption. The debate will consist of six sections, running approximately 15 minutes long apiece. Each of the six sections will begin with a question, with both candidates provided two minutes to answer. The candidates may also respond to direct mentions, accusations or calumnies made by their opponent, and Holt may ask follow-up questions.

Holt has separated the debate into three themes so nebulous as to be almost meaningless: “America’s Direction,” “Achieving Prosperity” and “Securing America.” Whether or not these blocks are divided into 30-minute segments depends on the succinctness of the candidates’ answers and Holt’s willingness-slash-ability to reign them in.

Where: The debate will be held at Hofstra University on Long Island, which also hosted presidential debates in 2008 between then-Illinois senator Barack Obama and Arizona senator John McCain and in 2012 between President Obama and former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney. It is the only university to ever host three consecutive presidential debates.

block-time published-time 2.17pm BST

Kellyanne Conway, Donald Trump’s campaign manager - well, by title, anyway [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/22/kellyanne-conway-is-donald-trumps-last-chance-winning] - disputed characterizing Trump’s insistence that NBC anchor and debate moderator Lester Holt is a Democrat (factually inaccurate, as voter registration records show that Holt is a registered Republican [https://twitter.com/davidfolkenflik/status/778315866903642112?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw] ), asserting that Trump can’t lie when he doesn’t know he’s saying something that’s not true.

enltr. @KellyannePolls [https://twitter.com/KellyannePolls] : Trump 'didn't lie' about Lester Holt, 'a lie would mean that he knew the man's party registration' https://t.co/dZWTCwpoim [https://t.co/dZWTCwpoim] : Trump 'didn't lie' about Lester Holt, 'a lie would mean that he knew the man's party registration'

— Morning Joe (@Morning\_Joe) September 26, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Morning\_Joe/status/780360090687647744]For those who haven’t read Harry Frankfurt’s On Bullshit - we recommend it for this and every election year - here’s a salient line from the tome:

It is impossible for someone to lie unless he thinks he knows the truth. Producing bullshit requires no such conviction.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.51pm BST

block-time published-time 1.44pm BST

Donald Trump takes lead in Bloomberg poll hours before debate Good morning and welcome to the Guardian’s campaign live blog.

The stage is set for the presidential debate. Photograph: Patrick Semansky/AP Mere hours before the most highly anticipated presidential debate in generations – 74% of Americans plan to watch tonight, according to an ABC/Washington Post survey [http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/clinton-trump-race-narrows-doorstep-debates-poll/story?id=42313593] – both nationwide and swing state polls have tightened to a statistical dead heat between former first lady, New York senator and secretary of state Hillary Clinton and real estate tycoon Donald Trump. In some polls, the Republican nominee has taken a small lead.

A new poll from Bloomberg [http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-09-26/national-poll], released Monday morning, shows the candidates locking horns with the support of 46% of likely voters in a head-to-head contest, with Trump up 43% to 41% with the inclusion of third-party candidates. A meaningful national poll, the Bloomberg survey suggests Trump has fully recovered from his post-convention flameout. Over the weekend, a Washington Post/ABC poll [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/poll-clinton-trump-in-virtual-dead-heat-on-eve-of-first-debate/2016/09/24/b99c95de-81cb-11e6-8327-f141a7beb626\_story.html] put Clinton two points ahead among likely voters, 46% to 44%. A survey by the Morning Consult website [https://morningconsult.com/2016/09/25/trump-edges-clinton-ahead-first-debate/] gave Trump an edge of one point.

Similarly positive numbers [http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/26/politics/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-colorado-pennsylvania-polls/index.html?sr=twCNN092616donald-trump-hillary-clinton-colorado-pennsylvania-polls1027AMVODtopLink&linkId=29195816] for Trump in Colorado and must-win Pennsylvania indicate that while eight in 10 voters say their minds are made up, tonight’s contest at Hofstra University in New York could prove decisive.

Trump v Clinton: an analysis of debate styles [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/24/trump-clinton-presidential-debate-styles-video]Over the weekend, as the 90-minute matchup between two candidates with vastly different debating styles, skills and sensibilities approached, the fight became increasingly dirty. Trump reacted to news that the Clinton campaign had invited critic and fellow billionaire Mark Cuban by musing that he might invite Gennifer Flowers [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/25/donald-trump-gennifer-flowers-debate-hillary-clinton], a former model who had an extramarital encounter with Bill Clinton in the 1980s. Flowers told news outlets she had accepted an invitation; the Trump campaign later denied that Flowers was invited.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.17pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Emails show Lib Dems claimed prime minister was determined to paint a negative picture of Britain’s relationship with Europe

Theresa May faced accusations from within government that she tried to remove evidence about the positive impact of **immigration** on the British economy from a critical report that was published before the EU referendum.

Correspondence seen by the Guardian lays bare a six-month tussle between Conservative and Liberal Democrat advisers over the study, which was part of a government-wide exercise into the pros and cons of EU membership.

Emails dating back to 2014 show Lib Dem advisers, who were then in government as part of the coalition, complaining repeatedly about May’s interventions.

They claimed internally that the then home secretary was determined to paint a negative picture of Britain’s relationship with European countries when it came to **immigration**.The exchanges suggested that May wanted to claim that “benefits tourism” was a serious problem, attracting **immigrants** into Britain.

But the advisers said there was little evidence to support the assertion, suggesting instead that internal DWP figures might underline it as a “small-scale problem”.

“My impression is that Conservative secretaries of state are determined not to admit this,” wrote one participant. Another said: “The home secretary is also deeply committed to the argument that free movement allows foreign criminals into the UK.”

The suggestion will be seized on by pro-EU campaigners who believe that May made it harder for David Cameron to argue for Britain’s continued membership.

“A lot of the pro-free movement evidence has been removed,” complained one adviser, citing a UCL report that said eastern European migrants were “58% less likely to live in social housing” and one showing migrants paid more in tax then they take in benefits.

The emails report conversations among civil servants inside the Home Office and Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) saying that May had taken a particularly active interest in the study.

Overall, the Liberal Democrats expressed frustration at an attempt to depict free movement as a “one-way street”, with foreign workers using the UK’s NHS and claiming benefits, while downplaying the numbers of British people living and working on the continent.

The emails have been seen after Cameron’s former director of communications, Craig Oliver, accused May of repeatedly failing to throw her weight behind the campaign to keep Britain in the EU.

The report from the Home Office, with contributions from Ian Duncan Smith’s DWP, was one of the 32 Whitehall studies on the ”balance of competences” between the UK and the EU insisted on by the Conservatives in the 2010 Coalition Agreement.

The **immigration** report was the most bitterly contested and Nick Clegg, the former Lib Dem leader, has since publicly accused May of tampering with the report to minimise the number of British people living abroad.

But this set of emails goes further, suggesting the report was delayed because Lib Dems believed the home secretary’s office refused to release revised versions. They argued that the government would be left picking up the tab for Brits abroad if their interests were completely ignored.

Clegg’s party also described as “completely baseless” the idea that benefits were the key driver attracting workers in the UK, rather than shortages of skills in the UK labour market.

Downing Street released the final report on the day after parliament had risen for the 2014 summer recess..

Lord Wallace of Saltaire, the Liberal Democrat minister who led the negotiations on these reports, told a similar story to the correspondence. “There was a deep-seated reluctance from within the home secretary’s office to admit that free movement brings benefits as well as costs to British citizens, or to allow us to cite evidence which weakened the Eurosceptic narrative,” he told the Guardian.

A source close to the prime minister hit back, accusing the Lib Dems of trying “to rig the balance of competences review” and saying the country had since voted decisively to leave the European Union.

“Theresa May has been completely consistent in her view that we need more control over our **immigration** system rather than less, and that levels of **immigration** are too high. Since becoming prime minister, she has made clear that following Brexit we will get the right deal to control the number of people who come to Britain from Europe,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Is it any wonder Rogue One lacks The Force Awakens hype when Abrams recently confirmed franchise isn’t the same without Skywalker and Solo clans?

You might think the worst Star Wars movie of all time has to be The Phantom Menace, the film that introduced Jar Jar Binks, midichloreans and the tedious galactic senate. But you’d be wrong, for there are far worse episodes of the long-running space saga lurking in the more fetid corners of a galaxy far, far away.

First up is the 1978 Star Wars Holiday Special, featuring an obviously wasted Carrie Fisher, what seems like hours of wookie grunting, and a deeply weird segue in which Chewbacca’s freaky-looking dad, Lumpy, has a private sexual moment with his brand-new virtual reality machine[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_CRTow8hFvM]. But rivalling it for sheer, brazen awfulness, if only because the holiday special has something of that “so bad it’s good” vibe, is the little-remembered 1984 TV movie Caravan of Courage: An Ewok Adventure[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EeO\_5zgf4GQ].

Related: Disney confirms Star Wars anthology movie for 2020[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/sep/22/star-wars-anthology-movie-2020-disney-confirms-rogue-one]

Debuting just a year after 1983’s Return of the Jedi, John Korty’s cringeworthy space fantasy follows the furry **alien** homunculi as they help two lost space kids to rescue their parents from a really badly designed monster named the Gorax. The ewoks achieve this goal by enlisting the help of some fairies (who help to distract the giant, hairy, bipedal hog-nosed **alien**) and a horse to ferry them about. There is never any explanation of how an animal from 21st-century Earth, let alone the magical winged creatures of European folklore, ended up on the frickin’ forest moon of Endor.

The most interesting thing about Caravan of Courage and its sequel, 1985’s Ewoks: The Battle for Endor, is that up until recently they were the only live-action Star Wars movies not to feature a single member of either the Skywalker or Solo clans. Even the appalling prequel trilogy placed whingy teen Jedi knight Anakin Skywalker centre stage.

JJ Abrams might have chosen to go a different way with last year’s Star Wars: The Force Awakens, but instead made the decision to bring back the three major stars of the classic 70s and 80s films. He even gave us a new Solo scion, in the darkling form of Adam Driver’s Kylo Ren, to replace departing sardonic space scoundrel Han. And it worked: fans young and old instantly understood the new movie as a continuation of the story begun by Lucas with 1977’s Star Wars, the decision to reveal that Han and Leia’s son had turned to the dark side was an ingenious tool to revive near-legendary characters while also moving the story forward.

And yet, by confirming Star Wars’ dependence on its traditional clans, might Abrams also have unwittingly derailed Disney’s plans to widen the scope of the space saga? Because the other movie to shift away from the series’ focus on the Skywalker and Solo families is the upcoming Rogue One: A Star Wars Story, and this far out from the film’s 16 December release date, fans don’t seem to be clutching it to their breasts with anything like the level of gusto that welled up months before The Force Awakens actually arrived in multiplexes.

Related: Rogue One: A Star Wars Story set for reshoots to 'lighten film's mood'[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/jun/01/rogue-one-a-star-wars-story-reshoots-disney]

This time last year, the Disney publicity machine had just made the jump to hyper space. Websites were full of stories suggesting that Abrams’ film might challenge Avatar for the mantle of highest-grossing movie of all time ( it succeeded at the domestic box office while falling short worldwide[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/jan/06/star-wars-the-force-awakens-becomes-highest-grossing-film-of-all-time-in-us] thanks to widespread indifference in China.) But Disney chief Bob Iger admitted last week that Rogue One is unlikely to match its predecessor’s $2.1bn global take[http://variety.com/2016/film/news/star-wars-rogue-one-vs-force-awakens-bob-iger-1201866852/], and there’s a general sense that Gareth Edwards’ movie might now have to settle for being little more than an appetizer for Rian Johnson’s Episode VIII, rather than the full-fat, regular calorie Star Wars installment fans had been hoping for.

Rogue One centers on the band of rebel grunts who stole the plans to the first Death Star, and is led by Felicity Jones’ Jyn Erso. This week has seen reports that Irish actor Valene Kane will play the character’s mother, Lyra[http://www.belfastlive.co.uk/news/tv/fall-star-valene-kane-admits-11935240] (possibly in flashback), and we know that Jyn’s father Galen (Mads Mikkelsen) will play a vital role in events. Edwards’ film is being pitched as very much a standalone movie, so it’s unlikely the Ersos are being set up to join the grand pantheon of Star Wars families. Still, there they stand, somehow expected to have the same impact as more famous clans did in earlier movies.

Rogue One faces further challenges, such as June’s damaging reports of reshoots[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/jun/01/rogue-one-a-star-wars-story-reshoots-disney] and more recent suggestions[http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/heat-vision/rogue-one-drama-writer-tony-916695] that Edwards, the British director of 2014’s semi-decent Godzilla, is now being supervised in the edit room by Michael Clayton’s Tony Gilroy. There’s also the fact that the new installment seems to be jettisoning lightsaber battles and the eternal battle between the dark and light sides of the Force – all the good stuff, in other words – in favor of highlighting the lives of those citizens of a galaxy far, far away who have to deal with the fallout every time the Empire decides to mash up a new planet.

Related: What we learned from the Rogue One panel at Star Wars Celebration Europe[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/jul/15/rogue-one-panel-star-wars-celebration-europe]

Lucasfilm of course deserves praise for deviating from the traditional Star Wars path, and showing us a side to the saga that we’ve not yet seen. And yet the timing of Rogue One’s imminent debut in cinemas is troubling: just as Abrams has confirmed what ingredients these movies need to find success with audiences and critics, other film-makers have been asked to deliver something completely different.

Disney’s plans for a Marvel-style Star Wars cinematic universe won’t be completely ruined if Rogue One is only a middling hit, but the studio will be forced to embark on a planned trilogy of Alden Ehrenreich-led young Han Solo movies from a position of weakness. And critics will begin to question if the beloved space opera really has foundations strong enough to support oodles of spin-off movies alongside the main saga. Iger revealed last week that a new writer has been recruited for a mysterious 2020 Star Wars film[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/sep/22/star-wars-anthology-movie-2020-disney-confirms-rogue-one], details of which remains nebulous. But will we really ever get to see it if Rogue One struggles?

Star Wars is unlikely to ever plumb the depths of Caravan of Courage again, but you have to wonder why Lucasfilm failed to learn its lesson from the independently-produced TV spinoff. Star Wars without the Skywalkers and Solos is like Batman without Bruce Wayne, Harry Potter without Ron and Hermione, James Bond without M and Moneypenny.

It’s not that audiences can’t be persuaded, in the long-run, to buy into adventures with new heroes, but the chances of them doing so straight off the bat are probably up there with the possibility of successfully navigating an asteroid field with Imperial star destroyers on one’s tail. Still, at least Star Wars fans have seen those odds beaten before[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KvJDItC6tE0].

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Forces loyal to Bashar al-Assad advance on the old city, two other districts and a strategically sited former **refugee** camp

Syrian troops have launched a large-scale ground attack on rebel-held areas of Aleppo in a bid to make concrete military gains after nearly a week of punitive bombardment that has mostly hit civilians.

Forces loyal to President Bashar al-Assad opened multiple fronts in an apparent attempt to increase pressure on rebel forces experienced in close urban warfare.

They advanced on the old city of Aleppo, a former **refugee** camp in the north captured at the weekend then lost to rebel forces, and in two other districts, opposition forces and state television said.

Rebel commanders were defiant about their chances of repelling troops on the ground, pointing to years of resistance against a better-armed enemy and the advantages of battle-hardened opposition fighters in close street-to-street combat.

Related: 'Hell itself': Aleppo reels from alleged use of bunker-buster bombs[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/26/hell-itself-aleppo-reels-from-alleged-use-of-bunker-buster-bombs]

“The Syrian regime and its allies have threatened and vowed to seize rebel-held Aleppo dozens of times for the last few years now,” said one Aleppo commander for the opposition Free Syrian Army.

“Regime forces will lose their advantage inside the besieged city of Aleppo, as Russian air power loses its effectiveness in close urban battles.”

The city is a fiercely contested prize. It was Syria’s cultural and economic hub before civil war broke out, and is the last major urban centre where rebels have a presence.

There are estimated to be about 250,000 people still living in the besieged area of eastern Aleppo, but the barrage of explosives, including alleged bunker-buster bombs[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/26/hell-itself-aleppo-reels-from-alleged-use-of-bunker-buster-bombs], have brought what daily life still existed in the battered districts to a near halt.

More than 200 people have been killed and many more injured in one of the most intense aerial attacks of the five-year civil war. Russia was has been directly accused of war crimes at the UN security council[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/25/russia-accused-war-crimes-syria-un-security-council-aleppo] for its use of the munitions against civilian targets.

Assad appears determined to try to break the stalemate that has gripped Aleppo since 2012, when rebel forces seized most of the areas they hold now, at almost any cost.

Rare drone footage[http://uk.reuters.com/video/2016/09/27/aleppo-in-ruins-a-birds-eye-view?videoId=369965260&videoChannel=118171&channelName=Editors%27+Picks] from Aleppo obtained by Reuters shows a wrecked city, with the shells of apartment blocks lining broad boulevards with vast shell craters and almost entirely empty of life.

Among the dead on Tuesday was a young girl, whose body was lifted down from the ruins of her home by a search and rescue team using a crane. Waiting below was her father, crazed with grief, held back by local people risking bombs to aid the rescue or support the bereaved.

Related: Russia accused of war crimes in Syria at UN security council session[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/25/russia-accused-war-crimes-syria-un-security-council-aleppo]

A single bomb had trapped four families under the rubble of the same apartment block in al-Shar neighbourhood, where locals said the old buildings are easily brought down by ordinary munitions.

Another photo showed a single hand protruding from the ruins that locals said belonged to another lost child. “Hasan is carrying five floors on his back. He is ten years old,” said the activist Abdulkafi Alhamdo.

Nearly half of the casualties in eastern Aleppo since a ceasefire crumbled last week have been minors, Save the Children said on Monday[https://www.savethechildren.net/article/children-make-approximately-half-casualties-eastern-aleppo-according-medics]. Some of the youngest victims have been born and died in a city divided and at war.

Many have died in hospitals where exhausted and overwhelmed doctors are running low on medical supplies and struggling to treat the victims flooding into their wards.

Only around 30 medics are left to provide care in the besieged area of the city, according to Dr Zaher Sahloul, a Syrian-American who has volunteered in the Aleppo several times and now provides online advice on complex operations.

The World Health Organisation and the International Committee of the Red Cross called on Tuesday for safe corridors into the city[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-health-idUSKCN11X0SX?il=0] to allow ill and wounded people to be evacuated for treatment.

The toll from the attacks has been exacerbated because they hit civilian infrastructure left in besieged areas, including hospitals, the White Helmet search and rescue group’s facilities, markets and homes.

“I feel lost after my house was targeted by warplanes two days ago,” said Abdulrazak Zaksouk, a media activist living in al-Ansari district.

“Also many important things are starting to run out in the markets, like gas, fuel, many kinds of food. There is also a shortage of electricity. We depend on a large generators, but sadly because of the shortage of fuel we just use them for three hours a day.”

The commander of an Iraqi Shia militia fighting in support of Assad told Reuters a large force spearheaded by the army’s elite Nimr or Tiger forces had started to move in armoured vehicles and tanks for an attack on rebel-held areas.

Rebel forces and the government traded claims about fighting for Farafra neighbourhood in the old city.

Related: Syria bombings leave 1.75 million without running water in Aleppo[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/24/syrian-military-bombardment-of-aleppo-enters-third-day]

Syrian state TV said government troops had claimed several blocks, but a commander fighting in the area told the Guardian they had pushed back the advance and killed seven troops. There was no way to independently verify the situation.

The Associated Press quoted a military official as saying the fighting would continue until opposition fighters were wiped out, but rebels insisted that their spirit had not been broken.

They pointed to their success this week in pushing government forces back from the deserted Handarat **refugee** camp, strategically important because it overlooks a road into the city, and seizing a military academy last month[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/06/syria-rebels-unite-break-aleppo-siegehttps://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/06/syria-rebels-unite-break-aleppo-siegehttps://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/06/syria-rebels-unite-break-aleppo-siegehttps://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/06/syria-rebels-unite-break-aleppo-siege].

“The rebels prepared themselves for the siege well, even though of course our troops and munitions are being drained,” the opposition commander said.

“The Russian bombers are relying on a scorched earth policy. We think they lack accuracy in targeting, because they couldn’t hit our troops near the frontline where they are deployed. They are taking revenge on civilians.”

Additional reporting by Hussein Akoush

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In the 80s, the bitchy, ‘bloody gorgeous’ singer was groomed to be the next Boy George. Stardom beckoned – until drugs and a very lengthy breakdown got in the way

There was a time when the very sight of Peter Robinson in public could cause uproar. “I used to walk along Oxford Street on the way to the Embassy Club on an afternoon, because they used to do a cocktail thing there at four o’clock,” he says. “I’d have on an Anthony Price dress, fox fur, diamantes, the hair, the five-inch stilettos, fishnets, all of that. And the whole of fucking Oxford Street … cars would stop, people would crash into each other, guys would lean out of windows going, ‘Alright, darlin!’”, builders on building sites would go fucking nuts and drop things, that kind of vibe. People didn’t look like me then; they just didn’t. Women didn’t look like that, let alone a man, a boy dressed up like that. People went fucking nuts.”

That was the best part of 40 years ago, when Robinson had already changed his name to Marilyn – turning a homophobic insult from his troubled youth into what would these days be called his brand – but some time before his brief brush with pop fame. If he doesn’t provoke quite such a stir today, he’s still adept at making a striking entrance. I’m sitting with my back to the door when he walks into the north London restaurant where the interview is taking place. He introduces himself by walking up behind me, covering my eyes and shouting: “Guess who?” (I’ve never met him before.)

He is wearing a torn tartan shirt, a clashing tartan kilt, boots, a bit of makeup around the eyes but “no underwear”, as he cheerfully informs me. He looks, it has to be said, fantastic: better than anyone who spent most of the last two decades secreted away taking heroin and crack has any right to; even someone who, by their own account, was “bloody gorgeous” to start off with.

He last had a hit single in 1984, the same year he appeared on Band Aid’s Do They Know It’s Christmas? – you can see him in a yellow top pouting away between Bananarama and the drummer from Duran Duran in the famous photo – but he doesn’t exactly give off the aura of someone tentatively re-entering public life after decades of obscurity, addiction and penury. He has a new single out, and an album forthcoming, both produced by his old friend and sparring partner Boy George. “Nervous?” he frowns incredulously: you’d think I’d just asked him if he could levitate or perform neurosurgery. “Nah. I can sing. I can perform. I can stand in front of a band. And I want to let people know that it doesn’t matter what happens, if you decide to change it, it’s changeable.”

He is, by his own account, a tough cookie: “I’ve been trained for personal abuse since I was a young boy, so it’s kind of like water off a duck’s back.” The abuse started when he and his mother arrived in England from Jamaica, where he was born: his father had been working there as a yacht salesman, but his parents’ marriage broke up when he was five. He moved from school to school in Hertfordshire and was relentlessly bullied: on one occasion, he claims, people started shouting “poof” and “queer” at him before he’d even reached the classroom on his first day – he hadn’t even opened his mouth. “I just think I was different. I’d lived in Jamaica until I was five and I think the rhythms of life there had kind of seeped into me, subconsciously. I was a different species, a different breed.”

By 15, he’d abandoned school altogether, lured by London’s nightlife. He started wearing makeup and visiting the Sombrero, the celebrated gay club on Kensington High Street, in west London, where he found himself feted rather than mocked. “It was full of freaks. Rent boys and drag queens and old rich guys that wanted to pick up little young pretty boys. It was like a melange of oddness, so I liked that.”

By the time he discovered Billy’s and the Blitz, the groundbreaking clubs run by Steve Strange that gave birth to the new romantic movement, he’d transformed himself into Marilyn, with his mother’s inadvertent help. “My mum was stunningly beautiful, and she still had all her old clothes. I was going through her wardrobe, trying to get her to wear them: these pencil skirts and stilettos and low-cut dresses: ‘Mum, put your red dress on, you’re beautiful, you’re still young.’ But she’d be in a cardigan: ‘I’m not wearing that stuff to go to the bingo.’ So I was sort of doing it on behalf of my mum because she wouldn’t, and then it evolved into getting back at my dad, because I always felt he’d left me and I couldn’t understand why. I used to make up stories that he’d died in a fire when people asked about him. So I’d dress up and all these straight guys would want to fuck me. I’d let them think they could, let them buy me drinks all night, and then when they said: ‘We’re going home now.’ I’d go: ‘Me and you? Go home? How did you work that out? Have you seen me? Now, look at you. I’m not going home with you.’ It wasn’t really about them; it was about paying back my dad for leaving us.”

You can see why he attracted attention. In photos from the time, Marilyn looks extraordinary, even by the standards of the Blitz or the Embassy, a hedonistic gay disco that was “kind of like what the Blitz wanted to be but wasn’t”. He quickly achieved a kind of fame – being photographed by the burgeoning new style press that centred around iD and the Face – without really knowing what he wanted to be famous for. There was some vague talk of a cabaret act with his new pal, Boy George – their friendship flourished despite a deeply unpromising first meeting, at which George informed him that he looked less like Marilyn Monroe than he did a pig – and an offer to make music, which he turned down in favour of visiting America with his then boyfriend. “Um, no,” he concedes, when I ask him if he was driven to become a singer. “I just wanted to be wonderful. That was it. Very naive, but that’s the way it was.”

With his minor-but-blossoming celebrity came a certain notoriety. At one point, he says, he was banned from virtually every gay club in London. “We’d get in the car on a Saturday night and try to decide where we were going, and everywhere someone suggested, it was, ‘No, we can’t go there because Marilyn can’t get in.’ I never felt like the gay scene was my tribe, because they didn’t fucking accept me. It was like, ‘We hate you, you’re not coming our club, you look too good and you haven’t got a checked shirt and a moustache.’ I was even banned from the Black Cap, and that was a fucking drag club. You know, are you taking the piss? There was never any reason, it was just: ‘You’re banned.’ I can only put it down to … jealousy, it’s got to be.”

It’s hard to escape the feeling that it might have had something to do with the fact that Marilyn was, by his own admission “vile”. Indeed, his reputation for withering bitchiness – “an absolute monster”, as Boy George once put it, “who would say all the things you never dared say” – is a bit hard to square with the man sitting across the table. He is about as delightful a lunch companion as you could wish for: funny and charismatic and self-aware.

“Oh, I was just … horrific,” he laughs. “Unbelievable. People would come up to me and go: ’Scuse me, can I just tell you, you look amazing?’ And I’d go: ‘Yes, I know, now fuck off.’ The clothes, the Marilyn thing, it was like a suit of armour, I would never drrrrr-eam of being like that ordinarily. Plus there was the whole getting back at dad, doing it for mum sub-plot, but the poor unfortunate who came into contact with this maelstrom of childhood tics and quirks would really get the treatment. I still get people saying to me, ‘I met you in 1979, do you remember when you said …’ And I think: oh God, what’s coming now? What did I do?”

He did some modelling, appeared in the video for the Eurythmics’ Who’s That Girl? and eventually signed a record deal in 1983, by which time Boy George was the biggest pop star in the country. He had one hit, a great bit of ersatz Motown bubblegum called Calling Your Name, and a gospel-ish follow up called Cry and Be Free, but apparently things went wrong from the start. “The record company wanted me to be the beautiful new Boy George. It was like, first off, the old one’s still alive, not exactly ugly, and doing quite well. And on top of that, it’s actually my best friend and you’re trying to play us off against each other. And my whole thing was different to George’s anyway. George was cute and cuddly, and grannies liked him and said he preferred a cup of tea to sex. Whereas, I was kind of like: ‘No, what is that? Is it a man? A woman? I dunno, but whatever it is, I wanna fuck it.’” He laughs. “At least that’s my interpretation.”

Whatever the reason, his pop stardom was fleeting. He made attempts to keep it going – heading to America, working with big-name producers such as Don Was, being photographed with Madonna and Diana Ross – but nothing quite worked. A few months after the Band Aid single, he appeared in Smash Hits. He was supposed to be launching a new single with an appearance at a star-filled nightclub in New York. Instead, there were technical problems, he fled the stage without singing a note, and in the accompanying interview, sounded remarkably like a man in the throes of some kind of breakdown. He protested that he was “only famous for being someone’s friend”, talked about killing himself, announced he’d lost all his money as a result of bad business deals and alluded to drug use. “Oh, everything went tits-up, I basically think I did have a nervous breakdown and instead of dealing with it in a healthy way, I just decided to get high all the time, which really put the cat among the pigeons. But at least I was keeping it real,” he smiles. “In Smash Hits.”

The following year, at the height of the tabloid frenzy around Boy George’s drug use, he was arrested for heroin possession, although the charge was later dismissed. He broke up with his boyfriend – a young Gavin Rossdale – which he now says was “the final straw”: “I just thought, ‘Fuck off, leave me alone, I’m not doing anything.’”

He retreated to his mother’s house in Hertfordshire and stayed there for 20 years, “without going out, unless it was to the hospital or a dealer, or a doctor. But in general I just sat in a room for 20 years. I didn’t want contact with people. The phone would ring and I just wouldn’t pick it up. The curtains were always drawn, I didn’t know whether it was night or day.”

What did you do all day? “You know the **Alien** movies? I had the box set of that. I had my laptop and my drug paraphernalia was all set up around me. And I’d watch the first **Alien** film, then the second, then the third, fourth, fifth. And when it got to the end of the fifth one, I’d put the first one back on again. So that was it. Over and over again. It was, like, my life has gone out of control, but I can control this, this tiny little bubble of behaviour: that was my safety, sitting in front of this computer screen with what I’m watching, and I know all the dialogue and I know what’s going to happen. I could control how I felt. ‘Oh, I’m bit tired, let me have some crack. Oh, I’m a bit depressed, let’s have some heroin. I need to go to sleep, I’ll take a downer.’ I just wanted to die, but I couldn’t do that, I think because I was brought up a Catholic, with that idea that if you kill yourself you go to purgatory. I kept thinking, ‘Well, it’ll be just my fucking luck, I’ll kill myself and wake up in exactly the situation I’m trying to get away from and it’ll be for eternity.’ At least I know this is going to end at some point.”

How did his mum cope? “It was hideous. You know mums, they live in hope, don’t they? That one day it will change.”

It ended when he contracted pneumonia. A doctor told him his system was so weak, he had only a 30% chance of survival. He spent so long in intensive care that he says it took him a year to learn to walk again. “I was fucked. Constant hospital visits with one thing or another, crying all the time. I just thought, well, there’s nowhere else to take this, except death, and I couldn’t do death. The drugs didn’t work the way I wanted them to work any more anyway. It was like, I was at the end of the line, there was nowhere else to go. So I had to back up.”

He spent five years in and out of rehab. He moved to Suffolk – a most un-Marilyn-ish location, but that’s where the clinic was. He finally got clean, returned to London and started making music again. “I played what I was doing to George and, because he’s a control freak, he kept going, ‘I think it should be this way, you should do it like this.’ I said: ‘Well, if you’ve got a better fucking idea, let’s have it.’”

An album is nearly finished and there is talk of touring, something he has never done before. I ask him if he worries about entering the spotlight again, given how it ended up last time, and he gives me another incredulous look. “Are you fucking nuts?” he snorts. “I’ve had the most amazing life! I’m not a victim! I had a great time! Of course! I mean, I didn’t have a great time sat in a room taking drugs …” Then he reconsiders. “I mean, a lot of the time I was sitting in the room I had a great time. Oh yeah, the drugs were fucking amazing at first – if they hadn’t been, I wouldn’t have stayed there. Oh, I’ve had me a good time, missy. Don’t worry about that.”

Marilyn’s new single Love or Money is out now on Mmm.music/Universal

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERERefugees** told they must settle elsewhere in Papua New Guinea as processing at the detention centre ‘will end soon’

Australia and Papua New Guinea are escalating efforts to clear the Manus Island[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/manus-island] detention centre, telling **refugees** they must settle elsewhere in PNG, while warning they are preparing to deport asylum seekers whose protection claims fail.

“There is no future for you here,” detainees have been told by PNG **immigration** officials. Processing at the detention centre “will end soon” and all those held within forced out. The police will be sent in to forcibly move those who refuse to cooperate.

Related: Manus island: photos show aftermath of violent attack on Afghan **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/14/manus-island-photos-show-aftermath-of-violent-attack-afghan-refugees]

Five hundred and forty-one out of 551 – 98% – of the men on Manus Island who have had their claims processed have been found to be **refugees**[http://www.aph.gov.au/About\_Parliament/Parliamentary\_Departments/Parliamentary\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1516/Quick\_Guides/Offshore], and are legally owed protection, according to Australian **immigration** department figures.

Only 10 have been found not to have a valid claim to protection on the basis of a “ well-founded fear of persecution[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/3b66c2aa10] ” in their homeland.

Australia has not found a third country in which to resettle the **refugees**.

A four-page “communication guide” given to Manus Island detainees on Tuesday tells them “there is no future for you here”:

\* The purpose of this centre is for **refugee** status processing. All processing will end soon

\* If you are a **refugee**, you can either settle in PNG or depart from PNG to any country where you have a right to live

\* If you are not a **refugee**, you can either voluntarily depart from PNG to any country where you can have a right to live

\* The police may direct the movement of those who refuse to cooperate

Those found to be **refugees** will be moved to Foxtrot compound. Those with a ‘negative’ assessment will be moved to Mike.

The document hints at “changes to the services and conditions” for the different groups.

Those inside the detention believe those found not to be **refugees** will have their conditions significantly worsened in an effort to encourage them to leave. Their rights to limited movement, and their ability to access cigarettes, phone credit at the internal store, are expected to be cut.

“We will give you further information about these changes soon,” the document says.

The inducements for people to leave PNG – in the form of cash payments – have been raised, reportedly up to $20,000, though this is denied by the **immigration**department.

“Recently, the amount of reintegration assistance has increased,” the document says. All of this money is paid by Australia.

The document repeats, at several points:

“No one will be transferred to Australia when the centre closes.”

The PNG supreme court ruled in April that the ongoing detention of asylum seekers – including those found not to be **refugees** – was “ illegal and unconstitutional[https://uploads.guim.co.uk/2016/04/26/PNG\_SC\_judgement.pdf] ”. Four months later, the detention centre remains in operation, but both the PNG and Australian governments have vowed it will close.

Despite Australia’s declared intention of finding a third-country for **refugees** it currently holds on Manus Island and Nauru, none has been found for those on Manus.

The $40m Cambodia solution, which has only resettled one person, is not available to those held on Manus.

“No other countries have settlement agreements for **refugees** from this centre,” the document says. “You are free to apply for a visa to any country and to travel to a country where you have the right to enter and reside. You will not be permitted to settle in Australia.”

Efforts to resettle **refugees** in PNG have foundered. PNG told the UN last week more than 70 people had been resettled but the Guardian understands this figure includes **refugees** with severe medical conditions who have been moved to a Port Moresby hotel so they can access the capital’s hospital. They remain dependent on Australian government-funded support.

Fewer than 20 have successfully found houses and ongoing employment.

Many of those who were moved, mostly to Lae, have been assaulted, robbed and, in one case, left sleeping on the streets[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/19/refugee-left-homeless-in-papua-new-guinea-after-being-resettled-from-australian-run-detention]. Several have travelled back to Manus and tried to break back into detention.

Moving to other countries would also seem to be almost impossible: the travel documents issued by PNG to **refugees** have proven inadequate to gain any visa to any other country. Many of the documents issued have been valid only for a month, after which **refugees** are left without a legal right to reside even in PNG.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hawking fears that if we made contact with unearthly beings, they could respond with hostility. It’s a bit late to worry about that

The physicist Stephen Hawking is convinced that intelligent extraterrestrials populate space, a view shared by many scientists. But his ruminations on this prospect have shifted from the **aliens**’ existence to their deportment. Maybe they’re dangerous.[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/sep/23/stephen-hawking-warns-against-seeking-out-aliens-in-new-film]

Related: Stephen Hawking warns against seeking out **aliens** in new film[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/sep/23/stephen-hawking-warns-against-seeking-out-aliens-in-new-film]

In a film recently released online, Hawking points to the potential peril in broadcasting signals to other star systems. After all, we don’t know who is out there, and they might not be well-intentioned. If we betray our presence with signals, maybe the **aliens** will fire up their interstellar artillery and take us out.

According to Hawking, extraterrestrial societies could be far more advanced than we are – perhaps by billions of years. Their sympathies for us might be meagre, and they “may not see us as any more valuable than we see bacteria”.

Leaving aside the rather considerable value of bacteria, Hawking is right: we have no clue as to the intentions of putative extraterrestrials. Perhaps they live in a utopian Shangri-La similar to the one we’ve always said we want for ourselves, a place that values peace as well as the neighbours. But, of course, no one can be sure. In any Darwinian system, there’s always a benefit to aggression by some. So maybe a warning is warranted. Who would want to make their mark as the person who triggered the destruction of Earth in a misguided attempt to start an interspecies conversation?

Our fastest rockets, as impressive as they are, would take 80,000 years to reach even the nearest star

Hawking frames his caution with a premise: that at some future date, we pick up the signals from another world. This is the goal of Seti – Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence[https://www.theguardian.com/science/seti-search-extraterrestrial-intelligence] – a small-scale research project (where I work as senior astronomer) that uses large radio antennas in an effort to eavesdrop on **alien** transmissions. If Seti does succeed in plucking a broadcast from the ether, some people would undoubtedly agitate for sending a reply. Perhaps along the lines of: “We’re the Earthlings, and we’d like to get in touch.”

Such a response, which could alert the **aliens** to our presence and location, is what troubles Hawking. Lay low, he advises. Well, it’s too late.

Since the second world war, we’ve been broadcasting television, high-frequency radio, and – most conspicuously – radar into the heavens. Little of this is done with the intention of either entertaining or notifying **aliens**, but is simply an inevitable leakage of radio transmissions into space.

Now admittedly, these signals would be very weak at light years’ distance, and the **alien** antennas necessary to pick them up would be many times larger than our own. But the difficulty extraterrestrials would have in noticing our incidental emissions pales in comparison to the challenge they’d face in launching weaponry our way. Note that our fastest rockets, as impressive as they are, would take 80,000 years to reach even the nearest star. Aggressive **aliens** would obviously require far better hardware. Interstellar travel, let alone warfare, is easy only in the movies.

These simple arguments lead to a simple conclusion. Any society with the capability to threaten Earth is overwhelmingly likely to already have the kit required to pick up the leakage we’ve been wafting skyward for seven decades. The requisite radio technology is far easier than the necessary rocket technology.

Related: Stephen Hawking warns against seeking out **aliens** in new film[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/sep/23/stephen-hawking-warns-against-seeking-out-aliens-in-new-film]

And since we’ve been busy for a lifetime filling the seas of space with bottled messages marking our existence and position, it’s a bit silly to fret about new bottles.

So should we worry about a future, deliberate transmission to the stars? Nasa doesn’t seem concerned: in 2008, it broadcast a Beatles song in the direction of the north star[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/feb/02/usa.musicnews]. It will take four centuries to get there.

The space agency is obviously not troubled by the thought that this piece of pop culture will incite extraterrestrials to rain down weaponry on our planet. Yes, anything’s possible. But that doesn’t mean that everything’s plausible. Sure, Martians could mount an attack on Earth in the near future. But that’s one worry that won’t keep me awake at night. Nor should it trouble you.

If Hawking is really concerned, perhaps he should have made sure his online movie wasn’t broadcast.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Girl held on Christmas Island suffered from serious medical and dental issues, which her lawyers say were ‘poorly treated’

A young girl who spent nearly two-and-a-half years in detention on Christmas Island may have been falsely imprisoned for part of that time, lawyers have alleged after obtaining documents under freedom of information.

The former Labor **immigration** minister Tony Burke moved the girl with her family to Darwin for medical reasons shortly before the 2013 federal election and determined that they should be released into the community. But that decision was apparently reversed after the Coalition won government.

The girl, referred to as AS, who is now eight, suffered from serious medical and dental issues, which her lawyers allege were “poorly treated”.

Related: Asylum seeker flown out of Melbourne after standoff between police and protesters[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/26/asylum-seeker-flown-out-of-melbourne-after-stand-off-between-police-and-protesters]

The documents form part of an updated legal file by lawyers running a class action against the federal government for the treatment of people held on Christmas Island between August 2011 and August 2014. They will now also ask the Victorian supreme court to consider whether the girl and her family were falsely imprisoned.

On 2 August 2013, Burke tabled a statement that said he had determined three families would be moved from **immigration** detention into the community, because of their “individual circumstances” and because it was in the public interest. At the time the three families, including AS’s, had been temporarily transferred to Darwin. AS’s mother was about to give birth.

The **immigration** department advised Burke there were no security concerns with the families.

A 2016 departmental email noted the approved release was “part of the change of government push for the 2013 election”.

“This was when the department was advised by the minister of the day that all UAMs [unaccompanied minors] and families with children were to be to moved into community detention in a short time frame [10 days].”

The email said a referral was received on 23 August for the family’s transfer and no ministerial intervention was received that might have prevented it. But the government changed after the election on 7 September.

The family was not released for another 15 months.

“We draw the conclusion minister Burke had authorised the family to go into community detention and we’ve seen nothing that revokes that,” the principal lawyer for Maurice Blackburn, Jacob Varghese, told Guardian Australia.

Related: Turnbull tells UN secure borders essential for managing global migration flow[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/22/turnbull-tells-un-secure-borders-essential-for-managing-global-migration-flow]

“We’re concerned as well that there was no lawful authority to hold them in detention … There would have to be some sort of similar document from the next minister revoking it.

“We’ve been asking for it and it never turned up.”

The lawyers had been examining alleged failures by the federal government and the **immigration** minister to provide adequate healthcare for children seeking protection in Australia, before the addition of the false imprisonment question.

“We’re challenging the conditions in which people have been held in detention,” Varghese said. “The prolonged detention obviously raises the standard of care you’re going to have to provide.”

Varghese said the government was “fighting hard” in the case.

“The Department of **Immigration** has sought to stonewall this case every step of the way, forcing Maurice Blackburn to seek court orders for access[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/05/want-to-know-about-immigration-detention-then-sue-for-negligence] to the facilities on Christmas Island and to endure a prolonged fight to gain access to whistleblowers who feared prosecution under the Border Force Act,” he said.

“In our view there are a number of very important questions that need to be answered by the commonwealth government and the minister for **immigration** with respect to these events.”

In December the court granted witnesses in the case exemption from the secrecy provisions of the Border Force Act[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/dec/28/witnesses-in-christmas-island-class-action-exempt-from-border-force-act-secrecy-provisions], which carry penalties of up to two years’ jail for the disclosure of “protected information” by “entrusted persons”.

The family in question was later released following another court case on behalf of more than 100 babies born in detention, including AS’s brother.

The **immigration** minister has been contacted for comment.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In the past year, 30,000 Syrian **refugees** have been settled in Canada. One small town raised funds to sponsor the Hendawi family for a year, and the culture shocks were not what they expected

Nobody warned the Hendawis about Canadian girls.

Wadah and Raghdaa Hendawi survived the civil war in Syria, fleeing the devastation of Aleppo with their children for the relative safety of Lebanon. For three years their teenage sons missed out on an education while they worked to support the family.

Then they hit the **immigration** jackpot – Canada.

They were greeted at Halifax airport not by **immigration** officials or social workers, but by their sponsors – a bunch of well-meaning locals whose fundraising efforts would support the family for the next 12 months.

Related: Australia resettles only a sixth of promised Syrian **refugee** intake[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/02/australia-resettles-only-a-sixth-of-promised-syrian-refugee-intake]

And so the Hendawis arrived in the small fishing town of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, swaddled in new ski jackets, blinded by the winter sunshine bouncing off fresh February snow. They were the only Syrians in the village, and had no idea what was in store for them.

The Rev. Joanne McFadden knew the names and ages of the family she was helping to sponsor, but apart from that she too didn’t know what to expect.

She certainly wasn’t prepared for the phone call that came three days after Saed (18), Mohamad (16) and Ahmed (15) started attending Shelburne Regional High School.

I get a phone call from the principal. ‘Uhhh, Joanne, we have a problem.’ ‘What’s the problem, Mary?’ ‘Well, all the girls in the school are chasing the boys.’ This hadn’t even crossed our mind, right, that this was even a possibility. It was like, pardon me, we’ve got some things to figure out.

As Joanne’s telling me this story six months later, over a dinner the Hendawis are hosting for their sponsors, Mohamad helpfully flexes his muscles, as if to explain his magnetic appeal to the local girls. It’s true, all three boys are ridiculously good-looking, and Mohamad in particular knows it – but his brazen preening is an act put on for your amusement, and you can’t help being charmed by him.

With the Hendawi boys’ charm making waves at school, McFadden enlisted the help of a volunteer interpreter (a Lebanese man who owns the local pizzeria) and sat down with Wadah and Raghdaa.

Her face was just ashen while I’m saying, ‘We have a little concern about the boys’ situation at the school. Your sons are being pursued by all of the girls in the school who sort of want a conquest.’

Fears about young Arab men are not uncommon in Europe, where the **refugee** crisis and rightwing rhetoric have fuelled cultural tensions. But as I discovered in Nova Scotia, Canadians don’t always follow the standard script.

Canada has so much in common with Australia, and yet spending time there with Syrian families and their sponsors felt like stepping through a looking glass.

This is a country where politicians tried to outbid one another during the last federal election with pledges to resettle Syrian **refugees**.

It’s a country in which no political party has an anti-**immigration** platform.

And it’s a country where the government, after fulfilling its promise to welcome 25,000 Syrians, was forced to extend the program after protests from would-be sponsors who’d already raised hundreds of thousands of dollars and signed leases for homes.

More than 30,000 Syrians have arrived since November (excluding Quebec, which has its own settlement program), and almost half of those are being privately sponsored to some extent.

While government-assisted **refugees** are usually settled in cities and large towns, families who are privately sponsored can end up anywhere. In more than 300 communities across the country, locals have banded together to provide housing, English classes, driving lessons, a crash course in Canadian customs (pot luck dinners, poutine) and, most important of all, friendship.

The trigger for this outpouring of compassion was a tragedy that touched people around the world last September – the drowning of three year-old Alan Kurdi[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/31/alan-kurdi-death-canada-refugee-policy-syria-boy-beach-turkey-photo], washed up on a Turkish beach.

But unlike Australians, Canadians who were moved to do something actually could.

“ When that picture became public, the phones were ringing off the hook, ” Naomi Alboim tells me. “We couldn’t keep up with the phone calls and emails of people who wanted to help.”

Alboim is the co-founder of Lifeline Syria in Toronto, which recruits and trains sponsors, and she’s involved in sponsoring two families herself. She was also instrumental in the first great wave of private sponsorship, which transformed Canada almost 40 years ago.

From 1979-81 Canada resettled 60,000 **refugees** from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and half of those were sponsored. Alboim was the civil servant responsible for the program in Ontario.

She says that ever since, sponsorship has become part of the national DNA.

I think everybody in Canada, and I don’t think this is an exaggeration, was either directly involved or knew someone who was – their neighbour, their colleague, their friend, their relative, or themselves. People saw the Vietnamese population integrated very, very well. What I find most heart-warming, is that many of the Vietnamese **refugees** who were privately sponsored have now come forward to privately sponsor Syrian **refugees**.

So are Canadians immune from the sort of fears (and Islamophobia) that are so common in other countries? Not entirely. But when I asked people in Shelburne if there had been any opposition or even unease at the prospect of a Muslim family being settled in their midst, there was precious little prejudice on display.

Related: Syrian **refugees** in Canada hope British royals will advocate for 'people in need'[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/26/british-royals-syrian-refugees-prince-william-kate-middleton-canada]

There were a few concerns about supporting strangers while local families were struggling, and about newcomers taking jobs. And according to Bill Murphy, who’s befriended Wadah Hendawi, there were some politically incorrect attempts at humour.

Some people would make a kind of wise crack comment you know, ‘We’ll just check them for vests when they come into the country’. I heard that, but you never hear it now, that was all before the fact.

More than six months later, there are now two Syrian families in Shelburne. Wadah surprised his sponsors by accepting a part time job bottling beer in the local craft brewery. And another **refugee**, Alaa Almanjar, has already opened a barbershop on the main street; as a result, one sponsor told me, “We have very, very well-groomed men for such a small town.”

And what of the Hendawi boys, who’d unwittingly unleashed all those female hormones at the local high school?

In the end, McFadden explained, the girls were told to be mindful that the boys had different cultural traditions and to slow down a bit.

“Yeah, that is good for me,” Mohamad pipes up, “because I am tired every time.”

See more of Amos Robert’s story Tuesday night on Dateline[http://www.sbs.com.au/news/dateline/story/canadas-open-house], 9.30pm on SBS.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Allies say letters prove it is ‘untrue’ to suggest she did not back former PM after two books questioned her role in referendum campaign

Allies of Theresa May have released details of letters they say the then home secretary wrote to David Cameron making the case for an emergency brake on EUmigration amid negotiations before the Brexit referendum, rejecting charges she did not back him on the issue.

The unusual move happened after May came under criticism for her role in the Brexit vote in two new books.

One, by Cameron’s former communications director, Sir Craig Oliver, said May frustrated the remain campaign by pursuing a “submarine strategy” of disappearing from view.

Another book by the Sunday Times political editor, Tim Shipman, said May had failed to back Cameron over his desire to call for an emergency brake that could limit the extent of EU migration when he set out his goals to renegotiate with the EU in November 2014.

Related: ‘Well, that didn't go to plan’: Cameron’s spin doctor on the Brexit vote [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/25/that-didnt-go-to-plan-cameron-spin-doctor-brexit-vote-craig-oliver]

The book says Cameron was persuaded against this idea at a meeting with May and Philip Hammond, now the chancellor, who was then the foreign secretary. Cameron described May as “lily-livered” for giving this advice, the book claims.

However, May’s allies have given details of two letters from May to Cameron in which, they say, she recommended seeking an emergency brake. One was sent on 21 November 2014, a week before the reported meeting between May, Cameron and Hammond. The other was dated 21 May 2015.

The allies say these called for stronger **immigration** controls, something May was on the record as seeking at the time. It was “bizarre and untrue” to suggest May was weak on the issue, her allies say.

The letters form the latest salvo in a proxy war of words between the current and former prime ministers, told through the new books and the input of various allies.

It comes at a time of deteriorating relations between those close to the new prime minister and allies of Cameron, who are furious at her for distancing herself from his prime ministership and ditching key aspects of his legacy.

May came out for remaining in the EU early on but kept a low profile in the referendum and made only one public intervention in favour of the in campaign. Since becoming prime minister, she has been adamant that “Brexit means Brexit”, signalling she is fully committed to taking the UK out of the EU .

Oliver’s book, serialised in the Mail on Sunday, recounted that Will Straw, the director of the remain campaign, had been so uncertain where her true loyalties lay, he sent a text asking: “Are we sure May’s not an agent for the other side!?”

The former communications chief was strongly criticised on Sunday by Iain Duncan Smith, the former work and pensions secretary, who said he should not blame May for the failure of the remain campaign and called on him to “stop carping” and show humility in the face of defeat.

Duncan Smith said: “In the past, a knight of the realm who had failed in battle and lost would have quit the field and retired in humility to better understand their own failings. How surprising then to find that far from that, Sir Craig Oliver, one of the leading lights of remain, has decided to instead try to pin the blame for his failure on others, particularly the new prime minister.”

Oliver described one conversation after Cameron had sounded out May about her views on the EU . “It sounds like she refused to come off the fence. From her point of view it’s a smart strategy, trying to demonstrate she is her own person, allowing her to have her cake and eat it, but it doesn’t seem fair on DC, who has treated her well,” he wrote.

There was further concern within No 10 when May was “playing her cards close to her chest” during a conversation about the EU in cabinet. “Her sphinx-like approach is becoming difficult, with the press questioning which way she will jump. The conversation turns around this being the biggest thing the PM has faced and him not even knowing if the home secretary is backing him,” he wrote.

Cameron ended up telephoning May during a train journey to Chippenham for a speech and demanded she make her position clear. “When he hangs up he seems to think he’s made an impact,” Oliver wrote. “Later, the home secretary issues a statement saying she believes there’s ‘the basis for a deal here’.

“This is interpreted as the moment she climbed down off the fence. After all the concern around her, it all seems to have ended not with a bang, but a whimper.”

Duncan Smith said: “Craig Oliver’s is one of a growing number of foolish attempts by ex-government remainers who lost to shift responsibility for their failure. The grown-up thing for them to do, instead of carping, is to show some humility and get behind Theresa May as she seeks to get back control of migration with the EUas we leave.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Former Coalition **immigration** minister Amanda Vanstone also under fire for comparing asylum seekers to ants

Some wealthy schools are getting more than their fair share of funding and could lose money under a reimagined Gonski funding model, the education minister, Simon Birmingham, has said.

On the ABC’s Q&A program on Monday night, Birmingham said the promise that no school would be worse off did not apply under the Turnbull government because some schools were significantly overfunded.

He told host Tony Jones it was “possible” those schools, which he declined to list, could lose money under the new arrangements, which are due to be finalised by March.

He said some overfunded schools would take “more than 100 years to come into alignment with the current funding model” and that some of those were “wealthier private schools”.

Related: Gonski makes student funding inequality worse, says Coalition[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/26/gonski-makes-student-funding-inequality-worse-says-coalition]

He also said he would be open to creating an independent national schools resourcing body, as recommended in the initial Gonski review, to make evidence-based decisions on school funding allocations, so long as the state and territory governments agreed to abide by its decisions.

Birmingham began negotiations to thrash out a new school funding agreement[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/21/coalition-to-argue-labors-school-funding-deals-a-corruption-of-gonski-report] at a meeting of education ministers in Adelaide last week and has argued that funding disparity between states will widen[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/26/gonski-makes-student-funding-inequality-worse-says-coalition] unless the deal brokered by the Gillard-Rudd government is scrapped.

The South Australian premier, Jay Weatherill, said his state would be $335m better off under the old deal.

The Labor senator for SA, Penny Wong, and the former Howard-era minister Amanda Vanstone appeared on the Adelaide-themed panel alongside Weatherill and Birmingham.

Weatherill fielded questions on the proposal for a nuclear waste dump in SA, which has been investigated by a royal commission[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/feb/15/inquiry-backs-nuclear-waste-dumps-for-outback-australia], and for oil drilling in the Great Australian Bight[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/16/bp-modelling-great-australian-bight-oil-spill-new-south-wales].

He promised Yankunytjatjara Anangu woman Karina Lester, whose father, Yami Lester, was blinded by the fallout from the British nuclear tests at Maralinga in the 1950s, that a nuclear waste dump would “require essentially the explicit consent of traditional owners” and that “if that didn’t exist, it wouldn’t happen.”

Vanstone dismissed talk of a proposed nuclear waste dump in SA as a “distraction,” saying it would likely never eventuate. The only other country to consider making a permanent nuclear waste dump, Finland, took 38 years to reach its decision.

Vanstone went on to defend the role of **immigration** minister, which she held with between 2003 and 2007, as “a shocker of a job,” and blamed the UN for “not supporting” Australia’s strong border policies and allowing “people smugglers decide who will come to Australia”.

Vanstone blames UN, smugglers, Labor, Bosnia for Manus and Nauru. Anyone but the government. #qanda[https://twitter.com/hashtag/qanda?src=hash] — Ben Cubby (@bencubby) September 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/bencubby/status/780382191368806404]

In a line reminiscent of Donald Trump Jr’s controversial tweet comparing **immigrants** to a bowl of skittles[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/donald-trump-jnr-compares-refugees-poisoned-skittles-twitter-reacted], Vanstone said: “If you take the sugar off the table the ants will stop coming.”

Shocked at @amandavanstone[https://twitter.com/amandavanstone] 's cruel analogy of asylum seekers to ants and safety as sugar. Remove sugar to stop ants. #QandA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/QandA?src=hash] — Dr Ruth DeSouza (@DeSouzaRN) September 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/DeSouzaRN/status/780381620167507969]

She said she’d picked up the line from an unnamed Indonesian minister and, when Jones questioned whether she should refer to **refugees** as ants, she defended it as quite an effective analogy.

“If you’ve got strong borders, you can have a bigger, stronger **immigration** program, bring more people in, increase your **refugee** intake... because Australians don’t feel threatened by the program,” she said.

Vanstone: People who have $10,000 to spend on people smugglers not **refugees**. Dangerous cliche. #QandA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/QandA?src=hash] — Royce Kurmelovs (@RoyceRk2) September 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/RoyceRk2/status/780382795034091520]

Vanstone also said she supported a plebiscite on same-sex marriage, despite saying that most of the people she talked to in the Liberal party supported marriage equality.

Birmingham, who is among that group, said the plebiscite was the quickest route to marriage equality and urged Wong to support the vote.

Labor is expected to block the plebiscite[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/20/marriage-equality-poll-finds-majority-support-for-a-free-vote-if-plebiscite-blocked]. If it’s voted down, the Coalition has said, it could put marriage equality off the table until after the next federal election in 2019.

Both Weatherill and Wong said federal parliament should just hold a parliamentary vote on marriage equality and resolve the debate without a $200m national campaign.

“A plebiscite is all about the internal politics of the Liberal party, not about delivering marriage equality,” Wong said. “It’s about Malcolm Turnbull and Simon [Birmingham] trying to placate the members of the right of the Liberal party because they don’t want a free vote.”

The government is asking the people to resolve an internal party disagreement on marriage equality. #qanda[https://twitter.com/hashtag/qanda?src=hash] — David Marler (@Qldaah) September 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/Qldaah/status/780387751837306880]

Wong criticised moderate members of the Liberal party for not lobbying to introduce a free vote while, at the other end of the spectrum, conservative MPs such as George Christensen were prepared to cross the floor.

“I understand why Malcolm and Simon and others have gone through this process but you can’t ultimately negotiate with prejudice,” she said.

Birmingham said the plebiscite was the result of years of lobbying by moderate Liberal MPs and said conservatives such as fellow SA senator Cory Bernardi had campaigned for a continued blanket opposition to marriage equality, not a plebiscite.

Wong said the community needed to continue to agitate for a free parliamentary vote on same-sex marriage.

“This issue – I’m really tired of talking about it,” she said.

"I'm really tired of talking about it."

EXTREMELY RELATABLE CONTENT FROM WONG #qanda[https://twitter.com/hashtag/qanda?src=hash] — Lane Sainty (@lanesainty) September 26, 2016[https://twitter.com/lanesainty/status/780386745569255424]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Former Portuguese prime minister strengthens clear lead with series of victories in security council straw poll

António Guterres, the man who spent a decade grappling with the world’s response to the global **refugee** crisis, has taken a step closer to becoming the UN’s next secretary general, with the latest in a series of clear victories in a security council straw poll.

Guterres, a former Portuguese prime minister and UN High Commissioner for **Refugees**, strengthened his clear lead[http://fingfx.thomsonreuters.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/gfx/rngs/UN-ELECTION/0100213T2QL/index.html] in the contest on Monday, maintaining his support as his principal challengers fell back.

Meanwhile, odds rose of a late entrant to the race, in the form of the EU budget commissioner, Kristalina Georgieva, after the poll showed weakening support for her fellow Bulgarian, Irina Bokova, the director general of Unesco, the UN education and culture organisation.

Bulgaria’s prime minister, Boyko Borisov suggested earlier this month[http://www.politico.eu/article/bulgarian-pm-no-kristalina-georgieva-un-candidacy-for-now-boyko-borisov-irina-bokova/] that he would withdraw support for Bokova if she did not finish first or second in Monday’s ballot, potentially leaving the way clear for Georgieva to replace her. There was no immediate confirmation from Sofia on Monday evening on whether he would deliver on that threat.

Even if he did, Georgieva would then have to decide whether she wanted to enter a race so far dominated by one candidate.

“The timing might not be right for her,” said a diplomat at the UN. “It is not as if the field is in disarray. There is a clear leader she would be up against.”

In the fifth security council ballot on Monday, Guterres received 12 votes “encouraging” his candidacy, against two “discouraging” it in the 15-seat council, with one abstention. It was the same score as the previous poll on 9 September[http://www.1for7billion.org/archive-straw-polls], but his main challenger then, Slovakian foreign minister, Miroslav Lajcák, dropped back into third position with eight ‘encourages’ and seven ‘discourages’, behind the former Serbian foreign minister, Vuk Jeremic, whose score was eight to six. Both men lost support since the last vote.

Related: Deal-making and dirty tricks: inside the race for UN secretary general[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/26/lot-of-factors-east-west-north-south-inside-the-race-for-un-secretary-general]

Guterres is a surprise frontrunner, as many people had expected the next secretary general to be an east European and a woman, to break new ground. But the former UN **refugee** chief was generally considered to have performed well in public hearings in the general assembly, and his advocacy on behalf of **refugees** is seen as important at a time of mass displacement from wars, terrorism and climate change.

However, his lead is not decisive. A winner must gain at least nine votes and no vetoes from the five permanent council members. It is possible that one or both of the votes against Guterres come from one of the permanent five (P5). Moscow has said it wants an eastern European as the international community’s next top diplomat. A potential veto will only make itself clear in the next round of voting, on 5 October when P5 states will cast coloured ballots.

A Russian veto of Guterres in the face of such broad support could bring western retaliation in the form of vetoes on Russian favourites among the other eight remaining candidates.

“If Guterres is blocked, everyone on the list will be blocked, and we will be looking for new entrants,” said a senior security council diplomat.

Georgieva could face the same barriers as Guterres. She is a senior member of the European Commission that is currently imposing sanctions on Russia over its actions in Crimea and eastern Ukraine. Both Guterres and Georgieva would be expected to be activist secretary generals, using all of the powers in the post to put pressure on the security council on humanitarian issues. For that reason, both may seem unpalatable to Russia and possibly China too. Moscow was furious with[http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/moscow-slams-un-chief-ban-ki-moon-for-syria-comments/articleshow/50908723.cms] the current secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, when he challenged Russia on its role in Syria earlier this year.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Facebook, Apple, Amazon and Google have priorities ranging from taxes to trade and national security in this year’s elections

When US presidential candidates Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/hillary-clinton] and Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] take the stage at Hofstra University in Long Island, New York, for their first formal, head-to-head debate on Monday night, they will undoubtedly be watched carefully by senior executives of – and lobbyists for – the country’s largest technology companies.

Both candidates have been vocal[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/us-elections-2016] on some key issues near and dear to the hearts of technology companies – such as global trade. As Dean Garfield, president and CEO of the Washington DC-based technology industry advocacy group the Information Technology Industry Council (ITIC), points out, it is unusual for trade agreements such as the Trans Pacific Partnership[https://www.theguardian.com/business/internationaltrade] (TPP) to take center stage in a presidential election.

What your industry does, if you can call it an industry, is bullshit. You guys don’t know anything about communication.

Steve Jobs, as quoted by Obama's former special advisor David Axelrod

Garfield said that the traditional axiom in policy circles is that “there’s no parade for trade – no one talks about it”. Yet both Clinton and Trump have declared their opposition to the TPP, while Trump – in a January speech at Liberty University in Lynchburg, Virginia – said that he wanted to get Apple to start manufacturing computers in the United States again.

So both trade and technology appear to be on the agenda, but what else do the tech companies want Clinton and Trump talking about? Public statements by both nominees on key issues, as well as their publicly available lobbying records, have been documented by the Washington DC-based Center for Responsive Politics(CRP) and its Opensecrets.org site, which together provide a rich trove of data about the issues major technology companies care about in the context of this year’s elections.

Google: anti-competitiveness, labor issues and copyright According to CRP, the number one technology company spender on lobbying is Alphabet, the parent company of Google. So far in 2016 (up to the last CRP update on 9 August), Alphabet has already spent $8.04m on lobbying – putting it on pace to spend a little less than the $16.66m it spent for the whole of 2015.

Related: Revealed: how Google enlisted members of US Congress it bankrolled to fight $6bn EU antitrust case[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/17/google-lobbyists-congress-antitrust-brussels-eu]

The top issues Alphabet attempted to tackle with that money were copyright, patent and trademark issues (a common item for all the tech companies on the list), labor, antitrust and workplace issues, consumer product safety, science and technology – and homeland security. Yet some of Google’s biggest government-related challenges lie outside the US – notably in Europe, where the European commission has alleged that Google’s comparison shopping and advertising-related practices breach EU rules.

Amazon: tax, product safety and aviation CRP figures show that Amazon has put $5.81m worth of lobbying services in its Washington DC shopping basket. The company used that money to lobby on issues around computers and technology, taxes, consumer product safety, transportation and trade.

It was also no surprise to see Amazon lobbying on issues related to aviation, airlines and airports – given its involvement in both the use of drones and shipping goods by air.

Facebook: national security, intelligence and patent law Facebook is the third-largest lobbying spender, according to CRP, spending $4.97m so far this year. And it has a lot of government issues to care about.

Homeland security, intelligence, computers and information technology, copyright, patent and trademark issues – and taxes – make up the top five issues on which it has chosen to lobby.

Related: Facebook, Apple and Amazon to lobby next president over tech worker visas[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/may/05/us-tech-firms-visas-hillary-clinton-donald-trump-immigration]

Amongst the bills on which Facebook has offered comment is the “Requiring Reporting of Online Terrorist Activity Act” – which the Washington-based Center for Democracy & Technology criticized as requiring “all providers of Internet communications services to report to government authorities when they obtain ‘actual knowledge’ of apparent ‘terrorist activity’ on their services”.

Facebook CEO and founder Mark Zuckerberg has also been very active in lobbying for **immigration** reform. He a passionate supporter of an **immigration**reform lobbying group called FWD.US[http://fwd.us/] – which also counts Microsoft cofounder Bill Gates and Napster founder Sean Parker amongst its founding members.

Apple: tax, telecoms and copyright battles Apple is not new to presidential politics. David Axelrod, the former chief strategist and senior advisor to President Barack Obama, has a great story in his 2015 memoir, Believer, in which he describes a phone conversation with the late Apple cofounder, Steve Jobs – one in which Jobs appeared to be deeply unimpressed with political media consultants, despite Jobs having requested the meeting after a personal visit from then Senator Barack Obama to Apple’s offices in Cupertino.

Axelrod quotes Jobs as saying: “What your industry does, if you can call it an industry, is bullshit. You guys don’t know anything about communication.”

Related: Apple tax: European commissioner defends €13bn ruling[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/02/apple-tax-ruling-eu-margethe-vestager-13bn-euro-state-aid]

These days, Apple is much more engaged with government, from its showdown with the FBI earlier this year over the question of whether it should “unlock” an iPhone linked to the San Bernardino attacks to the more recent dispute between Apple and the European commission as it attempted to seek “recovery of illegal state aid” for alleged unpaid taxes[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/02/apple-tax-ruling-eu-margethe-vestager-13bn-euro-state-aid] in Ireland from Apple of up to €13bn – plus interest.

The Center for Responsive Politics shows that Apple has spent a relatively modest $2.25m on lobbying in 2016 so far. Not surprisingly, its top five issues for lobbying were tied to taxes, copyright, patent and trademark, telecommunications, computers and information technology – and trade.

The copyright issues are understandable given the huge legal battles that Apple has engaged in – most notably with Samsung – to preserve the unique elements of its products (a case is before the US supreme court this month).

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Travellers told to arrive at airports early as union starts two weeks of intermittent strikes that give authorities little warning for contingency plans

The Community and Public Sector Union (CPSU) has kicked off two weeks of intermittent strikes at international airports.

The union gave two weeks’ notice of the strikes, but the intermittent nature of the stoppages gives them an element of surprise, maximising their impact and leading to warnings of delays.

CPSU members will take part in two weeks of rolling stoppages across the country from Monday to 9 October with strikes able to be triggered in 30-minute blocks all day, every day.

But unlike previous campaigns in the long-running dispute, the union has not given advanced notice of which airports they will strike at and when. The tactic makes it difficult for the Australian Border Force to roster on extra staff and bring in managers to cope with delays.

Related: Airport strikes suspended over national security concerns[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/apr/04/airport-strikes-suspended-over-national-security-concerns]

The strikes are part of a campaign to force the government to renegotiate its bargaining policy[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/airports-brace-for-week-of-delays-as-union-announces-border-force-strikes], which limits pay rises and calls for condition cuts, or to force the dispute to arbitration in the Fair Work Commission.

Reports on Monday suggested extra staff had been rostered on to cope with delays at Sydney airport and travellers were being warned of possible delays at all international airports, with Brisbane particularly affected.

On Monday a spokeswoman for the Department of **Immigration** and Border Protection described the disruption as “minimal”.

But in a statement when the strikes were first announced[http://newsroom.border.gov.au/releases/latest-cpsu-strike-action-not-in-best-interest-of-staff-3] the department said the design of the strikes was “likely to create unreasonable levels of disruption and uncertainty”.

The CPSU national secretary, Nadine Flood, said the strikes were necessary because the government had refused “to sit down and find a fair and sensible solution”.

“The government is using nasty ‘starve them out’ tactics refusing to talk and keeping these workers on a three-year pay freeze,” she said.

“For almost three years all **immigration** and border force staff have seen is proposals to cut their existing rights and conditions and even cut some officers’ current take-home pay.”

She said more than 80% of **immigration** and Australian Border Force staff voted in March against an agreement which included cuts to conditions and a pay rise of just 1% per year.

When the strikes were announced in September the Tourism and Transport Forum (TTF) demanded[http://www.news.com.au/finance/economy/australian-economy/airport-strikes-threaten-early-end-to-tourism-boom/news-story/b489e08c7a8a86a202b9a7aa2741f425] that the CPSU and the government resolve the three-year industrial dispute.

The TTF’s chief executive, Margy Osmond, said: “We need to be presenting our best face to our visitors not embroiling them in a domestic workplace conflict.”

The **immigration** department and border force have said they would put in place contingency plans to minimise disruptions and the department said it would “do everything in its lawful powers to ensure that Australia’s national security and community safety are not put at risk”.

They have not indicated whether they will apply to the Fair Work Commission to suspend the strikes.

“The CPSU’s claim that the department is offering a pay increase of 4.7%, fails to acknowledge that the current offer represents pay increases of between 6.4% and 10.7% for the majority of staff across the department,” the department said in a statement.

Related: ACTU says fears domestic violence leave could be used by perpetrators are 'nonsense'[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/22/actu-says-fears-domestic-violence-leave-could-be-used-by-perpetrators-are-nonsense]

In comments in September when the CPSU first announced the strike[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/airports-brace-for-week-of-delays-as-union-announces-border-force-strikes] the minister assisting the prime minister for the public service, Michaelia Cash, who sets the bargaining policy, criticised the unions for disruptions.

“The CPSU remains more interested in organising and promoting industrial action that disrupts and inconveniences Australian travellers than ensuring their members receive a pay rise,” she said.

The former employment minister Eric Abetz, said in a statement on Monday that the CPSU was making “unrealistic claims” by seeking what he said amounted to a “12.5% increase [over three years] with zero productivity offsets”.

“After three years of obfuscation and stopping pay increases for their own members, it’s time the CPSU took a reality check,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Much has been written on how to combat racist rhetoric and attitudes. Yes, we need a different kind of politics but that depends on defeating racism

The fringe becomes mainstream not by slow increments but by sharp lurches – or, more exactly, gradual acceptance manifests itself through dramatic breakthroughs, as quantity gives way to quality.

Last week’s Essential Poll,[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/progressives-can-attract-hanson-supporters-but-not-by-insulting-them] with its finding that 49% of Australians support banning Muslim **immigration**, represents one of those moments.

The figures reveal a deep anti-Muslim sentiment cutting across all political parties. 60% of Liberal voters would ban Muslim **immigration** – but, so, too, would 34% of Greens supporters.

Of course, a “ban on Muslim **immigration** to Australia” remains, at this stage, an abstraction, a fantasy that respondents can interpret however they like. Responses to specific anti-Muslim legislation might well be very different, just as people who endorse capital punishment in general can still oppose specific, real executions.

Related: Progressives can attract Hanson supporters. But not by insulting them | Peter Lewis[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/progressives-can-attract-hanson-supporters-but-not-by-insulting-them]

Nevertheless, we shouldn’t delude ourselves: the poll reveals a substantial constituency into which Hansonism can tap.

It’s worth, then, considering the difference between the first and the second incarnations of Pauline Hanson.

The 90s-era One Nation targeted “Asians” and Indigenous people, denouncing the bipartisan commitment to multiculturalism in the name of an older Australia and its cultural norms. That rhetoric was largely nostalgic, since the Anglo monoculture of the Hansonite imaginary had, at least in the cities, already given way to multiracial cosmopolitanism.

Since then, of course, the integration of Australian capitalism into Asia has only intensified, with, for instance, recent economic prosperity driven by a mining boom dependent upon Chinese markets.

The widespread pandering to Hanson after her early electoral successes masked the extent to which One Nation was pushing against the prevailing economic and political winds.

The rebooted project is rather different.

In Hanson’s recent speech, Asians barely featured. In their place, we heard an almost exclusively anti-Muslim rhetoric. That rhetoric built on 15 years of warnings by the major parties that al-Qaida (and then Islamic State) represented a near-existential threat to Australia.

The “war on terror” has fundamentally reshaped both foreign and domestic policy. In its Defence Budget Brief 2014-2015, the Australian Strategic Policy Institute estimates[http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/iraq-deployment-to-cost-australia-about-400-million-a-year-20140915-10h35o.html] the nation has allocated nearly $20bn on military deployments in the past two decades, overwhelmingly in Muslim nations. Since 9/11, Australia has enacted more than 60 separate anti-terrorism laws[https://theconversation.com/reactive-anti-terror-laws-risk-further-eroding-freedoms-without-making-us-safer-50959], many of which challenge basic principles of democratic jurisprudence.

The most recent budget allocates over $35bn to defence, national security and law enforcement. “Keeping Australia and Australians safe and secure is the highest responsibility of the government,” we’re told[http://www.budget.gov.au/2015-16/content/glossy/nat\_sec/html/nat\_sec-01.htm].

In other words, if the original One Nation was swimming against the tide, Pauline Hanson 2.0 is surfing a wave. Since 2001, Australians have been told again and again to be very scared of Muslims. The Hansonites repackage that message in a more plebeian format, presenting Islam as an all-purpose scapegoat for social and economic anxieties.

Presented in that light, the Essential Poll isn’t that surprising.

Yet an explanation of anti-Muslim sentiment shouldn’t become a justification for it.

That’s why the response by my colleague Peter Lewis, and others[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/04/pauline-hanson-takes-centre-stage-again-but-this-time-we-should-listen-not-lampoon], deserve to be debated.

“[H]ere’s the challenge to everyone concerned or affronted by these findings,” Lewis writes. “How do you tell half the population that they are wrong? The answer is you don’t.”

Lewis notes that one quarter of voters think they’ll be less secure in their job in the next two years, and only a third expect to be employed by the same boss in five years time.

That genuine uncertainty, he says, fuels populism of the left and the right. Rather than denouncing Hanson voters, we should be addressing their real concerns. He argues:

There is a progressive political agenda that can resonate with all these disengaged and distrustful people, while at the same time taking the heat out of their fear and insecurity. It’s about such unfashionable ideas as income distribution, workplace bargaining rights, industry development and corporate responsibility. That’s the political challenge to responding to Hanson and her supporters: not to call them names that may make us feel superior but to listen and harness their sense of protest to more constructive ends.

Certainly, we’ve seen a depressing tendency in which so-called progressives respond to Hansonism and other manifestations of conservative populism by denouncing ordinary people as incorrigible bigots and suggesting measures to short circuit the democratic process so as to keep the oiks under control.

And there’s a lot to like in Lewis’ call for a different kind of politics.

Nevertheless, you can’t build a “progressive political agenda” without tackling bigotry.

In Jim Crow America, for instance, the vast majority of whites identified African Americans as inferior. Would anyone really argue that, in that context, progressives should have opted not to say that white supremacy (a majority sentiment) was wrong?

In any case, Islamophobia, like other forms of racism, isn’t merely a moral obscenity. It’s also a material obstacle for those committed to progressive change, undermining unity against our common enemies. How, for instance, do you campaign for workplace rights if your co-workers want to deport you for wearing a headscarf? How do you mobilise people against corporate power if they’re obsessed with banning halal foods?

To put it another way, reconstructing a different kind of politics depends on defeating racism, just as much as defeating racism rests on rebuilding a different kind of politics.

Related: First Dog on the Moon's reverse-racist history of Australian racial intolerance[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/23/first-dog-on-the-moons-reverse-racist-history-of-australian-racial-intolerance]

Furthermore, while popular Islamophobia might sometimes be a cipher for economic uncertainty, that doesn’t mean that activists fighting for economic justice should orient to Islamophobes. On the contrary, precisely because the left’s so weak, attempts to reconstruct a progressive alternative should begin with those who reject bigotry, not those who embrace it.

In particular, progressives need to build support among those communities facing the brunt of contemporary racism. How will that ever be possible if we’re not willing to denounce Islamophobia whenever we encounter it?

Again, it’s not simply a moral question.

Almost as soon as any serious movement gets off the ground, activists will be confronted by questions about national security, Islam, terrorism and the like, simply because those issues are so central to contemporary politics. That’s part of the reason the anti-globalisation movement of the late 90s collapsed: anti-corporate campaigners weren’t prepared for the post-9/11 world.

You can’t dodge the key issues of the era – and, as the Essential Poll shows, one of the key issues today is Islamophobia.

Though the survey’s definitely worrying, there’s no reason to conclude the bigots can’t be defeated. But if we’re going to win, we need to actually fight.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Former leader speaks of ‘national crisis caused by Brexit’ and says Labour should ‘hear the people’s message’

Ed Miliband has called on Labour to listen to Brexit voters and avoid becoming the preserve of the 48% who wanted to remain, as the party opted not to discuss the EU as a major topic at its autumn conference.

Related: **Immigrants** must not lead 'parallel lives' in UK, says Chuka Umunna[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/25/chuka-umunna-integrate-immigrants-so-they-dont-lead-parallel-lives]

The former Labour leader warned it would be dangerous for the party to try to appeal solely to remain voters, despite its campaign to stay in the EU, as Brexit voters need the party to speak for them as well.

He also called on party members to unite around Jeremy Corbyn as leader in order to provide a strong opposition at a time of “national crisis caused by Brexit … The precondition of talking about this issue is [understanding] the scale of rejection of mainstream politics that it represents and the scale of the anger that is underlying the vote,” he said.

“This was not a nasty accident that happened on the way to the referendum. It was something much more profound. Nor was it a bunch of 17.5 million racists who decided to vote to leave. Nor was it a whole bunch of people duped about £350m for the NHS … It is about **immigration** … But also a deeper sense of discontent about people’s place in the country and whether there is a place for them.”

He called on Labour to “hear people’s message they are telling us” and dismissed the idea that the party should wholly carry on the fight of the remain campaign as “nonsense”.

Miliband went on to endorse serious electoral reform after the Brexit vote, saying it was a “taste test about whether you are furious about the dissatisfaction”.

Corbyn has made clear that he thinks the result of the referendum should be respected, unlike his defeated challenger, Owen Smith, who called for a second referendum on any Brexit deal.

On Sunday the leader strongly rejected a “hard Brexit”, which would cut trade and **immigration** ties with the EU. He has previously defended free movement, saying people were more worried about the undercutting of wages.

That position is not shared by a number of Corbyn’s critics, including Chuka Umunna, the former shadow business secretary, who has suggested there does need to be a curb on free movement. He said it was “the big issue” that motivated many people to vote to leave and cannot be ignored.

In a sign of tensions over the issue, Denis MacShane, a former Europe minister, warned that such views were allowing the party to wander down a “red Ukip” path.

A discussion about Brexit was not one of the eight motions chosen by party authorities for debate at the party’s conference in Liverpool.

But Emily Thornberry, the shadow foreign secretary, will focus on the subject during her speech on Monday, when she will say that the party supports the idea of continuing billions of pounds in EU funding for regeneration, among other projects, after Brexit.

Before Thornberry’s speech Labour will release an 80-page document listing all the projects and rights that could potentially be at risk from Brexit, including legislation on air quality and funding for peace and reconciliation projects in Northern Ireland. “We can guarantee that a future Labour government will make up any shortfall in structural funding into the 2020s and beyond. And the same will go for the funding of peace and reconciliation projects in Northern Ireland. The communities who stand to lose out most from Brexit must be looked after first,” she will say.

The government’s failure to commit to continued funding for all EU projects falls short of the Brexit campaign’s promise to guarantee the cash until at least 2020.

May’s government has also declined to endorse Vote Leave’s pledge of an extra £100m a week for the NHS and rejected outright the idea of an Australian-style points system for **immigration** that admits people on the basis of their skills.

Related: Boris Johnson says NHS will get substantial extra funds after Brexit[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/25/boris-johnson-nhs-extra-funds-after-brexit-andrew-marr-lansley]

However, Boris Johnson, one of the leaders of the out campaign, who is now foreign secretary, pledged on Sunday that the NHS will get substantial extra funding after Brexit. The foreign secretary strayed from his brief during BBC1’s Andrew Marr Show, as he was pressed on the extra money for the NHS after Andrew Lansley, the former health secretary, suggested at least £5bn a year could be available to the NHS[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37435648] after Brexit.

Asked whether the government could guarantee a “really substantial” extra amount of money per week for the NHS by 2020, Johnson said: “Well, yes, in the sense that clearly once we leave, and that isn’t possible until the final moment that of the change in our arrangements, and we take back control of the budgets we contribute to the EU.

“Once that happens, clearly it will be possible for the UK government to spend people’s money on our priorities. And the number one priority for most people is the NHS. It sounds to me Andrew Lansley has got it right.”

Johnson also aired his views on when the UK should leave the EU, despite No 10 sources making clear last week that this was a decision for May alone[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/22/theresa-may-to-decide-over-brexit-talks-no-10-says-after-boris-b/]. He said the process should not be allowed to drag on and the UK should be out before May 2019 to avoid a new batch of British MEPs being elected to Brussels. That would imply article 50 would have to be triggered before May next year to allow two years of negotiations to take place.

“There’s European elections coming down the track and people will be wondering whether we will be wanting to send a fresh batch of MEPs to an institution we are going to be leaving,” Johnson said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Human rights groups fear schools census data could be used against families by Home Office **immigration** enforcement

Parents are being urged to boycott requests to disclose their child’s nationality and country of birth over fears it could turn teachers into de facto border guards and stoke divisions in the classroom.

Human rights groups are concerned that the data, collected for the first time this year from pupils aged two to 19 as part of the schools census, could be used against children and their families by **immigration** enforcement.

The Department for Education (DfE) insists that the information will not be handed to the Home Office and that the data is being collected and input to the national pupil database (NPD) to ensure children “receive the best possible education”.

However, disclosures under freedom of information laws[https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/pupil\_data\_sharing\_with\_the\_poli#incoming-846569] have shown that the Home Office has been handed NPD data on 18 occasions since 2012, while police requests for information from the dataset were granted 31 times.

Disclosure is not compulsory, but a recent investigation by the trade magazine Schools Week[http://schoolsweek.co.uk/pupils-who-were-not-white-british-told-to-send-in-birthplace-data/] found that schools were misinterpreting official guidance by demanding pupils’ passport numbers and even specifically targeting the parents of non-white children.

“That creates a climate where half the class is being told you’ve got to bring in your passport and the other half haven’t,” said Gracie Mae Bradley, from Against Borders for Children. “In a post-Brexit environment, kids are already precarious; they are already feeling like it’s not a good thing to be a migrant child and this further divides them.”

She called on parents to boycott the census questions. “If every parent in the country exercised that right to refuse, that would protect all undocumented children from any potential enforcement action and it also sends a very strong signal about the kind of society that we want to live in.”

On Monday, more than 20 groups are writing to the education secretary, Justine Greening, to ask her to reverse the requirement for schools to collect the data, warning that the plan risked violating the right to privacy of children and families.

“Our grave concern is that the new data will be shared with the Home Office and therefore used for **immigration** enforcement purposes,” says the letter, whose signatories include Liberty, the Migrants’ Rights Network and Privacy International.

“We have already seen data-sharing between the Home Office and other departments increase since the government announced its commitment to creating a ‘hostile environment’ for undocumented migrants. Such measures deter vulnerable children and families from accessing essential services, exercising their human rights and participating on an equal basis in our communities.”

Campaigners see the new census requirement as the latest step in a crackdown on what the government has dubbed “education tourism”. In 2013, ministers were forced to abandon proposals to exclude the children of undocumented migrants[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/mar/27/ministers-immigration-crackdown-education-tourists] from school, amid fears it would breach international human rights law[http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx].

But two years later, Nicky Morgan, then education secretary, ordered officials to investigate how much of a “pull factor” state schools were for **immigrants**[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11805477/Nicky-Morgan-orders-immigration-review-to-examine-education-tourism.html], as part of measures to slash net migration. “And then, in 2016, you get this announcement about monitoring the scale and impact of pupil migration on the education sector,” Bradley said.

Bella Sankey, policy director of Liberty, the human rights group, said the latest plan risked creating “a chilling effect around school attendance”.

“Hostile-environment policies are deeply problematic,” she said. “They outsource **immigration** enforcement to private citizens and public sector workers whose roles have nothing to do with border control. This latest wave of reforms targets sensitive public services like healthcare and education. It is insidious to be targeting the kids and risks making them additionally vulnerable if they are then kept away from school.”

Don Flynn, director of the Migrants’ Rights Network, said the proposal jeopardised “a decade of real advance” in the relationships between schools and migrant communities. He said: “People in migrant communities across the UK have been thrown into great uncertainty about their future as a result of the Brexit vote and the harsher tone of the public debate.

“The DfE should not be adding to this anxiety by introducing a measure which will inevitably increase the sense of being watched and scrutinised by state agencies with a view to future deportations.”

The DfE insisted it took the privacy of children seriously and that the data would be used for research purposes and not be routinely published. A spokesperson said: “These data items will not be passed to the Home Office. They are solely for internal Department for Education use for analysis, statistics and research.

“This information will be used to help us better understand how children with, for example, English as an additional language, perform in terms of their broader education and to assess and monitor the scale and impact **immigration** may be having on the schools sector.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the developments from the Labour conference in Liverpool, including Jeremy Corbyn ’s interview on the Andrew Marr ShowCorbyn’s interview with Marr - SummaryAfternoon summary

block-time published-time 6.05pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* Jeremy Corbyn has said the “vast majority” of Labour MPs should not fear deselection, as he prepares to strengthen members’ grip on policymaking. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/25/jeremy-corbyn-most-labour-mps-should-not-fear-deselection]

As Heather Stewart reports, Corbyn won the bitter leadership race on Saturday against challenger Owen Smith with 62% of the vote. He has said he will “wipe the slate clean” for MPs who have criticised him, but some still fear a backlash. Appearing on the BBC ’s The Andrew Marr Show, he was asked about deselection, which is being openly advocated by some of his backers, with the Unite general secretary, Len McCluskey, saying disloyal MPs were “asking for it”. Corbyn said Labour [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/labour] MPs across the country would have to stand for selection as constituency boundaries change.

\* John McDonnell has defended describing a Conservative MP as a “stain of inhumanity” by arguing that it is better if politicians are honest about the way they feel. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/25/mcdonnell-defends-calling-female-mp-stain-of-inhumanity-esther-mcvey]

\* Iain McNicol , Labour’s general secretary, has given his coded backing to Corbyn’s critics. (See 1.36pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/25/labour-conference-jeremy-corbyn-liverpool-formally-opens-after-jeremy-corbyn-re-elected-leader?page=with:block-57e7b8c9e4b0f55a9f4030db#block-57e7b8c9e4b0f55a9f4030db], Labour’s general secretary, has given his coded backing to Corbyn’s critics. (See

\* Carwyn Jones , the Welsh first minister, has told Labour it must focus on “the successful pursuit of power”. (See 5.42pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/25/labour-conference-jeremy-corbyn-liverpool-formally-opens-after-jeremy-corbyn-re-elected-leader?page=with:block-57e7f884e4b0831a514023c1#block-57e7f884e4b0831a514023c1], the Welsh first minister, has told Labour it must focus on “the successful pursuit of power”. (See

\* **Immigrants** should be forced to integrate into British life to stop them leading “parallel lives”, Chuka Umunna has said. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/25/chuka-umunna-integrate-immigrants-so-they-dont-lead-parallel-lives]

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time published-time 5.54pm BST

Angela Eagle condemns culture of abuse in Labour Angela Eagle, the former leadership candidate and minister, has accused Jeremy Corbyn ’s supporters of allowing a culture of abuse of MPs and Labour party staff which could lead to a form of “populist authoritarian rule”.

The Labour MP who challenged Jeremy Corbyn for the leadership before withdrawing from the contest [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/19/owen-smith-jeremy-corbyn-labour-leadership-angela-eagle], said that allegations of homophobia, sexism and anti-semitism are being used to silence those standing against the current leader.

Her contentious words came at a packed Labour First fringe meeting at Labour’s annual conference. A succession of speakers including Hilary Benn , Ruth Smeeth and Yvette Cooper promised to oppose the policies and practises of supporters of Corbyn just a day after the Labour leader was re-elected. Eagle said:

The people who have run the narratives in the Labour party in the last year have decided that the problem with the party is its MPs and the people who work selflessly, our Labour staff.

They have turned one part of the party against another in a huge blame game. We have all been subject to massive amounts of disgusting and disgraceful vile abuse.

I changed my photo on my Facebook page and I got 47,000 pieces of abuse from individual people. They are trying to drive people out of the social media space, drive people out of the public square, drive people out of the party.

The only way we can deal with this is to stand up to it together. We have got to fight for decency in our party together. We have got to fight the kind of homophobia that has happened in my Labour party together - which is now denied by the way.

We have got to fight the anti-semitism, the sexism and the abuse, the coarsening of political debate and the politics of grievance. That way can only lead to populist authoritarian rule.

Angela Eagle at the Labour conference. Photograph: Oli Scarff/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 5.42pm BST

Carwyn Jones says Labour must focus on 'successful pursuit of power' Carwyn Jones, the Welsh first minister, and Sadiq Khan , the mayor of London, can claim to be the two most powerful Labour politicians in the UK. They are the only figures with executive roles that put them in charge of multi-billion pound budgets.

In his speech to the conference Jones spoke in detail about what Labour is doing in Wales, but he also used his speech to make a wider point. Here are the key points.

\* Jones stressed the importance of Labour winning power.

Conference we need to constantly remind ourselves what Labour being in Government actually means. That is our historic mission - that is the journey that Hardie started and every Labour leader since must try and advance.

How was it that Bevan finished his great quote “the Language of priorities is the religion of socialism”? It was with these words: “only by the possession of power can you get the priorities correct”...

This country needs the Labour party, but we don’t have a God-given right to exist. It is time for us to focus on the things that really matter, and as Bevan said, only the successful pursuit of power can truly give you that focus.

\* He said the Labour government in Wales would be bringing forward plans to prevent the use of agency workers to undermine strike action in the public sector.

\* He said the the Labour government in Wales was both pro-business and pro-union.

Conference, when we launched our programme for government, both the CBI and TUC could see how we had reflected their priorities.

We are not playing a zero sum game in Wales between capital and communities. Massive infrastructure investment will get Wales moving, it will boost our economy and it will bring better jobs closer to home for Welsh communities.

\* He said the Welsh government would soon investigate the changing nature of work.

We don’t just want jobs, we want better jobs. And as Yvette Cooper has written about so passionately and persuasively, it is down to Labour to recognize the changing patterns of work, the challenges and opportunities of new technologies, and the insecurity that stalks too many working lives.

These are lessons not lost on us in Wales, and the Welsh government will shortly begin a deep and thorough investigation into the changing nature of work to make sure we keep pace with the new challenges.

\* He said the Welsh government would tomorrow launch “a new universal child health programme to ensure every child gets excellent, consistent health services across Wales”.

\* He said Labour members had to treat each other with more respect.

And a starting point for us must be to regain our dignity in the way we speak to one another and the way we speak to the world.

It wasn’t that long ago that the Party’s priority was anti-poverty policies, but now we’re commissioning reports on anti-Semitism in our own Party. How has that happened?

We have no hope of creating an open, tolerant country if we cannot first do the same for our own Party. If we really want to shape what post-Brexit Britain looks like, we have to start treating one another with respect.

Carwyn Jones addressing Labour conference. Photograph: Paul Ellis/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 5.10pm BST

In the conference hall delegates are now paying tribute to Jo Cox , the Labour MP killed in the summer. The party is showing a video of Labour MPs and peers speaking about why she meant so much to them. The session was introduced by Rachel Reeves .

enltrFunny, touching, saddening and inspiring speech by @RachelReevesMP [https://twitter.com/RachelReevesMP] about her memories of "one of our own" Jo Cox MP #MoreInCommon [https://twitter.com/hashtag/MoreInCommon?src=hash] MP pic.twitter.com/QQYKYKOzYw [https://t.co/QQYKYKOzYw] MP

— Tulip Siddiq (@TulipSiddiq) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/TulipSiddiq/status/780075511426981888]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.11pm BST

block-time published-time 5.06pm BST

In his speech to the conference Andy McDonald , the shadow transport secretary, confirmed that Labour was committed to bringing the railways back into public ownership.

What we have now is a government clinging to a failed model for purely ideological reasons, and passengers and taxpayers are being made to pay an ever increasing price.

We are clear about this. We’ll put an end to Britain’s rip-off railways, so as private contracts expire, the routes will return to public ownership so profits can be re-invested to improve services and hold fares down.

Because passengers, not profit, should be at the heart of Britain’s railway.

Let us have the same confidence as other countries like the Netherlands, Germany and France.

Labour will take back control of our railways.

block-time published-time 5.03pm BST

They don’t write poems about David Cameron or Theresa May . But Jeremy Corbyn does inspire people to verse, and at the Momentum The World Transformed alternative conference a volume called “Poems for Jeremy Corbyn ” on sale. It costs £10. There was even a session there today where they were read out, although it was not well attended.

On Sky News the Telegraph’s Michael Deacon gave viewers a flavour of what the volume contains.

enltrAnd now for something completely different: @MichaelPDeacon [https://twitter.com/MichaelPDeacon] reads from 'Poems For Jeremy Corbyn ' at #Lab16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Lab16?src=hash]' at https://t.co/buMkO7T22c [https://t.co/buMkO7T22c]' at

— Sky News (@SkyNews) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SkyNews/status/780066697327763457]block-time published-time 4.53pm BST

Rachael Maskell , the shadow environment secretary, told delegates in her speech to the conference that Labour would embrace “the circular economy”. She was talking about recycling.

Unlike the government, Labour will embrace the circular economy – reducing our consumption, recycling and generating energy from our waste, not turning it over to landfill. We all have our part to play in Labour’s recycling revolution.

We also have a poor relationship with food – where it comes from, what we eat, how much it really costs to produce, how much we need, how much we waste. A quarter of adults are overweight or obese, families put £470 per year of food straight into the bin.

We will change that relationship with education and labelling, better health interventions and a new food framework.

block-time published-time 4.48pm BST

Mick Whelan, general secretary of Aslef, the train drivers’ union , has been elected as the new chairman of the Trade Union and Labour Party Liaison Organisation (Tulo), which co-ordinates the activities of unions affiliated to Labour.

block-time published-time 4.39pm BST

At a fringe meeting Angela Eagle , who challenged Jeremy Corbyn for the Labour leadership before standing down to make way for Owen Smith , refused to say whether she would return to the shadow cabinet. “I’m not going to answer questions like that at this stage,” she said.

block-time published-time 4.37pm BST

Labour would abolish 'hidden health fee' for domestic violence Tom Watson , Labour’s deputy leader, told the conference in his speech this morning that Labour would campaign to get rid of fees that mean women wanting to access legal aid to help them divorce or separate from an abusive partner are being charged up to £125. He described it as a “hidden health fee”.

Women have to pay the moneyso they can receive a letter from their GP confirming any illness or harm has been caused by domestic violence, he said. He told delegates he was taking up the issue following talks with Lisa Clover, coordinator of the Manchester-based domestic abuse campaign, the Safe Spots Centre.

[Lisa] told me that women who are in the same position as she was, women who have tried to escape an abusive relationship, tried to get help for themselves and their families from our courts, are being charged £75 for a letter from their GP to say they’re a victim of domestic violence, so that they can access legal aid - sometimes even more.

Lisa told me women are coming into the Safe Spots Centre asking for help because they’re getting charged £125 for a letter - £125 for a piece of paper, a piece of paper which says ‘Yes, this woman is suffering from domestic abuse, yes she needs help’.

I don’t need to pass this through the national policy forum to say that a future Labour government will scrap this hidden health fee.

Tom Watson speaking at the conference. Photograph: Jon Super/EPA block-time published-time 4.14pm BST

Momentum says their The World Transformed opening night party, where people celebrated Jeremy Corbyn ’s re-election, raised more than £2,500 for Asylum Link, an organisation that helps asylum seekers and **refugees**.

block-time published-time 4.11pm BST

**Immigrants** should be forced to integrate into British life, says Umunna **Immigrants** should be forced to integrate into British life to stop them leading “parallel lives”, Chuka Umunna told a Fabian Society fringe meeting.

The government should make clear to foreigners working and living in the UK that “not getting involved in the community is not an option”, the Labour MP for Streatham in south London said. “There should be an expectation that you become part of the community,” added the former shadow business secretary.

Umunna, who was born in London to a Nigerian father and Anglo-Irish mother, said Labour had made a mistake by assuming that those who raise fears about **immigration** only did so through a “lack of understanding.”

He said too many Labour supporters rubbished anyone who voiced objections to **immigration** by dismissing them as “bigots and racists … who have been reading too much of the Daily Mail.”

Such a view, he said, was “unbelievably patronising, not just in respect of **immigration** by the way, but in respect of economic policy as well.”

He rounded on those loyalists to the Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn , who like to call their opponents within the Labour party “Red Tories” and “Tory-lite”. Such insults would do nothing to win back Tory voters, he said.

Treating them like the devil incarnate is not going to be the way you’re going to get them to vote for the Labour party and have a Labour government in future.

Labour should not fear patriotism, he added:

I don’t think anyone in the Labour movement should underestimate the importance of us illustrating that we are as patriotic as anyone else. And that’s why things like your national anthem, support for the armed services and all these things should never, ever allow those to be the exclusive preserve of the Conservatives.

Jeremy Corbyn and Chuka Umunna. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA block-time published-time 3.59pm BST

Labour would suspend right to buy, says Pearce Teresa Pearce, the shadow housing minister, told the conference earlier this afternoon the Labour would follow the example of the Scottish and Welsh governments and suspend the rule that gives council tenants the right to buy their homes. She made the commitment in a passage where she explained what a Labour government Housing and Planning Act would look like.

We would remove the shackles from local government so they could build the homes of all tenures and infrastructure their communities need.

Labour will commit to building over a million new homes over the next parliament with half social housing, and invest in the construction skills to tackle the skills shortage and train up a generation.

And through our national investment bank and regional development banks, we’ll also provide the necessary infrastructure.

In the private rented sector end of tenancy is a rising cause of homelessness, so we would change the rules on tenancies where a three year lease becomes the norm.

Setting up not-for-profit lettings agencies to promote longer-term, stable tenancies for responsible tenants and good landlords.

Introduce a national standard to ensure private rented properties are fit to live in.

We would reverse the government’s ‘pay-to-stay’ policy and, following the examples set by Wales and Scotland, we will suspend the right to buy. The right to buy can only make sense in a time of surplus, in a time of shortage it makes no sense at all.

Teresa Pearce , the shadow housing minister, addressing Labour conference. Photograph: Leon Neal/Getty Images block-time published-time 3.43pm BST

Burnham says Labour should 'embrace devolution' and 'make the northern powerhouse our own' At the same meeting addressed by Len McCluskey, the shadow home secretary Andy Burnham also spoke, and he had some interesting things to say, particularly about his decision to try and become Manchester’s elected mayor. Roles such as this, he argued, could help Labour reconnected with voters who felt a sense of “abandonment & neglect” and voted for Brexit.

Let’s embrace devolution in England. Let’s put all our weight behind it, let’s put Labour’s stamp on it. Let’s make the northern powerhouse idea our own. I think it is the answer to some of what we saw at the referendum.

I think Westminster has created a very unequal country. It’s failed the north of England – it hasn’t delivered the prosperity seen elsewhere. So I’ve made the decision to leave it and put my energy into rebalancing this country by making a success of devolution.

Burnham was also scathing about Labour’s internal bickering, saying to cheers:

I want to out to you a radical and new thought, which I put to all of my colleagues in parliament. It’s a real, novel thought: how about from now on we use Twitter to attack the Tories?

But he also warned against efforts to deselect MPs seen as not loyal to Corbyn.

If there’s talk of deselection around, I have to say, that pulls the rug from the people who are trying to represent people who are suffering at the hands of this government. It turns everything internal. And it doesn’t help us – the energy goes internal, and goes negative.

Andy Burnham sitting in the audience in the conference hall this morning. Photograph: Jon Super/EPA block-time published-time 3.36pm BST

Here is the Press Association report on the Labour First event mentioned earlier. (See 2.20pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/25/labour-conference-jeremy-corbyn-liverpool-formally-opens-after-jeremy-corbyn-re-elected-leader?page=with:block-57e7cd89e4b0831a514022d4#block-57e7cd89e4b0831a514022d4] report on the Labour First event mentioned earlier. (See

Defiant Labour moderates vowed to stay and fight following Jeremy Corbyn ’s leadership victory amid warnings that the party’s future existence is at risk.

A series of senior MPs, including former shadow cabinet ministers Hilary Benn , Angela Eagle and Yvette Cooper took part in a rally hosted by the Labour First movement.

The packed rally heard repeated calls for people to remain in the party rather than quit in protest at Corbyn’s re-election.

Former shadow cabinet minister Vernon Coaker set out the stark choice facing Labour, warning it could “die” unless it changed.

He said: “The real task, of course, is changing the membership and winning the party back to the views of electability as well as principle.”

But he added: “The political terms of trade in this country are changing. The Labour Party has to change. Our policies have to change. If we don’t change we will die.”

That did not mean “abandoning” what Labour stands for “but it does mean making it relevant to people in 2016 not 1976, making it relevant to people in 2020 not 1980”.

Benn, who was sacked as shadow foreign secretary by Corbyn, told the gathering: “Don’t be disheartened because in the end the values that bind us together will win.

“So for all of the difficulties and the problems that people may feel today, I say to you today be of good heart, be of good cheer, stick together and we will win.”

He acknowledged that the atmosphere within Labour was “pretty unpleasant” and critics of the leader had been subjected to “vile abuse”.

But Labour MP Ruth Smeeth , who has been targeted with death threats, said: “If I’m not going anywhere, not one of you gets to go anywhere because we are staying and we are fighting.”

block-time published-time 3.13pm BST

McCluskey criticises PLP for undermining Corbyn Len McCluskey, the Unite general secretary, has seemingly not received the ‘reconciliation’ memo, judging from his appearance at a Unite fringe meeting just now.

He spoke just after Betty Tebbs, a 98-year-old member of McCluskey’s union, who prompted a standing ovation after she praised the re-election of Jeremy Corbyn (as well as seemingly calling for an immediate general strike to prompt an election). He told the packed event:

I was just thinking that perhaps we should get Betty to address the next meeting of the PLP [parliamentary Labour party]. She might be able to tell them what courage, principles and backbone is all about.

McCluskey said Corbyn had “reconnected with people”, but had prompted too much suspicion from many Labour MPs and others about the mass of new members.

Are they not pleased of that, proud of that? Do they have to moan and groan about handfuls of so-called Trots who have infiltrated?

While predicting that “the vast majority” of shadow cabinet members who chose to quite would now return, McCluskey claimed it was their revolt which caused Labour’s such poor current polling.

The truth of the matter is, until there was this mass hysteria and a rush by PLP members to abandon their roles and their jobs, the opinion polls were showing that we were level. In fact a few of them were showing that we were ahead.

The event was co-sponsored by the Daily Mirror, and McCluskey was no less diplomatic with them, saying:

It would be hypocritical of me if I didn’t register my disappointment with the manner in which the Mirror has conducted itself during the leadership campaign. It was heartbreaking for me to see the Mirror fall into the group-think of the Westminster bubble, sniping against Jeremy Corbyn .

block-time published-time 3.09pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn has made an impromptu appearance at the Momentum festival, The World Transformed, which packed out last night until 2am to celebrate the Labour leader’s victory.

Sessions on fracking, academisation of schools and workshops on becoming a local councillor were running this morning when Corbyn turned up in the main hall to speak to a delighted crowd. He told them:

This event here might be described by many as some kind of fringe, extreme or whatever event. I see the kind of discussions that are happening here in this programme as absolutely central and mainstream to how people think and what we are trying to do. Because if we don’t face up to the huge issues that matter around the world then, what’s our future going to be?

Corbyn said he would return to the event at the Black E centre for a longer rally on Tuesday, the day before he will give his keynote speech to Labour conference.

During the speech, he paid tribute to his supporters who had campaigned for him over the summer and attended rallies across the country but said now it was time to focus on opposing the Tories.

We are here to transform and society and the world. I want to thank you all friendship and activity all through this campaign. But the importance now is standing up against this government on its inequality, its injustice, all the things it is doing to benefit the few and not the many. We know which side we are on.

Jeremy Corbyn and Chuka Umunna meet backstage before appearing on the Andrew Marr Show this morning. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA block-time published-time 3.04pm BST

Lisa Nandy , the former shadow energy secretary, was speaking at a fringe event earlier. Here are some of her key points posted by various journalists on Twitter .

enltrLisa Nandy says she was one of 14 MPs not to take part in no confidence vote in Corbyn. "I thought it was unhelpful and frankly irrelevant".

— Dan Bloom (@danbloom1) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/danbloom1/status/780014587433320448]enltrNandy: "It seems to me Labour is just not in this debate about the future...that isn't a question about Jeremy Corbyn and Owen Smith ."

— John Ashmore (@smashmorePH) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/smashmorePH/status/780015223952510976]enltrLisa Nandy: "We have to recognise the public are moving away from us...our activists and councillors know it from knocking on doors." #lab16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/lab16?src=hash]enltrLisa Nandy: "We have to recognise the public are moving away from us...our activists and councillors know it from knocking on doors."

— John Ashmore (@smashmorePH) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/smashmorePH/status/780015711787810818]enltr'We're going to have to win back Tory voters' says @lisanandy [https://twitter.com/lisanandy]. Seems almost revolutionary saying at a labour conference #waughzone [https://twitter.com/hashtag/waughzone?src=hash]. Seems almost revolutionary saying at a labour conference

— Owen Bennett (@owenjbennett) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/owenjbennett/status/780016081205428224]enltr'The summer's been awful...there have been moments when I've felt genuinely threatened' says @lisanandy [https://twitter.com/lisanandy]enltr'The summer's been awful...there have been moments when I've felt genuinely threatened' says #waughzone [https://twitter.com/hashtag/waughzone?src=hash]enltr'The summer's been awful...there have been moments when I've felt genuinely threatened' says

— Owen Bennett (@owenjbennett) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/owenjbennett/status/780019236307603456]enltrLisa Nandy: "Shadow cabinet elections is really important because it's become symbolic."

— John Ashmore (@smashmorePH) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/smashmorePH/status/780020887659634692]enltrClear msg from @lisanandy [https://twitter.com/lisanandy] : shad cab elxns v important for JC to prove "he means it" on party unity. Sounds like she's not going back soon.

— Paul Waugh (@paulwaugh) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh/status/780034789042716672]enltrLisa Nandy says the fate of the Liberal Party is a "warning from history" for Labour. Need to be "relevant", not just "radical".

— George Eaton (@georgeeaton) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/georgeeaton/status/780021301272571904]enltrNandy: Labour future must be team effort:"it's not gonna come from me or Dan Jarvis or Chuka sitting in a room working up our grand vision"

— John Ashmore (@smashmorePH) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/smashmorePH/status/780023235597504512]enltrLisa Nandy says in the Labour Party and in Britain, too many big decisions are still made by "small groups of men in closed rooms" #Lab16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Lab16?src=hash]enltrLisa Nandy says in the Labour Party and in Britain, too many big decisions are still made by "small groups of men in closed rooms"

— Jack Blanchard (@Jack\_Blanchard\_) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jack\_Blanchard\_/status/780023743204712449]enltrLisa Nandy leaves plenty of space for future leadership bid when asked by @paulwaugh [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh].

— George Eaton (@georgeeaton) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/georgeeaton/status/780023534273855488]block-time published-time 2.50pm BST

Rachel Reeves says Labour must not pretend there's a 'magic money tree' Rachel Reeves , the Leeds West MP who sits on the Treasury select committee, has told a fringe meeting that her party must be careful to ensure its policy pledges are fully funded if it wants to win back a reputation for economic competence.

A £500bn investment package is at the centre of Labour’s economic policies. But speaking alongside shadow chief secretary to the Treasury, Rebecca Long-Bailey , Reeves, who has not served on Jeremy Corbyn ’s front bench, said:

At the last general election we lost for a whole lot of reasons, but perhaps one of the biggest was that we weren’t trusted on the economy. We have to be mindful of that. If that means raising taxes, and making that argument, we should do that. We can’t pretend there’s a magic money tree.

Long-Bailey suggested party’s promises were affordable with a crackdown on tax avoidance. “We’re not at that point yet [where tax rises are needed]: we need to start collecting the taxes that are due in the first place,” she said.

enltr. @RachelReevesMP [https://twitter.com/RachelReevesMP] speaking on our all-female panel on Commission on Economic Justice:a fair post-Brexit economy #Lab16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Lab16?src=hash] speaking on our all-female panel on Commission on Economic Justice:a fair post-Brexit economy #IPPRpc [https://twitter.com/hashtag/IPPRpc?src=hash] speaking on our all-female panel on Commission on Economic Justice:a fair post-Brexit economy #IPPRCEJ [https://twitter.com/hashtag/IPPRCEJ?src=hash] speaking on our all-female panel on Commission on Economic Justice:a fair post-Brexit economy pic.twitter.com/5pH6vff1Q9 [https://t.co/5pH6vff1Q9] speaking on our all-female panel on Commission on Economic Justice:a fair post-Brexit economy

— IPPR (@IPPR) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/IPPR/status/780027887588143105]block-time published-time 2.36pm BST

My colleague Peter Walker has been listening to Len McCluskey, the Unite general secretary, speak at a Unite/Daily Mirror fringe.

enltrLen McCluskey begins with a pretty brutal dig at parliamentary Labour Party, and then at hosts the Mirror. No forgiveness from him.

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/780024064622661632]enltrMcCluskey still laying into Corbyn's Labour critics. He heard Burnham's speech about ending the internal sniping, but he's not agreeing

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/780024878841946112]enltrMcCluskey blaming poor opinion polls entirely on Labour MPs' rebellion. Says party was level or ahead beforehand.

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/780025117535563777]McCluskey is wrong about this - at least, if you take a considered view of Labour’s performance in the polls under Jeremy Corbyn . YouGov’s Anthony Wells posted a very fair and thorough assessment of Labour’s electoral performance under Corbyn [http://ukpollingreport.co.uk/blog/archives/9749] a few weeks ago on his UK Polling Report blog. On the claim that Labour was ahead in the polls before the leadership challenge, Wells says this is “a disingenuous claim at best, and seems to rest wholly upon cherry-picking individual polls”.

enltrMcCluskey: for first time in 40 years, Britain has a major party challenging the main economic consensus.

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/780025453469921280]enltrApparently I'm "the mouthpiece of the corporate elite". So says McCluskey, of the media. We're apparently set on ousting Corbyn.

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/780026619532550144]enltrMeeting addressed by 94yo Unite member who says Corbyn means for first time in her life UK "in touching distance" of real socialism

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/780030751266004992] Len McCluskey in the hall at the Labour conference this morning. Photograph: Leon Neal/Getty Images block-time published-time 2.20pm BST

Labour First, the group for self-described Labour “moderates”, has been holding a fringe meeting. It attracted so many people that they ended up on the street. These are from the BBC ’s Laura Kuenssberg and Sky ’s Faisal Islam.

enltrQueue to get into Labour First rally - centre ground labour group, 'we are the insurgents now' one of them says pic.twitter.com/K50NG4mkzx [https://t.co/K50NG4mkzx]

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/780014258750881792]enltrMichael Dugher-'the people on the left are good at talking about their heroes But we have our heroes too'

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/780014944267988992]enltrDugher - 'the Labour Party maybe going nowhere but we are going nowhere - this is our party'

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/780015535606132736]enltrHuge cheer for Hilary Benn - 'we re all bennites now' shouts someone in the crowd

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/780018387766374400]enltrBenn had to push his way thro the crowd to get to the stage pic.twitter.com/b6wNA7JdT7 [https://t.co/b6wNA7JdT7]enltrBenn had to push his way thro the crowd to get to the stage

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/780018657749528578]enltrLabour first rally has spilt out into the street pic.twitter.com/MHDIJSKZsB [https://t.co/MHDIJSKZsB]enltrLabour first rally has spilt out into the street

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/780024736571133952]enltrHuge turnout at @labour\_first [https://twitter.com/labour\_first] rally as speakers are forced to spill out on to the streets..Where they vow to fight on pic.twitter.com/xX5KB46wBN [https://t.co/xX5KB46wBN] rally as speakers are forced to spill out on to the streets..Where they vow to fight on

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/780024513866129412]enltrRuth Smeeth to @LabourFirst [https://twitter.com/LabourFirst] : "a lot of talk about unity - but leadership have to meet us half way - on abuse, on shadow cabinet elections"

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/780016738813505537]enltr"The Labour Party has no existential right to exist" says @Vernon\_Coaker [https://twitter.com/Vernon\_Coaker]enltr"The Labour Party has no existential right to exist" says pic.twitter.com/GRiJJLZWkz [https://t.co/GRiJJLZWkz]enltr"The Labour Party has no existential right to exist" says

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/780030244497526785]block-time published-time 2.04pm BST

Prescott says 'election-loser' Kinnock was wrong about Corbyn Lord Prescott, the former Labour deputy leader and former deputy prime minister, was on the BBC’s Sunday Politics earlier. Urging the Labour party to unite, and focus on attacking the Tories, he also criticised Lord Kinnock, the former leader who said last week that he did not expect to see another Labour government in his lifetime if the party continued as it is under Jeremy Corbyn. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/18/lord-kinnock-labour-wont-win-a-general-election-again-in-my-life/] When asked about Kinnock’s comment, Prescott affected not to know who he was. Then he went on:

I was on the [shadow] cabinet with him. We were both on shadow cabinet elections and when I heard Neil saying, ‘there will never be another Labour government in my lifetime,’... but basically Neil, you did lose two elections and you know Michael Foot was influenced, we lost that one. He was influencing [Ed] Miliband, we lost that one, so there’s no doubt he’s got great experience of that. But I think he’s wrong.

Lord Prescott. Photograph: Ian Forsyth/Getty Images block-time published-time 1.36pm BST

Labour's general secretary issues coded support to Corbyn's critics The Labour party general secretary normally gets to speak in a quiet slot on the first day of the party’s conference. The general secretary is essentially a functionary - the party’s most senior administrator/bureaucrat - and generally the speech is very dull.

But this year’s - for anyone interested in Labour party Kremlinology - was fascinating. The general secretary is Iain McNicol and he has an awkward relationship with Jeremy Corbyn . He was appointed before Corbyn was elected, he is not loyal to Corbyn, he used to work for the GMB, which backed Owen Smith , not Corbyn, and that Corbynites suspect that fixed the leadership contest rules as far as possible to maximise Smith’s chances. It has also been reported that Corbyn would like to get rid of him, and replace him with an acolyte, although at the moment Corbyn does not have the votes on the national executive committee to make that happen.

To a casual listener McNicol’s speech may have sounded routine. But in fact it was full of coded support for Corbyn’s opponents.

\* McNicol explicitly backed “clause one socialism” - the philosophy championed by Jeremy Corbyn ’s critics that stresses the importance of Labour being an effective force in parliament.

Labour was created for a very specific purpose, explicit from the very start.

And that purpose is stated in black and white in our constitution.

‘To organise and maintain in Parliament and in the country a political Labour Party and ‘The Party shall bring together members and supporters who share its values.’

That’s our Labour party.

A party founded to win elections and form governments.

To make our values real through practical change.

It’s a powerful idea and I’ve not heard a better one.

This might sound like a statement of the obvious, and of course Corbyn would say that he wants Labour to be an effective force in parliament. But the leadership contest became a battle between those who said the wishes of Labour members should take priority (Corbyn) and those who argued a leader had to retain the confidence of MPs (Smith), and McNicol is explicitly siding with the latter. The quote about Labour being set up to “organise and maintain in parliament... a political Labour party” is from clause one of Labour’s constitution and Smith supporters quoted it during the leadership contest as a reason as a reason why Corbyn could not lead the party. And Progress, the Blairite pressure group which is loathed by some Corbynites, recently published an editorial explicitly urging “clause one socialists” to stay in the party and fight for their cause. [http://www.progressonline.org.uk/2016/09/22/clause-one-socialists-will-win-the-day/]

\* McNicol said criticised people who wrote off the achievements of the last Labour government. He said:

There will always be those Tories who want to write off the Labour years, and pretend no good came from them.

Let’s make sure none of us ever falls into that Tory trap.

This seemed clearly aimed at the Corbynites, some of whom seem to find it much easier to condemn the record of the Blair/Brown governments than to praise them.

\* He praised party staff and said that he would always defend them “whenever they come under attack”. There have been reports (like this one, for example, by the New Statesman’s Stephen Bush) [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2016/08/how-jeremy-corbyn-will-reshape-labour-s-backrooms-after-victory] suggesting that the Corbynites want to get rid of not just McNicol, but other staff at Labour HQ deemed insufficiently loyal. McNicol signalled that he would oppose this strongly. When he talked about staff coming “under attack”, he did not mean from the Tories. He said:

I want to say something about the people who work for the Labour party.

We expect a huge amount from them.

They work weekends and evenings. They drop everything to fight by-elections or local elections. They put this Party conference together year after year. They are some of the brightest and the best our movement has.

I value them, I respect them, and I stand in solidarity with them whenever they come under attack.

\* He explicitly praised the parliamentary Labour party (PLP), most of whom opposed Corbyn’s re-election. He said:

Hard-working Labour champions, winning seats for Labour, and denying Tories, and SNP and Lib Dems an extra seat in Parliament.

That’s the PLP - Labour through and through, and deserving our whole-hearted gratitude and support.

Iain McNicol speaking at the conference. Photograph: Jon Super/EPA block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.21pm BST

block-time published-time 12.39pm BST

Heidi Alexander , who resigned as shadow health secretary, was on the Sunday Politics earlier. She said she would not be willing to return to the shadow cabinet.

enltrHeidi Alexander tells @daily\_politics [https://twitter.com/daily\_politics] she won’t serve in shadow cab saying her views hadn't changed because Jeremy Corbyn had been elected

— Alex Forsyth (@AlexForsythBBC) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AlexForsythBBC/status/779991137666863104]enltrLabour's @heidi\_mp [https://twitter.com/heidi\_mp] says she won't return to the shadow cabinet. Corbyn's leadership was "dysfunctional" #labconf16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/labconf16?src=hash] says she won't return to the shadow cabinet. Corbyn's leadership was "dysfunctional"

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/779994107712331776]block-time published-time 12.17pm BST

Cooper says McDonnell should apologise to McVey Yvette Cooper, the former shadow home secretary, told Peston on Sunday that it was “really, really not okay” for John McDonnell to defend the comment he made about Esther McVey being lynched. She said that he should apologise, and that people should always apologise for comments like that. “If you do not, it sets a climate of hostility and abuse,” she said.

She said Jeremy Corbyn and McDonnell should take a much stronger line on abusive language generally.

How can we stand up against oppression and bullying by the powerful or by the mob, as Labour has always done, if we are not prepared to deal with the minority in our own party who might be doing that kind of thing.

enltrHere is @YvetteCooperMP [https://twitter.com/YvetteCooperMP] 's full reaction to @johnmcdonnellMP [https://twitter.com/johnmcdonnellMP] 's refusal to apologise on the show today for comments about Esther McVey 's refusal to apologise on the show today for comments about #Peston [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Peston?src=hash] 's refusal to apologise on the show today for comments about Esther McVey 's refusal to apologise on the show today for comments about pic.twitter.com/1YicghxCJh [https://t.co/1YicghxCJh] 's refusal to apologise on the show today for comments about Esther McVey 's refusal to apologise on the show today for comments about

— Peston on Sunday (@pestononsunday) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/pestononsunday/status/779992202864762880] Esther McVey also criticised McDonnell, describing him as someone who encourages bullying and intimidation. She told the programme.

This is a man who talks about the struggle through threats, intimidation and bullying and he doesn’t just talk about it – he whips up that culture. This is the sort of action that he is encouraging.

block-time published-time 12.03pm BST

With no regional breakdown of the leadership election available, it’s hard to stand up yesterday’s YouGov ‘exit polling’ [https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/09/24/labour-members-exit-poll-corbyn-wins-all-except-yo/] which suggested that Owen Smith did much better than Jeremy Corbyn in Scotland with 58% of the vote.

Corbyn staffers say their canvas returns were more in line with the rest of the Uk, at around 60/40, while the Smith campaign’s returns show closer to 50% for their man. There is some speculation that the greater support for Smith reflects a higher proportion of pre-2015 members in Scotland, with that demographic who joined Labour post-Corbyn in England already having signed up to the SNP and Greens in Scotland.

There is also some inevitable speculation about the position of Scottish Labour leader Kezia Dugdale , following her support for Owen Smith during the campaign and pointed remarks yesterday that Corbyn can unite the party “but he needs to want to unite it”.

Yes, there is some procedural opposition looming for Dugdale. With conference due to approve plans to give the Scottish party full control over policy and candidate selection, it appears that there will be calls to reconsider the additional plan to give Scottish Labour a seat on the UK NEC, to be directly controlled and answerable to Dugdale. But even amongst Corbyn’s Scottish stalwarts, there is little appetite for another leadership election – the fourth in two years - this morning.

Meanwhile, Scottish Conservative leader Ruth Davidson set out her pitch to Labour moderates in an article for the Sunday Times Scotland [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/scotland/we-will-represent-the-moderates-that-labour-has-now-abandoned-wspbcjh3p], promising to speak up for traditional Labour voters who now feel excluded by Corbyn, and stating she is “determined to build a moderate Scottish Conservative party that appeals to the same people who supported Brown and Blair: one which knows that economic growth only has value if it works in tandem with social progress.”

block-time published-time 11.59am BST

I ain McNicol, the Labour general secretary, is addressing the conference now. He has just announced that the party is setting up a Jo Cox Women in Leadership programme.

enltrI’m pleased to announce the Jo Cox Women in Leadership Programme, delivered in

partnership with @Labourwomensnetwork – @IainMcNicol [https://twitter.com/IainMcNicol]

— Labour Press Team (@labourpress) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/labourpress/status/779996300393709569]block-time published-time 11.58am BST

John McDonnell defends calling Esther McVey 'stain of inhumanity' This is what John McDonnell , the shadow chancellor, said on Peston on Sunday earlier about abusive language he had used about Esther McVey , the former Tory disabilities minister.

Robert Peston asked him about saying she should be lynched, and calling her a “stain of inhumanity”.

Referring to the lynching comment, [http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/esther-mcvey-lynching-mp-john-8125900] McDonnell said:

I simply reported what was shouted out at a meeting.

Peston then put it to him that “stain of inhumanity” [http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/wirral-west-mp-esther-mcvey-8913219] was McDonnell’s phrase. McDonnell defended it, saying it was important to be honest.

I was angry. Sometime you need to express honest anger. And that was about what the last government was doing to people with disabilities. And it was appalling, to be frank. And sometimes it is better to be honest with people about what you feel. At times, in parliament in particular, it means using strong language. But actually if it reflects your honest views, I think it better to be honest than to be deceptive in many ways...

People have had enough of spin and triangulation. What they want is politicians who speak the truth. And do express themselves.

But there has to be an element of expressing yourself in language which doesn’t go too far. I accept that, and occasionally I’ve gone too far, and I’ve admitted that.

But at the same time, now, we’ve got to be straight with one another. We can’t have this, people can’t trust whatever a politicians says because they are always saying one thing and doing another. I think what people want - and that’s exactly why people voted for Jeremy - is what you get is what you see, straight, honest politics.

block-time published-time 11.35am BST

The Lib Dems claim that 300 people joined their party yesterday as Labour announced that Jeremy Corbyn had been re-elected. “I am delighted to welcome so many new members to the party and look forward to working with them to provide the real opposition to this Conservative Brexit government,” Tim Farron, the Lib Dem leader, said.

block-time published-time 11.22am BST

Corbyn's interview with Marr - Summary Here are the main points from Jeremy Corbyn ’s interview with Andrew Marr.

\* Jeremy Corbyn has said that the “vast majority” of Labour MPs have no need to fear being deselected. Asked about reselection, he said that the boundary changes being introduced meant MPs would have to get selected for the new seats. But he insisted that he wants most MPs to stay. Asked if he wanted MPs to be reinstated, or if he wanted the process to result in a new breed of MPs being chosen, he replied:

I wish them [existing MPs] well. The relationship between an MP and their constituency is a complex one. It is not necessarily all the policy, tick-boxing exercise. It is also the relationship with the community, the effectiveness of representation and all those issues. Let’s have a democratic discussion. I think the vast majority of MPs will have no problems whatsoever.

Corbyn was making the point that, if local parties want to get rid of MPs, it might not necessarily be because of their political views. But the phrase “the vast majority” suggests that Corbyn expects at least a few MPs to be replaced before the next election.

\* He said that he was opposed to a so-called “hard” Brexit (Brexit involving giving up access to the single market).

\* He strongly rejected Parry Mitchell’s claim that it is difficult for Jews to remain in the Labour party. (See 9.05am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/25/labour-conference-jeremy-corbyn-liverpool-formally-opens-after-jeremy-corbyn-re-elected-leader?page=with:block-57e783a8e4b0831a514021c8#block-57e783a8e4b0831a514021c8] Commenting on what Mitchell, a peer, said about why is is leaving the party, Corbyn replied:

It’s unfortunate he would say that, because it’s not a fair comment and I would hope that he would reflect on that because clearly there are diverse views within the party on issues in the Middle East, but there is absolute unity in the party of opposing any form of anti-Semitism, any form of racism in the party. That is very clear.

\* Corbyn said he wanted party members, and the party conference, to have more say in Labour policy making.

\* He said that the investigations into alleged abuses by British servicemen and women in Iraq and Afghanistan should continue. Asked if he backed Tony Blair, who this weekend said the investigations should stop [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/24/tony-blair-end-this-army-witch-hunt-into-britains-brave-soldiers/], Corbyn said:

I have spoken to a number of soldiers that have served in Afghanistan and Iraq and I recognise the awful conditions that they were asked to serve under, and the difficulties they had with that.

But I do think there has to be a recognition that we have signed up for international law on the behaviour of troops. America is going through the same experience, as do other European countries even though they’re not signed up to the international criminal court . So I think there has to be investigations. Saying never to prosecute I think would be a step too far.

\* He suggested the more of the defence budget should be spent on emergency relief. Asked if defence spending should be higher or lower, he said it should not be any higher. He went on:

I think it should be efficiently used, but I also think the defence budget should also be used where necessary so that Britain is very good at actually giving aid and comfort during emergencies. Look at what we did during the Ebola crisis and other things.

\* He questioned the need to expand the size of MI6. Asked if he backed i ts decision to hire 1,000 more staff [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-37434131], he replied:

I don’t necessarily think that is particularly necessary. I think there has to be security for everybody, but I’m unclear as to why they want to be so much bigger.

Corbyn speaking on the Andrew Marr show. Photograph: BBC block-time published-time 10.56am BST

Yvette Cooper says she is 'not opposed' to returning to shadow cabinet Yvette Cooper , the former shadow home secretary, has also been on Peston on Sunday. She said she would not rule out returning to the shadow cabinet. This is from the BBC ’s Laura Kuenssberg.

enltrCooper also said she is 'not opposed' to going back to front bench altho she is running to chair Home Affairs Cttee

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/779981069605015552]Cooper was also angered by the way John McDonnell defended his abuse of Esther McVey (see 10.12pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/25/labour-conference-jeremy-corbyn-liverpool-formally-opens-after-jeremy-corbyn-re-elected-leader?page=with:block-57e7941de4b03598d1ce8655#block-57e7941de4b03598d1ce8655]Cooper was also angered by the way John McDonnell defended his abuse of Esther McVey (see

enltrYvette Cooper visibly upset that McDonnell wouldn't apologise or retract what he said about Esther McVey on Peston

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/779979525157429248]block-time published-time 10.36am BST

Tristram Hunt tells ITV ’s Robert Peston that he cannot take up John McDonnell ’s offer to return to the shadow cabinet because he disagrees too much with Jeremy Corbyn on policy.

Hunt also interprets what McDonnell said a few minutes ago about reselection as McDonnell rejecting hard-left factionalism.

enltrTristram Hunt adopts a strategy of hugging Team Corbyn close, saying that McDonnell has "knocked on the head" any "hard-left factionalism".

— Robert Hutton (@RobDotHutton) September 25, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RobDotHutton/status/779976569674752000]block-time published-time 10.29am BST

The ad break is over, and the Peston/McDonnell interview is carrying on.

Q: Why did Owen Smith win in Scotland, according to a YouGov poll yesterday?

McDonnell says YouGov was wrong about that. But he says it is true that there had not been a surge of new members in Scotland.

He says Labour has just won a seat from the SNP in a council byelection in Scotland.

Q: Why was there an attempt at the NEC meeting yesterday to block the move to give Wales and Scotland a seat on the NEC?

That is not what happened, says McDonnell.

He says it has been agreed to give Scotland and Wales a seat on the NEC. There is a debate to be had about whether those members are chosen by the party leaders in those countries, or elected by members. There was a case for saying that decision should be delayed, so it can be decided as party of wider party reform. But the NEC last night decided to press ahead with a vote this week on the current proposals, that would allow the leaders to decide, McDonnell says.

(Jeremy Corbyn reportedly backed a bid at last night’s NEC to delay the whole decision. That was interpreted by some as Corbyn trying to block the move to give Scotland and Wales seats on the NEC.)

McDonnell also says it may take weeks before new appointments are made to the shadow cabinet. And he says there could be an NEC away day to decide whether to bring back shadow cabinet elections.

And now the McDonnell interview is over.

block-time published-time 10.17am BST

McDonnell says Labour needs to win as a coalition.

Q: And if Tristram Hunt wanted a job back in the shadow cabinet, he would be welcome back.

Yes, says McDonnell. He says Hunt is a good advocate for his party. And he says he is reading Hunt’s book about cities at the moment and enjoying it.

That section of the interview is over, but he is back on the programme later.

block-time published-time 10.15am BST

Q: Is it a problem if Labour MPs do not return to the front bench?

McDonnell says that is a shame. But people like Yvette Cooper are opposing the government from the back benches. Cooper is leading on asylum. He says the leadership will support them.

Q: What about your hit list of disloyal MPs?

McDonnell says he was furious about this. A staffer produced a list of MPs who have been critical. It was put out as notes to a press release without permission.

Q: So you would not support Tristram Hunt (another guest on the programme) being deselected?

No, says McDonnell.

block-time published-time 10.12am BST

John McDonnell 's interview with Robert Peston Robert Peston is now interviewing John McDonnell , the shadow chancellor, on his show.

Peston points out that Esther McVey , the former Tory minister, is on the programme. McDonnell once said she should be lynched. Does he still think that?

McDonnell says he was quoting what someone said at a meeting. But he was expressing the anger that people felt about cuts affecting the disabled. He says politicians need to say what they think.

Sometimes people have gone too far. But honesty is important, he says. That is why people voted for Jeremy Corbyn .

Q: Does that mean you do not expect MPs who disagree with Corbyn to shut up?

McDonnell says they are a democratic party. Decision making is better like that, he says. He says the Wilson government was an example.

He says he has a lot of time for what New Labour did. But one problem was that it shut down debate.

block-time published-time 10.05am BST

Q: Do you want Hilary Benn back your shadow cabinet?

Corbyn says Benn is standing to be chair of the Brexit committee.

And that’s it. I will post a summary shortly.

block-time published-time 10.00am BST

Q: Should the defence budget be higher or lower?

Corbyn says it should not be any higher. It should be efficiently used. And troops should be used for emergency relief, he says. He says Clive Lewis, the shadow defence secretary, will say more about that this week.

Q: Some people argue it needs to go up, because Britain is not well defended.

Corbyn says there is an issue about cybersecurity. But that does not necessarily mean you need big land forces, he says.

Q: Do you support the increase in size of MI6?

Corbyn says he is not convinced that is necessary. He does not see why they need more staff.

block-time published-time 9.57am BST

Q: You want a minister for peace and a minister for disarmament?

They would be the same person, says Corbyn.

Q: What would you do about something like Aleppo?

Corbyn says there has to be political engagement and a political solution.

Q: Do you agree with Tony Blair who has said today that the prosecutions of servicemen over alleged abuses in Iraq and Afghanistan are going too far?

Corbyn says he recognises that servicemen faced very difficult conditions.

But we have signed up to international law, he says. He says it must be enforced.

block-time published-time 9.55am BST

Q: What is your view of capitalism? Is it broadly good, or broadly bad?

Corbyn says he backs a mixed economy. But there is case for the public sector running services. We should produce what people need, not just produce for the sake of greed.

Q: Do you want to nationalise key industries as Labour did in the 1980s?

Corbyn says he is not proposing that.

Q: You have spoken about nationalising the NHS . So what about private firms doing things like medical tests more efficiently than the NHS .

Corbyn says services are best provided by the state.

Q: Always?

Corbyn says services are provided more effectively inhouse.

Q: Would you stop doctors in the NHS doing private work?

Corbyn says most GPs do not do private work. Most GPs are salaried. They prefer it that way.

block-time published-time 9.52am BST

Q: After the crash people decided Labour could not be trusted because it spent too much.

Corbyn says the crash was not caused by Labour overspending. It was caused by a deregulated banking system. Maybe regulation should be tougher.

Q: But people think Labour government’s spent too much. Aren’t you taking a risk reinforcing this view?

Corbyn says, look at the £9.5bn spend on housing benefit. That could be spent much more effectively, he says.

block-time published-time 9.50am BST

Q: Ministers says parliament will not be consulted until the Brexit deal is done. Is that sustainable?

No, says Corbyn. He says he has set up a Brexit team. Labour is organising a conference with European allies later this year to consider how the UK can maintain a relationship with the EU .

Q: You have plans for a £500bn investment fund. How much will taxpayers have to pay in higher interest rates?

Corbyn says this would not all be spent in one year. This is the proposal that would lead to increased tax revenues.

Q: How did you come up with this figure? Is it just because it is a nice round number?

No, says Corbyn. It is what is required.

block-time published-time 9.48am BST

Corbyn says he is opposed to a hard Brexit Q: Do you want a hard Brexit or an open Brexit? Should we accept the end to free movement?

Corbyn says a hard Brexit would lead to a huge hit for manufacturing industry in Britain. He says if the Tories want the UK to be a tax haven offshore island, that will not be “appetising to most people in this country”.

Q: So you would oppose a hard Brexit?

Yes, says Corbyn.

He says he has been speaking to allies in Europe.

\* Corbyn says he is opposed to a hard Brexit.

block-time published-time 9.45am BST

Marr asks about Parry Mitchell’s comments today. (See 9.05am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/25/labour-conference-jeremy-corbyn-liverpool-formally-opens-after-jeremy-corbyn-re-elected-leader?page=with:block-57e783a8e4b0831a514021c8#block-57e783a8e4b0831a514021c8]

Corbyn questions whether Mitchell has ever met anyone from Momentum. He does not accept what Mitchell is saying about antisemitism in the party.

block-time published-time 9.44am BST

Corbyn says ‘vast majorty’ of Labour MPs have no need to fear being deselected Q: What about deselections?

Corbyn says Labour is going through boundary changes. So there will have to be reselected.

Q: Do you want the party to change? Or do you want MPs to be reselected?

Corbyn say he wishes MPs well. The “vast majority” of MPs have nothing to fear, he says.

\* Corbyn says ‘vast majority’ of Labour MPs have no need to fear being deselected.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.10am BST

block-time published-time 9.42am BST

Q: Don’t you need the support of MPs?

Corbyn says he is reaching out to MPs.

There is some difference. But there is a great deal of agreement on much too.

Q: There was a vituperative leadership campaign. Don’t your critics now have to shut up?

Corbyn says he has never made personal criticisms of any of his critics. So let’s move on, he says.

He says the party should be discussing policy.

Labour has a massive membership. They should be pleased about that, he says.

block-time published-time 9.40am BST

Corbyn says party conference needs to be more at centre of Labour decision making. Corbyn says the party conference needs to be more at the centre of Labour decision making.

\* Corbyn says the party conference needs to be more at the centre of Labour decision making.

block-time published-time 9.39am BST

Jeremy Corbyn 's interview with Andrew Marr Andrew Marr is interviewing Jeremy Corbyn now.

Q: Do you want big decisions in the party to be taken by an open vote of the members?

Corbyn says he wants a more open party. He has asked the NEC to look at how the party democratises. That includes greater trade union involvement.

Q: So if someone who has joined wants to have a say over policy over, for example, Trident, will they get it?

Corbyn says he wants more say for members.

For example, the party is anti-austerity. But there is a debate to be had about where you invest.

Q: Will new members get a vote on party decisions?

Corbyn says they will through their local party. But he would like more online consultation too.

block-time published-time 9.26am BST

Boris Johnson, the Conservative foreign secretary, is being interviewed on the Andrew Marr Show now. Marr starts with a question about Labour, suggesting that Jeremy Corbyn ’s popularity means he could be a threat to the Tories.

Johnson says he does not accept that. He says Corbyn wants to “whack up taxes”, increasing borrowing and return to a “leftwing, 1970s, Dave Spart-style agenda”.

Corbyn also wants to “abolish the army” and sent out nuclear submarines without missiles, he goes on, “so that the whole country is literally firing blanks”.

Johnson says he does not think the public would support this.

(The claim that Corbyn wants to “abolish the army” is a classic Johnson misrepresentation - or lie, to be a bit more blunt. It is Tory spin on a speech Corbyn gave about peace in 2012. The Daily Mirror explains what Corbyn actually said here.) [http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/heres-what-jeremy-corbyn-really-6438877]

block-time published-time 9.15am BST

As I mentioned in my paper round-up earlier (see 8.16am) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/25/labour-conference-jeremy-corbyn-liverpool-formally-opens-after-jeremy-corbyn-re-elected-leader?page=with:block-57e7676de4b03598d1ce85d3#block-57e7676de4b03598d1ce85d3], the Mail on Sunday is running a story saying Chuka Umunna, the former shadow business secretary, is being tipped to mount a leadership challenge before the general election.

Umunna is reviewing the papers on the Andrew Marr show, and he has just rubbished the story. He told the programme:

This issue of leadership is settled. We do not need to be talking about this anymore. We need to be talking about how we win the general election.

block-time published-time 9.05am BST

Labour peer confirms he is leaving party following Corbyn's re-election Parry Mitchell, a businessman and Labour peer, has confirmed that he is leaving the Labour party. He said earlier in the year that he would leave if Jeremy Corbyn were re-elected, and in an interview for the BBC ’s Sunday Politics, he has explained why he is quitting.

The first reason is that many of the issues that seem to be important to him and his friends, I’m absolutely opposed to; I’m supportive of Nato, I’m supportive of Trident, I’m supportive of America and in particular I’m supportive of Israel and he and his group seem to me are very hostile to that. But secondly, you know, this is about leadership and this is about becoming prime minister, and Jeremy’s fine with his group of people and the membership who’ve put him in, but at the end of the day you’ve got to win an election and you’ve got to appeal to middle England and I don’t think he has a hope in hell of doing that …. Jeremy has no leadership qualities whatsoever, his little group like him and they think he’s the Messiah, but he will never become the leader and prime minister of this country.

Mitchell also said that antisemitism in the party was a major factor in his decision.

I’m Jewish and I’m very strongly Jewish and I make no bones about it and there’s no doubt in my mind that Jeremy himself is very lukewarm on this subject. He’s never been as vociferous in condemning anti-semitism as he should be, and when he does make a mention of it he combines it with other forms of racism, so he will never say specifically as far as antisemitism is concerned. But even more than that he surrounds himself with a coterie of people who hold violent, violent anti-Israel views and allied with it they are very hostile to Jews so, in my view, they’re pretty bad guys.

I think it’s very difficult if you are Jewish and you support Israel to be a member of the Labour party.

block-time published-time 8.16am BST

You might expect Jeremy Corbyn and the Labour conference to be dominating the news headlines this morning, but events in Liverpool are being slightly overshadowed by a Conservative party story - excerpts from a book by David Cameron ’s communications chief, Sir Craig Oliver, saying Cameron felt “badly let down” by Theresa May during the EU referendum. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37465452]’s communications chief, Sir Craig Oliver,

enltrMail on Sunday front page:

How Theresa torpedoed PM Cameron #tomorrowspaperstoday [https://twitter.com/hashtag/tomorrowspaperstoday?src=hash] #bbcpapers [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcpapers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/sTDcZa2HrD [https://t.co/sTDcZa2HrD]

— Nick Sutton (@suttonnick) September 24, 2016 [https://twitter.com/suttonnick/status/779779700151517184]It’s a reminder that Labour is not the only party beset by deep and bitter divisions - although the fact that the Conservative party is fundamentally split on the key issue of our time (Europe) doesn’t seem to be doing them much harm. According to one poll today, the Tories have a 15-point lead over Labour.

Still, there is quite a lot of Labour coverage in the papers. Here are some of the main stories.

\* Toby Helm and Daniel Bofey in the Observer says Jeremy Corbyn has pledged to reward Labour’s mass membership with more power over the running of the party, after he inflicted a thumping defeat on leadership challenger Owen Smith .

Related: Corbyn 'vindicated' as he pledges more power to Labour members [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/24/corbyn-pledge-on-grassroots-after-leadership-win]

\* Tim Shipman and James Lyons in the Sunday Times (paywall) say Sadiq Khan, the mayor of London, has warned against the danger of Labour splitting. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/sadiq-khan-corbyn-purge-could-kill-labour-cjk7cjjb9]

The Labour Party risks extinction unless Jeremy Corbyn drops plans to take revenge on his critics following his landslide win in the leadership election, Sadiq Khan has warned.

The London mayor said bitter divisions between Corbynistas and moderates meant his party was in “more serious” danger of splitting and then dying out than in the early 1980s, when the Gang of Four broke away to form the SDP.

Khan, the party’s most senior elected official, issued his warning as Corbyn secured an emphatic ­victory over his challenger, Owen Smith . He won nearly 62% of the vote, increasing his mandate and his stranglehold on the party...

Khan also warned the moderates who plan to set up a backbench group to defy Corbyn not to provoke divisions. “Anything that gives the impression there’s an upside to splitting, I’m against,” he said.

\* James Lyons in the Sunday Times (paywall) says many Labour MPs opposed to Corbyn have given up hope of getting rid of him before the general election. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/corbyn-is-going-to-crash-labour-then-set-light-to-it-qfzmt7203]

Labour MPs are steeling themselves for a long war of attrition with Jeremy Corbyn and his hard-left supporters that many fear will end in a “catastrophic” general election defeat.

There was dismay after their attempt to oust Corbyn backfired and his victory over rival Owen Smith was confirmed in a half-empty conference hall in Liverpool at noon yesterday, with one former frontbencher saying: “I feel sick.”

Many have all but given up hope of dislodging the Labour leader before the next election and fear that the more moderate members — and MPs — will desert the party.

\* Glen Owen and Brendan Carlin in the Mail on Sunday say Chuka Umunna is being tipped to mount a leadership challenge against Corbyn before the election. [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3805941/Rising-star-Chuka-Umunna-tipped-challenge-Jeremy-Corbyn-election.html]

\* The Morning Star says the Scottish MSP Neil Findlay has rejected a claim from a YouGov poll saying more Labour members in Scotland voted for Owen Smith than for Corbyn. [https://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/a-5e1b-Scots-did-back-Jez-Findlay#.V-dyhyMrJZ0]

\* Yvette Cooper, the former shadow home secretary, has used an article in the Sunday Telegraph to urge Corbyn to do more to tackle online abuse, saying that she has received death threats herself. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/24/yvette-cooper-reveals-twitter-user-threatened-to-behead-her-as-s/]

\* David Wooding in the Sun on Sunday says a new ICM poll gives the Tories a 15-point lead over Labour. It shows the Conservatives on 41%, and Labour on 26%. [https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1847664/labour-faces-mass-defeat-at-next-election-after-jeremy-corbyn-is-voted-to-remain-leader-shocking-poll-suggests/]

Today is the formal opening of the Labour conference. (Yesterday the leadership election results were announced in the middle of the women’s conference.) Here is the agenda.

9am: Jeremy Corbyn gives an interview to the Andrew Marr Show.

10am: John McDonnell , the shadow chancellor, Yvette Cooper , the former shadow home secretary, and Tristram Hunt , the former shadow education secretary, are interview on Peston on Sunday. Corbyn isn’t on the programme - he was on last week - but he has recorded a plug for the show.

enltrAn exclusive message from the newly re-elected Labour Leader ahead of our special programme live in Liverpool tomorrow at 10am @itv [https://twitter.com/ITV] #Peston [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Peston?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/kcNvublbMF [https://t.co/kcNvublbMF]

— Peston on Sunday (@pestononsunday) September 24, 2016 [https://twitter.com/pestononsunday/status/779647681262133248]10am: John McDonnell , Diane Abbott , the shadow health secretary, and Seema Malhotra , the former shadow chief secretary to the Treasury, are interviewed on Sky ’s Murnaghan show.

enltr #Murnaghan [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Murnaghan?src=hash] is live from #Lab16 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Lab16?src=hash] tomorrow with @johnmcdonnellMP [https://twitter.com/johnmcdonnellMP], @HackneyAbbott [https://twitter.com/HackneyAbbott], @SeemaMalhotra1 [https://twitter.com/SeemaMalhotra1] and @Patrick4Dales [https://twitter.com/Patrick4Dales] and pic.twitter.com/T03n8jgKY3 [https://t.co/T03n8jgKY3] and

— Murnaghan (@SkyMurnaghan) September 24, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SkyMurnaghan/status/779764869809799168]11am: The conference formally opens, with speeches in the morning from Iain McNicol , the general secretary, and Jon Trickett , the election co-ordinator

2.15pm: The afternoon session starts, with debates on communities and transport and the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland reports.

If you want to follow or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments below the line but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**He’s an arch conservative provocateur and one-time seminarian with outspoken views on Islam, Safe Schools and **immigration**. So how did the LNP member for Dawson become the most influential figure to emerge from the Queensland National ranks since Barnaby Joyce?

A few weeks shy of George Christensen’s 20 th birthday, having let his National party membership lapse and getting “itchy feet thinking about One Nation”, he voted for Pauline Hanson’s party in the 1998 Queensland election.

The next year, having seen how One Nation’s 11 state MPs – three of them in electorates straddled by Christensen’s now federal seat of Dawson – were “all over the shop” in parliament, he resumed paid-up membership of the Nationals.

While Hanson had poached National members en masse by espousing similar views about “race-based welfare, the flag and a whole heap of other things”, Christensen came to “figure at that stage it was better trying to sort these issues out within the National party rather than a new vehicle”.

That flirtation with One Nation was not the only alternative path Christensen explored on his way to Canberra, where the self-described “humble backbencher” arguably now rates as the most influential figure to emerge from Queensland National ranks since Barnaby Joyce.

Twice, like his political ally Tony Abbott before him, Christensen seriously contemplated becoming a priest.

Related: Meeting Pauline Hanson's voters: silent screamers find their voice[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/17/meeting-pauline-hansons-voters-silent-screamers-find-their-voice]

At 21, he was accepted into a seminary in Melbourne but withdrew after a couple of weeks.

“It’s probably going to be controversial [but] one thing I can say is that there were some blokes you immediately identified as gay and I think there is that element that do go there but then there are other people in there who you were quite sure they weren’t gay,” he observes.

Asked about his feelings on celibacy, Christensen recalls an exchange between a seminary tutor and “one of the blokes who immediately took a shine to me and was showing me around”.

“The tutor’s come in and said to them, look, no real work this week because you’re doing this instead, so do a 200-word essay on celibacy and what it means to the priesthood.

“The tutor walked away and the guy looked at me and said, ‘200? I’ll just give him two’.” Christensen roars with laughter at the memory.

About five years later, he again thought strongly about joining the priesthood, holding “some serious discussion with the local bishop but it didn’t go anywhere else”.

“Anyway I ended up nominating for the LNP instead,” he says, again with a laugh.

An arch conservative provocateur and lightning rod for furious disagreement from the progressive left, Christensen grew up poor in the sugar belt city of Mackay.

His parents met by chance in a Brisbane rehabilitation hospital, where his father Ian, the scion of a Mackay cane farming family, was recovering from losing a leg to cancer aged 19.

His mother Margaret, a migrant with her family from the UK, had cerebral palsy and severe epilepsy.

Ian says: “Both of us are disabled and George was our first-born son and we struggled mightily for a number of years.”

Their son was a bookish and “placid” boy, Ian observes.

Christensen recalls developing “a bit of a thick skin” from teasing at school for showing up without shoes, which “I couldn’t afford basically”.

Related: George Christensen the most abused MP on Twitter, election analysis shows[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/01/australian-election-2016-turnbull-shorten-coalition-greens-labor-politics-live]

“There were only two types of kids that went to school barefoot: all the Aboriginal kids and me,” he says.

“They’d call me the barefoot bandit, which was kind of funny. There were other instances like that where you couldn’t go on excursions because your family was too poor. You got used to it.

“So I became academic, probably because people took the trouble to read to me as a kid and I got interested in books.”

Among his father’s interests to rub off on the young bookworm was the TV series Doctor Who.

In 2013, Christensen, wearing a Doctor Who scarf, put up a motion in parliament calling for funding to lure BBC producers to film their 2015 series in Australia.

Ian recalls his son as a toddler bursting into tears at hearing he planned to order a miniature Dalek from the UK “because he thought it was going to come to life in the night and zap him”.

There were other apparent villains on TV introduced to Christensen via his father.

Ian says: “I’ve probably got to blame myself for George being the political animal because coming from an agricultural family, of course we had ties to the National party, and of course we’d sit down for the evening meal and watch the news and here’s Bob Hawke and Paul Keating on there and I’d be passing somewhat less-than-glorious comment about these gentlemen.”

As influential was his parents’ resistance to the option of life on a disability pension. Ian took a job in a taxi call centre, moving on to driving and owning his own taxi, before eventually establishing a motor parts manufacturing business with Margaret.

It’s a story of individual agency that profoundly affected Christensen as he began pondering “life and the social strata” as a teenager.

“You can get trapped very easily in the idea of being in a family where welfare is the driver of your family economy,” he says.

“The more I read about it, there was two ways of looking at life. You can say, woe is me, my life is terrible, I go to school barefoot every day – by high school I wasn’t – why is it so unfair these other kid have got Nikes on?

“Or you can get on with it and do what you need to do to ensure one day you’re going to purchase at least Dunlops. So you’re not the barefoot bandit any more.”

Christensen won a place to study constitutional law at Griffith university but had to turn it down because moving to Brisbane was unaffordable.

Related: Hell will freeze over before I pull out of Reclaim Australia's rally | George Christensen[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/17/hell-will-freeze-over-before-i-pull-out-of-reclaim-australias-rally]

Instead he studied at Central Queensland university, settling on majors in journalism and public relations.

As the teenage editor of a student newsletter, Christensen sowed the seeds of his first national controversy by publishing, in apparent satire, slurs on Jews, gay people and women.

“My thoughts: the truth is women are stupid and that is that,” he wrote in one piece, raising in another concerns about a new Bible edition that “removed accusations that the Jews killed Christ”.

Christensen was hired after graduation by then Dawson MP De-Anne Kelly, working alongside a close friend from school in her electorate office for more than two years.

He won a seat on the local Mackay council in 2004, augmenting what was then a part-time wage by starting up two local newspapers with a girlfriend.

His political training ground was a city in the “full swing” of an overnight mining boom.

“It was fantasy land: people would drop out at grade 10, do half a year work earning $97,000 and then you’re bumped up to $120,000. Where on earth can that happen?

“It really was a crazy time and people thought it was going to go on forever, that’s why [the downturn] is such a shock to the system in Mackay.”

Christensen recalls learning the bread and butter of constituency work that enabled him to ultimately “walk into the job of a federal politician knowing half of the job”.

He made some local notoriety for himself aged 25 railing against the council wasting money on “frilly bits as opposed to the basics”.

In terms of courting controversy, Christensen was just getting started.

Preselected to run for the now-merged Liberal National party in Dawson in 2010, the unearthing of those student newsletters put the 32-year-old candidate on the national radar[http://m.smh.com.au/federal-election/lib-holds-on-to-his-candidacy-20100810-11udi.html].

Ian remembers being shown the newsletters at the time and telling his son: “If you’ve got any ideas of a political future, maybe you shouldn’t have said that.”

Still, he found “Kerry O’Brien interrogating Tony Abbott on the 7.30 Report” on the issue 13 years on to be “completely over the top”.

Christensen apologised “without reservation for those dumb comments made as a teenager over a decade ago”.

The list of outrages attributed to Christensen since is long: his statements on **immigration** and Islam [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/feb/23/george-christensen-seeks-contributors-to-new-war-on-radical-islam-website] and his endorsement of Geert Wilders and the Reclaim Australia movement[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/17/hell-will-freeze-over-before-i-pull-out-of-reclaim-australias-rally] ; his attacks on the “gutless green grubs” and “terrorists” of the anti-mining conservation movement, and likening the Safe Schools anti-bullying program to “grooming” by paedophiles[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/mar/16/george-christensen-accuses-safe-schools-advocate-of-promoting-paedophilia] ; his call for the reintroduction of the death penalty and public canings of drug dealers.

Christensen says there’s a “standing joke that [the prime minister’s office] don’t even bother phoning George any more” to suggest he pull his head in.

“That has been the way for a while, I’ve got to say,” he says, adding his biggest regrets in federal politics are when he didn’t speak up to oppose things such as tobacco taxes.

Having called for a royal commission into the science of climate change in his maiden speech as an MP, Christensen still believes that “in 50 years’ time we’ll probably all look back on it and go, ‘what was all that about?’”

These kinds of pronouncements, particularly on social media, paint Christensen as the consummate rightwing troll. Not the first to observe that the leftwing platform of choice seems to be Twitter, and Facebook for the right, Christensen is active on both.

Related: Turnbull attacks George Christensen and Pauline Hanson's anti-Muslim rhetoric[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/16/turnbull-attacks-george-christensen-and-pauline-hansons-anti-muslim-rhetoric]

In return, Christensen has earned the distinction of being the most heavily abused federal politician online.[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/01/australian-election-2016-turnbull-shorten-coalition-greens-labor-politics-live] He sometimes shows his father the feedback.

“I think, boy, if that was me I’d be a bit miffed. He just laughs and smiles about it,” Ian says. “He does have a well-honed sense of humour.”

One response that did unsettle Christensen came because of something he said – and now regrets – in the wake of his encounter with abject poverty in south-east Asia, including the infamous “Smoky Mountain” community based around a rubbish dump in the Philippines.

He invited critics of the “infamous 2014 federal budget” to “do a tour of Asia and live like these locals”.

“A bloke wrote to me and told me that I had become a ‘mark’ and he included a photo of a guy whose head was blown off and told me that some Australians still had guns,” he says. “And that shook me a little bit.”

A bloke wrote to me and told me that I had become a ‘mark’ and he included a photo of a guy whose head was blown off

George Christensen

Amid the needling and vitriol online, Christensen has shown a willingness on occasion to admit fault or see the joke when he’s made the butt of it (such as when a bikie tattooist made him into a nude caricature).

When his brother Antony was jailed in 2014 for a home invasion and assault on the lover of his former de facto[http://www.dailymercury.com.au/news/chased-in-a-jealous-rage/2349813/] partner, Christensen did not try to distance himself, supplying the court with a character reference.

Ian says of the episode: “Yes, well, the truth is always the way to go.”

On whether there’s a side to his son that enjoys baiting ideological opponents, Ian says: “Don’t in any way, shape or form be confused about George or where he’s coming from: he’s a true blue conservative.”

“These people that attack him for the things he says, he’s just reflecting what the community’s thinking and how it is on the ground.”

Once in a while, a “salt of the earth” LNP supporter in Mackay called Shane Maloney would lay out a spread of scones, tea or beer on his verandah where locals bend Christensen’s ear.

That’s where, amid complaints about foreign ownership of Australian properties and tree-clearing restrictions, Christensen cops it for not going far enough.

“It’s interesting, it’s a ferociousness from people who are of the same ilk as me in my own electorate, who are upping me as the representative of the LNP or the National party for not doing enough on these issues,” Christensen says.

“I have to say to them … ‘can I just tell you I would love it if the entirety of the nation was like all you people sitting on the verandah here’. But we’ve got people that are diametrically opposed to what you’re saying and what you think. That’s unfortunately the art of politics, doing what’s possible, not doing what you’d like to do all the time.”

A single week this month, in which three big political stories revolved around Christensen, showcased his rising influence in government.

Don’t in any way, shape or form be confused about George or where he’s coming from: he’s a true blue conservative

Ian Christensen

After Christensen addressed a packed media conference to praise the government for scrapping superannuation changes over which he’d threatened to cross the floor, Fairfax Media[http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-opinion/i-give-malcolm-full-marks-george-christensen-humble-backbencher-seizes-the-limelight-20160915-grgskh.html] observed that a Martian visitor would “be forgiven for thinking he was running the show”.

Christensen’s speech calling for **immigration** bans on countries with jihadi extremists gained no purchase within government[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/16/turnbull-attacks-george-christensen-and-pauline-hansons-anti-muslim-rhetoric] but got just as much attention.

Then a story highlighting a pre-election comment that he’d quit the government if it didn’t scrap the backpacker tax[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/18/george-christensen-predicts-coalition-will-axe-backpacker-tax-after-threats-to-quit-lnp] prompted speculation he’d join One Nation. Joyce spoke of the need to keep a rising “leader” in the Nationals tent lest he become a Bob Katter-style independent.

“That’s the problem sometimes, three big things in one week you start to look like a bit of a show pony and the third was not intended,” Christensen says. “There’s a danger in overegging it and last week unfortunately because of that story it got overegged.”

Related: George Christensen predicts Coalition will axe backpacker tax after threats to quit LNP[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/18/george-christensen-predicts-coalition-will-axe-backpacker-tax-after-threats-to-quit-lnp]

Christensen says his “poor choice of words” about quitting simply reflected his confidence the government would fix the backpacker tax.

“Immediately Paul Bongiorno is putting stories on Channel 10 that I’m going to go to One Nation and a source saying, is this the next Bob Katter?

“I think to myself, ‘bloody hell. I want to stay in the government, I don’t want to leave.’”

Asked whether he’s well-placed to help the government deal with the resurgence of the party he once voted for, One Nation, Christensen notes the splits that tend to emerge in minor parties elected on the strength of a “cult of personality” of a single leader.

“We saw that with the Palmer United party most recently,” he says. “I don’t wish that on One Nation now. I hope that Pauline has that all under control and to a degree it looks like she does. I think Pauline’s a lot different to Clive.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Calais wall | The White Helmets on Netflix | Mrs Beeton

• The four-metre-high, kilometre-long wall that is being built in an effort to prevent **refugees** and migrants jumping aboard lorries heading for the French port of Calais has an estimated cost of £1.9m, not £1.9bn as a graphic element alongside an article on page 2 last Friday suggested ( Calais **refugee** children abandon plans to reach UK[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/22/calais-refugee-children-abandoning-plans-to-reach-uk], 23 September). The article itself gave the correct figure.

• The White Helmets, a documentary film about volunteer rescue workers in Syria, is not available on Amazon Prime as suggested by the subheading on an article about it. It is on Netflix as we said at the end of the article ( Stream on[https://www.theguardian.com/global/2016/sep/23/the-white-helmets-syria-volunteer-rescue-workers-heroes-hope-horror], 23 September, page 24, G2).

• It is Mrs Beeton’s Book of Household Management, not Mrs Beaton’s as we had it on last Thursday’s letters page ( If you lack a Bible[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/21/home-cures-for-ganglia-if-you-lack-a-bible-mrs-beaton-will-do], Mrs Beaton will do, page 34).

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Former business secretary says it should ‘not be an option’ for foreigners to isolate themselves from their communities

**Immigrants** should be forced to integrate into British life to stop them leading “parallel lives”, Chuka Umunna has said.

The government should make clear to foreigners working and living in the UK that “not getting involved in the community is not an option”, the Labour MP for Streatham, south London, said. “There should be an expectation that you become part of the community.”

Related: How Labour becomes relevant and future-facing once again | Chuka Umunna[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/25/the-need-to-be-relevant-is-now]

Umunna, the former shadow business secretary who was born in London to a Nigerian father and Anglo-Irish mother, said Labour was mistaken in assuming that those who raised fears about **immigration** only did so through a “lack of understanding”.

He said too many Labour supporters rubbished anyone who voiced objections to **immigration** by dismissing them as “bigots and racists... who have been reading too much of the Daily Mail.”

Umunna said such a view was “unbelievably patronising, not just in respect of **immigration**, but in respect of economic policy as well”.

He rounded on those loyal to the Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn, who called their opponents within the Labour party “Red Tories” and “Tory-lite”[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/aug/16/andy-burnham-blasts-tory-labelling-not-backing-jeremy-corbyn-labour-leadership]. “Treating them [Tory voters] like the devil incarnate is not going to be the way you’re going to get them to vote for the Labour party and have a Labour government in future,” he said.

Umunna added that Labour should not be afraid to express patriotic views.“I don’t think anyone in the Labour movement should underestimate the importance of us illustrating that we are as patriotic as anyone else,” he said. “And that’s why things like the national anthem, support for the armed services and all these things should never, ever be allowed to be the exclusive preserve of the Conservatives.”

Speaking at a fringe event organised by the Fabian Society at the Labour party conference in Liverpool[https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/sep/22/labour-and-liverpool-the-city-that-reveals-cracks-in-party] on Sunday, the MP said Labour needed to change its policy on **immigration** to focus on integration. He gave the example of the Somali community in Streatham. Though praising them for opening “incredible” restaurants and businesses, he bemoaned that they were only rarely visited by non-Somalis.

“That’s because there’s no really muscular approach to **immigration** going on in our country,” he argued. “I think we have got to be quite clear, from the point of view of newcomers, just coming even if it’s just for a short time… [that] not getting involved in the community is not an option. There should be an expectation that you become part of the community because what you bring, your culture, enriches our community.

“If we give the impression that it somehow doesn’t matter if you get involved in your community, that’s a problem.”

Britons needed to help **immigrants** integrate, he said, suggesting that employers should be made to give new arrivals time off work to learn English, and that local authorities should have “statutory duties” to integrate **immigrants**.

To make such suggestions did not mean he was pandering to Ukip’s agenda, he said. “I have no time for these people who say, ‘You’re waving the white flag, you’re giving in to Ukip.’ No I’m not. Are we really saying that we want people to lead parallel lives in our country? Do you want to carry on with that situation? No we don’t. London sees itself as this great melting pot, but we are less integrated than any other part of the country, and that’s not just in terms of ethnicity but in terms of class, race and in other ways.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Forget ‘softenings’ on **immigration** and race, critics say: the Republican hasn’t changed. Now he faces Clinton in a fight where style can outshine substance

From the moment in May when Donald Trump all but sealed the Republican presidential nomination, he has been faced with a nagging question: when will he pivot?

Related: Clinton: ‘habitual liar’ Trump must be curbed in presidential debate[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/24/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-habitual-liar-presidential-debate]

When would a new Trump emerge – a candidate able to appeal to more than the angry base who propelled him to primary victory over much more seasoned politicians?

In the Republican establishment, the wait for the pivot began after Trump forced his remaining opponents out of the race, in Indiana four months ago[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/03/donald-trump-ted-cruz-jfk-assassination-indiana-primary-philanderer]. It continued through the convention in Cleveland in July. Once he had been formally nominated, the thinking went, maybe then the pivot would come. It didn’t.

On Monday, the first presidential debate against Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/24/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-habitual-liar-presidential-debate] takes place, at Hofstra University in New York. As Trump prepares to face the largest audience of the cycle thus far, the fabled pivot is nowhere in sight.

Urged by those who reluctantly embraced him to tone down his rhetoric, Trump has in recent weeks attempted to show he is capable of discipline. After doing without teleprompters for much of the primary, he turned to reading from scripts written by advisers brought in to save a sinking campaign. He also embarked on an “outreach” effort aimed at some minority communities, suddenly incorporating into his stump speech lines about the plight of African American voters.

But Trump’s platform, his slate of signature policies, chief among them his ultra-hard line on **immigration**, has remained exactly the same. And at the debate, some opposed to Trump worry, such details may be lost. Behind a podium, on primetime TV, appearance and style, not policy, often dictate who wins and who loses.

The idea was to make it sound like he was ‘softening’ in hopes of bringing home voters uncomfortable voting for a racist

Frank Sharry, America's Voice

“The fact that his base, even his ardent white nationalist supporters, are not complaining about his message pivots is a clear sign that his policies remain substantively the same,” said Frank Sharry, executive director of the **immigration** reform advocacy group America’s Voice.

On **immigration**, Sharry said, Trump hinted for weeks at a “softening” – and secured commensurate media coverage. Then he delivered a speech in Phoenix[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-vows-to-deport-millions-during-first-hour-in-office-in-hardline-speech] that “doubled down on his radical proposals”, such as deporting the roughly 11 million undocumented migrants who live in America today.

“That’s not a policy pivot, it’s a Kellyanne Conway-inspired messaging pivot,” Sharry said, referring to the Republican pollster hired in August as Trump’s campaign manager. “The idea was to make it sound like he was ‘softening’ in hopes of bringing home suburban voters, mostly women, who are uncomfortable voting for a racist.”

‘This is about white suburban voters’ A similar tactic was employed regarding Trump’s proposal to ban all Muslim **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/07/donald-trump-ban-all-muslims-entering-us-san-bernardino-shooting], which was widely criticized even among Republican elected officials. Trump rebranded the plan as “ extreme vetting[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/15/donald-trump-immigration-test-isis-islamic-state-foreign-policy] ”, rooted in an ideological test, but when asked directly plainly denied he was walking back the Muslim ban and said he was in fact strengthening it.

Last week, Donald Trump Jr once more revealed the campaign’s thinking, tweeting a photo of a bowl of Skittles[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/donald-trump-jnr-compares-refugees-poisoned-skittles-twitter-reacted] as a metaphor for **refugees** from Syria. If a few were poisoned and could kill you, he asked, would you want any at all?

Trump’s first television ad, released last month, depicted **immigrants** streaming across the border. The commercial claimed that under a Clinton presidency, “Syrian **refugees** flood in. Illegal **immigrants** convicted of committing crime get to stay – collecting social security benefits, skipping the line.”

Rick Wilson, a Republican strategist and leader of the Never Trump movement, made a similar assessment to Sharry’s. If there had been any strategic change from the Trump campaign, he said, it was only done to find ways for the nominee to mollify undecided voters uncomfortable with his comments about Latinos, Muslims and other demographics.

“There’s been no real pivot on **immigration** and there’s been no real pivot that he has any desire to communicate with Hispanic voters,” said Wilson, who also cited Trump’s efforts to discuss the concerns of black voters.

Donald Trump can give a hot damn about African Americans, but he comes out and says, ‘I want to help inner cities'

Rick Wilson, Republican strategist

“Donald Trump can give a hot damn about African Americans, but he comes out and says, ‘I want to help inner cities,’” he said. “That’s not really about African American voters, but about white suburban voters.”

While Trump has discussed the challenges facing the African American community, he has largely done so in the company of his own supporters or in the comfortable confines of Fox News.

When he did travel to Flint, Michigan[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/donald-trump-flint-visit-water-plant-tour], the site of a crisis over water poisoned by lead, Trump praised the executives implicated in the scandal and criticized a black pastor who interrupted him when he made a political speech at a predominantly black church.

Last week, Trump made headlines for saying African Americans were in their “worst shape ever”, an echo of his claim that black voters have nothing left to lose, because they lack jobs and education and are disproportionately affected by crime, and should therefore vote for him.

Related: Ted Cruz refuses to say Trump is fit to be president after endorsement[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/24/ted-cruz-donald-trump-president-endorsement]

“He’s a crafty enough salesman and a crafty enough conman to know that he cannot confuse the object with the subject,” said Wilson.

There may be no pivot, but the strategy of appearing to make one, to some of the people some of the time, is paying electoral dividends. Despite there being no indication that minority voters will turn out in the Republican’s favor, polling has tightened.

In Philadelphia recently, Stacye Mccollum braved the late summer heat to watch Barack Obama stump for Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/13/barack-obama-donald-trump-anger-hate]. An African American voter from Manayunk, Pennsylvania, she stood a dozen steps away from the first black president. Trump’s latest so-called “pivot” had not gone unnoticed.

She considered “the one comment he had made [about how], ‘I don’t understand why African Americans are voting for Democrats, because Democrats haven’t do you well. You have no job, you’re low poverty …”

Mccollum said she had only one takeaway from Trump’s version outreach.

“I found him to be very condescending,” she said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Food safety inspectors reveal some of the worst businesses they have encountered

While the majority of food businesses – 94% – pass safety inspections, there are a handful that fail to meet standards so flagrantly that not only are they shut down, but their owners are prosecuted. More than 100 businesses were successfully prosecuted in the year to April 2016, with sentences including prison, suspended sentences, community service and fines of tens of thousands of pounds. Here are some of the worst cases seen by food safety inspectors:

Golden Dragon, Plaistow, east London

Golden Dragon has entered into the realm of mythology among environmental health officers at Newham council in east London.

The Chinese takeaway on Barking Road was, they say, the worst business they have seen. In a borough with the worst food safety scores in London, where more than 50% of takeaways fail inspections, that is saying something.

Inspectors were tipped off in late 2014 about the business, but Edward King, the officer who went to inspect it, twice found it closed. On the third visit he stood outside the building and waited. When he saw the shutters open and a man on a moped leave the premises with a delivery on the back, he ducked under the shutters and conducted an inspection.

Matthew Collins, the principal environmental officer, said: “The back [of the restaurant] was absolutely terrible. There was pest infestation, no means of disinfectant, they were cooking wearing dirty clothes.”

Photographs from the inspection show large uncovered saucepans full of food cooling inches away from rubbish bags, cockroaches and rodent droppings. Inspectors shut down the premises immediately.

The team wanted to prosecute the owner, but were never able to locate them. The business has since closed.

Karachi Karahi, Plaistow, east London

The Karachi Karahi restaurant, also in Newham, catered an event for the Sindhi Association of Europe in August 2013, during which 32 people suffered food poisoning. The most likely cause was a chicken biryani, a Public Health England report concluded.

One woman who attended the event died the day after, but a judge later ruled there was insufficient evidence to prove the death was caused by food poisoning.

The restaurant had been repeatedly served with improvement notices in the lead-up to the food poisoning outbreak and had already closed down once due to food hygiene reasons.

Kamran and Farhana Memon, the husband and wife owners of Karachi Karahi, were sentenced at Snaresbrook crown court in January after being found guilty of supplying unsafe food. They were sentenced to 150 hours of community service each and ordered to pay £25,000 toward the council’s costs for prosecution. They were also banned from operating a food business for five years.

Chai Wallah, Yarm, Stockton-on-Tees

The owner of this Indian restaurant was given a three-month prison sentence for eight food safety offences.

Officers inspected Chai Wallah in September 2014 after receiving complaints from customers, one of which alleged that they had been sold chicken that was raw in the middle.

An inspection revealed significant issues at the restaurant.

Rob Llewellyn, the principal environmental health officer at Stockton council, who has worked as an inspector for 23 years, said: “It’s one of those where you walk in and it’s in an exceptionally poor condition. It was filthy and not in good repair.

“From a hygiene perspective, it was among the worst I’ve ever seen.”

He cited multiple offences at the restaurant, including lack of hand-washing facilities, food kept at room temperature and a serious accumulation of dirt, grease and food debris. Most alarming was the cross-contamination caused from filthy cleaning cloths being left on benches where food was prepared and on top of food. Llewellyn said the absence of pests at the restaurant was a miracle given the conditions.

The owner of the business, Alomgir Qureshi, was also found guilty of **immigration** offences and being in breach of a nine-month suspended sentence in 2013 for employing illegal **immigrants** at another cafe.

Babylon Inn, Croydon, south London

The owners of Babylon Inn were hit with fines of more than £90,000 last December, one of the highest financial penalties to be issued in 2015.

A food safety inspector from Croydon council who investigated Babylon Inn said: “Often when we go to businesses it’s not just one problem; with this, everything was wrong.”

The inspector, who did not wish to be named, cited a litany of problems at the restaurant, including electrical, health and safety and food hygiene issues. Among these were broken glass in food preparation areas, unsealed walls and ceilings, building rubble and disused equipment strewn throughout kitchens, and carbonised grease on cooking equipment. Although building works were being carried out in the kitchen, it was still used to prepare food. On top of this, inspectors found evidence of rats, mice and cockroaches.

“You sometimes get mice and cockroaches, or rats and cockroaches, or rats and mice, but it’s rare to get all three,” the inspector said.

In less than four years, inspectors visited the restaurant for five official inspections, as well as follow-up visits, and found continual breaches of hygiene.

Dr Mardan Mahmood, the director of Babylon Inn, was fined more than £40,000, including costs; his ex-wife Hendi Hamude was made to pay more than £17,000, and the company, owned by Mahmood, was ordered to pay more than £35,000. Mahmood has been banned from managing any food business indefinitely.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Transport for London admits exempting English speakers from the test would disproportionately affect BAME applicants

Anyone hoping to drive a private-hire taxi in London could be forced to take a written English test after Transport for London admitted that exemptions for English speakers would hit black and minority ethnic people hardest.

TfL is introducing new rules from 1 October requiring taxi drivers to pass English exams costing £200 to obtain or renew a private hire licence.

Uber, the taxi-hailing app, has argued in court[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/aug/17/uber-takes-tfl-to-high-court-over-english-written-test] that, while it supports oral tests, the written element is unnecessary[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/09/uber-urges-tfl-drop-plans-drivers-written-english-exam-london] and would force some of its drivers out of business.

The company appealed against TfL’s plans to allow exemptions for drivers from English-speaking countries such as Australia, the US and Jamaica. It wants the plans for written English tests dropped completely.

TfL said in papers submitted to the high court that it would abandon the exemption for people from those countries to avoid discrimination, after an outcry from drivers and **immigrants**’ groups[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/17/tfl-plan-for-cab-drivers-written-english-test-prompts-outcry].

“The imposition of a requirement to communicate (including speaking, listening, reading and writing) at an appropriate level will (obviously) have a disproportionate effect on certain nationalities,” said TfL.

“It will also have a disproportionate effect on black and minority ethnic (Bame) applicants... “TfL accepts that an exemption from the obligation to demonstrate English language competence should not be based on nationality; and it will accordingly give further consideration to the precise scope of the exemptions (if any).”

The decision raises the prospect that people born and raised in English-speaking countries will have to pass tests in rudimentary English[http://www.trinitycollege.com/site/?id=3376]. TfL said the organisation was now drawing up new plans for exemptions for some licence applicants but could not say what they would be.

“We are in the process of finalising the exemptions, taking into account equalities impacts, and we will publish details in the near future.”

That leaves drivers for Uber and other taxi services facing uncertainty over their employment prospects with under a fortnight to go until the rules are due to come into force, on 1 October.

Chai Patel, policy director for the Joint Council for the Welfare of **Immigrants**[https://www.jcwi.org.uk/], welcomed TfL’s decision to scrap exemptions but questioned the need for written English tests.

“It’s quite right that TfL have moved away from the discriminatory policy that would require only individuals with certain nationalities to go through the burden of an additional English language test. Nevertheless, we remain concerned about the level of written English expected.

“It is quite right that regulatory bodies should require members to meet certain standards for customer service and safety purposes, but if a language requirement is not proportionate to the real needs of the job, it hinders integration and creates an artificial bar for migrants trying to earn a living.

“The language test TfL is seeking to impose is higher than that of many other comparable industries, and we have not seen any convincing evidence from TfL that it is necessary.”

A spokesperson for Uber said TfL was “right to admit that its plans are discriminatory”.

The San Francisco-based company said written exams had “nothing to do with communicating with passengers or getting them safely from A to B”.

“Thousands of drivers could lose their livelihoods as a result. Instead of tinkering with the exemptions, TfL should just scrap these unnecessary new rules.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Beware responding to signals from far off stars, physicist tells viewers in Stephen Hawking’s Favorite Places – a virtual journey across the cosmos

“We come in peace” might be the traditional opening gambit for **aliens** in science fiction, but we should be wary about beaming back a response to any advanced life-forms in real life, Stephen Hawking has warned.

Our first contact from an advanced civilisation could be equivalent to when Native Americans first encountered Christopher Columbus and things “didn’t turn out so well”, he cautioned.

The comments are made in an online film, Stephen Hawking’s Favorite Places, in which the theoretical physicist takes viewers on his own CGI spacecraft (the SS Hawking ) to five significant locations across the cosmos.

On arriving at Gliese 832c, a planet 16 light years away, Hawking reflects: “As I grow older I am more convinced than ever that we are not alone. After a lifetime of wondering, I am helping to lead a new global effort to find out. The Breakthrough Listen project will scan the nearest million stars for signs of life, but I know just the place to start looking. One day we might receive a signal from a planet like Gliese 832c, but we should be wary of answering back.”

It is not the first time Hawking has warned about the prospect of hostile **aliens**. Launching the Breakthrough Listen project[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2015/jul/20/breakthrough-listen-massive-radio-wave-project-scan-far-regions-for-alien-life], which will scan the nearest million stars for signs of life, last year he suggested that any civilisation reading our messages could be billions of years ahead of humans. “If so they will be vastly more powerful and may not see us as any more valuable than we see bacteria,” he said.

The 25-minute film, which appears on the platform CuriosityStream[https://app.curiositystream.com/video/1697], starts at the Big Bang, which has been the focus of much of Hawking’s career. Viewers are also taken deep into a super-massive black hole, Sagittarius A\*, where Hawking explains his theory of matter, and to Saturn, which Hawking calls “the most spectacular destination in the Solar System.”

Finally, Hawking returns to Earth to Santa Barbara where he talks nostalgically of his early career at Cal Tech and times spent on the sunny California coast with his young family.

“My goal is simple: complete understanding of the universe,” Hawking said. “It’s always been a dream of mine to explore the universe.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rather than trying to appeal to voters’ more base instincts, the party can thrive by mobilising its supporters to spread its message

While there is much that the Labour leadership can do to help ensure national electoral success once Jeremy Corbyn is crowned for the second time[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/labourleadership], the most important factor is not in the hands of the Westminster villagers. It is the hundreds of thousands of people that make up the new mass membership of the party that can have the biggest impact. It is they, more than anyone, who now have the means to change the country. And they can get started on it straight away.

Related: May has never won an election as prime minister. We must ensure she never does | Iain McNicol[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/23/theresa-may-never-won-election-prime-minister-labour-never-does]

The political and cultural theorist Jeremy Gilbert[https://www.opendemocracy.net/uk/jeremy-gilbert/corbyn-whats-leader-really-for] identifies two competing approaches as to how Labour should address the question of electability: marketing and movement-building. The marketing approach treats the electorate as consumers with fixed preferences, where the ideal politician is a polished salesperson armed with a perfectly calibrated retail policy offer. The movement-building approach treats public opinion as a changeable landscape, where elections are won not only by competent politicians but by social forces mobilised in support of a transformative agenda.

As Gilbert notes, the problem with the marketing approach is that it cannot explain how socio-political change happens. Imagine if Sylvia Pankhurst[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/06/sylvia-pankhurst-honoured-at-last] or Rosa Parks[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jan/31/rosa-parks-100-american-rebel-justice] had said that “we have to accept where people are” on women’s rights, or “we understand the public’s legitimate concerns” on desegregation. The legacy of those figures, and thousands of activists like them, is a standing rebuke to the oft-repeated, ahistorical nonsense that Labour can achieve nothing with protest, but only by first winning power. In reality, the power to enact serious change can only be won by first preparing the ground through patient and committed grassroots action.

The other problem with the marketing approach is that it encourages the erasure of moral red lines. If majority opinion blames **immigrants** and people on social security for the country’s problems, then Labour must appeal[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/jul/21/labour-disarray-welfare-48-mps-defy-whips] to these voter-consumer preferences. Consciences can always be soothed with some feeble rhetoric about how it is, in some tortured sense[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/19/cure-divided-britain-managed-immigration-work-permits], progressive to collude in the politics of scapegoating. The marketing approach precludes not only a transformative agenda, but sometimes even basic levels of human decency.

The alternative is to treat people as adults who can be engaged in conversation and potentially persuaded of a different point of view. And the emergence of a social movement means that the task of persuasion can be taken up, not by a remote elite, but by your friends, family, neighbours and colleagues. In workplaces, round dinner tables, in pubs and cafes, every lying tabloid front-page can now be met with a counterargument from a familiar and trusted voice.

Related: Jeremy Corbyn is not unpopular – but he is divisive | John Curtice[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/22/jeremy-corbyn-not-unpopular-but-divisive]

Labour members can win the right to be heard by taking up a multitude of local causes[https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/777767689846599680] in communities up and down the country. And often, attitudes can shift through the experience of these collective struggles. In the late 1960s, London dockers marched in support of Nigel Farage’s hero, Enoch Powell[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/11291050/Nigel-Farage-and-Enoch-Powell-the-full-story-of-Ukips-links-with-the-Rivers-of-Blood-politician.html]. But by 1976, some of those same dockers[http://www.newleftproject.org/index.php/site/article\_comments/anti\_racism\_working\_class\_formation\_and\_the\_significance\_of\_the\_racialized] were supporting the famous Grunwick strike[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/dec/27/jayaben-desai-dies-aged-77], where a largely female, **immigrant**workforce, together with union allies from the “white working class”, put up a formidable fight against their common opponents. Empowering the best aspects of British society is always a more constructive path than pandering and genuflecting to the worst[https://www.opendemocracy.net/uk/david-wearing/racism-and-xenophobia-are-resurgent-in-uk-and-centre-left-is-partly-to-blame].

Labour as a mobilised mass movement can be a space where the marginalised and the voiceless gain political agency, and build social bonds with the rest of society. The single mothers organising childcare[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/20/momentum-kids-single-parents-politics?CMP=share\_btn\_tw] so that more people can participate in Momentum meetings is just one example of how this can work. A thousand local initiatives like this can counteract social atomisation and division, and help foster the ethos of kindness and mutual obligation that is the foundation of any serious leftwing politics.

For now, the Labour membership’s potential to organise as an active social movement has yet to be realised, which is unsurprising given the exclusionary, aggressive and patronising attitude they have been greeted with by the party establishment. But those members should not allow themselves to be demoralised by what’s happening in Westminster. Instead, they can take the initiative themselves, and set about shifting the ground on which future general elections will be fought and won. In time, their children and grandchildren will look back on that work with gratitude, as they enjoy life in the better, happier country that it helped to create.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Progressive politics has to urgently find a coherent message that resonates across the class divide if the country is to avoid a very bleak outcome

On Saturday Jeremy Corbyn is expected to win leadership of the Labour party[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/labourleadership] again. But there will be no time for his team to celebrate, for the questions confronting progressive politics in Britain require urgent answers.

Britain’s constitution is being rewritten under our noses, without public debate, without an election. Even more worrying is the damage being done to our values by a referendum that has divided the nation and stoked fear and hatred.

Related: Get serious, Labour rebels, and deal with the Brexit catastrophe | Polly Toynbee[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/20/get-serious-labour-rebels-deal-with-brexit-catastrophe]

Centre-left parties must put tribalism and factionalism to one side, and urgently work together to make the case for a progressive exit from the EU. Their vision needs to meet the concerns and anxieties of Brexit-voting northern post-industrial towns without losing the internationalist outlook of the centre-left remain voters.

This is challenging, but far from impossible given the deep ideological divide that runs through the Brexit constituency itself. To undermine the fear and hatred, we need a message of hope, of security and of solidarity. And we need to get real about the best tactics to achieve this. At Global Justice we have set out a series of red lines[http://] that would from the basis of a progressive vision of leaving the EU.

First, progressive parties need to admit that the conversion of social democracy to free market economics in the 1990s was a political disaster that fed Brexit. In an article this week, Stephen Kinnock MP declares that the problem for centre-left values is that they’ve been too lax on **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/19/cure-divided-britain-managed-immigration-work-permits]. This gets everything upside down – the problem is the privatisations, the corporate-backed trade deals, the competition over low tax rates that was remorselessly pushed here and abroad, and which left working-class communities hollowed out, and individuals abandoned to the mercy of the market.

So we urgently need to create hope by proving another sort of economy is possible. Here, the public is to the left of most centre-left politicians. While politicians have largely supported a new corporate trade offensive, including US-EU trade deal TTIP[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/06/transatlantic-trade-partnership-ttip-canada-eu], the public has opposed it. It’s time for the British opposition to unequivocally oppose TTIP’s sister agreements, Ceta[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/30/ttip-trade-deal-agreements-ceta-eu-canada], the Canada-EU deal due to be ratified this winter, and Tisa, a super-privatisation trade deal that would lock in privatisation and liberalisation of services from finance to transportation.

Let’s put something progressive in their place: economic relationships based on building up public services fit for the 21st century, on long-term investment, on sharing skills and technologies, on prioritising the realisation of low-carbon, better educated and skilled jobs, with sustainable demand driven by well-being not debt.

Then there’s security. Our economy breeds precarious jobs, breaks community bonds and runs down public services. The resulting fear and individualism turns people against one another – and against those who are “different” most of all. Regulation, where it challenges unfettered market power, is an antidote to this insecurity.

Anti-corporate regulation would be welcomed by many families, consumers, workers, minorities. Or small-scale farmers, who should be protected from the end of the Common Agricultural Policy by a fairer subsidy system. But progressive parties must battle to reclaim the language around regulation – as we have on tax – so that is not a symbol of “unfreedom” but a democratic means of social, and environmental, protection.

Here, progressive politicians will come across as rational, and undogmatic next to trade secretary Liam Fox, who told parliament last week that he wants a “low-tax and low-regulation” economy. Or next to Theresa May, who continues to threaten to exit the European Convention on Human Rights, something that would leave us in a category with Belarus. Or next to Andrea Leadsom, said to believe in replacing agricultural support with an “insurance” system that makes farmers more dependent on financial markets.

Related: My cure for a divided Britain? A programme of managed **immigration** | Stephen Kinnock[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/19/cure-divided-britain-managed-immigration-work-permits]

It’s the internationalism, most prized by many progressive remain voters, that is the toughest nut to crack, but if communicated as part of a single agenda with hope and security, we can win people back. And we need to do this because ditching freedom of movement will not preserve domestic harmony and an international outlook. It would, rather, fuel demands for a harsher migration system, a further clampdown on **refugees**, an increase in racism, and increase in Ukip’s vote.

In theory, free movement can be the most progressive aspect of our economy, treating people, wherever they’re from, as human beings with equal worth. It allows people an escape from poverty, unemployment and governments they don’t like. The EU’s treatment of migrants is an international disgrace. But the solution is to gradually extend that freedom – not stop it altogether.

So rather than ditch free movement of people to preserve the free movement of capital, as the mainstream remain campaign is now doing, we must do the opposite. Big business must be controlled and regulated. And the poorest should not pay the price for these principles. Perhaps, rather like universities, migrants come to an area accompanied by investment, meaning the appearance of migrants means all lives getting better.

How to achieve this? Time is not on our side, and we need to be realistic; the best and perhaps only way to prevent an immediate rewriting of our constitution on the worst terms possible is joining the European Economic Area (EEA)[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/oct/28/the-norway-option-what-is-it-and-what-does-it-mean-for-britain]. There are as many problems with the EEA as there are with the EU, and one additional one, which is that we don’t even get a seat at the negotiating table. But the alternative is a “hard Brexit”, which would give the current government a free hand to abolish our protections, introduce **immigration**controls, and embed the “market knows best” mantra into every aspect of our lives.

The political tide is currently flowing against the EEA, and only a concerted and unified campaign by progressive politicians will reverse this. The window is closing on this tactically vital act of damage limitation.

If progressive forces fail to create a vision that resonates with significant portions of leave and remain voters, the future is very bleak indeed – a free-trade, low-tax, low-regulation economy, with opposition coming not from the left, but from an increasingly insular economic nationalism fuelled by the likes of Arron Banks[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/mar/27/arron-banks-the-millionaire-hoping-to-bankroll-uk-into-brexit]. The situation could not be more serious – politicians need to start behaving accordingly.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Good luck to the Brain family, Australians who have been allowed to stay in Scotland. For those from Eritrea, South Sudan or Nigeria, it’s a very different story

Bureaucracy. It’s a word laden with dark memories. We’ve all been caught up in it. Each will have a story of how once they were enmeshed in a paper-chain farce requiring merely a dash of common sense. But, as is typical of such scenarios, it’s usually missing. It would all be laughable if it weren’t threatening to engulf you in rage, or worse.

By worse I mean the threat of being deported from the country[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/20/australian-family-fighting-deportation-granted-visa-to-remain-in-uk] in which you have chosen to make a life. This is where, until this week, Gregg and Kathryn Brain, found themselves. Having moved to Scotland in 2011 on Kathryn Brain’s student visa, the family had hoped to remain in the country by moving on to a post-study visa, but the government scrapped this scheme[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jul/12/scotland-visa-betrayal-trust-australian-deportation-couple-gregg-kathryn-brain] in 2012, potentially affecting tens of thousands[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/8185579/Foreign-students-forced-to-go-home-after-studies-under-tough-new-immigration-rules.html]. Deportation was imminent.

An outpouring of support, not least from Scotland’s first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, and 20 job offers[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/04/australian-family-gregg-kathryn-lachlan-brain-fighting-deportation-get-flurry-of-job-offers] saved the day. Mrs Brain is now employed by Macdonald Hotels and Resorts Group as a curator for their Aviemore visitors’ centre.

Related: It's not at war, but up to 3% of its people have fled. What is going on in Eritrea?[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/22/eritrea-migrants-child-soldier-fled-what-is-going]

This is a feel-good **immigration** story. Lord knows we need one. And yet it’s hard not to look at this smiling family, relieved at what has been salvaged by the goodwill of others, and think of those we seem unwilling to welcome. No one wishes misfortune on any family. In fact, I’d like to think I share in this family’s happiness. They have overcome a system that otherwise would have treated them as merely numbers. Their story has moved a community to action. It’s been accepted that these are people with much to offer. In short, they have been acknowledged as deserving and thus belonging. Does the fact that they are white and from Australia have anything to do with it? Yes, they hail from the other side of the planet but really, they might as well, pardon the pun, be neighbours.

If this post-Brexit referendum story tells us anything, it is that there is room for foreigners in this country, but only if they are people like “us”. Debates about being “swamped” by **immigrants** never, funnily, seem to centre on antipodeans with Anglo-Saxon origins. In notes for how to be a good **immigrant** we might as well write: be a) white; and b) from a rich country of origin.

We should view the story as instructive because, here, people have clearly seen how traumatic a return to a “home” country, embarked upon under duress, might be for the Brains. But we can be in no way confused; Australia hasn’t remained a penal outpost. A return there is perhaps stressful and inconvenient but it is not the end of the world. It is another matter, however, if you are Eritrean[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/22/eritrea-migrants-child-soldier-fled-what-is-going]. Or if you are escaping South Sudan[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/jul/29/women-south-sudan-raped-un-compound-juba-kill-me-instead] or north-eastern Nigeria[http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/nigeria-humanitarian-crisis-1.3772889] or any number of sorry places on our planet. Yet I can’t remember the last time families being deported to such countries have been adopted in the manner the Brains have.

Related: 'I begged them to kill me instead': women in South Sudan raped under nose of UN | Simona Foltyn[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/jul/29/women-south-sudan-raped-un-compound-juba-kill-me-instead]

That Syrians are fleeing starvation, torture and death isn’t a secret. But still our government, despite promising sanctuary to a paltry 20,000[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/03/uk-unlikely-to-reach-target-of-resettling-20000-syrian-refugees-by-2020] has in fact only allowed a shameful 1,602 to resettle here. What does it mean when, in our national consciousness, inconvenience should trump need? It’s hard not to surmise that it tells us who we think we can integrate into our culture and society and who we consider threatening to our way of life.

Often, when I write about issues related to asylum, I can guarantee that below the line[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jan/31/comments-audience-censorship-criticism], not so much lurking as dominating the comments sections, will be the idea that “they” are all mainly bogus. The term “economic migrant” will be thrown as though fleeing poverty the likes of which the writer most likely hasn’t experienced is a slur. It’s the thinking that is similar in vein to watching the UK Border Force[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/UK\_Border\_Force\_%28TV\_series%29] documentary series (thankfully no longer) and believing that watching hopes and dreams trammelled makes for good TV. Sort of like X Factor but with way more kick.

This summer journalist Philip Kleinfeld uncovered that[https://medium.com/@PKleinfeld/immigration-raids-in-london-soar-by-80-edf00d1e2a5d#.bsmiyclns], between 2010 and 2015, there were 19,853 **immigration** raids, almost 11 a day. Those are the figures for London alone. On any given day, up and down the country, there are families like the Brains. The shame is that they aren’t being recognised as such.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Labor leader says far right is repeating comments by ‘crazy fundamentalists’ in Syria about Islam being incompatible with western values

Bill Shorten says Malcolm Turnbull needs to make it clear he is not on the side of people intent on “doing Daesh’s dirty work” in Australia – using another name for Isis.

The opposition leader told reporters on Friday that “crazy fundamentalists” in northern Iraq and Syria regularly made arguments Islam was incompatible with western democratic liberal values, “and now in Australia we have got people who are doing Daesh’s dirty work by repeating the same allegations, except from the far right”.

“It’s time for Malcolm Turnbull to tell Australians which side he is on,” Shorten said. “Is he on the side of the people who want to split and divide our country, or is he on the side of the rest of us who know that we’re a great country and we do best when we bring people into it and involve everyone?”

Related: Race discrimination commissioner criticises Pauline Hanson for stoking division[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/21/race-discrimination-commissioner-criticises-pauline-hanson-for-stoking-division]

He said given the balance of interests in the new parliament, the government wanted to “try to appease Pauline Hanson, and some of the views that have emerged from that end of the political spectrum” – “but a government is not worth its salt if it’s not willing to stand up for minorities”.

Shorten’s comments on Friday end a week in which polling suggested 49% of Australians support One Nation’s call for a ban on Muslim **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/21/race-discrimination-commissioner-criticises-pauline-hanson-for-stoking-division].

According to the survey by Essential, support for banning Muslim **immigration** is highest among Coalition voters at 60% and non-major party voters at 58% – but the ban also has substantial support among progressive voters. According to the poll, 40% of people identifying themselves as Labor voters support a ban on Muslim **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/22/muslim-immigration-poll-result-due-to-poor-leadership-says-tanya-plibersek], and there is 34% support among Green voters.

In an interview with the the Guardian Australian politics live podcast[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/audio/2016/sep/23/confronting-challenge-pauline-hanson-australian-politics-live-podcast], the race discrimination commissioner, Tim Soutphommasane, warned the country was approaching a tipping point in race relations. “Make no mistake, we are in a time when our values and our harmony are being tested, and we need to rise to this test and ensure we live up to the best of our traditions as a nation of **immigration**,” Soutphommasane said.

“Some of the political rhetoric we are hearing at the moment is taking us down a very different path.”

Related: Pauline Hanson says 49% support for ban on Muslim **immigration** is too low[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/22/pauline-hanson-says-49-support-for-ban-on-muslim-immigration-is-too-low]

On Friday morning the manager of government business, Christopher Pyne, said Australia was committed to a non-discriminatory **immigration** policy and the results of the Essential poll were possibly attributable to nervousness in the community about safety.

“People are worried about their safety when they see the television or read the newspapers and hear Islamic State or al-Qaida or any of these other terrorist organisations making dire threats against the west and against Australia, [it] obviously makes them nervous,” Pyne told a breakfast television program.

Like the prime minister earlier in the week[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/18/malcolm-turnbull-australias-border-protection-policy-the-best-in-the-world], Pyne said a tough border protection policy was critical to maintaining community support for multiculturalism.

Turnbull said in New York this week that “strong borders” and one of the most generous humanitarian programs in the world “go together” because the public accepted migration when the government appeared in control of its borders.

Pyne said on Friday: “The government and the opposition have to keep reassuring people about the strength of our borders and national security, putting in place the measures to protect us as much as we possibly can, which we have been doing for the last three and a bit years.”

Related: Muslim **immigration** poll result due to poor leadership, says Tanya Plibersek[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/22/muslim-immigration-poll-result-due-to-poor-leadership-says-tanya-plibersek]

But Richard Marles, Labor’s former shadow **immigration** minister, rounded on the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, declaring there was “no reassurance when you have got an **immigration** minister who talks about illiterate, innumerate **refugees** coming to the country and stealing our jobs and being on the dole”.

Marles was referring to comments made by Dutton made during the election campaign[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/live/2016/may/18/australian-election-2016-peter-dutton-says-illiterate-refugees-will-take-australian-jobs-politics-live?page=with:block-573ad09be4b0ac0aa28f5274#liveblog-navigation], when he said **refugees** “won’t be numerate or literate in their own language, let alone English. These people would be taking Australian jobs, there’s no question about that.

“For many of them that would be unemployed, they would languish in unemployment queues and on Medicare and the rest of it so there would be huge cost and there’s no sense in sugar-coating that, that’s the scenario,” Dutton told Sky News on 18 May.

Marles said Friday: “If you want to give people a sense of confidence about our multicultural society, we have got to see leadership from our government.”

On Thursday night Hanson told Sky News[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/22/pauline-hanson-says-49-support-for-ban-on-muslim-immigration-is-too-low] she believed support for banning Muslim **immigration** was higher than 49%. “I’ll tell you something, I believe it’s a lot higher than that, because people would have been in fear to answer the question[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/22/pauline-hanson-says-49-support-for-ban-on-muslim-immigration-is-too-low], the polling, because they don’t know who’s taking the call and they don’t want to be registered of what their views are.”

The Essential poll is out of step with other surveys which have recorded high levels of community support for Australia’s non-discriminatory **immigration** program.

Guardian Australia revealed on Friday[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/23/code-of-race-ethics-proposed-for-parliament-to-counter-rise-of-one-nation] that Labor is preparing to launch a proposal inviting all federal parliamentarians to sign up to a code of race ethics, echoing an initiative advanced by the ALP and the Australian Democrats during the period Hanson was last in the parliament.

The previous parliamentary code of race ethics was pursued by the then Labor senator Margaret Reynolds and the Democrat senator John Woodley in 1996, prompted by concern about the debate about racism that erupted in that year’s election campaign.

The code required parliamentarians to sign on to a set of principles, including respect for religious and cultural diversity, supporting tolerance and justice within a multicultural society, and “to speak and write in a manner which provides factual commentary on a foundation of truth about all issues being debated in the community and the parliament”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happenLunchtime summary

block-time published-time 1.24pm BST

Lunchtime summary

\* David Miliband has claimed the Labour party has not been further from power since the 1930s as part of a stinging attack on Jeremy Corbyn. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/22/labour-far-power-1930s-david-miliband-jeremy-corbyn]

\* Progress, the centrist Labour pressure group, is urging MPs critical of Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership to stay in the party and fight for “clause one socialism” if he wins a fresh mandate this weekend. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/22/progress-jeremy-corbyn-critics-clause-one-socialists]

\* The Swiss parliament has largely caved in to EU intransigence on free movement in a decision that could deal a blow to British government hopes of being able to both control **immigration** and retain enhanced single market access after Brexit. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/22/switzerland-votes-for-compromise-to-preserve-relations-with-eu] As Jon Henley reports, Swiss MPs approved legislation on Wednesday that would promote local preference in job hires, a modest compromise they hope will allow [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/swiss-eu-standoff-striking-similarities-uk-predicament] vital economic relations with the bloc to be preserved following the country’s shock 2014 referendum vote to cap EU **immigration**.The plan, which the upper house will debate in December, should give Switzerland time to work out a more comprehensive deal with Brussels, which has not budged from its stance that quotas on EU workers would automatically exclude Switzerland [https://www.theguardian.com/world/switzerland] form the single market.

\* The fate of London’s proposed garden bridge has been placed in jeopardy after the city’s mayor, Sadiq Khan, announced a formal inquiry into whether the controversial project is worth the £60m of public money pledged to it. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/22/sadiq-khan-sets-up-inquiry-into-garden-bridge-projects-use-of-public-money] As Peter Walker reports, Dame Margaret Hodge, the Labour MP who spent five years grilling [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/may/20/margaret-hodge-stands-aside-public-accounts-committee] chief executives and senior civil servants as head of parliament’s public accounts committee, will lead a review into the planned £185m structure across the Thames, from Temple to the South Bank.

That’s all from me for today. I need to finish early this afternoon.

I’ll put up a readers’ edition blog tomorrow. But I’ll be back on Saturday, blogging from Liverpool where the results of the Labour leadership contest will be announced at 11.45am.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time published-time 1.16pm BST

Labour performance in council byelections 'abysmal', says expert In a speech earlier in the summer Jeremy Corbyn criticised the media for failing to report a Labour election victory. He was much mocked when it later turned out he was talking about a parish council byelection. [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/jeremy-corbyn-mocked-for-apparently-decrying-why-media-didnt-cover-parish-council-victory\_uk\_5793bd05e4b0796a0b5fc3fe] criticised the media for failing to report a Labour election victory. He was much mocked

Helpfully, the BBC ’s Daily Politics has produced some figures showing exactly who well all the parties are doing in council byelections. There have been 89 since the May elections and 31 seats have changed hands. Here are the figures.

Conservatives: Net loss of 5 (Gained 5, lost 10)

Labour: Net loss of 6 (Gained 4, lost 10)

Lib Dems: Net gain of 14

Ukip: Net loss of 2

Greens: Net gain of 1

SNP: Net loss of 1

Prof Tony Travers, the LSE local government expert, told the programme that the results were “abysmal” for Labour.

The results for Labour are frankly abysmal for the main opposition party at this point of a parliament. The Conservatives, in one way or another, have now been in power for six years. Their results are not that bad. The Lib Dems are making some progress, and in a number of byelections significant progress. But for the main opposition party in England to be losing seats net is pretty bad.

Travers also said the Lib Dems were doing very well in some seats.

They are not doing that well in the opinion polls, but they are doing surprisingly well, or certainly surprisingly, compared to the 2015 general election debacle at the local level. Not in every seat, but in a number of seats, and particularly against Labour, it must be said. They are getting swings of 10, 20 even 30% from one party to the other. So I think they can realistically say, although these are straws in the wind, that there are some straws.

Asked if the Lib Dem local council byelection performance provided the basis for a fightback, Travers said it was “the basis for a basis”. In the past the Lib Dems had won parliamentary seats by building up their strength at council level, he said. But this process took years, he added.

enltrTony Travers on Lib Dem council wins: "Doing surprisingly well... compared to the 2015 general election debacle" https://t.co/ZBi9nzMJrO [https://t.co/ZBi9nzMJrO]

— DailySunday Politics (@daily\_politics) September 22, 2016 [https://twitter.com/daily\_politics/status/778925984527507457]block-time published-time 12.56pm BST

Here is some response to David Miliband’s New Statesman’s article.

Owen Jones, the Guardian columnist, has posted this on Twitter .

enltrIf David Miliband was better at politics, he'd a) have become Labour leader and b) realise he's now only boosting Corbyn. But he isn't, so..

— Owen Jones (@OwenJones84) September 22, 2016 [https://twitter.com/OwenJones84/status/778907554441224192]And the Telegraph’s James Kirkup has filed a hatchet job.

enltrDavid Miliband isn't the messiah who will return to save Labour from Corbyn. He's an overrated political failure https://t.co/3acvI1nPPa [https://t.co/3acvI1nPPa]

— James Kirkup (@jameskirkup) September 22, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jameskirkup/status/778917315702362113]Here’s an extract.

The basic fact of David Miliband’s political career is that he was a disappointment who never lived up to his friends’ hopes and botched every opportunity he had to take a really big job. If he was New Labour’s best hope, its prospects really weren’t very good.

block-time published-time 12.40pm BST

Over the last three years £46m has been spent on public sector workers who have been suspended on full pay, according to an analysis for ITV ’s Tonight programme. The report is being broadcast this evening. Here are more details from the Tonight news release.

Freedom of Information Act responses provided to ITV ’s Tonight programme by police forces, councils and NHS trusts in England and Wales indicate that for the three years between 2013 and 2016, a total of 5,156 staff were suspended on full pay.

In some cases members of staff were suspended on full pay for more than a year and in one extreme example for almost three years, while almost half the police forces that responded said their longest-running suspensions had lasted more than a year - at a cost to the taxpayer of £1m on the salaries of 14 officers.

Reasons given for the suspensions in the responses include allegations of sexual assaults and cultivating drugs, sleeping on duty, being drunk at work, inappropriate relationships and tormenting patients.

block-time published-time 12.24pm BST

Here’s Angela Rayner, the shadow education secretary, commenting on Oxford University ’s rejection of Theresa May ’s call for universities to open schools. (See 9.48am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/22/labour-leadership-jeremy-corbyn-david-miliband-claims-corbyn-has-made-labour-unelectable-politics-live?page=with:block-57e399ade4b05d653ca5f882#block-57e399ade4b05d653ca5f882] Rayner said:

This is an embarrassing rebuke for Theresa May whose education policies are falling apart at the seams.

Her plans for new grammar schools have been universally panned by experts, and now the Vice Chancellor of the world’s best university casts doubt on the suitability of universities opening schools.

The prime minister urgently needs to get back to the drawing board as its clear she is quickly running out of any support for her divisive education policies.

block-time published-time 12.05pm BST

You can read all today’s Guardian politics stories here. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/all]

As for the rest of the papers, here is the Politics Home list of top 10 must reads, [https://www.politicshome.com/must-reads] and here is the ConservativeHome round-up of today’s political stories. [http://www.conservativehome.com/frontpage/2016/09/newslinks-for-thursday-22nd-september-2016.html] and here is

And here are four stories I found interesting.

\* The Financial Times (subscription) says Theresa May has been warned that her plan to get firms to publish pay ratios could have perverse results. [http://www.ft.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/cms/s/0/96dc7712-7f55-11e6-bc52-0c7211ef3198.html#axzz4Kyk5uDa3]

Theresa May ’s plan to shame overpaid bosses by publishing pay ratio data has run into a snag, amid warnings that it could make banks such as Goldman Sachs [http://markets.ft.com/tearsheets/performance.asp?s=us:GS] appear more egalitarian than John Lewis.

Mrs May is determined to crack down on excessive boardroom pay and in July she announced she would follow the US in requiring the publication of the ratio “between the CEO’s pay and the average company worker’s pay”.

But officials have warned the prime minister that the calculation could produce perverse results where some big banks end up looking “fairer” than retailers such as John Lewis, which prides itself on an enlightened pay policy.

\* Luke James in the Morning Star says leaked documents show that M&S is preparing to cull staff who do not accept reduced terms and conditions being imposed in response to the introduction of the “national living wage.” [https://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/a-2f57-NOT-JUST-ANY-JOBS-CULL-AN-m-and-S-jobs-cull#.V-O4mTYrKBs]

\* Michael Wilkinson and Laura Hughes in the Telegraph says Jeremy Corbyn is planning to appoint a minister for peace. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/21/anti-trident-jeremy-corbyn-wants-a-minister-for-peace-and-disarm/] In a documentary film made by Ken Loach Corbyn says:

There has to be a change in attitude on foreign policy. It’s too easy to try and build up a kind of patriotic fervour and say, we’re going to go in and sort it out, it’s very easy to vote to send somebody else’s son or daughter off to a place of danger when you’re not doing it yourself.

I’ve spent my life opposing things and want to see a foreign policy based on peace, based on democracy, based on human rights and based on justice and in the ministerial things that we may well be appointing in the future, let’s have a minister for disarmament and a minister for peace, as well, who is pursuing those things around the world and looking to enforce the non-proliferation treaty, rather than pretending its an obstacle to rearmament. Its a question of attitude.

\* The Daily Telegraph says the Ministry of Defence has set up an inquiry into more than 500 allegations of war crimes by British soldiers in Afghanistan. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/21/revealed-now-british-troops-face-criminal-investigation-over-tal/]

The allegations include those from a Taliban bombmaker who claims his arrest and detention for 106 days was illegal, despite troops’ belief that he would make bombs designed to kill British soldiers if they released him.

So far, criminal investigations into British soldiers have focused mainly upon their actions in Iraq. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/19/mod-pays-5000-to-female-soldier-arrested-and-manhandled-by-iraq/] But new figures obtained by the Telegraph show that more than 550 historic allegations of war crimes in Afghanistan are now under investigation by a special police unit set up by ministers.

block-time published-time 11.05am BST

Corbyn tells Labour party staff to ignore reports of planned purge as they demand seats on NEC Labour party staff are demanding seats on the party’s national executive committee. According to the BBC, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-37437611] which broke the story, the move was prompted by newspaper reports claiming that, if Jeremy Corbyn is re-elected leader, some staff working for the party could be replaced by people deemed more loyal to him. Corbyn has filled the leader’s office with people strongly committed to his brand of politics, but most staff at Labour HQ are not seen as committed Corbynistas.

Staff working for the party are represented by GMB and Unite and their convenors, Jim Harvey and Tim Waters, wrote to Corbyn on Monday this week asking him to “pledge your support for unionised Labour Party workers”. Interestingly, they cited Theresa May ’s commitment to putting workers on company boards as a reason why Labour staff should be represented on the NEC.

Here’s an extract from the letter:

It is disappointing that while the Tory prime minister has promised worker representation on company boards that Labour Party workers are currently unrepresented on their own executive. It is therefore only right that the Labour party should lead by example and ensure worker representation on the NEC.

It would be deeply hypocritical of the party to espouse the importance of staff representation in other organisations and companies and not to act itself to put into practice the demands it places on others.

According to the BBC , the Labour staff are demanding two seats on the NEC, in addition to the seat already taken by the party’s general secretary Iain McNicol.

In reply Jeremy Corbyn said that he was “fully committed to open and transparent consultation with trade unions on all matters relating to members of staff” and that no staff changes were currently being proposed. He said:

As a lifelong and committed trade unionist myself, and as leader of the Labour party, I want to make it absolutely clear that I, and my senior management team, are not supportive of any compulsory redundancies.

At this stage, no changes to staff have been proposed and nor would they ever be outside of the context of a properly structured change management programme will full trade union engagement.

I would ask that you please disregard any anonymous or unsourced press briefings which suggest otherwise.

block-time published-time 10.44am BST

Bank of England warns of 'challenging period of uncertainty' after Brexit The Bank of England has warned over a “challenging” outlook for financial stability in the UK as the nation faces “uncertainty and adjustment” following the Brexit vote, the Press Association reports.

The Bank’s financial policy committee (FPC) said that while the financial system has been resilient since the decision to quit the EU , there were concerns over the impact on the UK’s public finances, commercial property and over-indebted borrowers.

But it said bank capital standards will not be relaxed following Brexit, telling lenders they could expect rules “at least as great as that currently planned”.

The FPC also dashed the prospect of the Help to Buy mortgage scheme being extended, saying its closure as planned at the end of the year would not cause lending to dry up.

In minutes of the FPC’s meeting earlier this week [http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/publications/Pages/news/2016/033.aspx], it cautioned: “Although financial stability has been maintained in the UK through a period of volatility, and a number of economic indicators have picked up from their post-referendum low points, the UK faces a challenging period of uncertainty and adjustment.”

block-time published-time 10.39am BST

A source in the Owen Smith camp has described John Mann’s claim about Smith plotting a leadership bid at the start of the year as “nonsense”. (See 10.19am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/22/labour-leadership-jeremy-corbyn-david-miliband-claims-corbyn-has-made-labour-unelectable-politics-live?page=with:block-57e39f1fe4b011f2eb712076#block-57e39f1fe4b011f2eb712076] The source said that Smith was serving loyally in the shadow cabinet until the summer and that he only resigned after a meeting with Jeremy Corbyn led him to conclude that Corbyn could not unite the party. Smith was not canvassing for support, the source said. Instead, colleagues were calling him urging him to run.

block-time published-time 10.19am BST

'Wrong man, wrong time, wrong policies' - John Mann on Owen Smith The Labour MP John Mann has written an article for Politics Home [https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/labour-party/opinion/house-commons/79170/john-mann-mp-owen-smith-wrong-man] this morning that manages to be withering about Jeremy Corbyn and Owen Smith. Here are the key points.

\* Mann accuses Owen Smith of running a terrible campaign against Jeremy Corbyn .

Wrong man, wrong time, wrong policies. Owen Smith’s leadership campaigned boiled down to one key message: I am not him. Never has a Labour leadership candidate hit so many bum notes in one campaign . Yet it was so predictable.

Mann also claims that Smith was plotting a leadership challenge at the start of the year. “I was approached at the beginning of 2016 by a senior figure promoting his candidature,” Mann writes. This appears to contradict Smith’s claim that he only decided to run against Corbyn when Angela Eagle launched a leadership challenge, although it is possible that Smith was planning a leadership challenge at the start of the year expecting it to happen much later. He told the Guardian recently that Corbyn should have been given longer before being challenged. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/19/corbyn-labour-leadership-says-huge-turnout-at-his-rallies-shows-he-can-win-an-election-politics-live?page=with:block-57dfd77be4b09322c33b7c4a#block-57dfd77be4b09322c33b7c4a] launched a leadership challenge, although it is possible that Smith was planning a leadership challenge at the start of the year expecting it to happen much later.

\* He describes Corbyn as “the ultimate Westminster insider” and says his real weakness is his “statism”.

The real weakness of Jeremy’s politics is its statism. Jeremy is for the state, preferably run by people like him, doing good things for people. The antidote to this is for a party that embraces the enabling state, where people are empowered to take responsibility themselves and markets are free and open. The mirror opposite of Venezuela in other words.

Those whose experience of life is that of the special advisor have never, in their own bubble, succeeded in comprehending this and it lends further credence to Jeremy who can pose as the outsider. However, it’s also Jeremy’s big dilemma, for he knows that he is the ultimate Westminster insider and has been as uncomfortable embracing a real diversity of views and experiences as his opponents have been.

\* Mann says Labour is out of touch with the working class.

Labour loves staying inside its comfort zone, battling for irrelevant positions, talking to itself, sympathising with those living in poverty, articulating outrage. But it is terrified of the working class because it might say things they don’t want to hear.

A leave supporter, Mann also says he does not accept the claim that most Labour voters backed remain in the EU referendum.

When Jeremy, citing one poll by Lord Ashcroft, wrongly claims that two thirds of Labour voters supported Remain, his supporters and opponents gleefully nod in harmony. Nothing unites Labour more than false comfort about the electorate.

Any mathematician can quickly work out that in fact Labour areas were the strongest to vote Leave and any well organised party, sampling ballot boxes, will know that in Labour areas it was the Tory voters who tended to vote Remain and it was large blocks of Labour trade unionists who voted Leave.

\* He tips Chuka Umunna, Dan Jarvis and Lisa Nandy as potential future leaders.

The next contest will probably be after the next election. Whatever he says now, Jeremy will not stay on if he loses. Only three current MPs have the potential to embrace this wider world. Chuka Umunna, if he can tame his Euro fanaticism; Dan Jarvis, if he can stop acting as a traditional politician; and Lisa Nandy, if she can stay in touch with her constituents. Put a small bet on each of them, but not too much.

block-time published-time 9.57am BST

The Jeremy Corbyn campaign has removed a video from social media after complaints that it minimised the seriousness of antisemitism, Jewish News is reporting. [http://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/corbyn-antisemitism-video/] It says the Corbyn team agreed to act after receiving complaints from “all sides of the Jewish community including the Board of Deputies, Jewish Labour Movement and Community Security Trust”.

block-time published-time 9.48am BST

May's plans for universities to set up schools wrong for Oxford, says Oxford University In her recent speech on grammar schools [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/education/2016/09/full-text-theresa-mays-speech-grammar-schools] In her recent Theresa May said she wanted to see universities do their bit to improve secondary school education. She said the government would ask them to sponsor state schools, or set up free schools.

On the Today programme this morning P rofessor Louise Richardson, vice chancellor of Oxford University, said this would not be a good idea for her university.

The idea of setting up a local feeder school - we are a global institution. What we do best is run a university. It would be a distraction from our core mission.

block-time published-time 9.37am BST

David Miliband says dismissing Corbyn critics as Tories is 'disastrous' In his article David Miliband also claims that one aspect of what has happened to Labour under Jeremy Corbyn has been particualrly “disastrous” - the tendency to dismiss anyone who criticises Corbyn as a “Tory”.

There is one other element that is not only undesirable, but disastrous. It is the critique that everyone who disagrees with Jeremy Corbyn is in fact a closet Tory – or “Tory lite”. The US Republicans have a similar problem, with anyone to the left of the hard right called “Rino”, meaning “Republican In Name Only”.

The “Tory lite” allegation starts with a fact: government involves compromise. It then fashions an explanation: that the compromise is based on bad motives. It then develops a theory: that the trajectory of our country has been unchanged by Labour government since the Thatcher years. It then creates a new version of history: there is no difference between Labour and Tory governments. This is the sectarianism that leads to the dead end of permanent opposition.

In his article Miliband does not offer a specific programme for what Labour should do to regain power. But he says the left should focus on values rather than dogma, develop policies for wealth creation and adopt an international perspective.

You can read the full article here. [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/09/new-times-david-miliband-why-left-needs-move-forward-not-back]

block-time published-time 9.18am BST

It’s such a quiet day this morning that on the Today programme they resorted to reading out poetry, Keats’ Ode to Autumn. The Commons is in recess, and the main political parties are getting ready for their party conferences. Labour’s starts at the weekend and, to mark it, the New Statesman has published a special edition, leading with an article by David Miliband, the former Labour foreign secretary, [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/09/new-times-david-miliband-why-left-needs-move-forward-not-back] despairing at what has happened to his party. Like the Ode to Autumn (which an academic on Today said was partially influenced by the aftermath of the Peterloo massacre) [https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2008/jan/11/isnttoautumnaboutautumn], Miliband’s article laments loss. But, unlike the Ode, it’s not great poetry, and it’s much more specific.

Miliband makes the routine claim (for people from his wing of the party) that Jeremy Corbyn is “unelectable”, but he gives the argument a new twist. Rather than claiming that Corbyn’s policy objectives are fine, but that Corbyn is just the wrong person to be able to implement them (which broadly was Owen Smith’s argument in the leadership contest, with some exceptions), Miliband says that Corbyn has the wrong policies.

The party has ended up pre-New Labour in policy and culture, when we need to be post-New Labour. This year’s leadership election has spent a lot of time debating how to “bring back” various lost icons, such as nationalised railways, rather than focusing on new ideas for the future.

The main charge against Jeremy Corbyn is not just that his strategy is undesirable because it makes the party unelectable. That is only half the story. The real issue is that his strategy makes the party unelectable because it is in many aspects undesirable.

This is true most egregiously with regard to foreign policy. The half-hearted message about Europe is a betrayal of millions of working people. The equivocation on Nato in the face of Russia’s intimidation of nations in her former sphere of influence is dangerous and throws away progressive values.

But the electorate can see through the domestic policy, too. Nationalisation cannot be the answer to everything; anti-austerity speeches cannot explain everything; corporate taxation cannot pay for everything. It doesn’t add up. It wouldn’t work. People are not stupid.

I will post more from the interview shortly.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and then I will be wrapping up early because I have a meeting in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.26am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Exclusive: Labor weighs plan to invite parliamentarians to sign up to a set of principles respecting diversity and truthfulness

Labor is preparing to launch a proposal to invite all federal parliamentarians to sign up to a code of race ethics, echoing an initiative advanced by the ALP and the Australian Democrats during the period Pauline Hanson was last in parliament.

The code is yet to clear Labor’s caucus processes, but the shadow attorney general, Mark Dreyfus, has told Guardian Australia it would be an important gesture for the 45th parliament. “It would send a message about what sort of parliament we want to be,” he said.

Related: We can't eradicate racism but telling its targets to grin and bear it isn't good enough | Tim Soutphommasane[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/we-cant-eradicate-racism-but-telling-its-targets-to-grin-and-bear-it-isnt-good-enough]

The previous code of race ethics was pursued by the then Labor senator Margaret Reynolds and the Democrat senator John Woodley in 1996, prompted by concern about the debate about racism that erupted in that year’s election campaign.

The code required parliamentarians to sign on to a set of principles, including respect for religious and cultural diversity, supporting tolerance and justice within a multicultural society, and “to speak and write in a manner which provides factual commentary on a foundation of truth about all issues being debated in the community and the parliament”.

Dreyfus indicated that the wording for Labor’s proposal would be similar to the Reynolds/Woodley initiative, which won support from 54% of parliamentarians. He said assuming that the proposal cleared Labor’s internal deliberations, he would invite all parliamentarians to sign on.

Labor’s move follows Hanson’s declaration in her first speech in the Senate that Australia was in danger of being “swamped” by Muslims[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban]. It comes as new polling suggests 49% of Australians support One Nation’s call for a ban on Muslim **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/21/race-discrimination-commissioner-criticises-pauline-hanson-for-stoking-division].

Australia’s race discrimination commissioner, Tim Soutphommasane, used a speech at the Australian National University this week to warn about the dangers of politicians fanning xenophobic sentiment.

In an interview with Guardian Australia’s Australian politics live podcast, he warned the country was approaching a tipping point in race relations. “Make no mistake, we are in a time when our values and our harmony are being tested, and we need to rise to this test and ensure we live up to the best of our traditions as a nation of **immigration**,” Soutphommasane said.

“Some of the political rhetoric we are hearing at the moment is taking us down a very different path.”

There’s a real danger that we are normalising what might otherwise be unacceptable ideas

Tim Soutphommasane

He said people declaring in the parliament that Muslims weren’t welcome, or people arguing for a watering down of protections in the Racial Discrimination Act, needed to focus on the consequences of their statements, rather than think they were engaged in an abstract philosophical debate.

“If people are worried about Muslim **immigrants** integrating into Australian society they should remember that telling Muslims they are not welcome is going to do nothing to aid migrants of a Muslim background becoming acquainted with Australian culture, or feeling that they belong to our society – and that’s the best way to integrate migrants, to ensure they receive a fair go, and they get the time they need for them and their families to settle in and contribute to our country,” Soutphommasane said.

“We are a largely cohesive, harmonious and stable society, so to see these explosions of anxiety is concerning. I wouldn’t want to see it deteriorate.

“And here we need to think about the effect it’s going to have on our daily lives. When you see or hear hostility being vented against Muslims in our political debate that’s going to affect how the young Muslim schoolboy or schoolgirl is going to experience life in the schoolyard. Having that kind of exclusion is no recipe for societal cohesion.”

The race discrimination commissioner said people who want to remove the words offend and insult from the Racial Discrimination Act often failed to point out that the legislation was not some broad-ranging prohibition, but a specific form of protection. The commissioner said section 18C of the act was about nipping racial hatred in the bud, and preventing it escalating into actual violence.

“The Racial Discrimination Act covers acts which offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate on the basis of race,” he said. “This is a very different thing to offending or insulting on the basis of the football team you support.

“Pogroms have never been organised, as far as I know, on the basis of the football teams you support. But pogroms have been organised against people on the basis of race and their background.”

He also responded to the Essential poll that found 49% support for banning Muslim **immigration**. “I was surprised and very concerned … because we’ve had a non-discriminatory **immigration** policy for many years.”

Related: The debate about 18C doesn't have to be a left-right slanging match | Gay Alcorn[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/01/the-debate-about-18c-doesnt-have-to-be-a-left-right-slanging-match]

He said the poll was out of sync with other field evidence which confirmed there was broad-ranging community support for a non-discriminatory **immigration**policy.

“The numbers may reflect where the debate is at the moment. We have seen about two months of blanket coverage of Ms Hanson, not a week goes by when you don’t see or hear her views about **immigration** and Islam, and there’s a real danger that we are normalising what might otherwise be unacceptable ideas, beyond the bounds of a liberal democracy.”

Again, Soutphommasane urged people to focus on the practical consequences flowing from their statements.

“Consider what the full implications of discriminating on the basis of religion will mean. If this is carried out, our **immigration** officials at our airports and ports are going to have to make calls about who is going to pass and who isn’t.”

“Sound familiar? Well this is what we did during the white Australia policy.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The US president badly misread Putin. Only a tough approach with Russia can secure any kind of peace

The ceasefire in Syria[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/20/the-guardian-view-on-syria-the-ceasefire-and-the-aid-convoy-attack-a-new-low] may not have been formally pronounced dead, but hopes to resurrect it are fast dwindling. After an aid convoy was destroyed[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/20/un-aid-convoy-attack-syria-us-russia] near Aleppo, fighting again intensified and the US and Russia[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/20/un-aid-convoy-attack-syria-us-russia] exchanged accusations in the UN. But in reality US diplomacy had collapsed before these latest events.

Related: The Guardian view on Syria, the ceasefire and the aid convoy attack: a new low | Editorial[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/20/the-guardian-view-on-syria-the-ceasefire-and-the-aid-convoy-attack-a-new-low]

Last week, just hours after western coalition airstrikes mistakenly targeted Syrian government forces, killing more than 60 people, the US ambassador to the UN, Samantha Power, made an extraordinary statement that served to highlight the contradictions at the heart of the Obama administration.

Power lambasted Russia’s “ uniquely cynical and hypocritical stunt[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/us-accuses-russia-of-grandstanding-over-deadly-syria-air-strikes] ” for having convened an emergency UN security council meeting over the bombing of Syrian troops. She lashed out at how Russia had, over the past five years, consistently propped up the Assad regime and protected it from any consequences of its murderous policies. At length, she described Bashar al-Assad’s strategy of “death by a thousand paper cuts”: starvation sieges; the “horrifying, predictable regularity” of strikes on civilian targets; the “routine” use of chemical weapons; and “torture chambers” holding “tens of thousands of people”. Why, she asked, had Russia never once called an urgent security council meeting over such horrors?

There have long been two takes on Syria. One is the geopolitical realism line, which Barack Obama has chosen to follow largely because it fits with his reluctance to get involved in another war. The line is that US or western security interests are not at stake in an intractable, far-flung civil war that can more easily be contained than solved. The other is the moral imperative line that Power has repeatedly advocated within the administration. It refers to the doctrine of “responsibility to protect”, according to which a state’s sovereignty can be violated when a regime slaughters its own citizens.

Power published a book in 2002, A Problem from Hell[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2003/jun/29/highereducation.news], describing how US governments had historically failed to prevent genocides and mass atrocities – the book reportedly drew Obama’s attention to her when he was a senator.

The differences between Power and Obama were apparent in her stinging UN statement. By contrast, Obama said little on Syria in his UN speech this week.

In his 2009 Nobel prize speech[https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-acceptance-nobel-peace-prize], Obama said that inaction in the face of mass slaughter “tears at our conscience and can lead to most costly intervention later”. As Syria turned into hell on earth, the president repeatedly made the case that any intervention would be either futile or dangerous.

In tune with the American public’s aversion to military involvement after the disastrous Bush years, his policies have ranged from attempts to negotiate Assad’s physical departure from Syria (a plan dubbed the Yemeni scenario[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/oct/30/syria-horror-western-inaction-obama-priority] in 2012) to creating a “hub” in Turkey where rebels would be armed and trained (but without anti-tank or anti-aircraft weaponry), and – once Russia’s military intervention was launched in 2015 – more intense diplomacy with Moscow.

Results have been scant. What seems to have been missing from the US calculus, and what Power’s comments have perhaps unwillingly underscored, is that so many signs point to a crude reality: that Assad and his backer, Vladimir Putin, aren’t just indifferent to crimes against humanity but believe they serve their purpose.

Assad warned back in 2011 that he would spread chaos throughout Syria and beyond if calls for him to step down weren’t retracted. Putin has constructed his whole domestic political narrative around the notion that, however much he may be criticised by the west, he has restored Russia’s strength. Nor is Putin much bothered by the crimes of the Assad regime – his own army carried out similar massacres in Chechnya[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/23/putins-closest-ally-and-his-biggest-liability].

It’s possible Power’s statement was aimed at western public opinion rather than at the autocrats who, time and again, have demonstrated their capacity to order or tolerate untold levels of violence against civilians.

As his presidency comes to a close, the fact is that Obama has little to show the world on Syria. With an estimated half a million deaths, the Middle East in flames and European allies destabilised by the impact of **refugee** flows, he will pass on a festering crisis to his successor.

Russia was always going to be a stumbling block, not least because Putin long ago identified Obama’s reluctance to do more – such as arming the rebels decisively, upholding his self-proclaimed “red line” or setting up a no-fly zone (before Russian intervention made that impossible). There is a long list of missed opportunities that might have forced Assad to the negotiating table.

Related: Syria conflict: overnight airstrikes on rebel-held Aleppo kill dozens[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/22/overnight-airstrikes-rebel-held-aleppo-kill-syrians]

Earlier this year the Atlantic magazine quoted Obama[http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/international/archive/2016/03/obama-doctrine-quotes-foreign-policy/424281/] saying of Putin: “The notion that somehow Russia is in a stronger position now than before he had to deploy military forces to Syria is to fundamentally misunderstand the nature of power in foreign affairs.” Yet today Putin does appear stronger, if only because the US finds itself scrambling to salvage the ceasefire deal without any leverage. Trying to blame and shame Russia over the UN convoy bombing is unlikely to achieve much on its own.

A key problem with the ceasefire deal was the plan to set up a US-Russia “joint implementation centre” to coordinate strikes against Islamic State. This was meant as an incentive, as Putin had long sought to be accepted as a coalition partner alongside the United States. But if implemented, such a coalition could make the US complicit in Russian airstrikes, which have been designed to strengthen Assad. The US would endorse a Russian intervention premised on the notion that there are only two actors in Syria: Assad and the jihadis.

Yet as Power pointed out, “the Syrian government, which bills itself as a fighter against terrorists, allows Isis to grow and grow and grow … Assad’s antics – his tactics, his strategy – have been a gift to terrorists in Syria and well beyond”.

By siding with Russia, the US would risk offering another gift to terrorists. Of course, American policymakers were well aware of this, which is why they set preconditions: a partial freezing of the civil war, and safe passage for humanitarian aid deliveries to Aleppo, the armed opposition’s last stronghold. But appealing to Putin’s sense of decency to get Assad to curtail his bombing was always going to be a gamble. Why would Putin seek to please the US once he had become an equal player alongside the sole global power?

Related: UN seeks to resume aid convoys to Syria after airstrikes on Aleppo[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/22/overnight-airstrikes-rebel-held-aleppo-kill-syrians]

Obama has been in a hurry to reach a breakthrough on Syria these past few months, because he’s leaving office. Putin certainly isn’t. Nor is he constrained by domestic public opinion to do the right thing, or even try to.

The Obama administration is hanging on to the last shreds of its ceasefire plan – for lack of an alternative, though its critics would do well to avoid schadenfreude. With Isis-connected terrorism spreading in many parts of the world and illiberalism growing in Europe on the back of the **refugee** crisis, Syria has become a security threat well beyond the Middle East. Against that backdrop, geopolitical realism and moral imperatives look less like opposites.

Assad is capitalising on the balance of forces Russia has helped create. This in turn – as Power has said – will fuel Isis, whose twisted claim is to be the champion of Sunni Muslims. This means more problems lie ahead for the west, and more suffering for the Syrians.

Meanwhile, Putin is celebrated by populists around the world for having outmanoeuvred the US by pulling himself up to the ranks of a leader whose cooperation is almost begged for. Russia may be in recession, and its economy the size of Australia’s, but in Syria it has been given a free hand. Whatever one may think of American power and its limits, and however one may choose to gauge Syria’s importance to narrowly defined US national security interests, history will remember that this all happened under Obama’s watch.

A former adviser to Bill Clinton once reflected on how the US had failed to prevent massacres in Bosnia: he said that by 1995, “the issue had become a cancer on our foreign policy and on his administration’s leadership”. For this reason, Clinton in the end ordered targeted strikes on Serbian forces, which forced Slobodan Miloševic to the negotiating table. Power, who covered that crisis as a journalist, eloquently told the story in her book.

No doubt Syria is a complex, multifaceted war, on a different scale to Bosnia. But the lesson that should still be drawn is that war diplomacy can only succeed if leverage is decisively built up, not just hoped for. If talking to Russia is the only gateway to a peace process in Syria, more than simple persuasion must be brought to bear on it.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Report notes a decline in recent months but highlights one incident in which a 16-year-old Syrian **refugee** was left in solitary confinement for three weeks

Canada regularly detains hundreds of children who have run afoul of the country’s **immigration** laws – including some who are held in correctional facilities and even in solitary confinement, according to a new report calling for sweeping reforms to the practice.

Between 2010 and 2014, an average of 242 children were detained across Canada over **immigration** violations, according to the International Human Rights Program at the University of Toronto. Their report, released Thursday, sheds light on these detentions, which range in length from days to several months, and calls for urgent, sweeping form to a Canadian practice that has attracted consistent criticism from the United Nations.

“What’s happening with children in detention really runs counter to the narrative of Canada as a global human rights promoter,” said Samer Muscati, the report’s editor. “Canada has signed international agreements, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which clearly states that any detention has to be done as a last resort and for the least amount of time possible.”

The practice of regularly detaining children is among the many issues that plague Canada’s **immigration** detention system. Across the country, the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) has the power to detain non-citizens deemed to be a flight risk, who pose a threat to public safety or whose identities cannot be confirmed.

Related: **Immigrant** deaths expose 'legal black hole' of Canada's detention system[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/17/canada-immigration-detention-deaths-border-services-agency]

A lack of transparency and oversight mars the system, resulting in what critics have described as a “legal black hole”.[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/17/canada-immigration-detention-deaths-border-services-agency] Since 2000, at least 15 people have died in the custody of the CBSA, including five who are thought to have died from natural causes and three by suicide. Six deaths remain attributed to unknown causes.

Thursday’s report focuses on the children – ranging from newborns to teenagers – ensnared in the same system. Some are formally detained. Others are Canadian citizens who are forced to choose between separating from parents who have been detained by **immigration** authorities or living in detention with their parents as de facto detainees. Those who stay with their parents still face family separation, in that they are held with their mother and have limited visits during the day with their father.

The figures in the report likely underestimate the scale of the issue, said Muscati, as the data mostly reflects children who are formally detained. “We still don’t have an accurate number or idea of how many children are informally detained.”

Those detained hail from around the world with children from sub-Saharan Africa making up the largest group, at 23% of the children detained. The average length of detention is 10 days for children who are formally detained. For those who are held informally with their parents, the average length of the detention stretches to nearly 30 days. “Because under the law they’re invisible, their interests aren’t identified and represented,” said Muscati. “So they actually languish in these facilities for longer periods of time than formally detained children.”

Most children are held in medium-security **immigration** holding centres. But a small number have wound up in correctional facilities or police stations across the country.

The report also flagged what Muscati called “a whole other, really horrible scenario”, referring to findings on the use of solitary confinement for two, unaccompanied 16-year-old boys. One of them – a Syrian **refugee** who had attempted to claim **refugee** status after entering Canada from the US – was left in isolation for three weeks. Loathe to put the young males in the women’s section and worried that they may be at risk in the men’s section, authorities chose to place them in solitary confinement.

Even just a few days in detention can cause serious and long-lasting psychological harm to children. Studies have shown children who are detained experience increased symptoms of post-traumatic stress, anxiety and depression, and are more likely to contemplate suicide. These symptoms often persist long after the children are released.

As less than 2% of those detained are considered a threat to public safety, the report highlights alternatives, such as those used in Sweden and Hong Kong, which allow children to reside with their families in the community through the use of reporting obligations, financial deposits and guarantees, or electronic monitoring.

Responding to the report, the CBSA said it was aware of the issue and said “tangible steps” are in the works to address the situation. The agency said it has been working to “reset the **immigration** detention program” to increase the use of alternatives and eliminate the detention of minors, except in the most limited and exceptional circumstances.

Their efforts were noted by those behind the report, who said that recent months have seen a decline in the number of children taken into custody.

“After years of silence and inaction, the Canadian government and CBSA are taking serious steps that will hopefully bring us closer to ending child detention and family separation,” said Hanna Gros, one of the report’s co-authors. “But Ottawa needs to move quickly and deliberately to end the needless suffering of children and their parents.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Around 95% of unaccompanied children now say they want to remain in France compared with 15% last year, charity says

French children’s services are struggling to cope with a dramatic surge in unaccompanied **refugee** children who have abandoned plans to travel to the UK and now want to remain in France.

In the past three months staff employed by the main French charity working with **refugee** children in Calais have had to turn away between 15 and 35 unaccompanied **refugee** children every day because they have no beds for them in the emergency shelter.

Related: Call for Calais child **refugees** to be given UK safeguarding protection[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/22/call-for-calais-child-refugees-to-be-given-uk-safeguarding-protection]

Since July around 95% of the unaccompanied children who come to the charity for assistance say that they want to remain in France permanently, according to Jean-François Roger, director of the charity’s child **refugee** centre. This is a huge change from last year, when only 15% of the 1,483 unaccompanied children that staff registered at the France Terre d’Asile emergency shelter in Saint Omer, said they wanted to stay; the remaining 85% returned to the Calais camp after a five-day respite break, to try to travel on to the UK.

“A few things have happened that have persuaded children to stay. Since July, and the Brexit vote, the migrants are wondering what will happen to them if they turn up in Britain. We are not sure it is connected to Brexit, but there is a fear of what kind of welcome foreigners will have there now,” Roger said.

The rise in numbers opting to stay in France is also a reflection of that fact that increased security and fencing by the port has made it much harder and much more dangerous to attempt to cross to the UK illegally. This week, workers began to build the foundations of a four-metre high, kilometre-long wall[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/uk-immigration-minister-confirms-work-will-begin-on-big-new-wall-in-calais] between the camp and the motorway, estimated to cost £1.9m.

In parallel there has been a concerted drive by charities working in the Calais camp to inform children that, aside from the dangers of trying to make an illegal crossing, it is often easier to get long-term permission to remain in France than it is in the UK.

Last Friday a 14-year-old boy[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/afghan-boy-killed-in-calais-in-attempt-to-climb-on-to-lorry-to-uk] from Afghanistan died when he fell from a lorry and was hit by a car on the motorway leading to the port; he was the third asylum-seeking child to be killed in the Calais area this year.

“It is getting harder and harder to cross the frontier. There is a bigger police presence, there are more checks, the barrier is bigger. It was always dangerous, but it is much more dangerous now for the children, and so they are forced to take much greater risks,” Roger said. “It is also more dangerous in the camp in Calais itself. You have 10,000 people in a confined space and tensions are getting worse, and the children are more vulnerable.”

A census carried out by the charity Help **Refugees** [http://www.helprefugees.org.uk/] estimated this week that the camp population has increased to around 10,188, a 12% increase on last month, with 1,179 minors, of whom 87% are traveling alone; the youngest unaccompanied child is eight years old.

Almost a third of the children are from Afghanistan, a quarter from Sudan and a quarter from Eritrea. Police clashed with camp residents on Wednesday, using teargas grenades, and violent incidents are increasing.

The current emergency provision of just 45 beds for **refugee** children in Saint Omer was completely inadequate, Roger said. Two further emergency centres, one with 70 beds and one with 75 places, will be opened in November and early 2017, but these are also likely to be insufficient to house the rising numbers, he said. Children eventually move into foster care or more permanent housing, but they often need to stay in the emergency shelter for weeks, while their application to remain is processed.

Related: Theresa May isn’t interested in **refugees**’ welfare. She just wants fewer of them in Britain | Patrick Kingsley[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/19/theresa-may-refugees-welfare-migrant]

“We do feel powerless. It is very hard psychologically for my colleagues who have to turn them away. It is difficult to explain to them why there are no places,” Roger said. “It will be worse when it gets colder, when there is water up to your knees in the camp.”

When the charity turns children away, staff alert the local social services, but usually they are also unable to offer a bed, so the children are forced to return to tents or huts in the Calais camp, or if they are relatively lucky, the newly-installed metal shipping containers.

The charity has been campaigning for more emergency beds for months, but has faced considerable political hostility. It took Roger three years to find a mayor willing to agree to accommodate a centre for child **refugees**. With the growing presence of the Front National in the region, there is a wariness of offering more facilities for **refugees**, even unaccompanied children.

“People don’t treat them as children, but as foreigners and migrants,” Roger said. “There is also fear that by creating better accommodation there will be a magnet effect, attracting more people.”

He said the French authorities had not reacted swiftly enough to the crisis. “Since 2014 the numbers are just going up and up. The 45 spaces we have here no longer corresponds to the reality of the situation in Calais. This system was created in 2009 when there were only 1,500 people in the camp, and perhaps around 100 children,” he said. “We have never had an ambitious, long-term plan. It is frustrating.”

A permanent solution to the issue needed to be worked out between Britain and France, he said. “This is a European problem. We need a joint solution,” he said. The former French president Nicolas Sarkozy visited Calais this week, and said it was not up to France to “be England’s border guards”.

Although the British government made a commitment earlier this year to offer shelter to a share of the 95,000[http://www.unicef.org.uk/Media-centre/Press-releases/Unaccompanied-refugee-and-migrant-children-in-urgent-need-of-protection-warns-UNICEF/] estimated unaccompanied **refugee** children across Europe, with the so-called Dubs[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp] amendment of the **Immigration** Act, no children have yet been transferred to the UK under this legislation.

Those children who do not want to remain in France and continue to attempt to get to the UK, often have strong family connections which make them determined to try to cross the channel to claim asylum in the UK. The boy who died on the road this week, had family in Britain, and consequently a legal right to be reunited with them – but because the bureaucratic process is so slow, he had given up waiting.

The Labour MP Stella Creasy launched a new attempt to amend **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/22/call-for-calais-child-refugees-to-be-given-uk-safeguarding-protection] legislation on Thursday to force the government to take responsibility for unaccompanied children in Calais. This week the UK’s modern slavery commissioner, Kevin Hyland,[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/20/uk-delays-calais-children-exploitation-anti-slavery-chief] criticised the government for its slow response to the crisis.

“It is absolutely unacceptable that these children are left in the camp at the disposal of the criminal networks and they continue risking their lives daily to reach the shores of the UK,” he wrote in a letter to the home secretary, Amber Rudd.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Protecting NHS, reducing **immigration** and Brexit trade deals emerge as voter priorities in survey and PM wins on all three

Theresa May is more trusted than Jeremy Corbyn to tackle the most urgent problems in post-Brexit Britain, including safeguarding the NHS, according to a new poll seen exclusively by the Guardian.

Asked what politicians’ priorities should be, the top three choices in the Britain Thinks poll were safeguarding the health service, significantly reducing **immigration** and striking new trade deals as Britain leaves the European Union.

Theresa May was more trusted on all three issues, outpacing Corbyn on protecting the NHS by 38% to 30%. On reducing **immigration**, 46% of voters trusted May; just 12% said Corbyn.

Related: Jeremy Corbyn issues warning to rebellious MPs as leadership poll closes[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/21/jeremy-corbyn-issues-warning-to-rebellious-mps-as-leadership-poll-closes]

Deborah Mattinson, the director of Britain Thinks, said: “When we look at the policies that are people’s highest priorities – the economy post-Brexit, **immigration** – Theresa May is more trusted than Jeremy Corbyn to deliver. She is even more trusted in Labour’s traditional heartland area: the NHS.

“Jeremy Corbyn has failed to engage with ordinary voters. Half of the people in our focus groups did not recognise him when shown a photograph – the lowest level of recognition I have ever seen for the leader of a mainstream political party.”

Corbyn’s low standing on **immigration** may be understandable, as he has made clear his support for continued freedom of movement within the EU, although he would like the government to take action to mitigate the impact on low-paid workers.

But it will chime with the fears of centrist Labour backbenchers, including Rachel Reeves and Stephen Kinnock, who have argued that Labour[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/19/labour-urged-to-make-immigration-controls-a-key-brexit-demand] should be ready to push for curbs on **immigration** in the wake of the Brexit vote.

Corbyn is more trusted by voters to implement a series of other policies, including opposing grammar schools, abolishing university tuition fees and providing “better support for struggling working families” (by 41% to May’s 28%), according to the poll.

That may suggest voters do not believe the rhetoric of the prime minister’s first speech in Downing Street, when she promised to tackle social injustice and govern on behalf of the “just managing”, instead of the “privileged few”.

Corbyn’s critics have repeatedly highlighted Labour’s low polling during this summer’s bruising leadership campaign – though he insists that large attendances at rallies up and down the country show he has a groundswell of support that will eventually be felt at the ballot box.

A separate analysis of recent polling by elections expert John Curtice, published in the journal of the IPPR thinktank on Friday, suggests Corbyn is a polarising political figure. “Mr Corbyn is more accurately described as a divisive opposition leader than as an unpopular one,” Curtice says. “More voters have had an opinion of him, either for good or ill, during his first year as opposition leader than have had a view about any of his predecessors during their initial 12 months in the post, Tony Blair included.”

He adds: “There is evidently a section of the British public, to be found particularly among younger voters, for whom the Labour leader does have an appeal; it just does not look like a section that is big enough, on its own at least, to enable Labour to win a general election.”

The Britain Thinks poll was backed up by focus group interviews in Harlow, Essex, and Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, which revealed a deeply divided Britain. “Our research tells the story of a fractured nation, with people dividing themselves into two groups – the haves and the have nots,” Mattinson said. “While the first group feel at ease with themselves and their lives, the second, larger group faces a daily struggle, and feels a deep sense of injustice.”

She added that while **immigration** did not emerge as voters’ primary concern, a number of other issues – including pressures on public services and the NHS – were viewed through the prism of **immigration**.

The polling found that delivering a well-funded and efficient NHS was the most popular choice when people were asked for their top priorities for Britain, selected by just under a third of people. Next came a significant reduction in **immigration**, with notably less support for negotiating strong post-Brexit trade deals, supporting struggling families or building new homes.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Labour party has many more policies that bind it together than divide it – and that’s what the public needs to hear about

A movement that aspires to succeed has to begin by accepting that most people don’t think like it. It must obsess not over why people agree with it but why millions don’t.

It must focus its resources on seeking converts, not traitors. It must avoid becoming a subculture with its own language and rites, all of which are bemusing and **alien** to most people. It must spend every spare moment debating and discussing a strategy to victory, not confusing the enthusiasm of a minority for a plan to win. It must project an image of positivity, optimism and inclusivity, not of anger, bitterness and vengeance. It must make the average punter feel as though they could easily be part of the movement, without feeling they’ve signed up to a never-ending exam that other activists are always waiting for them to fail.

A party that wants to succeed must be determined to engage a public that simply does not share its passion

Jeremy Corbyn is going to win another landslide victory because of the movement behind him. More than two years ago Labour abolished the electoral college[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jan/29/labour-abolish-electoral-college-alan-johnson], replacing it with one member one vote and a supporters’ scheme so that anyone could join up and instantly have a vote. Ed Miliband’s leadership implemented these proposals at the behest of the party’s right. By moving towards US-style primaries, they believed, Labour would be freed from the grip of the trade union movement, and people sharing the right’s worldview would pour into the party, permanently shifting Labour’s political centre of gravity.

One snag: the Labour right lacked any compelling, coherent narrative to inspire anyone. People poured into the party all right, but their belief system could hardly have been more undesirable from the standpoint of the party’s right. In the recent US science-fiction drama, Stranger Things[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/aug/05/netflix-hit-stranger-things-highlights-tvs-trend-for-nostalgia], children are snatched and dragged into the Upside Down, a parallel universe which is a dark, grim version of our own reality. Ever since it became clear that a little-known leftwing backbencher was heading towards a decisive victory in last year’s leadership election, his opponents have felt as though they have been dragged into the Upside Down.

The movement behind Corbyn is not driven by Trotskyists, revolutionaries or even ideologues. What unites its foot soldiers is a rejection of a political consensus that they believe brought disaster in Iraq, financial collapse, unnecessary and ideologically driven cuts and policies that have disproportionately hammered the young. Many are strikingly aware of Corbyn’s flaws and limitations, but they fear his fall will lead to a restoration of the old order and the systematic removal of the left. Since Corbyn’s election, they feel that not only has their chosen leader been smeared by the press, but that they themselves have been subjected to campaign of vilification.

They believe MPs plotted to undermine their preferred leader before he was even elected, that they undermined him through his tenure in office and plunged the party into an unnecessary and destructive leadership contest at a time of national crisis. They are infuriated by bureaucratic manoeuvres they believe were designed to block Corbyn’s re-election, like an attempt to keep him off the ballot and a heavyhanded purge of the leader’s supporters.

The fury that has resulted may be understandable, but it will prove fatal if unchecked. The onslaught against the movement could yet destroy it, precisely because of the anger it has provoked. Talk of war and mass deselections will resonate with many Corbyn supporters and be affirmed with applause. Some may theatrically boo prominent members of the Labour family who oppose Corbyn. Hunts for witches and renegades, stirred up by pitchfork-holding Twitter accounts, may be instigated. That Britain is ruled by a Conservative administration that has shifted to David Cameron’s right, and that feels rather amused – almost pitiful – about Labour’s plight, will all be forgotten. Leftwing politics could be subsumed into a struggle against “the 172” – the number of MPs who voted no confidence in the leadership[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/28/jeremy-corbyn-loses-labour-mps-confidence-vote] – rather than an attempt to dislodge Theresa May’s rampantly rightwing Tory government.

Related: Corbyn camp predicts comfortable victory as leadership polls close[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/21/corbyn-camp-predicts-comfortable-victory-as-leadership-polls-close]

Voices calling for peace will not be popular, but they will be crucial to the success of Corbyn’s leadership and future of the movement that propelled him to victory. Labour MPs should accept the verdict of members of one of Europe’s biggest political parties. But everyone has to give. Talk of mandatory reselections should be abandoned. This will not force MPs into line but fuel a nihilistic sense among MPs of “I have nothing to lose.” Common ground should be emphasised[https://medium.com/@OwenJones84/my-thoughts-on-the-plight-of-labour-38413229f88].

In the 1980s there were far greater ideological differences between opposing sides. Today no one of any significance is calling for the nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, for instance. Yes, Corbyn supports unilateral disarmament, but in the 80s it was a key article of faith for Labour’s left. From selection in education to the NHS to the economy and tax, there is actually striking agreement among MPs, members and unions. Owen Smith ran on a similar domestic platform to Corbyn, underscoring that unity. Issues that unite should be emphasised and built on, rather than differences emphasised for show.

If politics consumes a huge portion of your life – as it does mine – then it can be easy to forget just how little enthusiasm most people have about it. Coups, purges, Labour’s NEC, memes about the rival candidates pepper my social media timelines every day. Most people have spent the last three months slogging away at their job, going to the seaside, having after-work drinks, picking their kids up after school – getting on with their lives. Let’s be blunt. If members of the public are even paying attention to Labour’s car crash – and most have switched channel – “freakshow” is probably one of their kinder words.

The movement must now refocus all its attention on them. These are people who agree with them on many issues – higher taxes on the rich, publicly owned utilities, more workers’ rights – but also have often dramatically different attitudes when it comes to **immigration** and social security. A movement that wants to succeed must be restless in its determination to engage a public that simply does not share its passion.

Corbyn has posed by an olive tree to demonstrate his sincerity in reaching out. In doing so, he’s setting an example his followers must surely follow. The movement behind Corbyn brims with energy and has so much potential. It could spend the next few months stirred up by angry witch-finders while the Tories implement an agenda Margaret Thatcher would have balked at. Or it can focus on offering an inspiring alternative that is inclusive and relentlessly upbeat. That’s no guarantee of success. But the alternative is a guarantee of failure.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump introduced by Don King at black church near Cleveland Mike Pence denies claims that Trump siphoned $258,000 in donations

block-time published-time 2.40am BST

Charlotte-Mecklenburg police chief Kerr Putney has just told Fox News that the person taken to hospital with “life-threatening injuries” earlier today has died, in a second night of protests[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/21/protesters-clash-with-police-in-charlotte-after-fatal-shooting-of-black-man] over the death of 43-year-old black man.

Related: Person shot dead as riots erupt in North Carolina after Keith Scott killing – live[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/sep/21/keith-scott-shooting-charlotte-north-carolina-protests]

block-time published-time 2.15am BST

Don King joins Donald Trump for town hall on Fox News Boxing promoter and convicted manslaughterer Don Kin joined Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump on Fox News host Sean Hannity’s town hall aimed at winning the hearts of African American voters today, a sentence we never thought we’d be typing.

“What I’m asking Donald Trump to do is what Donald Trump volunteered to do, it is to change the system,” King, who once kicked a man to death on a stretch of road now named after him, said. “It doesn’t matter about, whatever we seem right, wrong or indifferent. If the system doesn’t change, it’s going to be the same. So I say, why would Donald Trump be different from Obama or any other president? Because he will call them out.?

King cited the example of South Carolina senator Lindsey Graham, who he initially called “Lindsey Tucker.”

block-time published-time 2.01am BST

Would-be Democratic presidential nominee Bernie Sanders may no longer have a shot at winning his (newly adopted) party’s nomination, but he has found a new role to take on: that of a young-adult nonfiction author.

Sanders’ upcoming book, Our Revolution, will reportedly be adapted for high school-age kids, according to CNN[http://money.cnn.com/2016/09/21/media/bernie-sanders-young-adult-nonfiction-book/index.html].

The book, according to publisher Henry Holt, will be “an inspiring teen guide to engaging with and shaping the world - a perfect gift and important read.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.07am BST

block-time published-time 1.47am BST

Hillary Clinton’s campaign has responded to Donald Trump’s declaration that the only reason he abandoned his never-ending quest to prove that President Barack Obama was not born in the United States was that he wanted to “get on with the campaign.”

“After spending 5 years championing a conspiracy theory to undermine our first African American President, Donald Trump hasn’t actually changed his mind,” said campaign spokesperson Jesse Ferguson. “He only gave his 36 second press statement last week to try to change the subject - and it didn’t work.”

block-time published-time 1.03am BST

Donald Trump, on his foundation using charitable donations to settle his legal debts: The foundation is really there. It gives money to that. It’s really been doing a good job. I think we put that to sleep just by putting out the last report.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.11am BST

block-time published-time 12.58am BST

Donald Trump’s endorsement of a nationwide “stop-and-frisk” policy at a town hall hosted by acolyte Sean Hannity this afternoon has been well reported, but here are a few other moments from the town hall that will likely spark intense conversations regarding the candidate’s policies:

On the shooting of an unarmed man in Tulsa, Oklahoma:

HANNITY: I saw it.

TRUMP: And a young policemen shot this man. I don’t get it. I don’t care where you’re coming from. There was something really bad going on.

HANNITY: I saw it. He had his hands up.

TRUMP: I don’t know if she choked. He was walking. His hands were high. He was walking to the car. He put the hands on the car. Now, maybe she choked. Something really bad happened.

On “the race card”:

You know, the one thing I see is that when you start to win, and I’ve watched this not just for me, I’ve watched it over the years, when you start to win and win and win, they have nothing to say and they can’t stop you, they always start using the racist word. It’s a very interesting phenomenon, but the word “racist” comes out and that means that you’re winning and that’s their last chance, and I don’t think it’s working.

block-time published-time 12.48am BST

Donald Trump on birtherism change of heart: 'I just wanted to get on with the campaign' In a one-on-one interview[http://abc6onyourside.com/news/election/1-on-1-with-donald-trump] with a local ABC affiliate before a campaign appearance in Toledo, Ohio, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump told a reporter that the reason behind his reversal on his long-held stance on President Barack Obama’s citizenship was that he “wanted to get on with the campaign.”

Donald Trump Photograph: Jonathan Ernst/Reuters “This announcement earlier this week with you saying that you believe President Obama was in fact born in the United States, after all the years where you’ve expressed some doubt, what changed?” asked ABC6 reporter Ben Garbarek.

“Well, I just wanted to get on with, I wanted to get on with the campaign,” Trump said. “A lot of people were asking me questions. We want to talk about jobs. We want to talk about the military. We want to talk about Isis and get rid of Isis. We want to talk about bringing jobs back to this area because you’ve been decimated so we just wanted to get back on the subject of jobs, military, taking care of our vets, et cetera.”

Trump then left the interview for the event.

Trump attempted to resolve the issue[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/16/trump-obama-birth-certificate-clinton] last Friday by admitting that Obama was born in the US after years of promoting false claims that he was born in Kenya, but continued to falsely claim that his Democratic rival Hillary Clinton was behind the conspiracy theory.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.52am BST

block-time published-time 11.32pm BST

Gary Johnson calls 'bullshit' on running mate dropping out of race Libertarian presidential nominee and former New Mexico governor Gary Johnson dropped a colorful bit of language during a Facebook Live interview[https://scontent-iad3-1.xx.fbcdn.net/v/t42.9040-29/10000000\_1142078282539819\_6413390207432785920\_n.mp4?efg=eyJ2ZW5jb2RlX3RhZyI6InNkIn0%3D&oh=2df96420da3b922264ca49411d31e2dd&oe=57E31599] this afternoon, telling a journalist that rumors that his running mate, Bill Weld, is on the verge of dropping from the ticket are “bullshit.”

The rumor, started last week by reporter Carl Bernstein, implies that Weld, startled by the possibility that the Libertarian ticket could spoil Hillary Clinton’s chances of winning the White House and functionally hand the election to Republican nominee Donald Trump, will soon drop out of the race and endorse Clinton.

“That is bullshit,” Johnson told USA Today opinion editor Bill Sternberg, who was slightly flummoxed by the language.

“We are on Facebook Live,” Sternberg said.

block-time published-time 10.28pm BST

House Democrats and civil rights experts have warned that tens of thousands of African American voters face potential disenfranchisement in November’s presidential election, the first since the supreme court struck down key provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Donald Trump holds a roundtable meeting with the Republican Leadership Initiative in his offices at Trump Tower in New York. Photograph: Gerald Herbert/AP Kristen Clarke, president of the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, told a meeting at the US Capitol on Wednesday that it is contesting “dozens” of litigations across the country.

“Right now we are fighting in Hancock County, Georgia, where election officials have undertaken an effort to ‘clean up’ the registration rolls and have purged legitimately registered African Americans from the rolls,” she said. “They engage the sheriff’s office in this scheme. The sheriff’s office will be deployed to people’s homes and tell you that you are being issued a summons to come down and establish your voting eligibility.”

Clarke added: “We filed just last week in Georgia where the secretary of state’s office has failed to process more than 42,000 registration forms from people who want to vote because of a restrictive practice that requires that every letter, every digit, every character on a registration form exactly match information contained in the state’s database. And we know those databases are riddled with errors and this is a practice that disadvantages African Americans and minority voters in particular.”

In 2013, the supreme court struck down Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act in a 5-4 ruling in Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder[http://www.guardian.co.uk/law/2013/jun/25/supreme-court-voting-rights-act-live#block-51c9bd00e4b010aecdc44f5d] .[http://www.guardian.co.uk/law/2013/jun/25/supreme-court-voting-rights-act-live#block-51c9bd00e4b010aecdc44f5d] Section 4 concerned the formula for determining which states are covered under Section 5 of the law requiring “pre-clearance” for changes to voting laws. This rendered Section 5 inoperative[http://www.guardian.co.uk/law/2013/jun/25/supreme-court-voting-rights-act-live#block-51c9ae40e4b08e8808d8dc29] unless Congress came up with a revised version of determining coverage. Congress has so far failed to do so; activists blamed Republican leaders for inaction.

Clarke noted that Wednesday’s panel discussion was taking part in the Lyndon Johnson room, named after the president who signed voting rights into law. She warned: “What I can tell you is this: the world has changed in the absence of section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. Officials at the state and the local level have exploited every opportunity they can to institute or maintain discriminatory voting practices in the absence of section 5.

“Each day that Congress fails to act, we not only subject African Americans and other minority voters to the recurring indignity of voter discrimination but taxpayers suffer too. North Carolina has spent nearly $5m defending its discriminatory voter suppression law; Texas has spent more than $3.5m defending its discriminatory voter ID law. And the price tag increases each day.

“Voter discrimination, if left unchecked, will stand as a stain on our democracy. It is bad for taxpayers, it is bad for Americans. It is time for Congress to stop turning a blind eye to the resurgence of voter discrimination in our country.”

Recent restrictions passed by 14 states include new photo ID requirements, a reduction in early voting days and the abolition of same-day registration. Voter fraud is often cited as a reason but experts said the problem is “minuscule”.

Civil rights stalwart John Lewis, a Democratic Representative from Georgia, was in the room when Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act. But he said during this year’s primaries he came across a couple who had been married for 40 but were told to vote at separate polling stations.

“In the past few months and years I’ve traveled across the country and I know that there is a deliberate persistent systematic effort to make it harder and more difficult for the disabled, student, senior, minority, the poor and rural voters to participate in the democratic process. That’s not right, not fair, and it’s not just.”

He said it was a “disgrace” that Congress has not acted and call on Clarke’s organisation to “file suits all over the place to make it real, make it plain”.

block-time published-time 10.20pm BST

Ted Cruz appears pleased with Donald Trump’s embrace of a discredited conspiracy theory that the United States is turning over “control” of the Internet to the United Nations.

enltrAppreciate @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] ’s support of our efforts to keep the internet free: https://t.co/gc4aRustpx[https://t.co/gc4aRustpx]

— Ted Cruz (@tedcruz) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/tedcruz/status/778704296791543810]block-time published-time 10.06pm BST

New national poll: Hillary Clinton leads Donald Trump by 7 points in two-way race According to the latest national poll released by NBC/the Wall Street Journal, former secretary of state and Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton leads Republican nominee Donald Trump by 7 points nationally, 48% to 41%, a,d leads by 6 points in a four-way race, 43% to Trump’s 37%.

Hillary Clinton. Photograph: Matt Rourke/AP Libertarian presidential nominee Gary Johnson has broken the double digits with 10% support, while Green nominee Jill Stein holds at 3%.

Clinton heads into the first presidential debate this coming Monday with only slightly weakened margins since the last time the poll was conducted, and with an increase in her (still dismal) favorability ratings. Clinton is now viewed positively by 37% of voters and negatively by 52%, while views of Trump are still deeply, historically negative at 28% positive, 61% negative, a decrease in favorability ratings since the beginning of the summer.

The poll, conducted by phone, includes 1,000 registered voters and was between 16-19 September. Among the 922 respondents deemed “likely voters,” the margin for error is 3.23 percentage points.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.11pm BST

block-time published-time 9.41pm BST

Donald Trump today described the threat posed by Syrian **refugees** as not “only a matter of terrorism, but also a matter of quality of life”.

Donald Trump Photograph: Jonathan Ernst/Reuters The statement marked a new escalation of Trump’s rhetoric warning of the danger of admitting into the United States Syrian **refugees**, whom he has repeatedly compared to the Trojan horse.

Trump’s remarks came at a rally in Toledo, Ohio, where the Republican nominee once again addressed the issue of terrorism in the aftermath of the bombing attacks in New York and New Jersey[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/ahmad-khan-rahami-charged-bombings-new-york-new-jersey] in the past week.

He linked the attack to the admission of **immigrants** and **refugees** from overseas. “We’ve admitted tens of thousands with no effective screening plan,” Trump claimed, adding: “We have no idea who we are letting in. You’ve seen what happened.”

The United States has an extensive **refugee** screening program[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/donald-trump-syria-refugees-us-immigration-security-terrorism] for those entering from Syria that takes up to two years. The accused New York bomber, Ahmad Khan Rahami, entered the US as a child and is a naturalized citizen.

The Republican nominee expanded his argument, bringing in concerns about “quality of life”.

Trump claimed: “Altogether, the Hillary Clinton plan would bring in 620,000 **refugees** in the first term. Her plan would cost $400bn in terms of lifetime welfare and entitlement costs – think of that.”

Both of these figures have been proven false[http://www.factcheck.org/2016/08/trumps-terrorism-speech/] by independent fact-checkers.

Related: Trump says Syrian **refugees** aren't just a terrorist threat, they'd hurt quality of life[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/21/trump-syrian-refugees-terrorism-quality-life-bombing-attacks]

block-time published-time 9.33pm BST

Donald Trump’s oldest son has defended comparing Syrian **refugees** to poisoned Skittles today, telling the Utah-based Deseret News[http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865662960/Donald-Trump-Jr-says-father-running-on-values-held-dear-by-Utahns.html] that the failures of **refugee**programs in Europe are evidence that he is right.

“We’ve seen what’s going on in Europe,” Donald Trump Jr. said. “We can’t be naive to that and pretend that’s not happening there. If there’s one death associated with it because we messed up and we didn’t do it right, that’s a problem for me.”

enltrThis image says it all. Let's end the politically correct agenda that doesn't put America first. #trump2016[https://twitter.com/hashtag/trump2016?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/9fHwog7ssN[https://t.co/9fHwog7ssN]

— Donald Trump Jr. (@DonaldJTrumpJr) September 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/778016283342307328]The tweet sparked outrage on social media, with some users posting harrowing images of Syrians caught up in the civil war juxtaposed with the word Skittles.

The younger Trump protested that photo he tweeted was not an exact ratio, because it “didn’t say numbers of Skittles.”

block-time published-time 8.34pm BST

'The West Wing' cast to campaign for Hillary Clinton in Ohio This coming weekend, cast members from Aaron Sorkin walk-and-talk political drama[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=il-DowDFDo4] The West Wing will campaign for Hillary Clinton in Ohio, the biggest instance of liberal showbiz wish fulfillment since... well, since The West Wing was on the air in the first place.

Actors Richard Schiff, Allison Janney, Bradley Whitford, Dulé Hill, Joshua Malina and Mary McCormack join the Clinton campaign for “grassroots organizing events” across the Buckeye State this weekend, including stops in the Mahoning Valley, Cleveland, Sandusky and Toledo areas on Saturday and in the Dayton and Columbus areas on Sunday.

The actors will “discuss why they are supporting Clinton and urge Ohioans to register to vote ahead of the October 11 deadline,” according to a release from the Clinton campaign, which will be simultaneously preparing for a debate that the team probably hopes will play out like President Jed Barltlet’s showdown with Robert Richie:

block-time published-time 8.28pm BST

Donald Trump will reportedly endorse nationwide stop-and-frisk policies at a town hall event with Sean Hannity tonight:

enltrTrump will propose nationwide stop-and-frisk to address violence in black community 2nite on Hannity: pic.twitter.com/HDSPYtepqb[https://t.co/HDSPYtepqb]

— Alexandra Jaffe (@ajjaffe) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/ajjaffe/status/778671095499087872]block-time published-time 8.10pm BST

Here’s Clinton’s conclusion:

We don’t thrive on tearing each other apart, or separating ourselves.

We know that we’re stronger together. We believe in equality and dignity for all. And when we fall short, we strive to do better, to be better… to come closer to becoming that more perfect union.

This election is a chance for us to move still closer to that goal. To make sure that everyone can contribute to a growing and prospering America. To say loudly and clearly that in thiscountry, no one’s worthless. No one’s “less than.” In this country, we all belong.

We all have value. Because in the United States of America – the greatest nation in the world – we believe that everyone’s created equal.

And you know what else we believe? We also believe that love trumps hate. Thank you all.

enltr. @HillaryClinton[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] says she carried this Boston Globe article around with her: https://t.co/h3rKeYVWLb[https://t.co/h3rKeYVWLb]

— Amy Chozick (@amychozick) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/amychozick/status/778672663912996864]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.14pm BST

block-time published-time 8.08pm BST

Clinton describes disabilities equality agenda Here’s the meat of it. Clinton lays out planks for equality for people with disabilities: making colleges and universities accessible; standing up the Autism Works employment program; and ratifying the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

Clinton:

These ideas are just a start. We’re working with advocates to come up with more. And if you’ve got an idea, we want to hear it. Because this issue is very close to my heart.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.09pm BST

block-time published-time 8.03pm BST

Clinton quotes Christopher Reeve, whom she identifies for the younger folks, extemporizing that Reeve “was unbelievably good-looking” (that wasn’t in her prepared remarks):

I’ll never forget something the actor Christopher Reeve said. Some of you may be too young to know who he was – he was a huge star, played Superman, he was unbelievably good looking. He and his wife were friends of mine, and then he was paralyzed in a horse-riding accident.

And he once said that he had been thinking about a phrase that comes up a lot in our politics – “family values.” “Since my accident,” he said, “I’ve found a definition that seems to make sense. I think it means that we’re all family. And that we all have value.”

I couldn’t agree more.

Promo for Superman II (1980). Photograph: Allstar/WARNER BROS. block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.07pm BST

block-time published-time 7.59pm BST

Clinton talks about meeting children with disabilities at the Children’s Defense Fund in the 1970s and observing that some of them were excluded from school and life opportunities by a lack of basic awareness and infrastructure:

There were kids who were hard-of-hearing. Kids with intellectual disabilities. I remember one little girl in a wheelchair, who was smart, curious, and absolutely desperate to go to school. But that chair held her back. Not all schools had ramps or accessible bathrooms.

And most teachers and aides weren’t trained to help her. So she didn’t get to go. It felt like the world had said to her, “Sorry kid – your life just isn’t going to be worth very much.” And she and her family weren’t rich and powerful, so what could they do about it?

Clinton pivots to talk of her mother’s experience:

That little girl reminded me of another little girl – my mother. She didn’t face the exact same challenges growing up – but she, too, was blocked from a full and happy childhood. She was abandoned by her parents, raised by grandparents who didn’t want her, and ended up on her own when she was just 14, supporting herself as a housemaid. But finally, something went her way. The woman she worked for encouraged her to finish high school.

And that family showed my mother what a happy family looked like. After many lonely years, it was the start of a better life.

block-time published-time 7.53pm BST

Clinton gets into the thick of her speech about building opportunities for Americans with disabilities:

I’m talking about people with disabilities. Men and women, boys and girls who have talents, skills, ideas, and dreams for themselves and their families, just like anybody else. Whether they can participate in our economy and lead rich, full lives that are as healthy and productive as possible is a reflection on us as a country. And right now, in many ways, we are falling short. We’ve got to face that, and do better – for everyone’s sake. Because this really does go to the heart of who we are as Americans.

I intend this to be a vital aspect of my presidency – bringing us together, as a nation, to recognize the humanity and support the potential of all our people.

And I want you to hear this, because this is not well known. Nearly one in five Americans lives with a disability. Some of those disabilities are highly visible, some harder to notice. If you don’t think you know someone with a disability, I promise you, you do. But their disability is just one part of who they are.

block-time published-time 7.51pm BST

Clinton: campaign about opportunity for all While Trump in Toledo hammers on about “extreme vetting,” Clinton is saying this:

And that’s why we’re all here today – because in just 48 days – can you believe it? – in just 48 days, Americans will go to the polls and choose our next president.

I want to just stress that our campaign is about the fundamental belief that, in America, every person, no matter what you look like or who you are, should have the chance to go as far as your dreams will take you. That’s the basic bargain that made our country great. And it’s our job to make sure it’s there for future generations.

Building an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top, is the central challenge of our time.

block-time published-time 7.45pm BST

Clinton on African Americans killed by police: 'it's unbearable' Before her speech on creating economic opportunities for disabled Americans, Clinton talks about the killings by police of Terence Crutcher and Keith Lamont Scott:

I’m here to talk about how to make our economy work for everyone – but first, I need to say something about two very upsetting incidents that took place over the past few days. First, an unarmed man named Terence Crutcher was shot and killed by a police officer in Tulsa. Then, a man named Keith Lamont Scott was shot and killed by a police officer in Charlotte. I’m sending condolences and prayers to the families, and I know a lot of you are as well.

There is still much we don’t know yet about what happened in both incidents. But we do knowthat we have two more names to add to a long list of African Americans killed by police officers. It’s unbearable. And it needs to become intolerable.

We also saw the targeting of police officers in Philadelphia last week. And last night in Charlotte, 12 officers were injured in demonstrations following Keith Lamont Scott’s death.

Every day, police officers across the country are serving with extraordinary courage and honor and skill. We saw that again this weekend in New York, New Jersey and Minnesota. Our police handled those terrorist attacks exactly right. They likely saved a lot of lives.

block-time published-time 7.41pm BST

“She is a true friend and mentor, a true advocate and a true leader,” Somoza concludes.

Clinton takes the stage, hugs Somoza and thanks the crowd and the mayor and other dignitaries.

Then she swings into her prepared remarks:

I want to thank Anastasia for that introduction. Didn’t she do an amazing job? I first met Anastasia when she was 9 years old. She raised her hand at a town hall and said,

“my twin sister can’t speak. Because of that, they put her in a separate class, apart from the rest of the kids. But she can communicate with a computer.

And she’s very smart and would do just as well as anyone else, if the principal and teachers would just give her the chance.”

I was just blown away by this 9-year-old girl, her confidence and how much she loved her sister. So Anastasia and I stayed in touch over the years. When she grew up, she became an intern in the Senate. I was so proud of her speech at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia. And I’m very excited that she’s here with us today.

I also want to thank you Orlando. It’s great to be back in this wonderful city with all of you. You’ve been through a lot this year. And what has been so notable is you’ve responded with grace. You’ve shown the world what Orlando is made of – strength, love and kindness.

That’s something we could all use more of right now.

block-time published-time 7.37pm BST

Somoza is delivering a moving tribute to Clinton’s work on behalf of Americans with disabilities:

Hillary Clinton has always saved a place for us at the table. Whether it’s education, employment opportunities or community integration, she has been our advocate each and every day, for each and every one of us....

Hillary had our back for 30 years. Now it’s time for us to have hers.

block-time published-time 7.35pm BST

Disability rights activist Anastasia Somoza[http://www.anastasiasomoza.com/] takes the stage in her wheelchair to introduce Clinton. She first met Clinton at 9 years old. She talks about how Clinton has supported her and why she supports Clinton: “she is also by our side as we fight our own personal battles.”

Here’s that live stream again:

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.35pm BST

block-time published-time 7.21pm BST

Here’s video of Trump’s take earlier on the shooting of unarmed Tulsa man Terence Crutcher by officer Betty Shelby:

Trump suggests Tulsa shooting happened because officer ‘choked’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/21/trump-tulsa-shooting-terence-crutcher-video]Trump has moved on to Toledo, where he’s being introduced, again, by Don King:

enltrHours after using the N-word in front of Trump, convicted killer Don King is introducing Trump again

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/778660263927156736]enltrDon King is praising the "intestinal fortitude" of "a young man that is the spirit of America, Donald J. Trump"

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/778660692199084033]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.24pm BST

block-time published-time 7.18pm BST

Here’s a live stream of the Hillary Clinton event in Orlando, Florida. The stage is empty as yet. A stagehand is wiping down the Teleprompter and doing a mic check:

block-time published-time 7.17pm BST

Here are a couple boutique Trump-related web sites you might enjoy, if you haven’t already. The first, trumptwitterarchive.com[http://www.trumptwitterarchive.com/#/], indexes Trump’s tweet by obsession / insult:

enltrThis is an amazing public service https://t.co/t6pJKxkPRa[https://t.co/t6pJKxkPRa]

— Benjy Sarlin (@BenjySarlin) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/BenjySarlin/status/778649849940078592] A screen grab of the Trump twitter archive. Photograph: Trump twitter archive Here’s another site, putintrump.org[http://www.putintrump.org/], set up by the Progress for America Political Action Committee, funded by online entrepreneur and Democratic donor Rob Glaser[https://capitalresearch.org/2014/03/building-a-radical-foundation-the-glaser-progress-foundation-makes-no-bones-about-its-focus-on-far-left-activism/].

The site details Putin’s ties to Russia and warns “our democracy is on the line.”:

As the U.S. presidential election enters the home stretch, we see overwhelming evidence that a Donald Trump presidency would put U.S. national security interests at risk. Trump’s cozy relationship and lavish praise of Russian President Vladimir Putin, Trump’s criticism of the historic U.S. alliance with NATO partners, his invitation to Russian hackers to meddle in the presidential election, and his campaign staff’s financial ties to pro-Russian politicians in Ukraine all pose a danger to America’s vital national interests.

Through Election Day, www.putintrump.org[http://www.putintrump.org/] will analyze and raise awareness on this critical set of issues. Our goal is to be the Web’s most rigorous and thorough source for news and information on the dangerous Putin-Trump connection.

block-time published-time 6.53pm BST

Clinton camp thinks 'moderator should play a role' in debate Clinton spokeswoman Jennifer Palmieri has told reporters traveling with the candidate that “debate preparations are happening” in the Clinton camp, and while Clinton “is not practicing every day, she has material that she reviews everyday.”

“She feels the moderator should play a role of someone who makes sure the audience know the truth,” Palmieri said.

NBC newsman Matt Lauer was criticized following a forum with the candidates earlier this month for allowing Trump to say that he had opposed the invasion of Iraq when in fact he supported it beforehand.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.55pm BST

block-time published-time 6.42pm BST

OK, let’s argue over whether Trump can steal Wisconsin. NB: NGH stands for Not Gonna Happen.

enltrTo #TrumpTrain[https://twitter.com/hashtag/TrumpTrain?src=hash] responding to above with "what about Wisconsin?" Trump has never led in a poll there. Mitt lost by 7 pts/200k+ votes. NGH.

— Tim Miller (@Timodc) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/Timodc/status/778648821672841216]enltrthere's a lot of difference between a "3-point lead" that's 41-38 and a "3-point lead" that's, say, 51-48.

— Logan Dobson (@LoganDobson) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/LoganDobson/status/778649017282654213]enltrIf the Clinton campaign starts advertising in Wisconsin, we'll know there's something major going on.

— Nick Riccardi (@NickRiccardi) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/NickRiccardi/status/778648927608287232]enltrWhoa. Wisconsin looking tight as a tick. Add it to PA/NH as possible winning state for Trump https://t.co/w3K9UQXRyG[https://t.co/w3K9UQXRyG]

— Josh Kraushaar (@HotlineJosh) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/HotlineJosh/status/778646804204294145]enltrAlternatively: After Clinton’s worst weeks, Trump still running behind Romney across the midwest. https://t.co/GBnxsRwDoc[https://t.co/GBnxsRwDoc]

— daveweigel (@daveweigel) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/daveweigel/status/778648665837727745]Note: the Marquette poll hasn’t moved since Clinton’s bad “deplorables” / van-stumble weekend (how’s that for horrible campaign shorthand for you):

enltr @freddoso[https://twitter.com/freddoso] exactly the same numbers as their prior poll (41-38).

— Taniel (@Taniel) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/Taniel/status/778649180113866756]block-time published-time 6.35pm BST

Clinton up 3 points in Wisconsin – Marquette poll This seems... snug... in a four-way race in Wisconsin:

enltrIn 4-candidate race, among likely voters, it’s Clinton 41%, Trump 38%, Libertarian Gary Johnson 11%, Green Party’s Jill Stein 2%. #mulawpoll[https://twitter.com/hashtag/mulawpoll?src=hash]

— MULawPoll (@MULawPoll) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/MULawPoll/status/778646197305217024]Clinton leads Trump by two points, 44-42, in a head-to-head matchup in the poll, which is the local gold standard.

Wisconsin’s politics is in part a battle between Democratic, mixed-race Milwaukee and its Republican, majority-white suburbs. Republican governor Scott Walker has won three elections, including a recall vote, in off-years – non-presidential-election years – thanks in part to an extremely well-oiled Republican machine that reliably turns most everyone out to vote, even for midterms.

But the state has gone Democratic in every presidential election since 1984, Reagan’s reelection.

HuffPost Pollster averages Wisconsin polls. Photograph: HuffPost Pollster enltrStarting to look like Wisconsin and even Maine may be riper targets for Trump than NH

— Steve Kornacki (@SteveKornacki) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/SteveKornacki/status/778647351787479040]Poll was conducted September 15-18. Margin of error is +/-4.4 percentage points for the full sample. 677 out of 802 people said they were certain to vote, which we label likely voters. Margin of error for them is +/-4.8 points.

The state’s contested US senate seat still looks like a pickup for the Democrats:

enltrAmong registered voters, Feingold backed by 46%, Johnson backed by 40%. #mulawpoll[https://twitter.com/hashtag/mulawpoll?src=hash]

— MULawPoll (@MULawPoll) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/MULawPoll/status/778647265904824320]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.58pm BST

block-time published-time 6.23pm BST

Smoking gun documented Trump's 'deep aversion to funding his own foundation' This is a good flag... the Smoking Gun reads Trump Foundation tax returns every year (as a nonprofit, the organization must make them public) and has long reported that the foundation doesn’t give away much and Trump had not contributed since 2008:

enltrGotta give due credit to the Smoking Gun; they were out in front on the Trump Foundation story in January. https://t.co/15lnxfEGEU[https://t.co/15lnxfEGEU]

— southpaw (@nycsouthpaw) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/nycsouthpaw/status/778644303274999808] From the January report[http://www.thesmokinggun.com/documents/celebrity/donald-trump-still-a-miser-628931] :

For the sixth straight year, Donald Trump made no contributions to his own charitable foundation, instead relying on a hefty contribution from a New York City ticket scalper to underwrite the group’s activities, according to a new Internal Revenue Service filing. [...]

IRS records show that the last time Trump personally deposited funds into his eponymous foundation was 2008, when he cut the organization a check for $30,000.

Since that time, the GOP presidential candidate has used other people’s money to fund his foundation’s minimal efforts.

Don’t miss the kicker:

Until Trump releases his personal tax returns, the true level of his charitable giving will remain unknown.

block-time published-time 6.13pm BST

A “shit ton of famous people” have banded together to get US voters to the polls on 8 November. Gathered together by director Joss Whedon[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/joss-whedon], the celebrities made their pitch to the public in a three-minute video titled Important, writes the Guardian’s Nicole Puglise:

The video is the first in a series coming from Whedon’s new Super Pac, Save the Day[http://savetheday.vote/], which is “dedicated to the idea that voting is a necessary and heroic act” and “committed to fighting the apathy, cynicism, and honest confusion that keeps citizens from using their vote”.

Save the day Twenty-seven celebrities in total appear in the video, including Robert Downey Jr, Scarlett Johansson[https://www.theguardian.com/film/scarlettjohansson], Mark Ruffalo, Clark Gregg, Cobie Smulders and Don Cheadle from Whedon’s Avengers films, as well as Neil Patrick Harris, Jesse Williams, Julianne Moore, Keegan-Michael Key and a mustachioed James Franco. Stanley Tucci and Hamilton’s Leslie Odom Jr both implore you to register.

Read the full piece here[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/21/joss-whedon-super-pac-save-the-day-video-donald-trump].

block-time published-time 6.06pm BST

Clinton up 9 points in New Hampshire - poll A new (high-quality) poll of likely voters in New Hampshire has Hillary Clinton leading Donald Trump by 9 points in a four-way race – but Republican incumbent senator Kelly Ayotte is ahead of Democratic governor Maggie Hassan by two points in the poll.

On the presidential side it’s:

Clinton 47

Trump 38

Johnson 10

Stein 1

Monmouth:

Clinton has the advantage among voters under 50 years old (45% to 35%) as well as those age 50 and older (49% to 41%). Clinton leads among women (56% to 30%) and voters with a college degree (54% to 31%). Trump leads among men (47% to 37%) and voters without a college education (47% to 40%).

HuffPost pollster’s New Hampshire average. Photograph: HuffPost Pollster The Monmouth University Poll was conducted by telephone from September 17 to 20, 2016 with 400 New Hampshire residents likely to vote in the November election. This sample has a margin of error of + 4.9 percent. The poll was conducted by the Monmouth University Polling Institute in West Long Branch, NJ.

enltrLast time Trump led in a live interview poll that called cells in New Hampshire? Never.

— (((Harry Enten))) (@ForecasterEnten) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/ForecasterEnten/status/778640910506725376]enltrSo Trump gets smashed but Ayotte and Sununu doing just fine? #nhpolitics[https://twitter.com/hashtag/nhpolitics?src=hash] https://t.co/W9zwoto64g[https://t.co/W9zwoto64g]

— James Pindell (@JamesPindell) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/JamesPindell/status/778641073820332032]Update: ooh snap

enltr @KellyannePolls[https://twitter.com/KellyannePolls] I don't think you tweeted this one yet. https://t.co/bbwkxhO7ta[https://t.co/bbwkxhO7ta]

— Jesse Ferguson (@JesseFFerguson) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/JesseFFerguson/status/778642910141112320]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.17pm BST

block-time published-time 5.48pm BST

After his pastors’ event at the Cleveland Heights church, Donald Trump is taping a town hall with superfan Sean Hannity that is billed as an airing and addressing of African Americans’ concerns.

...

enltrTrump's "African-American" town hall on Hannity pic.twitter.com/MINAQ9rbXY[https://t.co/MINAQ9rbXY]

— Brandon English (@brandonenglish) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/brandonenglish/status/778633460239912967]block-time published-time 5.37pm BST

Clinton held cash advantage at end of August Newly released fundraising figures for August show Clinton with a significant cash advantage, although both campaigns are now raking in the dough, CNN reports[http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/21/politics/2016-election-fundraising/index.html] :

Clinton’s campaign raised $59.5 million and had about $68 million on hand at the end of August; Trump’s raised $41.7 million and had $50.2 million on hand.

block-time published-time 5.21pm BST

Here’s video of Don King introducing Trump earlier:

Don King says N-word during Trump rally[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/21/don-king-n-word-donald-trump-rally-video]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.21pm BST

block-time published-time 5.20pm BST

If polls get your pace racing – you’re in for a big afternoon. FiveThirtyEight’s Harry Enten sets the scene:

enltrIs this map still holding for Clinton? We have high quality polls coming out from NH and WI soon. pic.twitter.com/lhVaqvs2us[https://t.co/lhVaqvs2us]

— (((Harry Enten))) (@ForecasterEnten) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/ForecasterEnten/status/778628722446524416]Close election. Too close, senator Elizabeth Warren thinks:

enltrWarren: "I am nervous. Any chance, even a 1 percent chance that Donald Trump could be president is way too much chance for me."

— David Catanese (@davecatanese) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/davecatanese/status/778630597744951296]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.26pm BST

block-time published-time 5.16pm BST

Clinton in op-ed: 'we have to do better' on child poverty In an op-ed published Wednesday[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/opinion/hillary-clinton-my-plan-for-helping-americas-poor.html?ref=opinion] in the New York Times, Hillary Clinton writes that “we have to do better” to prevent children in the United States from growing up in poverty. “Advocating for children and families has been the cause of my life, starting with my first job as a young attorney at the Children’s Defense Fund,” she writes.

The message is amplified by a new ad from the Clinton campaign weaving together clips of Clinton speaking over the last 40 years about poverty and income inequality. The ad is called She Always:

She Always. Here’s part of the op-ed[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/opinion/hillary-clinton-my-plan-for-helping-americas-poor.html?ref=opinion] :

The true measure of any society is how we take care of our children. With all of our country’s resources, no child should ever have to grow up in poverty. Yet every single night, all across America, kids go to sleep hungry or without a place to call home.

We have to do better. Advocating for children and families has been the cause of my life, starting with my first job as a young attorney at the Children’s Defense Fund, and if I have the honor of serving as president, it will be the driving mission of my administration.

The good news is that we’re making progress, thanks to the hard work of the American people and President Obama. The global poverty rate has been cut in half in recent decades. In the United States, a new report from the Census Bureau found that there were 3.5 million fewer people living in poverty in 2015 than just a year before. [...]

But make no mistake: We still have work to do. Families across the country were devastated by the Great Recession.

Clinton boards her plane for Orlando Wednesday. Photograph: Carlos Barria/Reuters Nearly 40 percent[http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/11/02/poverty-in-america-is-mainstream/] of Americans between the ages of 25 and 60 will experience a year in poverty at some point. The best way to help families lift themselves out of poverty is to make it easier to find good-paying jobs. As president, one of my top priorities will be increasing economic growth that’s strong, fair and lasting. I will work with Democrats and Republicans to make a historic investment in good-paying jobs — jobs in infrastructure and manufacturing, technology and innovation, small businesses and clean energy. And we need to make sure that hard work is rewarded by raising the minimum wage and finally guaranteeing equal pay for women.

Read the whole piece here[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/opinion/hillary-clinton-my-plan-for-helping-americas-poor.html?ref=opinion].

enltrReads like the typical Clinton speech I’ve been to — of course, the news is always what she said re Trump. https://t.co/uMCvDL6BiI[https://t.co/uMCvDL6BiI]

— daveweigel (@daveweigel) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/daveweigel/status/778625057186783232]In a speech this afternoon in Orlando, Florida, Clinton will talk about job opportunities for people with disabilities, her campaign said.

block-time published-time 5.02pm BST

Cuba party paper publishes US election info for first time Cuba’s Communist Party newspaper Granma published on Wednesday a US embassy notice advising Americans living on the island on how to register for the US presidential election, another sign of thawing relations between the former Cold War foes, Reuters reports:

Granma habitually publishes electoral information for other countries, but this is the first time it has done so for the United States, a US embassy official confirmed.

Cuba and the United States re-established diplomatic relations in July last year after decades of hostility following the 1959 revolution in which Fidel Castro’s rebels overthrew a U.S.-backed government.

“Information for the U.S. citizens resident in Cuba,” the headline of the electoral notice read, framed in a red box. It went on to explain how Americans should register to vote, either online or at the embassy. [...]

Clinton has signaled she would continue President Barack Obama’s policy of re-engagement with Cuba, urging Congress to end its trade embargo against the island.

Trump’s would-be policy towards Cuba is not as clear. The businessman has also questioned the embargo, but last week said he would reverse the U.S. opening towards Cuba unless it allowed religious freedoms and freed political prisoners.

block-time published-time 4.43pm BST

Strong support among military for Libertarian Johnson Libertarian candidate Gary Johnson rivals Donald Trump for support among active and retired military personnel, according to a new Military Times / Syracuse University poll.

The Military Times reports[http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/this-poll-of-the-us-military-has-gary-johnson-tied-with-donald-trump-in-the-race-for-president] :

Conducted in September, it is the first scientific breakdown of voting preferences among service members, and includes more than 2,200 responses from active-duty troops. And it shows a very different race than the one playing out on the broader national stage.

enltrOut today: New @MilitaryTimes[https://twitter.com/MilitaryTimes] / @IVMFSyracuseU[https://twitter.com/IVMFSyracuseU] poll shows Trump and Gary Johnson in a dead heat among military voters. https://t.co/ZkN3qV4yDK[https://t.co/ZkN3qV4yDK] pic.twitter.com/asRiCbdnsX[https://t.co/asRiCbdnsX]

— Leo Shane III (@LeoShane) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/LeoShane/status/778579602448973824]Separately, the Wall Street Journal reports that Johnson’s fundraising accelerated in August. His campaign “raised nearly $5 million in August, more than three times what he raised the previous month and an unusually high figure for a third-party candidate.” Read further[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/20/libertarian-candidate-gary-johnsons-fund-raising-accelerates/].

Johnson has not been invited to the presidential debates because his poll numbers are not strong enough according to standards set by the commission on presidential debates.

block-time published-time 4.38pm BST

Here’s random fun:

enltrFrom the Political Dictionary: "roorback" https://t.co/ezQZB4cyDP[https://t.co/ezQZB4cyDP]

— Taegan Goddard (@politicalwire) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/politicalwire/status/778616022647599109] Roorback. Photograph: Dictionary.com block-time published-time 4.01pm BST

Trump: officer who shot Terence Crutcher 'choked' Trump is asked about police shooting unarmed black man. He says he “watched the shooting in particular in Tulsa” of Terence Crutcher[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/20/tulsa-shooting-helicopter-footage-shows-victim-unarmed-and-walking-away-video].

Trump:

As you know I’m a tremendous believer in police and law enforcement because we need that for ourselves. They’re great people. Great people. With great people – you always have problems...

I watched the shooting in particular in Tulsa. And that man was hands up. That man went to the car hands up. Put his hands on the car. To me it looked like he did everything he’s supposed to do. And he looked like a really good man. And maybe I’m a little bit clouded because I saw his family speak after...

This young officer, I don’t know what she was thinking but I’m very very troubled by that.

Did she get scared? Was she choking? What happened? But maybe people like that, people that choke, they can’t be doing what they’re doing.

We all respect our police greatly, and they will have to get better and better and better.

enltr. @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] "very troubled" by Tulsa police shooting: Did cop "get scared? Was she choking? What happened?" https://t.co/a7DMQjdUm8[https://t.co/a7DMQjdUm8]

— ABC News Politics (@ABCPolitics) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/ABCPolitics/status/778610817851764736]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.07pm BST

block-time published-time 3.33pm BST

A study in contrasts in the campaigns. Clinton is scheduled to appear in Orlando this afternoon.

enltrtoday Hillary is giving a speech about increasing opportunity for disabled Americans & Trump is campaigning with convicted murderer Don King

— Jesse Lehrich (@JesseLehrich) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/JesseLehrich/status/778586422081122305]enltrTo be fair: Don King attended a fundraiser with Hillary Clinton and Harry Reid in 2014... https://t.co/4ZTXmkaN9W[https://t.co/4ZTXmkaN9W] https://t.co/F1fhND4Ejb[https://t.co/F1fhND4Ejb]

— Dan Merica (@danmericaCNN) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/danmericaCNN/status/778601277550895104]block-time published-time 3.27pm BST

Trump’s less quotable than King. He’s talking “friends, we have so many friends, we have over 200 generals and admirals supporting us. I didn’t know we had that many.”

Clinton has more support from top military figures including secretive Republican support from the likes of Colin Powell – we’ve lost track of the latest tally for Clinton – we’ll put a request in with data, please hold.

block-time published-time 3.23pm BST

Trump is up now:

There’s only one Don King. He’s very rich, he’s very smart, he took advantage of a lot of situations, and I have a lot of respect for that.

block-time published-time 3.22pm BST

King: 'black people need Trump' More King:

The system is the problem, and he’s the only gladiator who will take on the system...

Under the leadership of the dynamic human man who will fight for your rights under Donald Trump...

We need Donald Trump, especially black people.. they told me you’ve got to emulate the white man...

I told Michael Jackson, I said if you’re poor, you’re a poor negro – I would use the N-word – if you’re rich, you’re a rich negro... If you’re dancing and sliding and gliding nigg- I mean negro. So dare not emulate because you cannot assimilate. So you going to be a negro till you die.

King wins robust applause.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.23pm BST

block-time published-time 3.16pm BST

King: 'every white woman should vote for Donald Trump' King:

Donald J Trump – I know his father Fred is smiling now – the spirit is loud and clear that we will create a whole new system. We will take this system apart and we will make America great again.

John F Kennedy says sometimes party loyalty asks to much. This is the coming of a man who has taken on a system... a law that makes right wrong, and wrong right. He undertook that challenge, and from his lips to god’s ears, he says we will create a whole new system...

The whole country was laughing... ‘He’s a buffoon, he’s got a reality show... a promoter of himself.’ Everybody was saying all these different things when he entered the ring to defend America.

King makes an extraordinary electoral argument:

What I will say I put it in this category so you understand.. the white woman and the slave.. when the system was created they did not give her, the white woman did not have her rights and she still does not have her rights... Donald... when I see them try to ridiculize him, or when they try to ostracize... I want you to understand that every white woman should vote for Donald Trump... to knock out the system.

It’s just what they’re trying to do now with zika and cancer...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.18pm BST

block-time published-time 3.08pm BST

Pence introduces King The Republican vice-presidential nominee:

“Would you join me in welcoming Don King to this important and historic gathering.”

Here’s King now. Live video in the previous block.

King:

Forty-four years ago I brought a young man to town here to save a hospital.. the only hospital in town that would service black people and poor whites. His name was Muhammad Ali. Today I come to you 44 years later to bring a great American. An American to save the nation.

block-time published-time 2.56pm BST

Here’s a live video stream of the Cleveland Heights event:

block-time published-time 2.54pm BST

'He once stomped a man to death and was convicted of manslaughter' Donald Trump has arrived at a “pastors leadership conference” at an African American Church in Cleveland Heights, Ohio, a suburb east of Cleveland.

On the scene is Cleveland native Don King, the former boxing promoter and convicted killer, whom the RNC had convinced Trump not to invite to the national convention:

enltrDon King here pic.twitter.com/Qta1vHvDZF[https://t.co/Qta1vHvDZF]

— Shane Goldmacher (@ShaneGoldmacher) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/ShaneGoldmacher/status/778583829183336448]Ben Carson is in the house, too. Here’s the scene, according to a pool report:

There are a few hundred people in the chairs arranged in front of the stage, and likely a few hundred more in the balcony level above. The audience is a mix of white and African-American attendees, but predominantly white. The neighborhood itself is predominantly African-American.

Trump just entered the sanctuary from a door on the front left, at 940 am. He is wearing a dark suit and bright red tie, accompanied by Pence.

enltrFLASHBACK: Just under two months ago https://t.co/LULFAN8lFh[https://t.co/LULFAN8lFh] pic.twitter.com/fv6NOF38Du[https://t.co/fv6NOF38Du]

— Shane Goldmacher (@ShaneGoldmacher) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/ShaneGoldmacher/status/778584109664776192]enltrThere's a giant uterus across the street from Trump's event pic.twitter.com/mKrAP3zsXg[https://t.co/mKrAP3zsXg]

— Hunter Walker (@hunterw) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/hunterw/status/778578631421493248]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.55pm BST

block-time published-time 2.42pm BST

Model fight!

Microsoft Research / PredictWise says FiveThirtyEight’s model is too swingy and suggests Trump is not as strong as he looks in the model:

enltrSomething wrong with @FiveThirtyEight[https://twitter.com/FiveThirtyEight] forecast. If you enjoy roller-coasters, please jump on, otherwise, follow https://t.co/iVgKTSRLoR[https://t.co/iVgKTSRLoR] pic.twitter.com/BICaocsUCV[https://t.co/BICaocsUCV]

— David Rothschild (@DavMicRot) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/DavMicRot/status/778543535545053184]FiveThirtyEight, whose latest polls-only forecast[http://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/2016-election-forecast/?ex\_cid=rrpromo] has Trump’s chances of winning at 42.9% (the poll-plus forecast taking in economic and historical data has him at 44%), suggests no, the smart folks at Microsoft are in “denial” about Trump’s chances:

enltrNever seen otherwise-smart people in so much denial about something as they are about Trump's chances. Same mistake as primaries, Brexit. https://t.co/qBPRKoZV4R[https://t.co/qBPRKoZV4R]

— Nate Silver (@NateSilver538) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/NateSilver538/status/778563584888627200]What does your home model say? Who’s right here?

Update: Here’s a basic comparison of various models in play although no Predictwise here:

enltr. @NateSilver538[https://twitter.com/NateSilver538] posted this to Twitter before about the differences between the different models. pic.twitter.com/FFrr1iTH1Z[https://t.co/FFrr1iTH1Z]

— (((Harry Enten))) (@ForecasterEnten) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/ForecasterEnten/status/778593463436738560]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.59pm BST

block-time published-time 2.25pm BST

Hello and welcome to our live-wire coverage of the 2016 race for the White House. Donald Trump’s charitable foundation, whose coffers appear filled with other people’s money that Trump reportedly[https://twitter.com/ngjennings/status/778559431911022592] taps to pay his own legal settlements, is due to lay out “factual errors” in such recent alarming reports, Trump’s running mate Mike Pence said late Tuesday.

The announcement came after the latest in a series of stories by Washington Post reporter David Fahrenthold[https://twitter.com/fahrenthold] describing strange dealings at the foundation.

‘Number of factual errors’ “I think what we’ve found is that there’s – number of factual errors in that story, as there were in previous stories about the Trump Foundation,” Pence told NBC News. “I think the foundation will be able to lay those out.”

The words echoed a statement late Tuesday by Trump spokesman Jason Miller, which also accused the Post of mistakes, without naming any mistakes.

“In typical Washington Post fashion, they’ve gotten their facts wrong,” the statement read in part. “The Post’s reporting is peppered with inaccuracies and omissions from a biased reporter who is clearly intent on distracting attention away from the corrupt Clinton Foundation, a vehicle for the Clintons to peddle influence at the expense of the American people.”

enltrA claim that a reporter has made factual errors without identifying the errors is frivolous.

— Adam Steinbaugh (@adamsteinbaugh) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/adamsteinbaugh/status/778428403712073728]enltrThe questions I sent @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] 's folks for Trump Fdn story. Nothing yet. Note my Q mis-stated Mar-a-Lago fines: right # was $120K. pic.twitter.com/xHb2DGhnab[https://t.co/xHb2DGhnab]

— David Fahrenthold (@Fahrenthold) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/Fahrenthold/status/778338562454487040]Trump has a rally scheduled today in Toledo, Ohio, and a town hall this evening in Ohio with non-journalist Sean Hannity[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8h4DkQqWXDc#t=6m]. Hillary Clinton has a rally in Orlando, Florida, this afternoon.

Trump camp: ‘ironic’ for George HW Bush to back Clinton The revelation Tuesday that former president George HW Bush – he’s a Republican – has told people he will vote for Clinton instead of Trump has made waves in Trumpland.

Trump spokeswoman campaign manager Kellyanne Conway called it “ironic” that Bush would vote for a Clinton, of all people (Bill Clinton defeated Bush in 1992).

Conway also went out of her way to note how old Bush is.

“Well, I respect the 92-year-old former president very much and his decision. And I think that Americans are very grateful to the Bush family for their public service,” Conway said. “That is his right”...

It is ironic that he would vote for the wife of the man who knocked him out of the race, Bill Clinton defeated George Herbert Walker Bush, Bush 41, Erin, in 1992, for his reelection.

Maybe by “ironic” she means “a kind of amazing expression of just how much the senior Bush must really despise Donald Trump”?

Pence echoed Conway. “My respect and frankly affection for our 41st president is boundless,” he said on NBC. “But I respectfully disagree with his decision in this election.”

Trump’s grasp of basic history questioned Fending off several controversies on Tuesday, Donald Trump started another when he proclaimed at a North Carolina[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/northcarolina] rally that “our African American communities are in the worst shape they’ve ever been... Ever. Ever. Ever”.

The plainly inaccurate statement, which was immediately lambasted on social media for failing to consider the long history of slavery and racial discrimination against African Americans, marked the latest misstep by the Trump campaign as the Republican nominee has struggled to harness the terrorist attacks in New York and New Jersey for his political advantage.

Read further from Guardian political reporter Ben Jacobs :

Related: Trump claims African American communities are in 'worst shape ever'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/donald-trump-african-american-communities-north-carolina]

CNN employee Corey Lewandowski still a paid Trump employee Why not?

enltrFormer campaign manager/current @CNN[https://twitter.com/CNN] pundit. @CLewandowski\_[https://twitter.com/CLewandowski\_] got another $20K in August through his LLC from Trump for "strategy consulting"

— Matea Gold (@mateagold) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/mateagold/status/778446780199374848] Trump trailing Clinton among rich people Clinton leads Trump 46-42 among likely voters with annual household incomes of $100,000 or more in a two-way race, a new Bloomberg Politics poll conducted by Purple Strategies found. Mitt Romney won the group by 10 percentage points in 2012, according to exit polls.

Bloomberg notes that usually rich people vote Republican:

Since 1996, the Republican presidential nominee has won or tied among voters with annual household incomes of $100,000 or more, according to a compilation of exit polls by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at Cornell University. Republicans also won the top-earning groups publicly identified by the Roper Center in the 1976-1992 elections.

Ivanka Trump is ‘Marvel’ – report The secret service assigns its protectees nicknames that then are announced to the world. Trump’s daughter Ivanka has just received protection, and with it the nickname “Marvel”, the Daily Caller reports[http://dailycaller.com/2016/09/20/this-is-ivanka-trumps-secret-service-name/]. Trump himself is called after a bump in a ski run: “Mogul.”

Thanks for reading and please join us in the comments.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happenLunchtime summary

block-time published-time 2.34pm BST

Lunchtime summary

\* Polls have closed in Labour’s bitter leadership election, as the shadow chancellor, John McDonnell, predicted that Jeremy Corbyn would comfortably defeat his rival, Owen Smith. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/21/corbyn-camp-predicts-comfortable-victory-as-leadership-polls-close]

\* Chris Mullin, the former Labour minister, has said Labour should form an electoral pact with the Lib Dems and the Greens. Echoing an argument made by Tim Farron in his Lib Dem conference speech yesterday, Mullin says in his new memoir, Hinterland, that Labour needs a Lib Dem revival to deprive the Tories of power at the next election. (See 2.19pm.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/21/labour-leadership-jeremy-corbyn-will-win-but-perhaps-by-less-than-in-2015-mcdonnell-says-politics-live?page=with:block-57e25eb3e4b0a5a2f64ad42f#block-57e25eb3e4b0a5a2f64ad42f]

\* Jeremy Corbyn ’s first wife, Jane Chapman, has said that Corbyn’s leadership has been “a bit chaotic” and that she voted for Owen Smith. (See 11.08am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/21/labour-leadership-jeremy-corbyn-will-win-but-perhaps-by-less-than-in-2015-mcdonnell-says-politics-live?page=with:block-57e25a3ee4b0fff11bc5a2ce#block-57e25a3ee4b0fff11bc5a2ce]’s first wife, Jane Chapman, has said that Corbyn’s leadership has been “a bit chaotic” and that she voted for Owen Smith. (See

\* Theresa May has vowed to oppose what she described as an “industry of vexatious allegations” against British troops during the Iraq war. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/21/theresa-may-will-oppose-vexatious-allegations-against-iraq-uk-troops] As Jessica Elgot reports, the prime minister told reporters in New York all allegations would be investigated but said steps had been taken to tackle abuse of the system.More than 1,500 allegations of murder, abuse and torture by British troops are being handled by the government-established Iraq historic allegations team (Ihat), which May said would be completed by the end of 2019, after a review of the system by the former director of public prosecutions Sir David Calvert-Smith .

\* The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development has backtracked on its warning that the UK would suffer instant damage from a Brexit vote and has thrown its weight behind plans by Theresa May to provide fresh post-referendum support to growth in November’s autumn statement. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/21/oecd-does-a-u-turn-over-brexit-warning-as-it-revises-growth-forecast-for-britain]

\* Businesses across the UK are scaling back investment plans and imposing freezes on recruitment as the uncertainty surrounding the Brexit vote reverberates through the British economy. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/21/businesses-scaling-back-investment-plans-brexit-vote-bank-of-england] As Phillip Inman reports, the Bank of England ’s summary of business conditions, based on reports from regional agents, said “investment intentions had fallen since the EU referendum” and pointed to “broadly flat business investment over the next year”.

\* Labour’s national conference will be asked to approve plans for the Scottish wing of the party to have full control over its policy and candidate selection, after years of tension with leaders in London. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/21/scottish-labour-calls-on-conference-to-back-bid-for-more-autonomy]

\* The Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams, has denied he sanctioned the murder of a British spy inside the IRA. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/21/gerry-adams-denies-sanctioning-of-british-spy-denis-donaldson] As Henry McDonald reports, Adams rejected allegations aired on BBC television on Tuesday night that he directly ordered the killing of Denis Donaldson at his remote cottage in the Irish Republic a decade ago.Donaldson worked as a British agent while operating as a senior IRA [https://www.theguardian.com/uk/ira] member and Sinn Féin official in the Stormont parliament.An informer named only as “Martin” told the BBC Northern Ireland [https://www.theguardian.com/uk/northernireland] Spotlight programme that Adams had ordered the Donaldson murder.

That’s all from me for today. I need to wrap up early this afternoon.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time published-time 2.19pm BST

Labour should form electoral pact with Lib Dems and Greens, says ex-minister Chris Mullin In his keynote speech to the Lib Dem conference yesterday Tim Farron claimed that the Lib Dems were the only party that could stop the Conservatives getting another majority at the next election. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e12fbde4b0603ea33c4446#block-57e12fbde4b0603ea33c4446] That was because it is hard to imagine Labour gaining seats from the Tories at the moment, and there is only one Tory seat left in Scotland that the SNP could gain, Farron argued. So if the Tories are going to lose seats, they will lose them to the Lib Dems, he told his conference.

Conveniently for the Lib Dems, Chris Mullin, the former Labour minister, is making exactly the same argument. He has just published Hinterland, a memoir, [https://profilebooks.com/hinterland-hb.html] and in it he says Labour needs a Lib Dem revival because “they can win seats in places we can never hope to hold.”

More significantly, Mullin, a leftwinger and former minister, calls for an electoral pact with the Lib Dems and the Greens. Here is an extract from his book.

Although the Tories have by historical standards only a small overall majority, the political realities are stark. Labour is between a rock and a hard place. Too left-wing for the southern middle classes, not left-wing enough for Scotland. Given that Scotland is not likely to return to the Labour fold any time soon, I see only one way forward - an electoral pact with the Liberal Democrats and the Greens designed to ensure that in, say, a hundred of the most marginal seats the Tories face a united opposition. Tribalists on all sides will throw their hands up in horror at the prospect, but the truth is that Labour badly needs a Liberal Democrat revival because they can win seats in places we can never hope to hold. One should never say never in politics, but the alternative is an indefinite period of Tory rule. Think about it.

Even Farron did not go quite this far. But there is increasing interest in the idea of some kind of progressive alliance on the left. The Labour MP Lisa Nandy has co-edited a new book that explores the idea. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/18/labours-lisa-nandy-urges-party-to-ditch-tribalism] Paddy Ashdown, the former Lib Dem leader, is supporting a separate initiative promoting cross-party progressive cooperation. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/19/liberals-celebrities-and-eu-supporters-set-up-progressive-movement] And the Green party, under their new co-leaders Caroline Lucas and Jonathan Bartley, are actively pushing the progressive alliance theme. In a recent post I listed four of the options being discussed in Green circles for what this might look like. [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/02/green-party-conference-leader-lucas?page=with:block-57c95ec8e4b0456abb93d5f6#block-57c95ec8e4b0456abb93d5f6] And the Green party, under their new co-leaders Caroline Lucas and Jonathan Bartley, are actively pushing the progressive alliance theme. In a recent post I listed

I haven’t read Mullin’s book in full yet but I’m looking forward to doing so, because his diaries were outstanding. My colleague Andy Beckett has reviewed it for the Guardian here. [https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/sep/14/hinterland-chris-mullin-review-andy-beckett]

Chris Mullin. Photograph: Murdo Macleod for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.23pm BST

block-time published-time 1.57pm BST

The Lib Dems gained a seat in a council byelection last night. According to the Press Association, this means they have now gained 14 seats in council byelections since May.

Liberal Democrats heading home from their party conference in Brighton have been given a boost with news of another council byelection victory for the party.

Lib Dems have celebrated a string of wins in local contests since the May elections.

The latest, in which they defeated Labour to take a seat on Cardiff Council , brings to 14 the number of council seats they have gained in byelections. The party has also held six seats and lost none in this period.

Voting in the poll in the Plasnewydd division following the death of a Labour councillor was: LD 1,258, Lab 910, Plaid Cymru 177, C 115, Green 93, Ukip 62. Turnout was 23.1%.

The swing from Labour to Lib Dem was 9.3%.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.58pm BST

block-time published-time 1.41pm BST

A Labour NEC reading list Here are three blogs about last night’s meeting of Labour’s national executive committee that are worth reading.

\* ITV’s Robert Peston says on Facebook it is not clear whether or not Jeremy Corbyn is serious about holding peace talks with his PLP critics. [https://www.facebook.com/pestonitv/posts/1696524057338999]

The point is that no one but Corbyn really knows - and perhaps even he doesn’t either - whether we are about to see serious negotiations on bringing MPs back into Corbyn’s fold, on bringing some kind of fragile stability and unity to this bitterly divided party, with a view to submitting a resolution to conference on changing how the front bench is chosen.

Or was Corbyn just trying to seem emollient, and in fact has zero intention of being rushed into a deal which would presumably constrain his power to set direction and policies for Labour?

If recent history is a guide, you would bet peace and love is not about to break out in the parliamentary Labour Party - though my goodness the MPs I’ve been chatting with are desperate for it.

\* George Eaton at the New Statesman says the decision to give Scotland and Wales representation on Labour’s NEC will weaken Corbyn’s grip on it. [http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/economy/2016/09/owen-smiths-letter-labour-members-our-party-crossroads]

The recent NEC elections, in which left-wing candidates won all six constituency positions, led some to suggest that Corbyn had achieved “control” of the NEC. But even before last night’s decision, the Labour leader lacked a majority for many of the radical rule changes floated by his allies. The left, an NEC member told me, had no majority for mandatory reselection of MPs, a reduced leadership nomination threshold (from 15 per cent to 5 per cent) or for “purging party staff”. For Corbyn, Labour’s ruling body remains an obstacle, rather than an aid, to the remaking of the party.

\* Paul Waugh at Huffington Post says Iain McNicol, the Labour general secretary, is now seen as unsackable. [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/iain-mcnicol-jeremy-corbyn-labour-nec-purge\_uk\_57e27781e4b0db20a6e7d7ba?]

Corbyn last weekend refused to deny that McNicol’s future had been discussed at a summit of his advisers in Surrey in August.

But McNicol is now seen as “unsackable”, one Labour source told HuffPost, after the ruling National Executive Committee expanded its membership to create a narrow ‘anti-Corbyn’ majority.

block-time published-time 1.35pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn has thanked all those who voted in the Labour leadership contest.

enltrVoting has closed. Thanks to all who took part. It has been a good debate. Our job now is to unite as a party & hold the Tories to account pic.twitter.com/X2SpjNNXMo [https://t.co/X2SpjNNXMo]

— Jeremy Corbyn MP (@jeremycorbyn) September 21, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/778555049626796032]enltrThanks to all who helped organise #LabourLeadership [https://twitter.com/hashtag/LabourLeadership?src=hash] events, and to the tens of thousands who turned up to listen to myself & @OwenSmith\_MP [https://twitter.com/OwenSmith\_MP] events, and to the tens of thousands who turned up to listen to myself & pic.twitter.com/rPYGnGyxp5 [https://t.co/rPYGnGyxp5] events, and to the tens of thousands who turned up to listen to myself &

— Jeremy Corbyn MP (@jeremycorbyn) September 21, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/778570504764526592]block-time published-time 1.31pm BST

The film maker Ken Loach has made a film about Jeremy Corbyn ’s leadership campaign. The hour-long programme is now up on YouTube , and you can watch it here. Loach said:

I approached Jeremy Corbyn ’s campaign because I wanted to meet longstanding party members who are inspired by Jeremy, members who have rejoined the party and those who have joined Labour for the first time.

Over two days travelling to events and meetings with Jeremy I documented the sense of optimism and hope that explains why so many are ready to fight for the new settlement that Jeremy Corbyn offers - a vision for our country which in government can implement a shift in wealth and power to ordinary people.

Ken Loach’s film about Jeremy Corbyn . My colleague Jamie Grierson wrote about the project on Monday.

Related: Ken Loach makes promotional video for Jeremy Corbyn [https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/sep/19/ken-loach-promotional-video-jeremy-corbyn-film-optimism-labour]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.33pm BST

block-time published-time 1.12pm BST

Majority of Britons think MPs should relocate out of London while parliament repaired, says poll The majority of Britons think Parliament should move outside London while repairs are carried out on the Palace of Westminster, a poll has found. This is from the Press Association.

A report by a parliamentary committee has warned the neo-Gothic building is at growing risk of a “catastrophic event” unless urgent repairs are carried out.

The Palace is infested with mice, the plumbing often fails, the roofs leak, and some parts have not undergone any restoration since it was built in 1834.

Proposals have been drawn up to move the House of Commons and Lords to buildings nearby in Westminster while the overhaul, estimated to cost £4bn and last six years, is carried out.

But a survey of 1,732 people by pollsters YouGov found that 54% think parliament should leave London, while 46% think it should stay in the capital.

Among those who think it should leave, the biggest proportion, 37%, say it should relocate either to the North or the Midlands. Other parts of the UK attracted less than 10%.

The majority of people living in London, the South and the East of England think parliament should stay in London.

Londoners are particularly fervent, with 70% saying it should stay in the capital.

But the majority in all other parts of England want parliament to leave the South, although there is no consensus on where it should move to.

People in Wales and Scotland - which have their own devolved assemblies - were much more likely to prefer that parliament stays in London, with 41% and 35% respectively, rather than come to them, which was preferred by 20% and 19% respectively.

enltrThe majority of the public think that Parliament should leave London https://t.co/rst1crUJeS [https://t.co/rst1crUJeS] pic.twitter.com/z6z956VsQj [https://t.co/z6z956VsQj]

— YouGov (@YouGov) September 21, 2016 [https://twitter.com/YouGov/status/778492038547402752] Scaffolding on the roof of the Palace of Westminster. Photograph: David Mirzoeff/PA block-time published-time 12.31pm BST

Voters have become more 'realistic' about potential benefits of Brexit, says polling expert People have become more “realistic” about the impact of Brexit since the EU referendum, the polling expert Prof John Curtice told a briefing at King’s College London this morning.

He said fewer people now expected Brexit to lead to **immigration** levels falling.

Some of the expectations about the consequences of Brexit for the level of **immigration** have been somewhat toned down. Before the referendum, over half the public expected the level of **immigration** to fall as a consequence of Brexit. Now, however, that number has fallen to around 45%. So there are perhaps, somewhat realistic expectations of the consequences of Brexit.

Curtice also said that before the referendum 40% of voters believed Brexit would have a positive impact on the NHS but that this has since dropped to 26%. “Most people just don’t think it is going to make a difference,” he said.

Despite this, Curtice said the polls suggest there is little evidence of “buyer’s remorse” amongst voters. He said that only around one third of voters want a second referendum and that “virtually all of them” are remain voters.

“Not much evidence of buyer’s remorse,” Curtice said. “That means the UK is still divided pretty much down the middle over the arguments over the referendum.”

block-time published-time 12.17pm BST

Radio 5 Live have released more quotes from Emma Barnett’s inteview with Jane Chapman, Jeremy Corbyn ’s first wife. (See 11.08am.) [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/21/labour-leadership-jeremy-corbyn-will-win-but-perhaps-by-less-than-in-2015-mcdonnell-says-politics-live?page=with:block-57e25a3ee4b0fff11bc5a2ce#block-57e25a3ee4b0fff11bc5a2ce] This is what Chapman said when she was asked if she thought Corbyn wanted to become prime minister.

I think he may be pressured to stay on until an obvious successor that has policies that are acceptable to Momentum and the left emerges with a chance of actually continuing.

My heart and soul is still very much with what he stands for … But one of things about Jeremy is that he hasn’t actually changed that much politically. That is what a lot of people admire, but that begs the question: Are the politics of the 1970s relevant to the 21st century, and to post-Brexit Britain? And the case has to be made for that in parliament.

block-time published-time 12.06pm BST

Owen Smith has put out a statement to mark the closing of the ballot in the Labour leadership contest. He said:

I’m incredibly grateful to all of the Labour members, supporters and trade unionists who have voted for me in this election.

I’m particularly honoured that over 5,000 people have donated their time and efforts to this campaign.

As a team we’ve spoken to over 300,000 fellow Labour supporters. Setting out a vision for Labour’s future, to end austerity, invest in our NHS , build the 300,000 new homes a year we need to end our housing crisis, boosting workers’ rights and pay through a real living wage. I’m incredibly proud of the work we’ve already done and will continue to do for the Labour party and the people we seek to serve.

block-time published-time 11.08am BST

Corbyn's leadership has been 'a bit chaotic', says his first wife Here is more on what Jane Chapman, Jeremy Corbyn ’s first wife (they split up in 1979) told Radio 5 Live about why she was not backing Corbyn in the Labour leadership contest. (See 10.56am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/21/labour-leadership-jeremy-corbyn-will-win-but-perhaps-by-less-than-in-2015-mcdonnell-says-politics-live?page=with:block-57e2571ae4b0a5a2f64ad400#block-57e2571ae4b0a5a2f64ad400]’s first wife (they split up in 1979) told Radio 5 Live about why she was not backing Corbyn in the Labour leadership contest. (See

\* Chapman said that she backed Corbyn last year, but now preferred Owen Smith.

I voted for Owen Smith. Last time I voted for Jeremy out of personal loyalty, but I’ve been so saddened and really upset by some of the things. This last year that I just feel that Owen’s policies are also radical and that’s good.

So I don’t think there’s more difference in policies. But there’s more difference in flexibility, media ability and I think the ability to unite the party and to have a longer term post-Brexit vision.

\* She said Corbyn’s leadership had been “a bit chaotic”. The problem was not his policies but his leadership skills, she said. Asked if he could improve, she replied:

I think he could develop it but it’s been a bit slow and it’s been a bit chaotic. And I think we’re running out of time, because the longer he takes to develop it and his team, the more Labour is losing in the polls. That’s the reality of it.

\* She said Corbyn had not “changed much politically” since the 1970s. She went on: “That begs the question, are the politics of the 1970s relevant to the 21st century and to post-Brexit Britain?”

I’ve taken the quotes from PoliticsHome. [https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/labour-party/news/79155/jeremy-corbyns-ex-wife-i-voted-owen-smith-labour]

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.18pm BST

block-time published-time 10.56am BST

Corbyn's first wife she says backing Owen Smith Jeremy Corbyn’s first wife, Jane Chapman, has been on Radio 5 Live this morning. She says she’s voting for Owen Smith. These are from the BBC ’s Norman Smith and the Daily Mirror’s Jack Blanchard.

enltrJeremy Corbyn's first wife Jane Chapman tells @bbc5live [https://twitter.com/bbc5live] she's voting for @OwenSmith\_MP [https://twitter.com/OwenSmith\_MP] she's voting for

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) September 21, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/778530301215641600]enltr @OwenSmith\_MP [https://twitter.com/OwenSmith\_MP] is better with the media, can unite the party and has a long term vision says Corbyn's first wife Jane Chapman @bbc5live [https://twitter.com/bbc5live] is better with the media, can unite the party and has a long term vision says Corbyn's first wife Jane Chapman

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) September 21, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/778530789331959808]enltrCorbyn's politics haven't changed since the 1970s says first wife Jane Chapman @bbc5live [https://twitter.com/bbc5live]enltrCorbyn's politics haven't changed since the 1970s says first wife Jane Chapman

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) September 21, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/778531277662224384]enltrBrutal interview with Corbyn's ex-wife Jane Chapman on Radio 5. Labour a "painful sideshow" under his "chaotic" leadership. She voted Smith.

— Jack Blanchard (@Jack\_Blanchard\_) September 21, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jack\_Blanchard\_/status/778530904671215616]enltrJane Chapman criticises ex-hubbie Corbyn for lack of leadership skills & media failings. She voted for him last year - but now backs Smith

— Jack Blanchard (@Jack\_Blanchard\_) September 21, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jack\_Blanchard\_/status/778531815199997952]To be fair, ex-partners are not always known for being supportive; there’s a reason for them being an ex. But Chapman did back Corbyn in the Labour leadership contest last year. She revealed that in a Mail on Sunday interview in which she revealed her marriage to Corbyn ended because she did not share his single-minded dedication to politics. [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3199550/Take-No-Jeremy-liked-night-eating-cold-beans-cat-called-Harold-Wilson-Corbyn-s-wife-reveals.html]To be fair, ex-partners are not always known for being supportive; there’s a reason for them being an ex. But Chapman did back Corbyn in the Labour leadership contest last year. She revealed that

block-time published-time 10.37am BST

You can read all today’s Guardian politics stories here. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/all]

As for the rest of the papers, here is the Politics Home list of top 10 must reads, [https://www.politicshome.com/must-reads] and here is the ConservativeHome round-up of today’s political stories. [http://www.conservativehome.com/frontpage/2016/09/newslinks-for-wednesday-21st-september-2016.html] and here is

And here are four articles I found particularly interesting.

\* Lamiat Sabin in the Morning Star says Labour has lost control of Bristol council because three Corbyn-supporting councillors have been suspended. [https://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/a-51fb-A-PURGE-TOO-FAR#.V-JP7DYrKBu]

Labour won a slim majority of 37 seats out of 70 in May, while the party’s Marvin Rees won the mayoralty from George Ferguson of Bristol First.

But the suspension of two councillors this week over a “breach of party rules” — and one at the start of September — leaves Labour on 34 seats.

The three suspended councillors — Harriet Bradley, who represents Brislington West, Mike Langley, of Brislington East, and Hibaq Jama, of Lawrence Hill — have been vocal supporters of Mr Corbyn.

Labour’s national office confirmed that the council group whip has been withdrawn but the reasons behind the individual suspensions are not clear.

\* Tom Newton Dunn in the Sun says the Labour MP Ruth Smeeth is taking a minder to the Labour party conference to protect her. [https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1820388/moderate-labour-mps-are-taking-minders-to-their-party-conference-because-they-fear-they-will-be-attacked/]

Ms Smeeth – who was targeted by sick gallows death threats from a diehard Corbyn supporter – told The Sun: “I will have someone with me.

“I haven’t felt the need to do this before, but it is a sensible security precaution for obvious reasons at the moment.

“But I’ve been to conference every year since 1999, and I’m not going to stop going now”.

Another senior female Labour MP who wanted to remain anonymous told The Sun: “Nobody is looking forward to going to Liverpool, it’s going to be totally horrendous”.

\* Jon Stone at the Independent says Benjamin Wegg-Prosser, a former aide to Tony Blair and now a business parter of Lord Mandelson’s, is helping to fund Labour Tomorrow, a group opposed to Jeremy Corbyn. [http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/anti-corbyn-group-labour-tomorrow-funded-by-tony-blair-s-former-spin-doctor-who-now-runs-peter-a7318056.html]

Also Tony Blair ’s former strategic director of communications, Mr Wegg-Prosser loaned Labour Tomorrow Ltd £10,000 on 27 June – at the same time as MPs resigned en masse from the shadow cabinet in the so-called “coup”.

Widely regarded as hostile to Jeremy Corbyn , Labour Tomorrow’s website says it “raises, coordinates and distributes funds for moderate centre-left organisations which are committed to rebuilding a consensus for a Labour government”.

\* Patrick Kidd in the Times (paywall) reveals a joke left out of Tim Farron’s Lib Dem conference speech yesterday. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/farron-suffers-unkindest-cut-pkqr23pgw]

The first page of a draft had Farron making a reference to the Ukip leader’s skinny dip in the Channel last week, suggesting that the water was so cold it turned Farage from a Great Briton into a Little Englander. Not a bad joke, as conference speeches go, but wise heads prevailed and the line was castrated.

block-time published-time 10.11am BST

Government borrowing in August higher than expected Government borrowing figures are out this morning, and they are worse than expected. This is from the Press Association.

Government borrowing was higher than expected in August after a disappointing surplus a month earlier.

The Office for National Statistics (ONS) said public sector net borrowing, which does not include public sector banks, dropped by £900m to £10.5bn year on year, against economists’ forecasts for £10bn.

Government borrowing for the fiscal year to date - the period from April to August - decreased by £4.9bn to £33.8bn, compared with the same period last year.

Alan Clarke, head of European fixed income strategy at Scotiabank, said. “It is a case of so far so good for the public finances this fiscal year. It is far, far too soon to expect to see any hint of a Brexit effect.”

It comes after a lower-than-expected surplus of £1bn in July, which was down £200m on the same month last year, and lower than forecasts of £1.6bn.

July figures are usually higher as self-employed people pay their income tax and businesses settle corporation tax bills.

In June, government borrowing fell to its lowest level since 2007 at £7.8bn.

The ONS said public sector net debt excluding banks climbed to £1.6 trillion, equivalent to 83.6% of gross domestic product (GDP).

My colleague Graeme Wearden has more on his business live blog.

Related: UK borrows more than expected in August, but 'no Brexit effect' – business live [https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/sep/21/bank-of-japan-stimulus-programme-federal-reserve-business-live]

block-time published-time 9.48am BST

I’ve already quoted what J ohn McDonnell told Jeremy Corbyn supporters in Clapham last night about Corbyn finding it “really tough” to win by as large a margin as he did in 2015. (See 9.05am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/21/labour-leadership-jeremy-corbyn-will-win-but-perhaps-by-less-than-in-2015-mcdonnell-says-politics-live?page=with:block-57e2381ee4b0603ea33c485c#block-57e2381ee4b0603ea33c485c] Here are some more lines from the speech.

\* McDonnell said the decision by Labour’s national executive committee to exclude people who joined the party after January from voting was “disgraceful”.

The ruling out of 130,000 members was a disgrace, to be honest, an absolute disgrace. And the way it was done was even more disgraceful. At the end of an NEC, when people had left, a paper laid round and a decision taken on a vote of 14/14. And it was carried on the basis of a recommendation. So it was 14 people basically preventing 140,000 [sic] people having a vote.

Although people who joined after January were able to vote if they paid £25 to become a registered supporter, McDonnell said many people could not afford that. He said many of those excluded were Corbyn supporters.

So we lost, I think, a large group of people who were Jeremy Corbyn supporters. I think never again should we allow that to happen.

\* He criticised the proposal from Tom Watson, Labour’s deputy leader, that was debated at the NEC yesterday to change the leadership election rules and reintroduce an electoral college. McDonnell said:

One thing about our party now is it’s based on one person one vote. I don’t want to go back to some of the proposals that have come forward today [for] electoral colleges. Because what that would mean, as it was before... the parliamentary Labour party gets a third of the votes. It will mean for every individual MP, their vote will mean 3,000 or 4,00 of ours. That is unacceptable.

\* He criticised the way Labour has applied rules banning some members from taking part in the election. People were being suspended “for the bizarrest of reasons”, he said. He said he know one woman who was suspended for tweeting that she supported the Greens; but she was talking about a team from her child’s primary school, not the Green party. McDonnell said the decision to include “traitor” as a word that could lead to people being suspended if used on social media was questionable, because it features in the Red Flag, sung by all members at conference. On that basis, everyone should be excluded, he said. He also complained that the list of unacceptable words had been drawn up retrospectively.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.40pm BST

block-time published-time 9.05am BST

Finally the Labour leadership contest is coming to an end. The ballot closes at 12pm today, and the winner will be announced in Liverpool on Saturday, just before the start of the party’s annual conference.

Jeremy Corbyn has always been the favourite to be re-elected and, since a YouGov poll at the end of last month gave him a 24-point lead over his challenger, Owen Smith [https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/08/30/labour-leadership-election-corbyn-leads-smith-24/], the result has been seen as a foregone conclusion.

Last night John McDonnell, the shadow chancellor and Corbyn’s closest ally, told supporters that he also expected a Corbyn victory.

I think we’re going to win.

But, in a speech in Clapham, he also claimed that it would be “really tough” for Corbyn to do as well as he did in 2015, not least because so many of his supporters have been excluded from the contest. But McDonnell insisted that, even if Corbyn got a lower share of the vote than the 59.5% he got last time, that would not weaken his mandate. McDonnell said:

I think it’s going to be really tough to get the 59.5% that we got last time around because of the numbers that have been prevented from voting. Some will argue if we dip below the 59.9% that somehow Jeremy’s mandate has lessened. If we win, no matter what, his mandate is still in place.

John McDonnell speaking to Labour supporters in Clapham last night. There is a full report of what he said here, on Huffington Post. [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/john-mcdonnell-attacks-tom-watsons-unacceptable-bid-to-change-labour-leadership-rules\_uk\_57e196d8e4b0db20a6e77eab]

McDonnell’s comment may reflect what the Corbyn team have picked up from their telephone canvassing. But equally he might just be engaged in expectation management - an almost universal pre-election strategy, designed to ensure that any result looks better on the day than people were predicting.

I will post more on McDonnell’s comment soon.

Here is the agenda for the day.

10am: The OECD launches its interim Economic Outlook report.

12pm: The ballot closes in the Labour leadership contest.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and then I will be wrapping up early because I have a meeting in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UK care sector’s reliance on EU workers means they must be given right to remain in any future arrangements, charities say

Social services for older and disabled people face crisis because post-Brexit migration restrictions could cause a massive shortage of care workers, leading care organisations have said.

The 1.4-million-strong UK care sector’s reliance on European migrant workers means it is vital they are given the right to remain in any future migration arrangements, the charities Independent Age [https://www.independentage.org/] and the International Longevity Centre UK [http://www.ilcuk.org.uk/] (ILC-UK) said.

Currently about 84,000 care workers – equivalent to one in 20 of England’s growing care workforce – are from European Economic Area countries. About 90% do not have British citizenship and their future **immigration** status remains uncertain.

Related: Leaving the EU would be disastrous for my autistic son and thousands like him | Virginia Bovell [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/26/leaving-eu-autistic-son-brexit-britain-european-union]

The charities said failure to tackle workforce shortages would mean thousands of older people would lose out on support, meaning they could be left housebound, struggle to recover properly from a stroke or fall, or fail to get assistance in getting up and dressed in the morning.

Simon Bottery, the director of policy at Independent Age, said: “Care services for elderly and disabled people have come to rely on migrant workers, especially from the European Union, so the consequences could be severe if they are unable to work here in future.”

The UK has become increasingly dependent on a European migrant workforce to provide services for its ageing population since 2012, when the coalition government changed **immigration** rules, making it more difficult for non-EEA people to enter the UK to work in social care.

According to modelling by the charities, a scenario which closed off all migration would leave Britain with a social care workforce shortfall of more than a million by 2037. In a low-migration scenario this would still mean a 750,000 shortfall. Even under a high-migration scenario, the care sector would still face a workforce shortage of 350,000 because of the likely dramatic increase in the population needing care, the charities said.

London and the south-east would be worst hit by a post-Brexit shortage of care workers, with one in nine of the capital’s care workers at risk of losing their right to work in the UK.

Staff turnover and vacancy rates have risen sharply in the last decade, triggering fears that the safety and quality of social care would be affected. Ben Franklin, ILC-UK’s head of economics of ageing, said that as Britain’s population grew older, thousands more care workers were needed. “A continual failure to support and enhance the care workforce could result in thousands of frail and older people losing out on the proper care and support that they need.”

A spokesperson for the Association of Directors of Adult Social Services [https://www.adass.org.uk/home/] said: “Every minute of every day, millions of people are receiving a service from adult social care thanks to the contribution of staff from all over the world – from the UK, the EU and further afield. The loss of any of this valuable workforce, in a sector already under pressure from increased demand and staffing challenges, would have a profound effect, and we will seek to take part in any relevant discussions to convey our support for EU workers currently working in our adult social care system.

“It’s important to remind any non-British EU workers, and those whose care is provided by them, that nothing will change for some time: until new laws are passed by the government, the rights of all EU citizens to live and work in the UK will not change. Until then, we will be working to improve recruitment, training and staff retention in the social care sector to make sure it’s ready for any challenges that come in the future.”

A government spokesperson said: “The prime minister has been clear that she wants to protect the status of EU nationals already living here, and the only circumstances in which that wouldn’t be possible is if British citizens’ rights in European member states were not protected in return.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Parties support ACTU-proposed crackdown after several discoveries of asbestos on Australian building sites

The Australian Council of Trade Unions has pushed for a Senate inquiry into asbestos importation which will likely succeed after winning broad cross-party support.

Labor, the Nick Xenophon Team, the Greens and Pauline Hanson’s One Nation all support a crackdown on imported asbestos after several high-profile discoveries of the hazardous material on Australian building sites.

The inquiry push will be pursued through a Senate motion on 10 October to re-establish an inquiry into non-conforming building products with a specific focus on asbestos importation.

Asbestos has been discovered on a number of large building projects[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/05/peter-dutton-denounced-for-suggesting-import-of-asbestos-is-cfmeus-fault] this year including in roof panels at the $1.2bn Perth children’s hospital project and at Multiplex’s 1 William Street site in Brisbane.

In a letter to senators calling for an inquiry the ACTU warned that the company supplying materials to those projects, Yuanda Australia, has also supplied more than 50[http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/nation/asbestos-scandal-sets-off-fears-at-69-sites-across-australia/news-story/dba0698106eca94fabb95d5c5717d94f] building sites around the country.

Importation of asbestos has been banned since 2003, but the ACTU warned Border Force lacks the resources to crack down on it, inspecting fewer than 5% of imports.

Related: Peter Dutton denounced for suggesting import of asbestos is CFMEU's fault[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/05/peter-dutton-denounced-for-suggesting-import-of-asbestos-is-cfmeus-fault]

ACTU assistant secretary, Michael Borowick, told Guardian Australia “you can import asbestos with impunity – that’s why it’s turning up”. He cited the fact only three entities had been prosecuted for importing asbestos since 2003 and fined the “pitiful” amount of $300,000 in total.

“That would do little to deter a company like Yuanda that had revenue of $217m last financial year,” the peak body said in its letter.

“We want an investigation into why the current regime is failing so badly,” Borowick said.

**Immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, has previously blamed the problem on the logistical impossibility of checking every container that enters Australia.

Other enforcement problems identified by the ACTU include that building materials come from countries with “unreliable or flawed standards” including that some foreign regulators allow low levels of asbestos in their products. The union body claims Chinese products can be labelled “asbestos-free” while still containing as much as 5% asbestos.

The ACTU said government reviews of the problem including the March 2016 asbestos importation review[https://www.border.gov.au/ReportsandPublications/Documents/reviews-and-inquiries/asbestos-importation-review.pdf] were inadequate.

That report found “the asbestos border control is effective” but recommended the government should “maximise targeting of high-risk goods” and “further prioritise investigation to improve prosecution of offences related to asbestos importation”.

Borowick said unions and asbestos groups were not consulted and the report did not consider changes to the Customs Act.

Labor promised an asbestos importation Senate inquiry before the election, and the Senate will consider establishing it as part of the building products inquiry at its next sitting on 10 October.

Labor’s employment spokesman, Brendan O’Connor, said an inquiry was needed “to ensure a proper total ban on asbestos is enforced”.

After the discovery of asbestos[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-08-24/port-pirie-smelter-redevelopment-asbestos-scare/7780320] in equipment used in the Port Pirie smelter redevelopment in August Nick Xenophon said: “There is absolutely no excuse for deadly asbestos to be coming into this country.

“Clearly the current system of border protection, enforcement, and compliance has not worked.”

Xenophon helped establish the non-conforming building products inquiry and supports a separate inquiry or term of reference to consider asbestos importation under the current one.

He said it should consider requiring all new building products coming into the country that have the potential to contain asbestos to be independently checked and certified.

Borowick said defences to asbestos importation offences needed to be considered, because companies importing the material were allowed to take assurances products did not contain asbestos at face value and escape prosecution. He also suggested liability for the head contractor on building projects should be considered when companies they engage imported asbestos.

Greens **immigration** spokesman, Nick McKim, told Guardian Australia: “Stopping the importation of illegal, asbestos-ridden materials requires a concerted effort, and a Senate inquiry could be a useful way to reveal the scale of the problem and propose solutions.”

Hanson said: “If the government don’t do a total ban [of asbestos building products] they’re failing their duty of care. They’re contaminated.”

Hanson called for a wider ban on foreign building products, saying use of Australian products would create jobs and ensure they were asbestos-free. Despite calling an inquiry a “waste of time”, Hanson said “of course I will [support it] if they won’t do what I’m calling for”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A sense of **alienation** is attracting people to populist leaders with simple solutions. But there are better solutions, ones that draw communities together

Pauline Hanson didn’t appear out of a vacuum. Like Donald Trump and Nigel Farage, she is a reaction to trends in our society, economy and politics. Their type of nasty firebrand always exists, but they receive greater support at times when people who feel disconnected, disenchanted and disenfranchised are looking for a sense of unity, searching for a “we”.

This is the one thing that Hanson, and those who call for us to understand her and her voters, get right. Our current political and economic system is tearing us apart; it is driving disconnection and disenfranchisement; it is, in fact, designed to benefit a tiny elite at the expense of everybody else.

Related: Progressives can attract Hanson supporters. But not by insulting them | Peter Lewis[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/progressives-can-attract-hanson-supporters-but-not-by-insulting-them]

But the “we” that Hanson and her ilk provide is a negative, exclusive one. It is a sense of identity framed against a scary other. Asians or Muslims, gays or greenies, **refugees** or Indigenous people: the target can vary, but the frame is the same. “Our” way of life is under threat from “them”.

The challenge for those of us who oppose her is not just to respond to her – though we must stand up to and reject her racism. Nor is it even to respond to her voters. Our challenge is to respond to the circumstances which created her by building a more compelling alternative.

Our challenge is to craft a better “we”.

Critically, this is not a communications task. It’s not about working out how to speak better to people, or how to respond to misinformation. It’s actually about changing our society, economy and politics to be truly inclusive and for the benefit of all – humans and the natural world we are one small part of.

When viewed that way, crafting a better “we” is an enormous task. But it is one which is full of opportunity.

Mandating a shorter working week would see us both share work more fairly and grapple better with work-life balance

At its heart is work. Never in the modern age has work been as precarious as it is today. Automation threatens not just jobs like manufacturing and check outs but also white collar jobs such as legal advice and anaesthetics. The rise of contract and casual work everywhere from cleaning services to academia makes work highly precarious for those who have it and increases the divide between those who are over-worked and those who are under-employed.

These forces combine to increase **alienation**, with people becoming disconnected from their jobs, feeling like governments do nothing to protect them, succumbing to an us-against-them mentality of blaming others in our society rather than the corporations and governments who enable this to happen.

We can and must look at big picture and innovative responses to this challenge. One option often raised is a universal basic income[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/23/universal-basic-income-could-be-the-best-way-to-tackle-inequality], which would rewrite the relationship between employees and employers, give people confidence and flexibility, and reinvigorate the idea that we are all in this together.

Ideally going hand in hand with this, mandating a shorter working week would see us both share work more fairly and grapple better with work-life balance, which seems to have gone out the window recently.

Another idea in this area is supporting cooperatives, putting workers’ jobs into their own hands.

Related: The obscure legal system that lets corporations sue countries | Claire Provost and Matt Kennard[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2015/jun/10/obscure-legal-system-lets-corportations-sue-states-ttip-icsid]

Then there’s the challenge of reclaiming our politics, our public spaces, our very sense of the “public”, from corporate takeover. This goes far deeper than simply corporate donations to politicians, which one scandal too many has finally put on the agenda. It needs to disentangle the entire web.

One of the most egregious and obvious examples has been the way international trade negotiations have been handed over to private interests. The peak of this trend is investor state dispute resolution, allowing companies to sue governments in a way which individual citizens could never dream of[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2015/jun/10/obscure-legal-system-lets-corportations-sue-states-ttip-icsid]. At the opposite end of the spectrum is the ever increasing handover of public space to private interests through advertising. How about declaring advertising free zones and removing the tax deduction for spending on ads?

Then there’s the way our schools, universities and research institutions are increasingly being run as profit-driven entities, training the next generation of workers and inventing new goods for sale, rather than as public institutions valuing knowledge for its own sake. This needs to be reversed by providing both sufficient funds and the appropriate remit to focus on educating citizens and researching for the public good.

If we want to look really deep, let’s challenge the very concept of corporate personhood, which enables companies’ rights often to trump those of people, and certainly to overrule any rights of nature. If BHP Billiton is a legal person, why shouldn’t the Great Barrier Reef be one, too? Should either of them?

Related: Christmas cheer for sacked turkey workers comes in the form of a co-op | Van Badham[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/dec/16/christmas-cheer-for-sacked-turkey-workers-comes-in-the-form-of-a-co-op]

Another central task is learning how to live in – and design – cities which enable people to come together, instead of living next to each other in closed boxes. How can we support communities to thrive within cities and towns? How can we ensure that urban infill is done in a sensitive manner that generates positive community feeling and protects the environment? How can we ensure affordable and accessible housing that benefits communities rather than developers? How can we enable a true sharing economy to develop, where we hold things in common rather than retreat to individual ownership of everything?

There are numerous ideas and models being implemented around the world, from “Buy Nothing” groups[https://buynothingproject.org/] to tool libraries[https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/aug/23/library-of-things-peak-stuff-sharing-economy-consumerism-uber], from food gardens[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/jun/15/urban-common-radical-community-gardens] to repair cafes[http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/newslocal/inner-west/marrickville-lands-sydneys-first-repair-cafe/story-fngr8h4f-1226811948272], from banning developer donations[http://www.canberratimes.com.au/act-news/act-greens-pledge-to-ban-donations-from-property-developers-corporations-20160826-gr2ayp.html] to supporting cooperative housing developments[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/feb/16/co-housing-people-things-common-live-together-older-people].

This is just the tip of the iceberg, but it gives a flavour of how “we” can beat Senator Hanson by creating a more compelling alternative.

Importantly, it can’t – and won’t – happen through politics as usual. Many of these ideas have to be implemented by communities at the level of communities.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Comments marked new escalation in rhetoric warning of the danger of admitting **refugees** into US as he addressed issue of terrorism following bombing attacks

Donald Trump on Wednesday described the threat posed by Syrian **refugees** as not “only a matter of terrorism, but also a matter of quality of life”.

The statement marked a new escalation of Trump’s rhetoric warning of the danger of admitting into the United States Syrian **refugees**, whom he has repeatedly compared to the Trojan horse.

Trump’s remarks came at a rally in Toledo, Ohio, where the Republican nominee once again addressed the issue of terrorism in the aftermath of the bombing attacks in New York and New Jersey[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/ahmad-khan-rahami-charged-bombings-new-york-new-jersey] in the past week.

Related: Trump laments that New York bombing suspect will get 'amazing' treatment[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/19/trump-ahmad-khan-rahami-new-york-bombing-immigration]

He linked the attack to the admission of **immigrants** and **refugees** from overseas. “We’ve admitted tens of thousands with no effective screening plan,” Trump claimed, adding: “We have no idea who we are letting in. You’ve seen what happened.”

The United States has an extensive **refugee** screening program[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/donald-trump-syria-refugees-us-immigration-security-terrorism] for those entering from Syria that takes up to two years. The accused New York bomber, Ahmad Khan Rahami, entered the US as a child and is a naturalized citizen.

The Republican nominee expanded his argument, bringing in concerns about “quality of life”.

Trump claimed: “Altogether, the Hillary Clinton plan would bring in 620,000 **refugees** in the first term. Her plan would cost $400bn in terms of lifetime welfare and entitlement costs – think of that.”

Both of these figures have been proven false[http://www.factcheck.org/2016/08/trumps-terrorism-speech/] by independent fact-checkers.

Trump then continued: “Not only the danger of it all, this isn’t only a matter of terrorism, but also a matter of quality of life. We want to make sure we’re only admitting those into our country who support our values and love – and I mean love – our people.”

Trump’s claim that **refugees** hurt “quality of life” marked the latest controversial statement from his campaign this week about those fleeing from the civil war and humanitarian crisis in the Middle East. On Monday night, his son, Donald Jr, wrote a tweet[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/donald-trump-jr-skittles-tweet-hunting] comparing **refugees** to poisoned skittles. The statement sparked an immediate backlash and prompted a spokesperson for Wrigley, the owner of Skittles, to issue a statement saying, “Skittles are candy, **refugees** are people.”

Related: Donald Trump Jr compares Syrian **refugees** to poisoned Skittles[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/donald-trump-jnr-compares-refugees-poisoned-skittles-twitter-reacted]

The Republican nominee was preceded on stage again by Don King, the famous boxing promoter and convicted felon. King, who was convicted in 1966 of stomping a man to death, raised eyebrows earlier in the day[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/21/don-king-donald-trump-cleveland-rally] when he used the N-word in introducing Trump at an event in Cleveland. In Toledo, King told the crowd “You must recognize that Trump is a spirit” and compared the Republican nominee to John the Baptist.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Roundhouse, LondonThis stirring show saw the revitalised singer pay homage to hip-hop and Motown, and combine crowdpleasing renditions with intriguing glimpses of new material

Star Rating: 4 stars

In the seven years since Alicia Keys’s last album, Girl on Fire[https://www.theguardian.com/music/2012/nov/25/alicia-keys-girl-on-fire-review], the Grammy winner has remained in the spotlight more due to her campaigning than her singing. In 2013, she started the We Are Here movement[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/13/we-are-here-video-black-lives-matter-video-alicia-keys] for social justice, and in May this year, her essay[http://www.lennyletter.com/style/a410/alicia-keys-time-to-uncover/] for Lena Dunham’s online magazine, Lenny, launched a million hashtags with her intention to resist pressure to conform by forgoing makeup[https://www.theguardian.com/music/commentisfree/2016/aug/31/alicia-keys-makeup-no-judgement-refreshing].

Keys herself has relented on her recent quest to stop mobile phones coming into her gigs and plenty of handsets capture her arrival to this Apple Music festival show, barefaced, beaming and clad in a shapeless T-shirt dress that looks like a souvenir from Camden market. She dives into her new song Gospel, a homage to her home town from her upcoming sixth album, inspired by the hip-hop of her youth, and it has her dancing joyously.

Keys stands at her piano for the urgent rallying call 28 Thousand Days[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fslsxr-xknc], her voice strong and determined. But since 2001 she’s honed a fine line in soft, love-scrutinising soul, her classic melodies and Motown-indebted sound casting her as the sultry, more introverted sibling to Beyoncé’s bold and experimental big sister. Approving of the intimacy of her surroundings, Keys offers to “throw you a basement party. A good place to grind and groove,” and her honeyed voice does just that with You Don’t Know My Name[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_ST6ZRbhGiA], along with Try Sleeping With a Broken Heart[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=srMBZiqNMaM] and Fallin’[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Urdlvw0SSEc], two favourites adorned with big notes.

She’s joined by London soul artist Sampha[https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2014/jan/07/sampha-no-4-bbc-sound-of-2014] for Un-thinkable (I’m Ready)[http://alicia%20keys%20-%20un-thinkable/] and he performs his new single Blood on Me[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1i2Y7O-m1o], which, despite Keys’ harmonies and appreciation, goes on for too long, especially when her own new material is so intriguing.

These songs see Keys in strident mood, with She Don’t Really Care and In Common mixing up spacey synths and Latin rhythms with stronger songwriting and focus. Keys acknowledges there’s been a change. “I feel like I’m back to life, back in my zone!” she says gleefully, as a sample of the Soul II Soul hit Back to Life[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TB54dZkzZOY] kicks off her own, more introspective song of the same name[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fHczyuOwAss].

She precedes the impassioned, hymn-like Hallelujah with concerns about the **refugee** crisis, noting that the biological father of Steve Jobs, who “revolutionised our lives”, was a Syrian **refugee**. The song is an example of Keys’s gift for marrying global concerns to personal conflict, but she’s just as startling on the sweet pop of If I Ain’t Got You[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ju8Hr50Ckwk] and the dramatic Girl on Fire[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J91ti\_MpdHA)].

Despite confessing to sweltering in her garb (“Y’know if your arms are sweating its really good”) she segues into No One[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rywUS-ohqeE] and ends with stirring singalong Empire State of Mind (Part II) Broken Down. “I love you so much, it’s indescribable,” Keys says. “But you might need a tiny bit more air-conditioning in the Roundhouse.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**After last week’s secret aid worker about the **refugee** response in Greece, the emails have been flooding in. Here are a few of your responses

‘Aid agencies have taken an out-of-sight, out-of-mind approach to housing **refugees**’

I travelled to Greece in February to distribute supplies in Lesbos and Athens. I commend the writer for this article. However, one thing the article failed to mention is that the crisis environment we have today is a result of poor policy decisions made by the local authority and NGOs in the early days of the crisis – and it is these same aid organisations that are now getting paid to fix the situation.

Instead of taking advantage of all the existing Greek residential infrastructure, the government and NGOs consciously chose to locate **refugees** in old abandoned industrial buildings and remote rural areas, which directly limited their access to potable water, sanitation, electricity and food. Rather than trying to integrate **refugees** into life in Greece, it seems that they have taken an out of sight, out of mind approach.

There’s a lot of strain on an already broken system and accountability is absent at every level

I see the strategy as a missed opportunity to revitalise the Greek economy too. If **refugees** had been given cash vouchers to buy food from local markets and farmers, it would have helped residents financially and would also have helped change perceptions about **refugees**. There is a lot of empty real estate in the country that could have been used at the start but wasn’t. Now these places, like the City Plaza hotel in Athens, are being turned into **refugee** squats. Anna Segur, volunteer

‘The biggest hurdle is lack of support from the local government’

Great article on Greek systemic failures to support **refugees**. UNHCR rarely answer emails these days, MSF [Médecins Sans Frontières] are invisible, and it is virtually impossible for smaller NGOs to access the vast resources that should be supporting these desperate people.

The biggest hurdle is lack of support at local government level – who undoubtedly face other immense challenges day to day. There is little appetite to support **refugees** – there are not enough resources to support Greek people in need, let alone **refugees**. In the Greek islands nearest to Turkey, the impact of the **refugee** crisis has also been harsh on tourism – coupled with the events in Turkey this year many businesses are down 40% to 50% on revenue. Greek people are the most hospitable people I know but there’s a lot of strain on an already broken system and accountability is absent at every level.

We have had fires, riots, a hepatitis breakout, and attempted suicides. The camp is an accident waiting to happen

Things got worse after the EU-Turkey deal[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/18/eu-deal-turkey-migrants-refugees-q-and-a], when major agencies pulled out, as there’s no longer the capacity to help the many asylum seekers who now need longer term support to establish themselves and start a new life. Hot spots are full. Asylum processing is hugely under resourced, with it taking months to get an interview appointment. Informal detention camps, like the one in Rhodes are not recognised or resourced.

The **refugee** crisis is a global problem – not just a Greek problem – but it seems as if the global community has hidden the issue. Anonymous

‘We’ve had riots in the camp where the police did nothing, and have had Human Rights Watch in twice to report on the situation’

As a long term volunteer based on the ground on the Greek island of Samos for the last year, last week’s secret aid worker really rang true for me in highlighting what I see on a daily basis. Some NGOs have been great at coordinating with small grassroots groups (MSF in particular) but I am also disturbed by the total lack of compassion and humanity demonstrated by many of the EU appointed partners tasked with running the camp I’m based in. We’ve already had two riots, one of which resulted in a big fire that destroyed many people’s possessions. The police failed to intervene to break it up or help innocent people caught up in it. Instead, they locked themselves in their compound and watched people’s tents burning.

Related: Thousands flee as blaze sweeps through Moria **refugee** camp in Greece[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/19/thousand-flee-as-blaze-sweeps-through-moria-refugee-camp-in-greece]

It’s also been nearly five months since the EU-Turkey deal came into effect but people are still stuck in hazardous unsanitary camps that are not fit for purpose and do not have enough staff to run them. We have had fires, riots, a hepatitis breakout, and attempted suicides. There’s a complete lack of child protection services and there’s been no preventative action taken to make the camp safer, despite sexual assaults occurring. The camp is an accident waiting to happen.

I have reports of all this stuff and I’ve had Human Rights Watch in twice to report on the situation, but after one year of engaging with UNHCR, NGOs and the local authority over these issues and seeing nothing change I have had enough. Pru Waldorf, Calais Action

‘The companies that provide food to the camps are taking advantage of the crisis’

For the last three months I have been working in Greece outside a **refugee** camp. We have set up a community kitchen, school, women’s space, play space and library. By contrast, inside the camp, all of these projects are “underway” but nothing is being done, despite UNHCR currently sitting on €9m [£7.7m].

Related: Secret aid worker: Greece has exposed the aid community's failures[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/sep/13/secret-aid-worker-greece-has-exposed-the-aid-communitys-failures]

I’ve also been shocked by the quality of food I’ve seen and tasted that’s provided in camps by multiple external catering companies. It’s relatable to the worst kind of hospital food and bearing no nutritional values whatsoever. These companies receive €6 [£5] per day per person, but some only spend around €2 [£1.70] of that on the food. Meanwhile, in our community kitchen which we run alongside residents from the camp, we are able to spend 30-50 cents [20-40p] per meal per person depending on if we include meat but the food we create is traditional Syrian food and very nutritious.

Of course, the people from the camp ideally want to be cooking for themselves. However, in the camp there’s a maximum of 10 electric cookers, which are shared between 1,200 people. Anonymous

Are you an aid worker, volunteer, or otherwise involved in the **refugee** response in Greece? We’re monitoring the situation in **refugee** camps and trying to build a bigger picture of the issues. Share your experiences with us by emailing globaldevpros@theguardian.com[mailto:globaldevpros@theguardian.com] with ‘**Refugee**response in Greece’ in the subject line.

Join our community [https://register.theguardian.com/global-development] of development professionals and humanitarians. Follow @GuardianGDP [https://twitter.com/GuardianGDP] on Twitter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Writer warns that policy of constantly testing children is resulting in millions feeling excluded and **alienated**

Michael Morpurgo[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/michaelmorpurgocontributor] has said the policy of constantly testing children in schools has created an “apartheid system” that is destroying their self-confidence and resulting in feelings of shame and anxiety.

The children’s laureate, whose book War Horse is taught in primary and secondary schools, said exams had ensured “millions of our children still feel excluded and **alienated**” and that the world of books and education “was shut off from them for ever”.

The author has spoken in the past[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/sep/13/grammar-school-plans-divisive-stupid-michael-morpurgo-war-horse] about the lasting impact that failing his 11-plus exam had on him when he was young.

Delivering in the inaugural Book Trust annual lecture at Guildhall in London, Morpugo said: “There still exists almost an apartheid system of a kind in this country, between haves and have-not children, between those who read, who through books, through developing an enjoyment of literature, can have the opportunity to access the considerable cultural and material benefits of our society; and those who were made to feel very early on that the world of words, of books, of stories, of ideas, was not for them, that they were not clever enough to join that world, that it was not the world they belonged to, that it was shut off from them for ever.

He added: “The great divide was still there, is still there, maybe not wider still and wider, but shamefully still there.”

Morpurgo accused schools of taking the wonder of stories and playfullness of language and removing the joy from reading by making it about spelling tests, handwriting, grammar and comprehension tests.

Instead of encouraging success, he added, the system “brings only a sense of worthlessness and hopelessness. It brings fear and shame and anxiety. It separates from those who have passed, rocks confidence, ruins self esteem. You disappoint yourself, disappoint others. You give up. I gave up.”

The author directed some of the blame for the failure to engage the next generation with literature at “governments who have all indulged in short-termism in their education policies, to a greater or lesser extent, who corral schools and pressure teachers into teaching literacy fearfully, who insist that measurable outcomes and results are the be all and end all of the education process, who often make a chore and a trial out of reading and books, who have succeeded so often only in banishing enjoyment.”

However, he emphasised that everybody had a responsibility to hold the government and schools to account and ensure that reading was an inclusive experience for children.

The award-winning writer said his love of literature was re-invigorated by his mother who had helped restore his confidence in learning, but added that not all children were so lucky. After failing the 11-plus exam, two of his aunts stepped in to help pay for private school.

“There are far too many children I failed – as a teacher, as a writer and campaigner too,” he said. “Our prisons are full of them, full of those we have failed. Many remain lonely and marginalised all their lives.”

Morpurgo’s comments come after he spoke out against Theresa May’s plan to extend grammar schools, and see more children taking the 11-plus, as “divisive and stupid”.

“Theresa May said she wanted this country to have opportunities for everyone. You don’t create opportunities by creating failure,” said Morpurgo.

His Book Trust lecture called on schools and local authorities to keep libraries open, for parents to read to their children and for a mandatory story time to be introduced in schools which was unconnected to any academic achievements or examinations.

“You cannot force feed children with literacy, said Morpurgo. “Metaphors are better mixed. Encourage parents, unchain the teachers, take away the fear.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In Oldham, specialist nurses work with GPs to help tackle poor health, social isolation and deprivation

Lisa Baxter\*, a mother of three from Oldham, was trapped with a violent partner, difficulties controlling her children, threats of homelessness and frightening debt. Her only ways of coping with her desperation were by abusing drugs and alcohol, and frequent appointments with her GP for antidepressants – until she was referred to community nurse, Ruth Chorley.

I don’t know what I would have done without Ruth. Without her, I think I would have had my children taken off me

Since the 28-year-old started seeing Chorley five years ago at Hill Top surgery[http://www.hilltopsurgery.org.uk/], in Fitton Hill, Oldham – as part of a groundbreaking scheme aimed at helping the most deprived families – she has stopped abusing drugs and alcohol, is securely rehoused, her ex-partner is in prison, her children attend school and she manages her finances with only occasional support. Her mental and physical health are transformed and her GP attendances are a fraction of what they once were.

Baxter says: “I don’t know what I would have done without Ruth. Without her, I think I would have had my children taken off me. I would not have been able to cope with social services. Before I started seeing her, I was just being seen by the doctor, given tablets and sent away, but it wasn’t any help, so I would be back again.”

Chorley is a focused care practitioner – one of four employed by Hope Citadel Healthcare, a not-for-profit community interest company, to lead a pioneering approach to delivering healthcare to the most needy families in its four Greater Manchester NHS GP practices, by filling in the gaps between health and social care.

A visit to Hill Top surgery overlooking the former mill town of Oldham, perfectly illustrates how this transformation in Baxter’s life has come about. Chorley emerges with Baxter, having been on the phone for more than an hour on her behalf. She has arranged food vouchers and funds to pay for three school uniforms, and has prevented the cancellation of Baxter’s child tax credit. She has also helped Baxter write a letter of appeal against the cancellation of her housing benefit.

Passionate about her work, Chorley says: “How can you expect patients to look after their health, when they don’t know where they will be living next week? You can not separate people’s physical health from their psychological, social and spiritual health.”

The reality of doctoring in Oldham is stark. Oldham is the most deprived town in England, according the Office for National Statistics[http://www.ons.gov.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/releases/townsandcitiesanalysis], with 65.2% of its local areas in the most deprived 20%. Men and women in these areas can expect to die more than 10 years sooner than inhabitants of Trafford – Greater Manchester’s most affluent suburb.

Clinical director of Hope Citadel Healthcare and GP at Hill Top surgery, Dr John Patterson kick-started the Focused Care scheme from a belief that social conditions determine heath and that those in greatest need are the least likely to receive it. Patterson says: “In areas of deprivation you need more multifactorial medicine and psychosocial support.”

He asked Chorley – because of her reputation as an energetic champion of families in poverty – to design a scheme in 2010 operating from the Fitton Hill practice, to support frequent attendees at the surgery with complex problems.

Recent figures show something of the scale of human need she and her colleagues face. Of the 120 families on Focused Care in 2014-15, 92% presented with mental health issues, 58% of households had housing problems and 17 women disclosed domestic violence.

The scheme took off and Patterson was astonished by the two-year figures. Of the initial 50 to 60 households dealt with by Chorley, 24 had stopped using A&E inappropriately, 25 no longer had parenting problems, 10 had stopped abusing alcohol and 12 homes no longer had a domestic violence problem.

Seven years on, Focused Care has expanded into eight practices.

Audits of the 160 families receiving Focused Care over the four Hope Citadel surgeries show that they visit A&E 57% less in the year following intervention. Smear rates over the four practices have rocketed from around 40% to 94%, while at Hill Top surgery alone, 91% of over 65s have had their flu vaccine, outstripping the target of 80%.

A patient can be referred to Focused Care by health staff, social care workers or even police. In each case a patient is seen, problems identified and a care plan drawn up, tackling anything from **immigration** to parenting and benefit problems. The practitioner then contacts or visits the family on a regular basis and supports them in whatever way is most appropriate for their wellbeing.

It’s usually a painstaking task unpicking the problems. Chorley has supported Baxter through the trial and jailing of a former abusive partner. In another case, she helped a man through insolvency and encouraged him to stop smoking and drinking, enabling him to become a mover and shaker in his local housing association.

Just occasionally Chorley’s job can be short and simple – accessing £20 from a Hill Top practice fund to pay the taxi fare to enable a woman **refugee** to leave her violent husband with her children.

Hope Citadel is now working with Shared Health – a charity centred on identifying good practice and using the Greater Manchester health devolution agenda to roll it out into the most deprived parts of the conurbation.

Patterson says: “We call Focused Care the ‘Macmillan Service for deprivation’. We want to have an impact on the whole community – not just our patients.”

\* Name has been changed

Doctors Working in Deprivation will be held on Wednesday 28 September at Gorton Monastery in Manchester from 8.30am to 4.30pm. To book a free place please register[https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/doctors-working-in-deprivation-gp-study-day-registration-25924081626].

Join the Healthcare Professionals Network[https://register.theguardian.com/healthcare-professionals/?CMP=dis-166] to read more pieces like this. And follow us on Twitter ( @GdnHealthcare[https://twitter.com/GdnHealthcare] ) to keep up with the latest healthcare news and views.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Manus Island detainee says Australia went to New York **refugee** summit and ‘shouted that it is a country that violates human rights’

**Refugees** detained on Manus Island for three years have condemned Malcolm Turnbull’s international promotion of Australia’s asylum policies. They have said the Australian government runs an offshore detention policy designed to torture, and that Australia had gone to New York and “shouted that it is a country that violates human rights”.

The prime minister addressed global leaders at two **refugee** summits in New York this week, saying Australia’s asylum policy was a model for the world to follow[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/20/malcolm-turnbull-tells-world-leaders-to-follow-australias-asylum-policies].

Related: Malcolm Turnbull tells world leaders to follow Australia's asylum policies[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/20/malcolm-turnbull-tells-world-leaders-to-follow-australias-asylum-policies]

“Addressing irregular migration, through secure borders, has been essential in creating the confidence that the government can manage migration in a way that mitigates risks and focuses humanitarian assistance on those who need it most,” he said.

Turnbull did not mention Australia’s controversial offshore detention camps on Manus Island and Nauru, which have been condemned as illegal[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/apr/26/papua-new-guinea-court-rules-detention-asylum-seekers-manus-unconstitutional] by courts amid consistent allegations[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/12/senate-to-investigate-allegations-of-child-abuse-on-nauru-and-manus-island] of systemic physical violence, sexual predation, harsh conditions and endemic rates of self-harm.

In a video statement posted online in response to Turnbull’s comments, Iranian journalist **refugee** Behrouz Boochani pleaded from the Manus Island detention centre for global leaders to pressure Australia to end its indefinite detention regime.

“Australia’s offshore policy is not based on border protection, it is based on torture,” Boochani said. “The Australian government has kept us in this remote island for more than three years and it is clear that they don’t have any plan for settle us here.

“Please don’t allow [the] Australian government to pretend it has a good policy for **refuges** and please speak against this cruel policy. We hope that the world puts pressure on the Australian government to give to us freedom.”

Related: Australia will take **refugees** from Costa Rica camps, Turnbull tells UN[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/21/australia-will-take-refugees-from-costa-rica-camps-turnbull-tells-un]

Boochani, an ethnic Kurd and outspoken journalist, fled Iran after his news organisation was raided by the Iranian authorities and his workmates imprisoned and tortured. He was transferred to Manus in August 2013, where he has continued to work as a journalist, speaking out against conditions on Manus and revealing abuses.

Boochani has been found to be a **refugee**, he has a “well-founded fear of persecution” in his homeland and he is legally owed protection.

He told the Guardian from detention that Australia had gone to the UN and “shouted that it is a country that violates human rights”.

“We people in Manus island were ready for this meeting in NY for about a month and wrote a letter to Ban Ki-Moon and Barack Obama and asked them that they deeply think about our situation.

“We asked them in our letters that try to find a way for help to us. Unfortunately, the Australian PM tried to hide his harsh policy and said it is the best policy in the world. It’s a completely wrong comment from Mr PM and people in Manus prison are disappointed by his words like before.

Related: Archibalds: Nick Stathopoulos' hyperreal portrait of Deng Adut wins people's choice[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/sep/21/archibalds-nick-stathopoulos-hyper-real-portrait-of-deng-adut-wins-peoples-choice]

“We expected that the PM would say some clear thing about us, but unfortunately he continued to make propaganda. We are disappointed more than before.”

On Tuesday, Turnbull told the leaders’ summit on **refugees** in New York, hosted by Obama, that Australia’s policies were “both principled and pragmatic”.

“Our strategy addresses all parts of the problem – employing strong border protection policies, a very tough stance on people smugglers, while tackling the causes of displacement, with a generous and compassionate resettlement program supporting **refugees** in our communities.”

More than 50 countries were invited to Obama’s summit. Collectively they pledged to double the number of **refugees** they resettled last year.

Australia did not offer any new resettlement places.

Its existing commitment to increase its humanitarian intake to 18,750 was announced as a permanent increase by Turnbull, and an additional $130m was committed to assist **refugees** hosted elsewhere.

Related: Peter Dutton says getting women and children off Nauru is 'first priority'[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/20/peter-dutton-says-getting-women-and-children-off-nauru-is-first-priority]

As well, Australia agreed to dedicate a proportion of its humanitarian intake to resettling **refugees** from the ‘northern triangle’ of countries in South America – Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador – currently in camps in Costa Rica.

Speculation that Australia’s Costa Rican intake might emerge as a quid pro quo[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/21/australia-will-take-refugees-from-costa-rica-camps-turnbull-tells-un] for the US accepting some **refugees** from Australia’s offshore detention camps on Nauru and Manus was quickly quashed by special minister of state Scott Ryan. He said categorically that Australia would not be involved in a “people-swap” of **refugees** with the US.

“No, we will not,” he told ABC radio. “There is no, and there will be no, people swap.”

World Vision Australia’s chief executive, Tim Costello[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/may/22/tim-costello-says-indefinite-detention-of-asylum-seekers-is-torture], said Australia’s desultory contribution to the Obama summit had been disappointing, and that while additional aid money was welcomed, Australia’s **refugee** intake would remain lower than it was in 2012, when it was raised to 20,000.

“In a world where 65 million people are now forcibly displaced from their homes, and where more than 20 million people – half of them children – have been turned into **refugees**, we are not even back to where we were when Tony Abbott was elected.”

“The fact is that Australia can and should do more for people who are running for their lives. Taking more **refugees** will not make Australia a worse country, it will make us a better country.”

Related: Tim Costello says indefinite detention of asylum seekers is 'torture'[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/may/22/tim-costello-says-indefinite-detention-of-asylum-seekers-is-torture]

The executive officer of the Australian Churches **Refugee** Taskforce, Misha Coleman, said Australia’s commitment was “truly woeful” and paled into comparison with the pledges made by other countries.

Acting chair of the taskforce, the Rev Mark Riessen said he had hoped “Mr Turnbull would use the world stage in New York to announce an end to the hell that people are enduring in Nauru and in Manus province”.

“Despite a series of highly credible reports being released over recent weeks, which outline alternatives and other options for the government to take, unfortunately the cruel attempt to cover up government-sanctioned abuse just continues.”

Unicef Australia’s director of policy and advocacy Nicole Breeze said while the positive sentiments and commitments from nations in New York were an important and positive development, the world faced an unprecedented humanitarian need caused by forced migration.

“In 2015 only 107,000 **refugees** were resettled out of 21 million. All developed nations must do more to ensure safe and liveable options for **refugees**.”

Breeze said Australia had failed to find a solution to end the urgent problem and ongoing abuse of offshore processing.

“Offshore processing under current arrangements, which fails to provide a resettlement pathway, is simply not sustainable. It distracts proper attention, and diverts critical resources, from the very real global crisis we are experiencing. It’s time for a new approach in which we focus on addressing root causes of displacement and finding permanent solutions for **refugees** worldwide.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Shamsalipoor, a former Brisbane high school student, was given temporary bridging visa at direction of Peter Dutton

Mojgan Shamsalipoor, the former Brisbane high school student whose plight in **immigration** detention sparked a national campaign for her release, has been freed after almost two years.

The Iranian asylum seeker was released on Wednesday into the arms of her thrilled Australian resident husband, Milad Jafari, who said the couple would now dedicate themselves to working with Brisbane’s homeless.

Shamsalipoor, 22, was given a temporary bridging visa at the direction of the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, who had previously resisted calls for her release into the community[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/25/peter-dutton-urged-to-open-his-heart-to-plight-of-iranian-asylum-seeker].

Related: Peter Dutton urged to 'open his heart' to plight of Iranian asylum seeker[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/25/peter-dutton-urged-to-open-his-heart-to-plight-of-iranian-asylum-seeker]

The three-month visa will allow Shamsalipoor to study and work, ending indefinite detention that her lawyer, Kevin Kadirgamar, said was “clearly not in line with either legal or moral principles”.

“It’s long overdue but finally a decision that is just and fair,” Kadirgamar said.

However, Shamsalipoor faces further legal hurdles to remain in Australia with her husband and his family. The **immigration** department has refused to grant her asylum based on her claims of sexual abuse and forced marriage in Iran.

Shamsalipoor’s older brother, Hossein, who was released on Wednesday after three years in detention, also faces an uncertain fate. He accompanied her to Australia by boat in a journey in 2012 funded by their mother, who was worried about her safety in Iran.

A spokesman for Dutton ruled out the possibility that “illegal maritime arrivals” could obtain permanent visas.

“They are not **refugees** and are expected to return to their countries of origin,” he said.

Focusing on Shamsalipoor’s release, Jafari, an Iranian **refugee** who married her after they met while studying at Yeronga state high school, said he was “humbled, shocked and grateful”.

Jafari paid tribute to supporters who included Mojgan’s school community and state and federal politicians[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/mar/16/let-her-stay-queensland-ministers-tearful-plea-for-asylum-seeker], as well as to the “generosity, respect and kindness of the department”.

“Freedom means a lot to me and my family and of course to my darling wife,” he told Guardian Australia.

His family’s excitement at the “absolutely incredible” decision had boiled over with “my mum panicking, my dad jumping up and down and my 16-year-old brother kissing me”.

“It is very important now for us to not forget this moment, to not forget whoever gave us this chance to live again and gave us this happiness,” he said.

“This is a big, big dream for us. This is normal living again as a normal couple that just wanted to be together, happily achieve their dreams and become good members of this community and study hard and work hard.

“They’ve given us a chance. I will always keep it in my heart and never forget who kept us surviving on this journey.”

Jafari said the couple would resume their former volunteer work assisting homeless people and “we look forward to people joining us in this campaign”.

Dutton’s spokesman said several detainees granted bridging visas on Wednesday were “found not to be owed protection by Australia”.

But their release was “in line with the government’s decision to reduce the number of people in Darwin”, he said.

Related: 'We are the forgotten people': the anguish of Australia's 'invisible' asylum seekers[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/apr/13/we-are-the-forgotten-people-the-anguish-of-australias-invisible-asylum-seekers]

“They are not **refugees** and are expected to return to their countries of origin. They will not have access to permanent stay visas.”

Kadirgamar said the story of the couple’s plight had “obviously touched the hearts of Australians all over” and allowed them “to come to know the faces behind our **immigration** policies”.

“We have seen the horrendous impact that long-term detention has on people. It makes us wonder how many others are out there whose stories we haven’t heard.”

Kadirgamar said the visa “effectively still holds [Shamsalipoor] in limbo” as it was temporary and could be revoked at any point.

“But it’s recognition that Mojgan has never been any threat to our society, on the contrary, she has every capacity of being a productive member of the community,” he said.

“As her lawyer, I’ll be working with her on her case until she’s able to securely reside on a more permanent basis in Australia and truly become part of the community.

“But the decision today is putting a stop to continued and indefinite detention for Mojgan, which is clearly not in line with either legal or moral principles.

“She is already a member of an Australian family and having accepted all that, it makes no sense to have her in limbo any further.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Washington Post reports Trump used $258,000 from charityTrump Jr tweet comparing **refugees** to poisoned Skittles sparks outrageGeorge HW Bush reportedly planning to vote for Hillary Clinton

block-time published-time 1.52am BST

Donald Trump’s campaign manager has only the utmost respect for former president George HW Bush, whose age she mentioned casually while discussing his alleged plan to vote for Hillary Clinton:

enltr“I respect the 92-year-old-former president very much… that’s his right” @KellyannePolls[https://twitter.com/KellyannePolls] on HW backing HRC https://t.co/qdJVGuOtZP[https://t.co/qdJVGuOtZP]

— Sam Stein (@samsteinhp) September 21, 2016[https://twitter.com/samsteinhp/status/778391880560209920]block-time published-time 1.32am BST

Fending off several controversies on Tuesday, Donald Trump started another when he proclaimed at a North Carolina[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/northcarolina] rally that “our African-American communities are in the worst shape they’ve ever been... Ever. Ever. Ever.”

Donald Trump Photograph: Jonathan Ernst/Reuters The plainly inaccurate statement, which was immediately lambasted on social media for failing to consider the long history of slavery and racial discrimination against African Americans, marked the latest misstep by the Trump campaign as the Republican nominee has struggled to harness the terrorist attacks in New York and New Jersey for his political advantage.

A day after the apprehension of suspected bomber[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/ahmad-khan-rahami-charged-bombings-new-york-new-jersey] Ahmad Khan Rahami, Trump made his remarks in Kenansville, North Carolina, and repeated familiar themes to crowds at multiple rallies across the swing state. “**Immigration** security is national security,” he said, and repeatedly read the lyrics of the The Snake[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T\_ZBqpEUbik], a 1960s soul song about a woman who finds a dying snake and nurses it back to health. The snake then fatally bites her. To Trump, this was a parable about the consequences of the United States taking in **refugees**.

The Republican nominee went on to describe Clinton as “the vessel for all the global special interests seeking to run our lives” and said that the “failed political establishment” had “vested” in her “all of their money, all of their hopes for another generation of corruption”. Trump also argued that the “dishonest media” had “bled this country dry”.

But, Trump ran into more controversy when the Washington Post reported that the billionaire converted $258,000 in donations[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/trump-foundation-settlements-golf-course-mar-a-lago] to the Donald Trump Foundation to settle lawsuits against himself. The payments represent an apparent violation of tax laws that could potentially even force[http://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/296914-scrutiny-of-trump-foundation-deepens] the IRS to shut down the Trump Foundation. Trump further stoked controversy by bragging on Tuesday about spending “OPM – other people’s money”.

Related: Trump lambasted for claiming black communities are in 'worst shape ever'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/donald-trump-african-american-communities-north-carolina]

block-time published-time 1.02am BST

Texas senator and former presidential contender Ted Cruz declined to say if he plans to endorse Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump, again:

enltrCruz won't say if he'll endorse Trump but says: "My focus is on defeating Hillary Clinton and helping preserve a Senate Republican majority"

— Manu Raju (@mkraju) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/mkraju/status/778358226849001472]block-time published-time 12.23am BST

Donald Trump called for a more rigorous **immigration** policy following the arrest of an American man born in Afghanistan for bombing attacks in New York and New Jersey this weekend.

Trump: ‘We must defeat radical Islamic terrorism’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/20/trump-terrorism-new-jersey-new-york-video]The Republican presidential nominee spoke to supporters at High Point University in North Carolina today and reiterated his vow to build a wall on the Mexico-US border.

block-time published-time 11.54pm BST

Hillary Clinton brings in more than $140m in August, has $68m in the bank Former secretary of state and Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton’s campaign has filed its September Federal Election Commission report[http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/forms/C00575795/1100718/] for the month of August, revealing that the nominee raised more than $62m in August for her campaign, as well as roughly $78m for allied action funds for state Democratic parties, from more than 1.1 million contributions, with an average contribution of $50.

The campaign begins the month of September with more than $68m in the bank.

Hillary Clinton. Photograph: MediaPunch/REX/Shutterstock “The millions of Americans who have contributed to this campaign and to the Democratic Party have ensured that we head into the final 50 days of the election with the most robust organizing effort in history, and the resources we need to mobilize the millions of voters we need to elect progressive candidates up and down the ballot,” campaign manager Robby Mook said in a statement.

“With voting already underway in some parts of the country, the race will continue to tighten and we will need to fight for every vote and do everything we can to make sure our message cuts through and that Democrats turn out to vote.”

More than 60% of the campaign’s August contributions were from women, and roughly $17m were raised from contributions lower than $200.

The Clinton campaign has raised more than $412m over the course of the campaign, and begins the month with more than $10m cash on hand than it began August.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.00am BST

block-time published-time 10.48pm BST

Donald Trump’s latest comments maybe needs a fact-check:

Our African American communities are in the worse shape they’ve ever been. Ever. Ever. Ever.

block-time published-time 10.32pm BST

Former secretary of state Madeleine Albright has released a message[https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2016/09/20/email-madeleine-albright-when-i-was-welcomed-refugee] sent to President barack Obama ahead of his remarks at a UN **Refugee** Summit regarding her own history as a **refugee**. Considering the recent political news involving debates over the acceptance of **refugees** from the Syrian civil war, it’s relevant reading:

I came to the United States as a **refugee** when I was 11 years old. My father was a diplomat and a strong supporter of democracy in Czechoslovakia, so when the Communists took over, we were forced into exile as **refugees**. In November 1948, we were welcomed to the United States of America.

Becoming a US citizen is the most important thing that ever happened to me. My father said that when we were in Europe during WWII people would say, ‘We are sorry for your troubles and hope that you have everything you need; by the way, when will you be leaving to go back home?’

But in America, people said: ‘We are sorry for your troubles and hope that you have everything you need; by the way, when will you become a citizen?’

America resettles more **refugees** than any other nation because it reflects one of our noblest traditions as a nation: providing support to those who are most vulnerable.

With the world facing the largest mass displacement on record since World War II, it has never been more important for world leaders to follow America’s example and work together to do more to support **refugees**....

When countries with insufficient resources take in **refugees**, it creates more instability, not just at the frontlines of this crisis, but around the world. If we were to slam the door in the faces of **refugees** with certain religious backgrounds, we would defy our history and our principles of pluralism and diversity. As we talk to other nations about what more needs to be done to tackle this crisis, it’s important that President Obama is setting this example.

When I came here as a child, I will never forget sailing into New York Harbor for the first time and beholding the Statute of Liberty. I did not have to face **refugee**camps or the kind of danger that many **refugees** endure. But like all **refugees**, I shared a hope to live a safe life with dignity and a chance to give back to my new country.

Together, we can help **refugees** rebuild their lives and live with dignity once again.

block-time published-time 10.18pm BST

Fox News talking head Sean Hannity’s outspoken and material support for Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump has reached another milestone today, with the release of an eight-minute promotional video for the nominee in which Hannity makes an appearance.

Hannity, whose eponymous program has long been a favorite slot for Trump to answer softball questions and for the duo to soak up each others’ awesomeness[https://vine.co/v/OeF3QBlnwlV], arrives about six minutes into #HEARTLAND4TRUMP, a promotional video studded with testimonials about the Republican nominee:

One of the reasons I’m supporting Donald Trump this year is, number one, he’s going to put originalists on the supreme court - people that believe in fidelity to the constitution, separation of powers, co-equal branches of government.

He’s a guy that will vet **refugees** to keep Americans safe.

And, of course, he’s gonna build that wall. He says he’s gonna have Mexico pay for it. That’s fine, as long as we secure the country and of course we don’t want people competing for jobs.

He said he will eliminate Obamacare, make us energy-independent.

And as somebody who’s been a marksman since I’m 11 years old, protecting our Second Amendment rights are paramount to me.

The endorsement lasts roughly 30 seconds.

block-time published-time 9.48pm BST

Report: Former president George HW Bush told group he will vote for Clinton On the heels of reports that former Republican president George HW Bush told Kathleen Kennedy Townsend – the former lieutenant governor of Maryland and daughter of Robert F Kennedy – that he plans to vote for Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton, CNN is reporting[http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/20/politics/george-hw-bush-hillary-clinton/index.html] that the former president told board members of the bipartisan Points of Light Foundation that he will, indeed, vote for his former opponent’s spouse:

Bush told a room of roughly 40 people Monday that he would vote for Hillary Clinton in November, according to sources close to Bush - an extraordinary rebuke of his own party’s nominee.

Although the Bush family has neither confirmed nor denied the claims of either CNN or Townsend, a family spokesman was pretty coy about the former president’s plans on 8 November.

“The vote President Bush will cast as a private citizen in some 50 days will be just that: a private vote cast in some 50 days,” Bush spokesman Jim McGrath said in a statement. “He is not commenting on the presidential race in the interim.”

block-time published-time 9.31pm BST

Trump campaign doubles down on Donald Trump Jr.'s Skittles tweet The Donald Trump campaign has elected to lengthen the amount of time Americans spend talking about Skittle-related racial metaphors that were once used by Nazi war criminals[https://theintercept.com/2016/09/20/nazi-who-originated-donald-trump-jr-s-skittles-metaphor-was-hanged-at-nuremberg/], releasing a statement this afternoon calling Donald Trump Jr. a “tremendous asset to the campaign.”

Don Jr. ignited a firestorm of criticism last night when he tweeted a meme[https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/778016283342307328] comparing Syrian **refugees** to poisoned Skittles, but as has become customary with the Trump campaign, the Republican nominee’s communications team has elected to double down on the statement.

“Don Jr. has been a tremendous asset to the campaign,” wrote communications advisor Jason Miller in a statement. “America has become less safe under Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, and Clinton’s planned 550% increase in Syrian **refugees** is a dangerous proposal that will put American lives at risk. Speaking the truth might upset those who would rather be politically correct than safe, but the American people want a change, and only Donald Trump will do what’s needed to protect us.”

The same sentiment expressed by Trump was once used in a bid to keep Jewish **refugees** from entering the United Kingdom. In 1903, Conservative MP Major Sir William Eden Evans-Gordon used a very similar metaphor[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/12/immigration-not-problem-hostility-migrants] in an address to Parliament:

Ten grains of arsenic in a thousand loaves would be unnoticeable and perfectly harmless but the same amount put into one loaf would kill the whole family that partook of it.

block-time published-time 9.18pm BST

The Nevada Republican party seems eager to focus on down-ballot races this year...

enltrI'm trying to think of the major Republican nominee left off of this slate card. It's a puzzlement. pic.twitter.com/RtpM9dpbV4[https://t.co/RtpM9dpbV4]

— Jon Ralston (@RalstonReports) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/RalstonReports/status/778326773977128960]block-time published-time 9.07pm BST

Donald Trump’s presidential campaign may have lifted the longstanding blacklisting of various media outlets ranging from the Washington Post to Buzzfeed News, but the press-loving/bashing candidate’s campaign is still breaking convention in how it treats the reporters assigned to cover the movements of the Republican nominee.

Donald Trump leaves his plane. Photograph: Jonathan Ernst/Reuters Case in point: a new ban on reporters traveling with Trump’s motorcade, a break in decades-old tradition that the campaign originally promised to maintain.

“We have communicated that this is an issue that the campaign should have spotted long ago and are vigorously protesting the decision,” Trump’s pool reporters told other members of the pool this morning in am email. “We have told the campaign that if they are truly committed to transparency, than [sic] they should place the pool on Trump’s plane so it is a truly protective pool. They have not been responsive to that request.”

The Trump campaign has resisted calls to include traveling press on his campaign plane, instead opting for a “chaser” plane that had led to delays for reporters traveling with the campaign from reaching his rallies, including an incident last week in which reporters missed a rally in New Hampshire entirely. (Trump mocked the candidates from the lectern for not being able to arrive in time.)

block-time published-time 8.35pm BST

Senators: They’re just like us!

enltrSenator Tim Scott just walked by in this outfit. I could have asked why, but thought it funnier not to know pic.twitter.com/MawdLQq9hX[https://t.co/MawdLQq9hX]

— Ben Terris (@bterris) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/bterris/status/778315373758283776]block-time published-time 8.32pm BST

An update on Donald Trump Jr.’s use of a white nationalist meme[http://talkingpointsmemo.com/news/trump-junior-skittles-tweet-popular-white-nationalists] to describe Syrian **refugees**[https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/778016283342307328] : the photograph of a bowl of Skittles (ten percent of which are poisoned, according to the younger Trump) was taken by a **refugee**.

enltrThis image says it all. Let's end the politically correct agenda that doesn't put America first. #trump2016[https://twitter.com/hashtag/trump2016?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/9fHwog7ssN[https://t.co/9fHwog7ssN]

— Donald Trump Jr. (@DonaldJTrumpJr) September 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/778016283342307328] In an interview with the BBC[http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-37421886], photographer David Kittos expressed dismay that a photograph he had taken of a bowl of candy had been hijacked to express anti-**refugee** sentiment, particularly since he himself was a Cypriot **refugee** as a child.

“This was not done with my permission, I don’t support his politics and I would never take his money to use it,” Kittos told the BBC. “In 1974, when I was six-years old, I was a **refugee** from the Turkish occupation of Cyprus so I would never approve the use of this image against **refugees**.”

Kittos, whose family fled the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, says that he never put the image up for sale and that the post, likening Syrian **refugees** to a bowl of Skittles, some of which are poisoned, was not crafted with his permission.

“I would like the Trump campaign to delete the image, but they are probably not interested in what I have to say,” Kittos said.

block-time published-time 8.12pm BST

Whit Ayres, a veteran political consultant who was pollster for Marco Rubio’s doomed campaign, has compared the US presidential race with an election in “a third-world country”.

Speaking at the Brookings Institution in Washington, Ayres argued that the contest between Hillary Clinton and reality TV star Donald Trump has come down to a battle of personalities, not policies.

Hillary Clinton speaks about Iran at the Brookings Institution. Photograph: Mark Wilson/Getty Images “This presidential election reminds me a lot more of a presidential election in a third-world country than an advanced industrialized democracy,” Ayres said. “What do I mean by that? I mean that it is a totally personality-driven election. We have this idea that voters sit there rationally and say, ‘Well, I have this set of issue positions on trade or abortion or gay rights or whatever, and I’m going to decide my issue positions, and then I’m going to look out and see which candidate reflects my issue positions best and go for that candidate.’”

“We neglect that fact that, frequently, the arrow goes the other way, that ‘I decide who I like based upon some other factors, particularly personality, and then I adopt what issue positions that particular person has.’ And in a third-world country, it’s ‘my big guy’ versus ‘your big guy’ and it’s all about the big guy or, in this case, the big guy and the big gal. It’s very personality driven, personality focused, and issues have very little to do with the choice between the two.”

Ayres, founder and president of North Star Opinion Research, added that a sense of anger, frustration and hopelessness had created the Trump phenomenon, and that Rubio sought to address this but in vain. “It’s a mistake to assume Donald Trump’s supporters believe all the crazy things he says. They don’t.”

But they do regard him a change agent who will “blow things up”.

Zoe Baird, president of the Markle Foundation, which focuses on uses of IT, predicted a close election as America undergoes a difficult transition from an industrial to digital economy.

“This is the heart of it,” Baird said. “Half the country, whether right or left, is looking back and has a sense of loss and is nostalgic, and half the country feels, ‘We can tackle this stuff. This is exciting. I love these tools, I love these toys’... It is amazing to see what people are actually doing.”

The trust level for government is just 20%, she added.

“The trust level for Hillary probably has something to do with the fact that people associate her with a government people don’t trust. It may not have much to do with Hillary at all. Is anyone asking that question? I don’t know.”

block-time published-time 7.42pm BST

Trump ducks 'birther' questions Reporters accompanying Trump asked him questions as he made his way to lunch but he did not answer them, according to a poll report.

Jill Colvin of The Associated Press asked him, “Mr. Trump, when did you change your mind about the birther issue? When did you decide that President Obama was actually born in the United States?”

He did not respond.

enltrMonmouth in FL: 24% think Trump actually believes Obama is a natural born citizen, while 54% say Trump only said so for political reasons.

— Tom McCarthy (@TeeMcSee) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/TeeMcSee/status/778282371065978880]block-time published-time 7.39pm BST

Donald Trump, Jr., made headlines from an interview with the Pittsburgh Tribune-Review last week when he said that his father should not release his tax returns “because he’s got a 12,000-page tax return that would create … financial auditors out of every person in the country asking questions that would distract from [his father’s] main message.”

Now we learn, from video of the interview just released by the paper, that Trump Jr also used the Skittles analogy that is drawing wider attention today after Trump Jr tweeted it:

“If we had a bowl of Skittles on this table...” Here’s video of Trump Jr on the tax returns:

“Our tax guys would say, ‘Hey, it’s crazy to do that, you’re just allowing everyone to be an independent auditor.’”

“It’s crazy to do that.” block-time published-time 7.30pm BST

First lady Michelle Obama will head back out on the trail for Clinton next week, the campaign has announced:

enltrMichelle Obama will campaign for Hillary Clinton in Pennsylvania next week, per the Clinton campaign

— Dan Merica (@danmericaCNN) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/danmericaCNN/status/778283744943824896] Michelle Obama greets fellow first spouses, students and guests at Broadway’s Jacobs Theater on 19 September, in advance of the UN general assembly meeting. Photograph: John Moore/Getty Images block-time published-time 7.26pm BST

Trump ducks media – except Fox News Donald Trump has been ducking[http://money.cnn.com/2016/09/19/media/donald-trump-fox-news-interviews-press-conferences/index.html] most interview requests from media outlets apart from Fox News, CNN notes. What’s more, he has not held a press conference in almost two months:

Newt Gingrich knocked Clinton at a Trump rally on Monday afternoon by saying “she doesn’t do press conferences.” But Clinton has taken questions from reporters at half a dozen press conferences in the past two weeks, including as recently as Monday morning.

These sessions, while relatively short, have been plentiful, while Trump has not held a press conference since July.

block-time published-time 7.13pm BST

Clinton’s “Briefing” rapid response team takes a tone on the report of Trump using the charitable donations of well-meaning others to pay his lawsuit settlements:

enltrPretttttttty sure you're not allowed to do this. https://t.co/Hy37Mq4Kte[https://t.co/Hy37Mq4Kte] pic.twitter.com/EW0TXZC8VK[https://t.co/EW0TXZC8VK]

— The Briefing (@TheBriefing2016) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/TheBriefing2016/status/778294391769292801]block-time published-time 7.03pm BST

Trump has stopped at Stamey’s Barbecue in Greensboro, N.C., for lunch, according to a press pool report. That’s a good idea. But don’t take our word for it – read Calvin Trillin writing about Stamey’s in the New Yorker[http://www.newyorker.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/magazine/2015/11/02/in-defense-of-the-true-cue] (if you can get around the paywall).

enltrTrump ordered a barbecue pork plate with cole slaw and hush puppies at Stamey's BBQ in Greensboro, NC.

— Jennifer Jacobs (@JenniferJJacobs) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/JenniferJJacobs/status/778293871243587584]enltr @Bencjacobs[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs] @JenniferJJacobs[https://twitter.com/JenniferJJacobs] good advance!

— Jonathan Martin (@jmartNYT) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jmartNYT/status/778295614220173312][As in, good advance work by Trump’s campaign team, as in that order is a safe one in terms of not accidentally exposing oneself as a miserable clueless outsider.]

enltr @jmartNYT[https://twitter.com/jmartNYT] @Bencjacobs[https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs] @JenniferJJacobs[https://twitter.com/JenniferJJacobs] That's almost a solid Stamey's order, but if he didn't get a cup of Brunswick stew with it, no dice.

— Kevin M. Kruse (@KevinMKruse) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/KevinMKruse/status/778296132006973440]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.17pm BST

block-time published-time 6.56pm BST

Looks like some footage for the next installment of Dancing with the Stars has leaked.

Here’s former Texas governor and Republican presidential candidate Rick Perry effecting the insouciance and joy of a lovestruck teenager, from Texas:

enltrthere are magical things in this world. this gif is one of them. pic.twitter.com/5Mv2sYMO3r[https://t.co/5Mv2sYMO3r]

— Olivia Messer (@OliviaMesser) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/OliviaMesser/status/778204971686883328]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.57pm BST

block-time published-time 6.49pm BST

Pence finds Skittles outrage 'remarkable' Donald Trump running mate Mike Pence tells NBC News that he doesn’t see why everyone is so worked up about Donald Trump Jr comparing **refugees** to Skittles:

It’s remarkable to me to see the level of outrage about a metaphor used by Don Jr when Hillary Clinton’s calling for a 550% increase in the Syrian **refugee**program.

enltrPence to @KellyO[https://twitter.com/KellyO] RE: Skittles:"It's remarkable to me to see the level of outrage about a metaphor used by Don Jr..." https://t.co/P7cm22G2rv[https://t.co/P7cm22G2rv]

— Frank Thorp V (@frankthorp) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/frankthorp/status/778287363705286656]Politifact has rated[http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2016/jun/13/donald-trump/donald-trump-says-hillary-clinton-wants-let-500-pe/] the 550% claim “mostly true”:

Clinton has, in fact, said that in response to the **refugee** crisis she would raise Obama’s limit of 10,000 to 65,000. That’s 550 percent more, a bit higher than what Trump said.

Pence’s really earning his dinner, isn’t he?

block-time published-time 6.32pm BST

Trump on Jolie: 'I don't get it' The Wall Street Journal has transcribed radio segments Donald Trump used to do[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/07/11/radio-archive-what-donald-trump-said-about-hillary-clinton-tattoos-guns-more/] in the mid-2000s – “between 2004 and 2008, [Trump] recorded a daily 60-second commentary that was aired on several hundred radio stations across the U.S,” apparently.

We hadn’t read these before, but they’re bouncing anew around the Internet, with the news of a certain high-profile celebrity breakup.

Here’s some of Trump’s commentary:

Thursday, March 31, 2005 — Angelina Jolie

Angelina Jolie was just named the sexiest woman in the world. This was from the readers of FHM, a men’s magazine. Angelina took over the crown from Britney Spears who didn’t even make the sexy list this year. She has gone down, there’s no question about it. That’s what a marriage can do for you. ( Archived page[https://web.archive.org/web/20050402014707/http://trumponair.com/] )

Friday, April 7, 2006 — Sexiest Woman Alive

Every once in awhile, some magazine will name the sexiest man or the sexiest woman alive.

Now readers of FHM – a men’s magazine — have crowned Scarlett Johansson[http://topics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/person/J/scarlett,-johansson/6675] the sexiest woman alive. The lovely 21-year-old actress – who I met recently on a Jay Leno show – posed semi-nude for the cover of Vanity Fair magazine not too long ago.

Some of the others on the list…Angelina Jolie is No. 2 (I don’t get it), Jessica Alba, Jessica Simpson, Keira Knightley (she’s unbelievable), Halle Berry, Jenny McCarthy, Maria Sharapova (truly unbelievable), Carmen Electra and and Teri Hatcher. Last year Scarlett was No. 9 on the list and Angelina was No. 1.

I know almost all of the people on the list. I know who’s really beautiful and who’s not. Some of them belong and some don’t, but I’m not going to get myself in trouble. ( Archived page[https://web.archive.org/web/20060411085415/http://www.trumponair.com/] )

(h/t: @willrahn[https://twitter.com/willrahn/status/778283678162116609] )

block-time published-time 6.25pm BST

Trump’s done.

enltrTrump wraps speech in High Point, NC after 26 minutes and his motorcade is gone in a flash.

— Jennifer Jacobs (@JenniferJJacobs) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/JenniferJJacobs/status/778284912172466176]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.36pm BST

block-time published-time 6.25pm BST

Trump, in his North Carolina speech, knocks Clinton for saying that his rhetoric is being used as a terrorist “recruiting tool.”

(It’s not just Clinton who says so, of course. In May, former NSA and CIA director Michael Hayden said[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/29/cia-ex-boss-secretive-spooks-tolerated-in-uk-more-than-in-us], “The jihadist narrative is that there is undying enmity between Islam and the modern world so when Trump says they all hate us, he’s using their narrative … he’s feeding their recruitment video.” Matt Olsen, former head of the national counterterrorism center, wrote this month[http://time.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/4480945/isis-donald-trump/] that Isis has “chosen a candidate” and “some of them are using those [social media] channels to advocate for Trump.”)

Trump thinks, inexplicably, that Clinton got the line from Madison Avenue, which he explains for his student audience:

You know somebody gave her that from Madison Avenue–you know what it, that’s advertising.

block-time published-time 6.15pm BST

Clinton up 5 points in Florida – poll Here’s another poll to add to the confusing mix in Florida. Monmouth University has Clinton ahead of Trump 46-41[http://www.tampabay.com/blogs/the-buzz-florida-politics/poll-clinton-leads-trump-by-5-voters-dont-buy-trump-on-birther-issue/2294359] in a four-way race, with Libertarian candidate Gary Johnson at 6%. But that lead for Clinton is down from 9 points last month in the poll.

This is an interesting poll finding, on Trump’s ‘birther’ bile:

Most Florida voters (75%) have heard about Trump’s recent admission that Barack Obama was born in the United States, but they doubt the GOP nominee’s sincerity. Only 24% think that Trump actually believes Obama is a natural born citizen, while the majority (54%) say Trump only made the statement for political reasons.

The poll also depicts a tight senate race:

enltrNew Monmouth Poll of Florida:

Hillary Clinton 46

Donald Trump 41 #FLSen[https://twitter.com/hashtag/FLSen?src=hash]

Marco Rubio 47

Patrick Murphy 45

— Sabrina Siddiqui (@SabrinaSiddiqui) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/SabrinaSiddiqui/status/778279393584087041] HuffPost Pollster’s Florida averages. Photograph: Huffpost Pollster block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.18pm BST

block-time published-time 6.07pm BST

Clinton: 'we can't lose our cool' Here’s a transcript of Hillary Clinton’s remarks on top of her conversation today with national security advisers, via the campaign:

Thank you all for joining. Events of the past few days have underscored that to defeat the terrorists we need experienced, steady leadership. Calm, not panic. Resolve, not fear.

I’ve been with many of you in the Situation Room advising on operations to prevent terrorist attacks and bring terrorists to justice. Many have never been in the news.

We know what it takes. We can’t lose our cool and start ranting and waving our arms. We shouldn’t toss around extreme proposals that won’t be effective and lose sight of who we are. That’s what the terrorists are aiming for.

Clinton attends a bilateral meeting with Egypt’s President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi at a hotel in New York Monday. Photograph: Carlos Barria/Reuters We need to respond the way of brave law enforcement and citizen heroes responded They showed strength and steel and smarts. They saved lives and brought the terrorist attacker to justice.

And we need to respond with a real strategy. I’ve laid out a strategy to protect our communities and our country and to defeat ISIS and other terrorist groups. An intelligence surge. New efforts to disrupt recruiting online. Smashing the terrorists’ strongholds in the Middle East. Dismantling their global networks, stemming the flow of foreign fighters and making sure they can’t bring terrorism back home with them.

Today I want to talk to you all about what we’ve learned from these most recent attacks and how we can make our approach even more effective.

block-time published-time 5.59pm BST

Donald Trump has just taken the stage in High Point, North Carolina.

“Early voting starts here October 20th,” he notes. In other states he and his campaign have neglected to inform voters when and how they may start voting.

block-time published-time 5.39pm BST

If the Democrats can’t hold minority leader Harry Reid’s senate seat in Nevada – which they might – they would need to flip five senate seats, plus have Clinton win the presidency, to wrest control of the senate from Republicans.

Larry Sabato, who handicaps races at the University of Virginia’s center for politics, sees the effort as having just gotten a bit more strenuous.

The most vulnerable Republican senate seats appear to be in Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Ohio. John McCain is defending his seat, as are Marco Rubio (Florida) and Roy Blunt (Missouri).

Sabato has moved[http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/2016-senate/] four of those races in the Republican direction:

enltrSabato’s Crystal Ball moves four Senate race ratings—all in the direction of Republicans. pic.twitter.com/pW8cg90KgK[https://t.co/pW8cg90KgK]

— Sahil Kapur (@sahilkapur) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/sahilkapur/status/778261039297200128]Looks good for Portman in Ohio.

block-time published-time 5.26pm BST

Hillary Clinton is working from home With fewer than 50 days until the election, the Democratic nominee is taking a day off the campaign trail to talk strategy with advisers and to prep for the upcoming debate, her campaign said.

Hillary Clinton held a call with her national security and counterterrorism advisors to discuss the recent attacks in New York and across the country, according to the campaign.

She called into the Steve Harvey Show, where she discussed her mindset heading into the first debate and talked about the death of Terence Crutcher, an unarmed black man, shot and killed by police in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

“We have got to tackle systemic racism,” Clinton said. “This horrible shooting again. How many times do we have to see this in our country?”

Trump hit Clinton on Twitter for not holding a rally:

enltrHillary Clinton is taking the day off again, she needs the rest. Sleep well Hillary - see you at the debate!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/778238281196662784]Clinton is scheduled to campaign in Orlando, Florida, later this week, and her travel is expected to pick up post-debate.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.30pm BST

block-time published-time 4.59pm BST

Be apprised that if you click through to this Tampa Bay Times story, based on documents filed with the Palm Beach County clerk of court, you just get the titles of the paintings in Mar-a-Lago – you won’t actually get to see for example The Gentlemen’s Visit, which according to the list is a reproduction of a 19th century German painting:

enltr87 paintings in Trump’s mansion: everything from ‘3 Ladies Riding 3 Zebras and 3 Tigers’ to ‘The Gentlemen’s Visit’ https://t.co/j8sp9SOBq8[https://t.co/j8sp9SOBq8]

— Garance Franke-Ruta (@thegarance) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/thegarance/status/778260620214996992]block-time published-time 4.36pm BST

McMullin: 'someone needed to step up' The independent presidential candidate Evan McMullin[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/08/evan-mcmullin-republican-donald-trump-utah] has linked Brexit and the rise of Donald Trump, saying such events are a “reflection of a nativist movement across Europe and in the United States” that is “destructive to [the] economy here and in the world and to peace and security”, writes Guardian politics reporter Ben Jacobs :

The 40-year-old former CIA agent and Capitol Hill policy adviser accused Russia of fueling such sentiments – a phenomenon he said he understood because when working for the US intelligence service he “received the same training that Vladimir Putin did” while in the KGB.

“They do it through supporting candidates like Donald Trump and Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] poses a true threat to our national security by carrying Putin’s water in the United States,” he said.

Former CIA agent Evan McMullin at his campaign launch in August. Photograph: George Frey/Getty Images McMullin is running as an independent conservative alternative to Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/08/republican-evan-mcmullin-presidential-run-trump], backed by some of the Republican nominee’s most determined rightwing opponents. Speaking to the Guardian, he discussed his longshot bid for the White House and his disdain for those on the right who have failed to stand up to Trump, who is now closing in on Hillary Clinton in presidential polling[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/us/general\_election\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5491.html].

In McMullin’s view, the forces that drove the British vote to leave the European Union and have aided the rise of Trump are part of the “same movement, fueled largely by the Russians who seek to destabilize eastern and western Europe as well as North America through fomenting discord between different racial groups, different ethnic groups and different religious groups”.

McMullin, who spent a decade at the CIA, will make a foreign policy speech in Washington on Tuesday focusing on the global threats to US national security.

Read the full piece here:

Related: Evan McMullin on his presidential bid: 'Someone needed to step up' to Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/evan-mcmullin-independent-presidential-candidate-trump]

block-time published-time 4.31pm BST

Obama’s done.

block-time published-time 4.13pm BST

Increasing concern over absence of Trump tax returns Clinton spokesman Ian Sams argues that the revelation of egregious self-dealing by Trump, it appears, through his foundation heightens suspicions that his tax returns may be a lightning-streaked viper’s nest of hidden income, equity swaps, shell companies and who knows what else:

enltrTax experts say Trump foundation is clearly violating IRS laws. If this is his charity, imagine his personal taxes. https://t.co/BMe8FCEe8h[https://t.co/BMe8FCEe8h] pic.twitter.com/Daa8b2EpJz[https://t.co/Daa8b2EpJz]

— Ian Sams (@IanSams) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/IanSams/status/778247262757584897]block-time published-time 3.51pm BST

Trump used $258,000 from charity to settle legal problems – report Here’s a new bombshell report[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-used-258000-from-his-charity-to-settle-legal-problems/2016/09/20/adc88f9c-7d11-11e6-ac8e-cf8e0dd91dc7\_story.html] from the Washington Post’s David Fahrenthold, whose bombshell report of 10 days ago, How Donald Trump retooled his charity to spend other people’s money[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-donald-trump-retooled-his-charity-to-spend-other-peoples-money/2016/09/10/da8cce64-75df-11e6-8149-b8d05321db62\_story.html], revealed how Trump has found a way to enjoy all the benefits of philanthropy – Donald, you’re a saint! – with none of the bite of having to actually, like, give away one’s money.

Now Fahrenthold has uncovered what may be[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-used-258000-from-his-charity-to-settle-legal-problems/2016/09/20/adc88f9c-7d11-11e6-ac8e-cf8e0dd91dc7\_story.html], if there’s not some magical unforeseen explanation here (the Trump camp has yet to comment), the biggest abuse yet by Trump of tax laws and the trust of donors to his foundation.

Uses other people’s charitable donations to settle his own lawsuits, reportedly. Photograph: Joe Raedle/Getty Images “Trump spent more than a quarter-million dollars from his charitable foundation to settle lawsuits that involved the billionaire’s for-profit businesses, according to interviews and a review of legal documents,” Fahrenthold reports[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-used-258000-from-his-charity-to-settle-legal-problems/2016/09/20/adc88f9c-7d11-11e6-ac8e-cf8e0dd91dc7\_story.html] :

Those cases, which together used $258,000 from Trump’s charity, were among four newly documented expenditures in which Trump may have violated laws against “self-dealing” — which prohibit nonprofit leaders from using charity money to benefit themselves or their businesses.

What’s the legal hazard here for Trump? Fahrenthold:

If the Internal Revenue Service were to find that Trump violated self-dealing rules, the agency could require him to pay penalty taxes or to reimburse the foundation for all the money it spent on his behalf. Trump is also facing scrutiny from the office of the New York attorney general, which is examining whether the foundation broke state charity laws....

More broadly, these cases also provide new evidence that Trump ran his charity in a way that may have violated U.S. tax law and gone against the moral conventions of philanthropy.

“I represent 700 nonprofits a year, and I’ve never encountered anything so brazen,” said Jeffrey Tenenbaum[https://www.venable.com/jeffrey-s-tenenbaum/], who advises charities at the Venable law firm in Washington. After The Post described the details of these Trump Foundation gifts, Tenenbaum described them as “really shocking.”

Read the full piece here[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-used-258000-from-his-charity-to-settle-legal-problems/2016/09/20/adc88f9c-7d11-11e6-ac8e-cf8e0dd91dc7\_story.html].

enltrI'm looking for 3 items @realdonaldtrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] bought w/ charity $:

Tebow helmet ($12K)

6ft portrait ($20K)

4ft portrait ($10K)

DM me with tips! https://t.co/TB37zoLko0[https://t.co/TB37zoLko0]

— David Fahrenthold (@Fahrenthold) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/Fahrenthold/status/778246903880421377]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.01pm BST

block-time published-time 3.35pm BST

Obama: 'we must go forward' Obama says “a quarter century after the end of the Cold War, the world is by many measures less violent and more prosperous than ever before, and yet our societies are filled with unease...

I believe at this moment we all face a choice... to press forward with a better model of cooperation... or retreat into a world sharply divided... I want to suggest to you today that we must go forward and not backward.

Obama says that open markets, human rights and global ties are “the firmest foundation of human progress in this century.”

block-time published-time 3.31pm BST

Here’s Barack Obama, addressing the United Nations general assembly for his last time as president:

block-time published-time 3.31pm BST

Where’s she supposed to park the airplane?

enltrDo people notice Hillary is copying my airplane rallies - she puts the plane behind her like I have been doing from the beginning.

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/778237485402980352]Trump’s claim of leading the way on airport rallies is not entirely without validity. He has used rallies on tarmacs, which are easy-in, easy-out for the candidate, like no presidential candidate before him. Are they as effective as the candidate making his or her way into town, sitting at a roundtable, addressing a school auditorium? Jury seems out on that. Trump doesn’t have a traditional ground game.

block-time published-time 3.25pm BST

Trump Jr tweets racist Breitbart rape-scare piece What Donald Trump Jr is tweeting here would very comfortably appear in the feeds of the white nationalist accounts he approvingly retweets:

enltrEurope’s Rape Epidemic: Western Women Will Be Sacrificed At The Altar Of Mass Migration https://t.co/BkguApQqvQ[https://t.co/BkguApQqvQ] via @BreitbartNews[https://twitter.com/BreitbartNews]

— Donald Trump Jr. (@DonaldJTrumpJr) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/778209202095415296]The Breitbart story, a tourist’s out-of-nowhere description of a made-up gang-rape epidemic in Europe, is not only openly, wildly racist, describing a continental crisis of white European women under assault from “Middle Eastern-looking men” – the racist Breitbart piece is also breathtakingly unhinged from reality:

In England, it’s been rape after rape – tens of thousands of young British girls are brutalised, tortured, beaten and raped by organised gangs comprised almost exclusively of Muslims

enltr. @KellyannePolls[https://twitter.com/KellyannePolls] better get her hands on Don Jr's phone. https://t.co/MONZ7joJiq[https://t.co/MONZ7joJiq]

— Ben White (@morningmoneyben) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/morningmoneyben/status/778229023591821312]enltrThat is just wildly racist https://t.co/4VbUVCybDC[https://t.co/4VbUVCybDC]

— John Bresnahan (@BresPolitico) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/BresPolitico/status/778234615161028608]Here’s DJT Jr a week ago:

margin:8px 0 0 0; padding:0 4px; A friend sent me this. Apparently I made the cut as one of the Deplorables?????? All kidding aside I am honored to be grouped with the hard working men and women of this great nation that have supported @realdonaldtrump and know that he can fix the mess created by politicians in Washington. He's fighting for you and won't ever quit. Thanks for your trust! #trump2016 #maga #makeamericagreatagain #basketofdeplorables[https://www.instagram.com/p/BKMtdN5Bam5/]

color:#c9c8cd; font-family:Arial,sans-serif; font-size:14px; line-height:17px; margin-bottom:0; margin-top:8px; overflow:hidden; padding:8px 0 7px; text-align:center; text-overflow:ellipsis; white-space:nowrap;A photo posted by Donald Trump Jr. (@donaldjtrumpjr) on Sep 10, 2016 at 7:18pm PDT

If it walks like a duck, and quacks like a duck, they say, it’s a duck.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.38pm BST

block-time published-time 3.08pm BST

Haley 'starts day' with Clinton anthem South Carolina governor Nikki Haley, a Republican, has tweeted that in the interest of giving “everyone” “an additional boost,” she “wanted to share” that she started her day with a song that happens to have been the anthem that the Hillary Clinton campaign used to give everyone an additional boost through all of the spring, until people’s ears started to bleed.

It’s Rachel Platten’s Fight Song:

enltrStarted my day with "Fight Song" by Rachel Platten. Wanted to share so that everyone gets an additional boost! https://t.co/jQbyVtxm1J[https://t.co/jQbyVtxm1J]

— Nikki Haley (@nikkihaley) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/nikkihaley/status/778224650455281664]Haley, a popular governor for whom some Republicans see a bright national future, endorsed Marco Rubio in the Republican primaries and has said she will support the Republican nominee[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/ng-interactive/2016/may/14/who-supports-donald-trump-the-new-republican-center-of-gravity], but she has not expressed support for Trump specifically and she has criticized his rhetoric[http://www.postandcourier.com/20160602/160609858/haley-criticizes-trump-and-his-rhetoric], a favor he returned with, of course, a Twitter insult:

enltrThe people of South Carolina are embarrassed by Nikki Haley!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) March 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/704751393991737345]enltrwait governor are you saying what I think you're saying https://t.co/7EzxRCpkmf[https://t.co/7EzxRCpkmf]

— Jesse Berney (@jesseberney) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jesseberney/status/778226128318259200]block-time published-time 1.21pm BST

Hello and welcome to our live-wire coverage of the 2016 race for the White House. Donald Trump has two events in North Carolina today. Hillary Clinton’s running mate Tim Kaine will appear in Reno, Nevada. Barack Obama is scheduled to address the UN general assembly this morning.

George HW Bush backs Clinton – report Former president George HW Bush is reportedly voting for Hillary Clinton in November, according to a Facebook post from John F Kennedy’s niece.

The post by Kathleen Kennedy Townsend – the former lieutenant governor of Maryland and daughter of Robert F Kennedy – shows her posing with George HW Bush with the caption: “The President told me he is voting for Hillary!!”

Townsend – writing on Facebook under the name Kathleen Hartington – has been a longtime vocal supporter of Clinton’s campaign.

Related: George H W Bush 'voting for Hillary', claims member of Kennedy family[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/george-h-w-bush-voting-for-hillary-claims-member-of-kennedy-family]

Donald Trump Jr compares **refugees** to Skittles Trump père spent Monday explaining that terrorism in the United States was “made possible because of our extremely open **immigration** system”. The suspect in the Chelsea bombing attack is a naturalized citizen from Afghanistan whose family was granted asylum 21 years ago, when the suspect was a boy of seven. Trump’s eldest son added on Monday evening that **refugees** are like Skittles. The analogy has caught a lot of negative attention:

enltrThis image says it all. Let's end the politically correct agenda that doesn't put America first. #trump2016[https://twitter.com/hashtag/trump2016?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/9fHwog7ssN[https://t.co/9fHwog7ssN]

— Donald Trump Jr. (@DonaldJTrumpJr) September 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/778016283342307328] Related: Donald Trump Jr compares **refugees** to poisoned Skittles[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/donald-trump-jnr-compares-refugees-poisoned-skittles-twitter-reacted]

enltrHey @DonaldJTrumpJr[https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr], this is one of the millions of children you compared to a poisoned Skittle today: https://t.co/SDSGw0eUIP[https://t.co/SDSGw0eUIP] pic.twitter.com/HuhY9RGvWW[https://t.co/HuhY9RGvWW]

— Jon Favreau (@jonfavs) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jonfavs/status/778036417167368192]“Skittles are candy. **Refugees** are people,” said a spokeswoman for Skittles maker Wrigley. “We don’t feel it’s an appropriate analogy.”

Trump sticking with Christie The Republican nominee says he is sticking by New Jersey governor Chris Christie despite a prosecutor’s claim in federal court Monday that Christie knew about the closure of traffic lanes for political payback on the George Washington bridge in September 2013. Christie has pleaded ignorance of the traffic-snarl scheme which he claims was carried out by his lieutenants.

“I have known and liked Chris for 15 years,” Trump told the New York Times[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/us/politics/chris-christie-donald-trump.html]. “After his recent run for president, he called me to say that he would like to endorse me in that he sees a movement like he has never seen before. I was greatly honored, accepted his endorsement, and he has been a spectacular advocate ever since.”

That’s a change of tune from what Trump said in December 2015, when Christie was still in the race and trying to win New Hampshire:

enltrTranscribing Donald Trump's past remarks on Bridgegate is a great workout. pic.twitter.com/z4DOess4qo[https://t.co/z4DOess4qo]

— Scott Bixby (@scottbix) September 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/scottbix/status/777908718583291904] Related: Chris Christie got Bridgegate updates as it happened, prosecutor says[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/19/chris-christie-bridgegate-trial-new-jersey-bridget-kelly-bill-baroni]

Thank you for reading and please join us in the comments.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Australia’s values of civility and tolerance are being tested by anti-Muslim rhetoric in parliament – and society’s response will be crucial

Debates about racism in Australia are always contentious, more so when they involve political representatives, but the public should be forthright in speaking out against appeals to fear.

Australians should resist attempts to divide the country according to race or religion. It’s only right to expect political representatives to set the tone for society.

Yet Australia’s values of civility and tolerance are being tested. In the Senate last week Pauline Hanson said that Australia was being swamped by Muslims[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/pauline-hansons-maiden-speech-to-the-australian-senate-full-text], that **immigration** should be halted, and that **immigrants** who don’t endorse an Australian way of life should “go back where they came from”[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban].

Many may be asking about the response to such political rhetoric. Should you engage with those who may be intolerant of cultural diversity or racial difference? Is it worth accepting that significant section of the Australian community may be holding such views? Should racial ugliness be killed with kindness, empathy and understanding?

First, it is essential that Australia remain a society committed to non-discrimination and tolerance. There should be no excuses for the advocacy of discrimination and the expression of intolerance. Acknowledging people’s concerns doesn’t mean endorsing them. This doesn’t in any way mean stifling freedom of expression. Those sympathetic to populist political rhetoric about race, **immigration** and Islam are, of course, entitled to their view. But they are not entitled to engage in vilification or discrimination. They are not entitled to be coddled or be protected from criticism.

Related: Comprehending Pauline is not the challenge. Engaging constructively with Hansonism is | Katharine Murphy[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/14/comprehending-pauline-is-not-the-challenge-engaging-constructively-with-hansonism-is]

Everyone has a right to free speech and to call out prejudice, racism and bigotry. If people don’t want to be called racist or bigoted, they can begin by not doing things that involve racism or bigotry.

And as part of listening to community concerns about issues, it’s also worth listening to those who experience racism or bigotry.

Australians have a natural sympathy with battlers. But on matters of race and free speech, the battlers aren’t political representatives or media commentators who enjoy regular, prominent public platforms to express their views. The real battlers are those whose voices are only rarely heard, or whose voices get silenced by racism.

When politicians target particular groups with their rhetoric, it can affect what children experience in the schoolyard, and what their parents experience in their workplace.

There’s a need, though, to retain perspective. The vast majority of Australians are comfortable with multiculturalism. We shouldn’t overstate the small minority who are hostile towards it. Five per cent of people across the country voted for One Nation, but 95% of Australians did not.

Moreover, we must avoid the complacency of believing that there may be nothing more Australian than intolerance – to believe that copping racism is just part of some initiation rite for any **immigrant** group. Some say that just as the Irish, Italians, Greeks and Asians copped ugliness, so too must Muslims. According to this view, **immigrants** must show forbearance, become part of the mainstream, and then be free to have a go at the next lot who arrive.

While racism and bigotry may never be eradicated, it isn’t good enough to say its targets must grin and bear it, or that there’s nothing that can be done.

Related: Meeting Pauline Hanson's voters: silent screamers find their voice[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/17/meeting-pauline-hansons-voters-silent-screamers-find-their-voice]

Most of those who have experienced racism don’t endure it thinking they will one day get their own back by dishing it out themselves. That’s not how racism works. It’s no accident that it is our multicultural communities – the Jewish, the Chinese, the Arabs, the Greeks, among many others – who are most prominent in fighting racism. It is perverse to suggest that the greatest aspiration for **immigrants** should be the power of having a go at the next lot.

Finally, let’s tackle the question of whether we should kill ugliness with kindness. It’s one thing to discuss matters, including race and religion, in a civil and respectful manner. But it’s another thing to ask those who are vulnerable to discrimination to suck it up and be nice to those who are dishing it. Such kindness and generosity is rarely if ever reciprocated. Too often, people forget that the burden of racial tolerance is borne unequally by those who are its targets.

All this goes to perhaps one aspect of racism that not everyone may appreciate. Racism isn’t just about prejudice and discrimination; it’s also about power.

• Tim Soutphommasane is Australia’s race discrimination commissioner

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The statement was immediately called out on social media for failing to consider slavery, and joined a list of controversies the Republican fended off Tuesday

Fending off several controversies on Tuesday, Donald Trump started another when he proclaimed at a North Carolina rally that “our African-American communities are in the worst shape they’ve ever been... Ever. Ever. Ever.”

Related: Donald Trump used $258,000 from his charity for legal settlements, reports say[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/trump-foundation-settlements-golf-course-mar-a-lago]

The plainly inaccurate statement, which was immediately lambasted on social media for failing to consider the long history of slavery and racial discrimination against African Americans, marked the latest misstep by the Trump campaign as the Republican nominee has struggled to harness the terrorist attacks in New York and New Jersey for his political advantage.

A day after the apprehension of suspected bomber[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/ahmad-khan-rahami-charged-bombings-new-york-new-jersey] Ahmad Khan Rahami, Trump made his remarks in Kenansville, North Carolina, and repeated familiar themes to crowds at multiple rallies across the swing state. “**Immigration** security is national security,” he said, and repeatedly read the lyrics of the The Snake[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T\_ZBqpEUbik], a 1960s soul song about a woman who finds a dying snake and nurses it back to health. The snake then fatally bites her. To Trump, this was a parable about the consequences of the United States taking in **refugees**.

The Republican nominee went on to describe Clinton as “the vessel for all the global special interests seeking to run our lives” and said that the “failed political establishment” had “vested” in her “all of their money, all of their hopes for another generation of corruption”. Trump also argued that the “dishonest media” had “bled this country dry”.

But, Trump ran into more controversy when the Washington Post reported that the billionaire converted $258,000 in donations[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/trump-foundation-settlements-golf-course-mar-a-lago] to the Donald Trump Foundation to settle lawsuits against himself. The payments represent an apparent violation of tax laws that could potentially even force[http://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/296914-scrutiny-of-trump-foundation-deepens] the IRS to shut down the Trump Foundation. Trump further stoked controversy by bragging on Tuesday about spending “OPM – other people’s money”.

“There’s nothing wrong with doing things with other people’s money,” said the nominee when talking about his business career.

His campaign also had to deal with criticism after his oldest son, Donald Trump Jr, compared Syrian **refugees** with poisoned skittles[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/donald-trump-jnr-compares-refugees-poisoned-skittles-twitter-reacted] in a tweet on Monday night. The tweet set off a major firestorm and even the candy maker distanced itself from it with a spokesperson saying: “Skittles are candy. **Refugees** are people.” Trump Junior followed up on Tuesday morning when he shared an article[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/donald-trump-jr-skittles-tweet-hunting] from a far right wing website that claimed, without evidence, that “tens of thousands” of British women have been tortured and raped by gangs “comprised almost exclusively of Muslims”.

The firestorm caused by the younger Trump’s tweet even forced a response from running mate Mike Pence who told NBC News’s Kelly O’Donnell in an interview: “It is remarkable to me to see the level of outrage about a metaphor used by Don Jr, when Hillary Clinton’s calling for a 550% increase in the Syrian **refugee**program.”

The Republican nominee suffered another potential blow when it was reported that former President George HW Bush would vote for[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/20/george-h-w-bush-voting-for-hillary-claims-member-of-kennedy-family] Hillary Clinton in November. Bush apparently told Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, the daughter of Robert F Kennedy and former Democratic lieutenant governor of Maryland, that he would be casting his ballot for Clinton. She shared the news in a Facebook post, which the Guardian obtained.

Jim McGrath, a Bush family spokesman, told the Guardian: “The vote President Bush will cast as a private citizen in some 50 days will be just that: a private vote cast in 50 days. He is not commenting on the presidential race in the interim.”

Trump’s busy day came as Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton stayed off the trail in advance of Monday’s presidential debate, the first between the two candidate. Although the former secretary of state did a radio appearance and held a conference call with national security advisors, she held no public events. As a result, Trump jibed on Twitter[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/778238281196662784] : “Hillary Clinton is taking the day off again, she needs the rest. Sleep well Hillary - see you at the debate!”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Britain’s faltering steps towards Brexit suggest we may well end up exiting the single market as well as the EU

Welcome to the Guardian ’s weekly Brexit briefing, a summary of developments as Britain edges towards the EU exit. If you’d like to receive it as a weekly email, do please sign up here [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/31/eu-referendum-morning-briefing-sign-up].

Producing the Guardian ’s thoughtful, in-depth journalism is expensive – but supporting us isn’t. If you value our Brexit coverage, please become a Guardian supporter [https://membership.theguardian.com/supporter?CMP=ema-3377] and help make our future more secure. Thank you.

The big picture Buckle up: it’s starting to look like a “hard” Brexit is becoming inevitable. Here’s a round-up of what happened last week that leads me to think that Britain may well end up exiting the single market as well as the European Union .

First off, remember that the minister in charge of delivering Brexit, David Davis, has told MPs [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/05/david-davis-vows-to-build-national-consensus-on-brexit] (though No 10 told him off for it) it was “very improbable” that the UK would be able to remain a member of the single market “if a requirement of membership is giving up control of our borders”.

Davis also conceded last week that if trade talks with the EU were not successful it was possible that the UK could leave without a deal [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/13/david-davis-admits-possibility-of-uk-exiting-eu-without-trade-deal], which would mean trading on World Trade Organisation tariffs.

He did not think it was “very likely”, he told a Commons foreign affairs committee hearing, but still:

If you’re after a factual statement of what the outcome could be, I guess it’s what is commonly known in the world at large as WTO rules. That’s, I guess, the conclusion of what the situation would be if we were outside the union with no deal.

Next we have the news that a group of leading Conservative Eurosceptics, including three former ministers, have formed Leave Means Leave, a new pressure group calling for Britain to end free movement and quit the single market whatever the trade deal on offer (see below).

Meanwhile, Europe is busily upping the ante. The European parliament’s chief Brexit negotiator, Guy Verhofstadt, said last week that “if the UK wants access to the single market, it must also accept the free movement of citizens”.

The European commission president, Jean-Claude Juncker , reiterated during his State of the EUnion address on Wednesday that there can be no “à la carte” cherry-picking when it comes to the single market [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/14/junckers-speech-was-all-about-concrete-ideas-to-heal-a-divided-eu], adding two days later at the EU-27’s meeting in Bratislava on Friday that that he did not see “any possibility for compromise” on the issue.

And just to remind us that (unlike the article 50 exit deal) Britain’s future trade agreement with the EU must be ratified by all 27 member states, the prime minister of Slovakia, Robert Fico, warned on Saturday that the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia – the Visegrad group – were prepared to veto any pact [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/17/eastern-bloc-countries-will-uphold-citizens-rights-to-live-in-uk] that restricted their citizens’ rights to live and work in Britain.

The president of the Bundesbank, Jens Weidmann, underlined what a hard Brexit would mean for the City in a Guardian interview [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/hard-brexit-will-cost-city-of-london-its-hub-status-warns-bundesbank-boss], saying that exiting the single market would threaten London’s status as a financial hub by denying UK-licensed banks their “passporting” rights to operate across the bloc:

Passporting rights are tied to the single market and would automatically cease to apply if Great Britain is no longer at least part of the European Economic Area … of course, several businesses will reconsider the location of their headquarters.

Finally, although the Financial Times (paywall) reported that the chancellor, Philip Hammond [https://www.ft.com/content/d0bb8d4a-7dc2-11e6-bc52-0c7211ef3198], was fighting a rearguard action against the “clean break” favoured by the cabinet’s Brexiteers by highlighting the dangers to the economy of abandoning the best possible access to the single market, Bloomberg reckoned he was close to giving up hope [http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-09-16/hammond-said-to-be-ready-to-ditch-single-market-access-on-brexit] of being able to hold the line.

All of this adds up to the all but inescapable conclusion that we are heading towards a deal in which control over **immigration** is likely to take priority over favourable single market access, which in turn implies a hard Brexit.

In more cheering news, however, all will be OK because, as the Sunday Telegraph reported, a campaign has been launched [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/16/bring-back-britannia-to-rule-the-waves-after-brexit/] by MPs, former ministers and a senior former aide to the Queen to recommission the royal yacht Britannia and use it to secure post-Brexit international trade deals.

Foreign secretary Boris Johnson is reported to see the vessel, decommissioned in 1997, as “a great symbol of global Britain”. So we’re laughing. (And thankfully, No 10 has now said it is “not on the agenda”.)

The view from Europe Last week was not much about Brexit and a lot about not markedly successful attempts to unite and rally the EU in the wake of Brexit, with commission president Juncker, EU council president Donald Tusk and assorted national leaders all having their say in Brussels and at that informal meeting in Bratislava.

Juncker unveiled a raft of concrete measures [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/14/junckers-speech-was-all-about-concrete-ideas-to-heal-a-divided-eu] aimed at bolstering Europeans’ sense of security in the face of the terror threat, globalisation, the migration crisis, high youth unemployment and economic stagnation, including the establishment of an EU defence headquarters to work towards a common military force.

He also urged more solidarity and cooperation among EU nations, which he said were more divided than he had ever seen them:

We have to stop this war according to which all success is national, and all failure is European. There is fragmentation out there that is leaving scope for galloping populism. The people of Europe don’t want this petty envy between the various institutions. They want results.

In Bratislava, EU leaders met without Britain to try to chart a way out of what German chancellor Angela Merkel described as “a critical situation”. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/theresa-may-likely-trigger-article-50-brexit-talks-early-2017] There was determination to show a united front, for a while at least, and discussions were described as polite and with no recriminations.

But Italy’s prime minister, Matteo Renzi , refused to appear at a press conference with his French and German counterparts, declaring that he “was not satisfied with the conclusions on growth and **immigration**”, and Hungary’s leader, Viktor Orbán , slammed the EU ’s migration policy as “self-destructive and naive”.

Oh, and Brussels’ Brexit negotiating team was strengthened with the addition of a top German trade expert, Sabine Weyand, [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/14/german-trade-expert-appointed-to-eus-brexit-taskforce] as deputy chief negotiator, alongside the head of the commission’s Brexit taskforce, French veteran Michel Barnier. That looks like quite a strong team.

Meanwhile, back in Westminster: Getting on for three months after the referendum and the debate in Westminster has yet to progress much beyond endless repetitions of – yes – “Brexit means Brexit”, while a cacophony of off-stage voices yell their various interpretations of what this actually amounts to.

For the Conservatives, the latest contribution is Leave Means Leave [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/18/tory-eurosceptics-push-for-hard-brexit-eu-single-market], a series of backbench hard-Brexiters, including some recently ousted former ministers such as Dominic Raab and Owen Paterson.

Related: 'Hard Brexit' would have only modest impact on City, says Moody's [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/19/hard-brexit-would-have-only-modest-impact-on-city-says-moodys]

They are pushing for the UK to adopt a no-compromise approach to negotiations and swiftly leave the EU without any single market-type arrangement in place, instead relying on WTO rules while separate international deals are forged:

Britain must leave the world’s least successful economic zone – the single market.

Labour have arguably been doing the more cogent thinking on Brexit over the last week. Jeremy Corbyn used a setpiece speech on his economic thinking [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/15/brexit-vote-was-rejection-of-economic-status-quo-says-jeremy-corbyn] to argue that the referendum result marked a rejection by voters of a status quo that had failed them, while saying he would prefer the UK to remain in some sort of single market.

Separately, a group of backbench Labour MPs wrote essays for a Fabian Society report [http://www.fabians.org.uk/publications/facing-the-unknown/] on the post-Brexit world, with several of them saying that the party must acknowledge voters’ opinions on mass migration by rejecting the free movement of EU nationals into the UK as a “red line” of any post-EU settlement.

You should also know that:

\* Business confidence has hit a four-year low amid rising concerns over economic uncertainty and a slowdown in demand following the Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/19/uk-business-confidence-at-four-year-low] vote.

\* European embassies in Britain have logged dozens of incidents of suspected hate crime and abuse [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/19/embassies-alleged-hate-crimes-since-brexit-vote] against their citizens since the referendum.

\* Brexit minister Davis was snubbed by UK retail bosses [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/14/david-daviss-brexit-roundtable-declined-retail-bosses] after he tried to call a meeting to discuss the question, with one source saying it was “a tick-box exercise” with “no substance to the agenda”.

\* Member states are already competing to have British-based EU agencies and research centres relocated to their countries [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/17/eu-countries-rush-steal-uk-based-research-projects], former comission president Romano Prodi told the Observer.

\* Scotland’s first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, said she finds it “gobsmacking” that May’s government is still unable to answer basic questions [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/14/nicola-sturgeon-gobsmacked-lack-of-answers-to-basic-brexit-questions] about its Brexit strategy almost three months on from the referendum.

\* Legal experts told a House of Lords panel that the chances of EU citizens settled in Britain retaining all their rights to live, work and retire [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/13/zero-chance-eu-citizens-keep-same-rights-post-brexit-expert] in the UK after Brexit are zero.

Read these: In a timely paper for the Centre for European Reform, Simon Tilford argues a hard Brexit is now on the cards [http://www.cer.org.uk/node/5439/view-email], saying the lack of an instant post-referendum economic armageddon makes it all the more more likely:

Recent data suggests that the Brexit vote will not cause a recession. This, coupled with the fact that British voters rejected two important principles of the EU , makes a single market exit all but certain.

Joris Luyendijk suggests with customary brio in the Guardian that Europe will do just fine without Britain [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/15/juncker-little-damage-brexit-eu-european-commission], which really isn’t as important as it likes to think it is, and that such was indeed the key message of Juncker’s State of the EUnion address:

Where Brexiteers continue to indulge in narcissistic fantasies about getting the best of all worlds from the EU while making Britain a world power again, Juncker … pointed out that Europeans today make up 8% of the world population. In 2050 that will be down to 5%. “By then you would not see a single EU country among the top world economies,” he said. “But the EU together? We would still be topping the charts.” With or without Britain.

Unpicking the “historic misunderstanding” at the heart of Winston Churchill’s famous speech 70 years ago this week on the need for a “United States of Europe”, Quentin Peel in the Financial Times (paywall) [http://www.ft.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/cms/s/2/3d6bbabc-7122-11e6-a0c9-1365ce54b926.html#axzz4KjlKleX9] points to the irony of the Brexit vote:

The truth is that the process of negotiating Brexit, and reorganising the UK-EU relationship for the future, is likely to dominate everything else for years to come … that is the irony of the Brexit decision. At least for the foreseeable future, it will mean a lot more EU , rather than less, on the UK government agenda.

And back in the Guardian , Martin Kettle argues that the Brexit vote represented a revolt against liberalism [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/15/brexit-liberalism-post-liberal-age] and we have entered a new political era:

We have a new political agenda that no political party can afford to ignore. Whether we consider ourselves liberal or not, we increasingly inhabit post-liberal times.

Tweet of the week Two for the price of one. This one for a laugh:

The royal yacht would represent a nation at once keenly aware of its past while investing wisely in the future https://t.co/HI2FyYDgfm [https://t.co/HI2FyYDgfm] — The Telegraph (@Telegraph) September 17, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Telegraph/status/777065807058759680] — The Telegraph (@Telegraph)

And this one for a weep (Australia accounts for 1.6% of UK exports; the EU for 44%):

47% of Leave voters think a trade deal with Australia is the highest priority - just 23% EU https://t.co/dhjOJLYWEj [https://t.co/dhjOJLYWEj] pic.twitter.com/djF6PEbs5f [https://t.co/djF6PEbs5f] — YouGov (@YouGov) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/YouGov/status/777840821714489344] — YouGov (@YouGov)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Clinton accuses Trump of ‘giving aid and comfort to our adversaries’Donald Trump to hold rally in Florida this afternoon Hillary Clinton targets millennial voters at Philadelphia rally

block-time published-time 3.42am BST

Summary We’re going to wrap up our live blog politics coverage for the day. Thank you for reading and see you back here in the morning.

block-time published-time 3.42am BST

Adelson to channel millions to Trump Billionaire casino mogul Donald Trump Sheldon Adelson has committed roughly $45 million to Donald Trump ’s presidential campaign and other Republican candidates, CNN reports [http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/19/politics/sheldon-adelson-2016-spending/index.html].

Adelson’s gifts reportedly include $20m to the Senate leadership fund, a super Pac to elect Republican senators, and as much for the Congressional leadership fund. He was reportedly giving $5m to a political organization backing Trump.

enltrAlmost half of the $40m in August money for GOP Senate super PAC, per WSJ last wk, is coming from Adelson, per CNN . https://t.co/fzrayTnP8S [https://t.co/fzrayTnP8S].

— Nick Confessore (@nickconfessore) September 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/nickconfessore/status/778054705377312768]enltrAnd if my math is right, Adelson is going to account for over 2/3 of the \*disclosed\* cash. One dude. https://t.co/7jCQCjQUAq [https://t.co/7jCQCjQUAq]enltrAnd if my math is right, Adelson is going to account for over 2/3 of the \*disclosed\* cash. One dude.

— Nick Confessore (@nickconfessore) September 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/nickconfessore/status/778057261230989313]block-time published-time 3.29am BST

Clinton and Trump meet Egyptian president In advance of a meeting of the UN General Assembly , Egyptian president Abdel Fatah al-Sisi met, separately, with both Clinton and Trump at a Manhattan hotel. Clinton also met Monday evening with Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe .

Here is the Clinton camp’s description of her meeting with Sisi:

Secretary Clinton and President Sisi had a constructive discussion about bilateral ties and cooperation on a wide range of issues, including counterterrorism. They also discussed the importance of economic development and investment in Egypt. Secretary Clinton emphasized the importance of respect for rule of law and human rights to Egypt’s future progress. Secretary Clinton called for the release of U.S. citizen Aya Hijazi and raised concerns about prosecution of Egyptian human rights organizations and activists. Secretary Clinton discussed ways to deepen counterterrorism cooperation, particularly in the fight against ISIS. She and President Sisi exchanged views about the Middle East, and Secretary Clinton underscored the importance of the Egyptian cooperation with Israel on counterterrorism, and her commitment to defeating ISIS, to addressing foreign fighters, and to countering radicalization.

Here is Trump’s campaign’s description of his meeting with Sisi:

Donald J. Trump met with Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi in New York today during his visit to the UN General Assembly . Mr. Trump and President el-Sisi discussed the strategic bilateral relationship between the U.S. and Egypt focusing on political, military and economic cooperation between the two countries. The meeting also included Mr. Trump’s senior advisors, Senator Jeff Sessions (R-AL) and Lieutenant General Michael Flynn (Ret.).

Mr. Trump thanked President el-Sisi and the Egyptian people for what they have done in defense of their country and for the betterment of the world over the last few years. He expressed great respect for Egypt’s history and the important leadership role it has played in the Middle East.

Mr. Trump expressed to President el-Sisi his strong support for Egypt’s war on terrorism, and how under a Trump Administration, the United States of America will be a loyal friend, not simply an ally, that Egypt can count on in the days and years ahead.

Mr. Trump emphasized the strong partnership that the United States and Egypt have shared for so many years and how this relationship is vital to help promote peace and stability in the Middle East, broader region and the world. Mr. Trump also expressed his recognition of Egypt’s close relationship with Israel on countering terrorism.Mr. Trump highlighted how Egypt and the U.S. share a common enemy and the importance of working together in defeating radical Islamic terrorism, not only politically and militarily, but also addressing the ideology.

Mr. Trump emphasized to President el-Sisi his high regard for peace-loving Muslims and understands that every day there are people of goodwill that sacrifice their lives and fortunes to combat the growing threat of radical Islamic terrorism.

Mr. Trump said that if he were fortunate enough to win the election in November, he would invite President el-Sisi on an official visit to the United States and would be honored to visit Egypt and the Egyptian people who he has a great fondness for.

block-time published-time 2.07am BST

Pence sidesteps 'birther' question Our campaign isn’t focused on the past, Pence says. Back when the candidate at the top of the ticket regularly espoused the race-poison “theory” that Barack Obama was born in Africa.

enltr. @mike\_pence [https://twitter.com/mike\_pence] on Trump's birtherism: "Our campaign just really isn't focused on the past." https://t.co/BX1ekYzuti [https://t.co/BX1ekYzuti] on Trump's birtherism: "Our campaign just really isn't focused on the past." https://t.co/Fy6qqGEVOI [https://t.co/Fy6qqGEVOI] on Trump's birtherism: "Our campaign just really isn't focused on the past."

— ABC News Politics (@ABCPolitics) September 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ABCPolitics/status/778036299987050496]block-time published-time 1.52am BST

Update: Somebody wants to claim copyright on the brilliant Skittles thing. It’s former (one-term) Illinois Representative Joe Walsh who now talks conservatively on the radio:

enltrHey @DonaldJTrumpJr [https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr], that's the point I made last month.

Glad you agree. pic.twitter.com/Nssw6KC1HY [https://t.co/Nssw6KC1HY]

— Joe Walsh (@WalshFreedom) September 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/WalshFreedom/status/778030543803822080]enltrIf I had a motor full of marbles and I told you Motörhead was in Marblehead, would you mentor a lemur named Lorna #trump2016 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/trump2016?src=hash]enltrIf I had a motor full of marbles and I told you Motörhead was in Marblehead, would you mentor a lemur named Lorna https://t.co/dpjJuJ3uWq [https://t.co/dpjJuJ3uWq]enltrIf I had a motor full of marbles and I told you Motörhead was in Marblehead, would you mentor a lemur named Lorna

— Brian Phillips (@brianphillips) September 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/brianphillips/status/778032417017696256]enltr"Make America the land of the timid, fearful and limp-spirited again." https://t.co/6zIJrJVV8C [https://t.co/6zIJrJVV8C]enltr"Make America the land of the timid, fearful and limp-spirited again."

— Dan Murphy (@bungdan) September 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bungdan/status/778033996726796292]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.56am BST

block-time published-time 1.29am BST

Does this image say it all? This image is a bowl of Skittles. It’s tempting to get literal about this bowl of Skittles and point out that there have been zero lethal attacks in the USA by our 10,000+ Syrian **refugees**, so three out of what looks to be about 100 Skittles is a gross overstatement, just statistically speaking, of whatever threat we’re imagining here.

But why are we talking about Syrian **refugees**? Because of a man suspected of planting a bomb in Chelsea who came here in 1995 as a 7-year-old asylum-seeker with his family from Afghanistan?

We’ve spent too much breath on this bowl of Skittles. P.S. It’s dehumanizing and crass to compare people to Skittles.

enltrThis image says it all. Let's end the politically correct agenda that doesn't put America first. #trump2016 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/trump2016?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/9fHwog7ssN [https://t.co/9fHwog7ssN]

— Donald Trump Jr . (@DonaldJTrumpJr) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/778016283342307328]enltrHonestly, doesn't it depend on how many skittles are in the bowl? #math [https://twitter.com/hashtag/math?src=hash]enltrHonestly, doesn't it depend on how many skittles are in the bowl? https://t.co/otTCGFiWbH [https://t.co/otTCGFiWbH]enltrHonestly, doesn't it depend on how many skittles are in the bowl?

— Justin Wolfers (@JustinWolfers) September 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JustinWolfers/status/778023716005568513]enltrIf I told you 1 day you'd die from flesh eating bed bugs that snuck in your house, would you ever sleep? That's why we need the wall.

— Tim Miller (@Timodc) September 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Timodc/status/778028283128582145]enltrskittles suck anyway

— Gideon Resnick (@GideonResnick) September 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GideonResnick/status/778030561399037952]enltrThis image does say it all if by "all" you mean total cluelessness. https://t.co/PNREt07Ixv [https://t.co/PNREt07Ixv]enltrThis image does say it all if by "all" you mean total cluelessness.

— Ben White (@morningmoneyben) September 20, 2016 [https://twitter.com/morningmoneyben/status/778027704776032256]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.44am BST

block-time published-time 12.30am BST

Mother Jones interviews New Yorkers on the street near the Chelsea bombing, about whether they think Trump or Clinton has better ideas for combatting terrorism.

The folks are for Clinton: “I think he’s a nutjob”:

Residents and workers along 23rd Street near 7th Avenue were getting on with life Monday afternoon, as police oversaw a complicated crime scene nearby. Meanwhile, presidential candidates Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump engaged in a war of words over terrorism, and over who would make Americans feel safer. “They are looking to make this into a war against Islam, rather than a war against jihadists, violent terrorists,” Clinton said about potential terrorists attacking America. “The kinds of rhetoric and language Mr. Trump has used is giving aid and comfort to our adversaries.”

block-time published-time 12.26am BST

Pretty strong.

enltrthis is the best piece of investigative journalism I have seen all day https://t.co/hI0YsGQ0h4 [https://t.co/hI0YsGQ0h4]

— Nicky Woolf (@NickyWoolf) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NickyWoolf/status/778009023778066432]undltr pic.twitter.com/l716LROj12 [https://t.co/l716LROj12]undltr

— Nut (@NutOfDeath) September 18, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NutOfDeath/status/777544953622728704]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.32am BST

block-time published-time 12.13am BST

Trump could create new US recession with trade war – study Trump Trade Plan Could Push U.S. into Recession, Study Says [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trump-trade-plan-could-push-u-s-into-recession-study-says-1474257662?mod=wsj\_nview\_latest]

Bob Davis writes in the Wall Street Journal that “imposing stiff tariffs on China and Mexico, as Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump [http://topics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/person/T/Donald-Trump/159] has proposed, could push the U.S. into recession and cost 5 million U.S. jobs, according to a study by the Peterson Institute for International Economics [https://piie.com/publications/piie-briefing/assessing-trade-agendas-us-presidential-campaign] ”:

The Peterson Institute, a Washington, D.C., think tank that favors free trade, ran three computer simulations of the economic impact of placing 45% tariffs on Chinese goods and 35% tariffs on Mexico’s. Under the most dire outcome, China and Mexico would retaliate with tariffs on U.S. goods and services, U.S. exports and imports would shrink, import prices would rise, stock prices would tumble and investment would plunge, resulting in recession within three years.

enltrTrump's trade plan could push the U.S. into a recession, costing 5 million jobs —via @WSJ [https://twitter.com/WSJ] https://t.co/abCosp67eo [https://t.co/abCosp67eo] pic.twitter.com/g7rlK5fP7d [https://t.co/g7rlK5fP7d]

— Kyle Griffin (@kylegriffin1) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/kylegriffin1/status/778004745378263041]Well, at least a president Trump wouldn’t have the power, unilaterally, to totally remake US trade policy, right?

Wrong, writes Justin Wolfers in a Bloomberg piece headlined Why a President Donald Trump could start a trade war with surprising ease [http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/54405287.cms?utm\_source=contentofinterest&utm\_medium=text&utm\_campaign=cppst] :

Americans often dismiss populist promises that emerge on the presidential campaign trail because they are unlikely to be passed by Congress. Should Donald Trump get elected, Congress most likely would moderate his proposals to cut taxes, increase spending and even to build a border wall.

But international trade policy is one area where a President Trump could unilaterally deliver on the changes that he has promised.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.14am BST

block-time published-time 11.05pm BST

Here’s CBS News ’ Sopan Deb with a transcript of Trump’s fantastical remarks about the Chelsea bombing suspect getting room service in the hospital – and suggesting that the whole rule of law thing is an outmoded hindrance to real justice, wink wink:

enltrThis whole thing is worth your time to read from Trump in Florida today: pic.twitter.com/IdHgnYSsL8 [https://t.co/IdHgnYSsL8]

— Sopan Deb (@SopanDeb) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SopanDeb/status/777984706490937344]enltrAwakening demons here. No modern precedent for a presidential candidate calling for the mistreatment of prisoners.

This is not normal. https://t.co/2w3wn08BS5 [https://t.co/2w3wn08BS5]

— Brendan Nyhan (@BrendanNyhan) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BrendanNyhan/status/777991266478989312]enltrbut if we lock her up she will get room service https://t.co/Es37kKGxYc [https://t.co/Es37kKGxYc]enltrbut if we lock her up she will get room service

— Philip Bump (@pbump) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/pbump/status/777993721786884096]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.13pm BST

block-time published-time 10.55pm BST

Obama praises 'outstanding police work' Obama made his remarks about the apprehension of Chelsea bombing suspect Ahmad Khan Rahami at a New York meeting with Iraq prime minister Haider al-Abadi.

(Trump has been talking a lot about the US withdrawal from Iraq. He does not mention the status of forces agreement signed by George W Bush or the prime minister who presided over it. Can Trump name the last prime minister of Iraq?)

Obama hailed the “extraordinary work and coordination that is taking place between the FBI and law enforcement,” according to a pool report.

Obama said he talked with injured officers and said they were in good spirits. Obama declined to speculate on what motivated the attacks.

Obama at the Lotte New York Palace Hotel in New York. Photograph: Carolyn Kaster/AP Iraqi prime minister Haider al-Abadi at the Lotte New York Palace Hotel in New York. Photograph: Carolyn Kaster/AP Update: Here are Obama’s further remarks, via the press pool. Obama describes a plan to “go right at the heart of the Isil operation in Mosul”:

Since I met with him [Abadi] a year ago, we have significant progress in rolling back ISIL... Now, what we have been discussing and focusing on is to go right at the heart of the ISIL operation in Mosul.

This is going to be a challenging battle, Mosul is a large city. But because of the prepositioning of forces, because of the cooperation between the collation and the Iraqi security forces and because of the cooperation the courage of the Kurdish Peshmerga, we feel confident that we will be in a position to move forward fairly rapidly... It will be a tough fight... One of the things we discussed is the importance of not just driving ISIL out of Mosul but (...) that we are prepared to provide humanitarian assistance and that we can rebuild the city in a way that assures not only ISIL does not come back but that extremist ideology born out of desperation will not return.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.59pm BST

block-time published-time 10.22pm BST

Obama praises the police work that went from an 8am be-on-the-lookout phone alert to a midday arrest. “Outstanding” police work, Obama says:

enltrObama: "For us to be able to apprehend a suspect in just over 24 hours” is “outstanding” police work pic.twitter.com/Rx7tjYt2L9 [https://t.co/Rx7tjYt2L9]

— Oliver Darcy (@oliverdarcy) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/oliverdarcy/status/777978772746301440]block-time published-time 10.19pm BST

Interesting meeting here:

enltrIvanka Trump met with Paul Ryan today in NY, @deirdrewalshcnn [https://twitter.com/deirdrewalshcnn] reports

— Manu Raju (@mkraju) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/mkraju/status/777979054855192576]block-time published-time 10.18pm BST

How can people trust Clinton more on terrorism than they do on **immigration** when they are, to hear Trump tell it, exactly the same problem?

enltrRecent national polls, conducted before weekend attacks, show Clinton leading on terrorism https://t.co/zWHOCuAzk5 [https://t.co/zWHOCuAzk5] pic.twitter.com/8RqmlfKa3J [https://t.co/8RqmlfKa3J]

— ABC News Politics (@ABCPolitics) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ABCPolitics/status/777979088879415296]block-time published-time 10.14pm BST

Trump’s done. He used the appearance to blame terror attacks on “our extremely open **immigration** system.” The suspect in the NYC bombing at the weekend was a naturalized American citizen born in Afghanistan who arrived in the USA as a boy.

enltrMSNBC reports Rahami family came to US in '95, granted asylum in '11. 1) asylum =/= **refugee** resettlement, 2) vetting has changed since '95.

— Elise Foley (@elisefoley) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/elisefoley/status/777961805939412993]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.14pm BST

block-time published-time 10.07pm BST

Trump lamented the January 2015 Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris earlier, in his list of terror attacks illustrating the insecurity of life these days.

Trump says the way to fix terrorism is to stop **immigration**. But that wasn’t always his solution. Directly after the attacks, Trump heralded the corrective power of market forces:

enltrIf the morons who killed all of those people at Charlie Hebdo would have just waited, the magazine would have folded - no money, no success!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) January 14, 2015 [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/555367040907612160]block-time published-time 10.01pm BST

Trump is telling another fairy tale, in which Obama is nursing a wish that he never would have appointed Clinton secretary of state.

But he’ll never admit it, Trump says. The caveat here is very Trump:

I would never expect him to – although maybe if he gets a lot of money for a book – to admit he would not have picked her as secretary of state.

block-time published-time 9.54pm BST

enltrTrump out of context: "Great job President Obama, great job."

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/777972970249654272]enltrNot an accident Trump is returning to **immigration** restrictionism—it's the foundation of his campaign, connected to his econ/NatSec policies.

— Sahil Kapur (@sahilkapur) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/sahilkapur/status/777972687452966912]enltrPrimary security policy=**immigration**restriction. Primary economic policy=trade protectionism. Thin agenda otherwise. https://t.co/0Ihcw6N2jI [https://t.co/0Ihcw6N2jI]enltrPrimary security policy=**immigration** restriction. Primary economic policy=trade protectionism. Thin agenda otherwise.

— Alex Burns (@alexburnsNYT) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alexburnsNYT/status/777973038352592896]enltrTrump message in Florida basically indistinguishable from a National Front speech

— Alex Burns (@alexburnsNYT) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alexburnsNYT/status/777969652534239232]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.58pm BST

block-time published-time 9.51pm BST

The commission on presidential debates has announced that Lester Holt, the moderator of the first debate, which will take place a week from today at Hofstra University , has “selected the topics for that debate.”

But they’re so broad as not to mean much:

America’s Direction

Achieving Prosperity

Securing America

The format calls for six 15-minute time segments:

Two 15-minute segments will focus on each of the topics listed above. All debates start at 9:00 p.m. ET and run for 90 minutes without commercial interruption.

enltrRegretfully, for yet another cycle "Potent Potables" has not been chosen as a debate topic.

— Jonathan Ladd (@jonmladd) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jonmladd/status/777975397250129920]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.21pm BST

block-time published-time 9.47pm BST

Oh no. “Has anyone ever heard the Snake that I read once in a while?” It’s the poem Trump offers as an allegory of the dangers of **immigration**.

“This is called the Snake, and it has to do with people coming into our country.” We’ve pasted the lyrics here before. You can read them here [http://www.lyricsfreak.com/a/al+wilson/snake\_20276772.html].

Important:

enltrTrump wrongly says The Snake was written by Al Wilson in the 1990s. Al Wilson first performed it in 1968, it was written by Oscar Brown.

— Ben Jacobs (@Bencjacobs) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Bencjacobs/status/777971690794053632]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.55pm BST

block-time published-time 9.43pm BST

Trump has called Obama the founder of Isis. He sticks with that theme here: “She is not the right person to solve a problem that largely her and Obama gave us. It disqualifies her from being a credible presidential candidate.”

Earlier he quoted Clinton as saying he was helping with terrorist recruitment. His response was basically, if she knows so much why does terrorism exist.

“Weakness invites aggression... and silence in the face of a brutal enemy. And they have become brutal because we’ve allowed them to become brutal.”

block-time published-time 9.40pm BST

Trump says Clinton “lacks the moral clarity to serve as our president.”

“She very much caused the problem when you think about it. Her weakness, her ineffectiveness caused the problem.”

Trump: “Today we have caught this evil thug who planted the bombs. Thank you law enforcement. Thank you police.”

But the bad part. Now we will give him amazing hospitalization. He will be taken care of by some of the best doctors in the world... and he probably even will have room service, knowing the way our country is. On top of that, he will represented by an outstanding lawyer... and his punishment will not be what it once would have been.

Trump calls it “sad” and says we need “speedy but fair trails, and we must deliver a just and very harsh punishment to these people.”

If you choose Donald Trump , these problems are going to go away far far greater than anyone would think.

block-time published-time 9.33pm BST

Trump complains that Clinton will not say “radical Islamic terror.” He says “Clinton talks tougher about my supporters than she does Islamic terror.”

He wants to know how many terrorist suspects Clinton would call “deplorable” or

“irredeemable.”

“Or are those words reserved for hard-working Americans that truly love our country?”

Trump: “Here in America we’ve seen one brutal attack after another.” He lists Ft Hood, Boston Marathon, Tennessee recruiting center, San Bernardino, Orlando.

“In Europe, we have seen the same carnage and bloodshed inflicted on our closest allies,” he says.

He continues to list attacks and body counts.

block-time published-time 9.29pm BST

Trump: 'open **immigration**' to blame for terrorist attacks Here comes Trump. He comes out and says the crowd is big and his poll numbers are great and he will win Florida.

He wants to begin by “thanking our incredible law enforcement officers who don’t get the credit they deserve.”

He says there have been Islamic terrorist attacks in Minnesota, New York and New Jersey – authorities found unexploded bombs in New Jersey – and they “were made possible because of our extremely open **immigration** system.”

Trump then tells a series of whoppers about Clinton’s plan to admit “620,000 **refugees** in her first term with no effective way to vet them or screen them.”

“You can’t have vetting if you don’t look at ideology, and Hillary Clinton refuses to consider an applicant’s worldview,” Trump says.

The vetting process for **refugees** to be resettled to the United States includes multiple interviews and background checks. The US has admitted about 10,000 Syrian **refugees** [https://blogs.state.gov/stories/2016/08/30/refugeeswelcome-us-admits-10000-syrian-refugees-year] in the last year, out of millions.

block-time published-time 9.19pm BST

Newt Gingrich has just finished addressing Donald Trump ’s rally in Estero, southwestern Florida, and promised the crowd that Trump is on soon.

Meanwhile they are being treated to a power ballad guitar solo. Here’s a live video stream:

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.22pm BST

block-time published-time 8.28pm BST

Statement from Donald Trump on terrorist incidents In the past 48 hours, our law enforcement showed again that, without them, our country is neither safe nor secure. I am grateful for the quick action of law enforcement in capturing the terrorist responsible for Saturday’s bombings, and the off-duty police officer for stopping the terrorist in Minnesota. This weekend’s attacks, from Minnesota to Manhattan, are just the latest to be carried out on US soil under President Obama. These should be a wake-up call for every American.

Today, Hillary Clinton showed again that she will say anything - and blame anyone - to shift attention away from the weakness she showed as Secretary of State. The Obama-Clinton doctrine of not taking Isis seriously enough has emboldened terrorists all over the world. They are hoping and praying that Hillary Clinton becomes President so that they can continue their savagery and murder.

While our President has referred to them as the ‘J.V. Team’ and Hillary Clinton calls them our ‘determined enemies,’ I have been willing to call them exactly what they are: radical Islamist terrorists.

I will bring an end to these senseless acts of violence. They are wrong to say that we’re in a fight about ‘narratives.’ These terrorists pose an existential threat to our country, our values, and our way of life.

When I am President, terrorists like today’s suspect in the New York and New Jersey bombings, Ahmad Khan Rahami, and yesterday’s knife-wielding ISIS sympathizer in Minnesota, Dahir Adan, will be stopped. We will not look the other way. We will not allow political correctness and soft-on-terror, soft-on-crime policies to threaten our security and our lives.

Revelations that the Obama Administration wrongly granted citizenship to over 800 **immigrants** awaiting deportation from countries of concern to national security or high rates of **immigration** fraud puts this weekend’s attacks in a broader perspective. The safety and security of the homeland must be the overriding objective of our leaders when it comes to our **immigration** policy.

That’s why I’ve proposed extreme vetting for **immigrants** from troubled parts of the world where terrorists live and train, and oppose Hillary Clinton ’s 550% increase in the number of **refugees** from the conflict in Syria. These are tough problems that require tough leadership. We need to get smart and get tough fast so that this weekend’s attacks do not become the new normal here as it has in Europe and other parts of the world.

block-time published-time 8.14pm BST

Fox News Channel host and future press secretary Sean Hannity will host a town-hall meeting with Donald Trump in Ohio on Wednesday, according to Politico :

enltrHannity will do a Town Hall with Trump this Wednesday in Ohio

— Hadas Gold (@Hadas\_Gold) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Hadas\_Gold/status/777948042859257856]block-time published-time 7.58pm BST

Bernie Sanders is feeling the... Hill.

enltrWhen @HillaryClinton [https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] says she’s going to make public colleges and universities tuition-free, you know what? That's a very big deal.

— Bernie Sanders (@BernieSanders) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BernieSanders/status/777941255888203777]block-time published-time 7.47pm BST

Donald Trump ’s presidential campaign, after deleting a tweet that criticized President Barack Obama for inaction on terrorism, has released a statement retrenching the candidate’s stance that Obama is responsible for allowing terrorists to enter the country.

“Last weekend’s attacks, which are just the latest to be carried out on US soil on President Obama’s watch, should be a wakeup call for every American,” wrote communications advisor Jason Miller. “It is highly disturbing and entirely unacceptable that 858 **immigrants** from dangerous countries have slipped into our country and been granted full US citizenship because of the failed policies supported by President Obama and Hillary Clinton . Even worse, Clinton must explain her reckless support for a 550% increase in Syrian **refugees** and her push for an all-out open border policy, which will put even more Americans at risk. The threat from radical Islamic terrorism has only grown under Obama and Clinton, and ISIS has greatly expanded the number of countries where it is fully operational.”

“Our enemies neither fear nor respect Hillary Clinton , and as a nation, that is dangerous, and it is disgraceful. Mr. Trump will bring an end to these attacks, because unlike Obama and Clinton, he believes we’re in more than a fight about ‘narratives’ – these terrorists pose an existential threat to our country and our values and they must be destroyed before they can harm any more of our citizens.”

block-time published-time 6.49pm BST

Flashback: From a 1999 Doonesbury strip about Donald Trump ’s (at the time) faux-candidacy.

Doonesbury, 1999. Photograph: Garry Trudeau/Doonesbury block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.53pm BST

block-time published-time 6.26pm BST

Hillary Clinton [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/hillary-clinton] accused Donald Trump of “giving aid and comfort” to terrorist adversaries by seeking to exploit the manhunt gripping New York after a succession of weekend bombings.

As police captured an Afghan-born suspect [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/19/new-york-bombing-suspect-ahmad-khan-rahami] they believe is linked to attacks in New York and New Jersey [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/19/new-york-and-new-jersey-explosive-devices-what-we-know], the Democratic presidential nominee urged a targeted approach rather than Trump’s call for blanket **immigration** restrictions.

“We are going to have to go after the bad guys and we are going to get them, but we are not going to go after an entire religion and give Isis exactly what it is wanting,” Clinton told reporters at a press conference outside New York [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/new-york] City.

“The kinds of rhetoric and language that Mr Trump has used is giving aid and comfort to our adversaries,” she added.

She insisted that Trump had no plan, while she was the only candidate with experience of being “part of the hard decisions to take terrorists off the battlefield”.

Clinton said she had long supported tougher vetting for people coming into the US, but the events in New York – which included a bomb injuring 29 people on Saturday night in Manhattan [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/19/new-york-bombing-both-devices-used-pressure-cooker-and-phone-reports] – could be seen as a boost to Trump’s agenda, which has included a ban on Muslims entering the US and surveillance of mosques.

Related: Hillary Clinton: Trump's rhetoric about terrorist attacks 'gives Isis what it wants' [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/19/hillary-clinton-new-york-new-jersey-attacks-trump-muslims]

block-time published-time 6.02pm BST

Hillary Clinton only briefly addressed the subject of terrorism in her speech at Temple University in Philadelphia this afternoon, touching momentarily on the issue at an event targeting millennial voters. After informing the crowd that a suspect linked to the New York City bombing was allegedly in custody, Clinton emphasized the need to “remain vigilant.”

“This is a fast-moving situation and a sobering reminder that we need steady leadership,” Clinton said.

Donald Trump ’s response, of course, has already been tweeted:

enltrGreat job once again by law enforcement! We are proud of them and should embrace them - without them, we don't have a country!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/777908242538196992]enltrOnce again someone we were told is ok turns out to be a terrorist who wants to destroy our country & its people- how did he get thru system?

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/777910435425226753]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 6.03pm BST

block-time published-time 5.53pm BST

“This election in particular can be downright depressing,” Clinton said at Temple University . “Every election is important, from school board to state senate to president, but this time is different.”

“We have to stand up to this hate - we cannot let it go on!” Clinton says, after listing off Donald Trump ’s history of housing discrimination, affinity for retweeting white supremacists and his advocacy for the birther movement, and is met with loud cheers. “And when we do that, we send a clear message: America is better than this. America is better than Donald Trump .”

“And just as importantly, we have a chance to make real progress in our country! I need you as partners, not just for winning this election, but in driving real change over the next four years.”

block-time published-time 5.43pm BST

Speaking at Temple University in Philadelphia, Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton told a crowd of college students that although “the gap between the change we want and the progress that politics should deliver can look like a chasm,” she wants younger voters to take a closer look at her candidacy.

“You may still have some questions about me - I get that. And I want to do the best to answer those questions,” Clinton said. “I will never be the showman my opponent is - and you know what? That’s okay with me.”

“No one will work harder to make your life better. I will never stop, no matter how tough it gets.”

block-time published-time 5.40pm BST

Hillary Clinton addresses millennial concerns at Temple University Watch it live here:

block-time published-time 5.33pm BST

Flashback: In December 2015, Donald Trump declared to South Carolina voters that New Jersey governor and future campaign surrogate Chris Christie “knew about it, totally knew about it” when it came to lane closures on the George Washington Bridge.

“The George Washington Bridge, he knew about it,” Trump said. “How do you have breakfast with people every day of your lives, they’re closing up the largest bridge in the world, the biggest in the United States, traffic flowing, during rush hour, people couldn’t get across for six, seven hours, ambulance, fire trucks. They’re with him all the time, the people who did it.”

“They never said, ‘hey boss, we’re closing up the George Washington Bridge today,’ no, they never said, they’re talking about the weather, right?” Trump continued. “Then, so he knew about it, he knew about it, totally knew about it.”

“I would say there’s less than one-percent chance” Christie didn’t know about the lane closure, Trump said, giving himself an out for when he would come very close to making Christie his running mate. “It could be. But I doubt it. He knew about it. They mention - they didn’t mention at one of their meetings. I think they had breakfast like every day or other day. They didn’t say, ‘Chris, tonight we’re closing up the George Washington Bridge because the mayor of a certain area is against you. Oh, okay.’ They didn’t mention? Nobody believes that.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.35pm BST

block-time published-time 5.29pm BST

A sitting member of Congress has implied that a football player who does not rise for the national anthem to protest the treatment of African-Americans by police is sympathetic to alleged terrorists:

enltrSuspect in custody. You are welcome Colin Kaepernick.

— Lee Zeldin (@leezeldin) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/leezeldin/status/777897972499488768]block-time published-time 5.14pm BST

For those still curious whether the alt-right’s use of the Pepe the Frog meme [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/23/alt-right-movement-white-identity-breitbart-donald-trump] means that a cartoon frog has become racist, here’s former Ku Klux Klan grand wizard David Duke:

enltrYou can't ZOG - the frog!

Best current year - ever. #MAGA [https://twitter.com/hashtag/MAGA?src=hash] #AmericaFirst [https://twitter.com/hashtag/AmericaFirst?src=hash] #AltRight [https://twitter.com/hashtag/AltRight?src=hash] #Cuckservatives [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Cuckservatives?src=hash] #Trump2016 [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Trump2016?src=hash] #USA [https://twitter.com/hashtag/USA?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/UzGRSt7axf [https://t.co/UzGRSt7axf]

— David Duke (@DrDavidDuke) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DrDavidDuke/status/777739648923676672]block-time published-time 5.03pm BST

Prosecutor: Chris Christie knew about George Washington Bridge closure in real time New Jersey governor and current Donald Trump surrogate Chris Christie knew that staffers had helped orchestrate road closures at the George Washington Bridge in 2013 as it was happening, prosecutors declared today [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/20/nyregion/bridgegate-trial.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&\_r=1&mtrref=t.co], and also knew that the lane closures were conducted as political punishment for a small-town mayor who did not endorse his reelection campaign.

According to the New York Times [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/20/nyregion/bridgegate-trial.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&\_r=1&mtrref=t.co], prosecutors made the declaration during their opening arguments in the long-awaited trial of two former Christie officials who have been charged in connection with the lane closures at the world’s busiest bridge, which resulted in a five-day traffic snarl that led the town of Fort Lee, New Jersey, to declare a threat to public safety and forced emergency medical personnel to respond to medical emergencies on foot.

The defendants on trial are Bridget Anne Kelly, Christie’s deputy chief of staff, and Bill Baroni , Christie’s top appointee at the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey , which operates the bridge. Following a 16-month investigation, federal prosecutors have charged them with nine counts, including conspiracy to commit fraud and with violating the civil rights of the people trying to cross the bridge.

A third defendant, former Port Authority of New York and New Jersey executive David Wildstein, pleaded guilty and is assisting prosecutors [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/may/01/chris-christie-david-wildstein-bridgegate]. He will be sentenced later this year.

block-time published-time 4.36pm BST

President Barack Obama urged Americans to remain vigilant and allow law enforcement to complete its investigations into terrorist incidents across the country this weekend, singling out the news media for not fomenting false leads regarding bombings in the Northeast or a stabbing at a shopping mall in Minnesota.

“At this point, we see no connection between that incident and what happened in New York and New Jersey,” Obama said. “I would ask that the press try to refrain getting out ahead of the investigation... it does not help if false reports or incomplete information is out there.”

Saying that Americans are “extremely fortunate and grateful” that no one was killed in any of the incidents, Obama commended “all of the outstanding police and first responders for their professionalism and their quick response.”

“The investigation is moving rapidly, and as is my practice, I’m going to leave it to the FBI … for more details,” Obama said, making no mention of reports that a suspect in the bombings in Manhattan and New Jersey had been apprehended after a shootout in New Jersey.

“It’s important to remember what terrorists and violent extremists are trying to do - they’re trying to hurt innocent people, but they’re also trying to inspire fear in all of us,” Obama said. “We all have a role to play as citizens in making sure that we don’t come to surrender to that fear.”

block-time published-time 4.20pm BST

Donald Trump ’s campaign has released a statement in response to what it called “CLINTON’S DISGUSTING ATTEMPT TO DISTRACT FROM ISIS FAILURES” (capitalization theirs).

“Hillary Clinton ’s comments today accusing Mr. Trump of treason are not only beyond the pale, it’s also an attempt to distract from her horrible record on Isis,” wrote communications advisor Jason Miller, in apparent reference to Hillary Clinton ’s mentioning of the fact that Trump’s remarks on terrorism and **immigration**have been used as a recruiting tool for Isis and sympathetic groups.

“If Clinton really wants to find the real cause of Isis, she needs to take a long, hard look in the mirror,” Miller continued. “The decision to remove all American troops from Iraq in 2011, which was vigorously supported by Clinton, created the vacuum that led to the founding of Isis. Nothing she says or does can ever un-ring that bell. The only thing we can expect from a Hillary Clinton presidency is more attacks on our homeland and more innocent Americans being hurt and killed.”

block-time published-time 4.05pm BST

More than 50 government officials call on Trump to release business investment details More than 50 former military officials, national security figures and government officials have published a letter [https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/3110611/Letter-Trump-Business.pdf] calling on Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump to detail his overseas business investments ahead of the US presidential election, another consequence of the nominee’s tacit refusal to release any tax information relating to his vast and murky business empire.

Donald Trump . Photograph: Evan Vucci/AP “Trump still has not revealed to the American public his international business relationships, even as it becomes increasingly clear that his overseas ties could well constitute significant conflicts of interest when it comes to charting US foreign policy,” the letter reads. “This is unprecedented for a candidate for the nation’s highest office. As such, we are calling on Mr. Trump to disclose, in full, the nature of his business relationships overseas - to include specifically who his business partners are and what and where are his foreign investments. We also call on him to pledge that he will divest himself of his overseas business interests should he win the presidency.”

The letter was penned in response to a Newsweek investigation [http://www.newsweek.com/2016/09/23/donald-trump-foreign-business-deals-national-security-498081.html] into Trump’s international business dealings, which put Trump in a position to personally and financially benefit from some of the positions his campaign has taken. For instance, his stance that South Korea should be able to develop a nuclear weapons program [http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/international/archive/2016/06/donald-trump-nuclear-weapons/485504/] would benefit the Daewoo Group, with which the Trump Organization has longstanding ties.

The letter did not mince words in criticizing Trump’s alleged links to shady international organizations and persons: “Trump’s other business partners have included Kremlin-tied oligarchs and Russians with mafia links, an individual accused of money laundering for the Iranian military, a Turkish media tycoon accused of running a fuel-smuggling ring, Indian companies that may have violated India’s laws in their pursuit of business with Mr. Trump, and a South Korean company mired in scandal.”

“It’s not hard to see why these reported relationships would be problematic,” the letter’s authors state. “The issues are too important to leave them unanswered. It would be in Trump’s own interest to resolve these potential conflicts before the election.”

block-time published-time 3.23pm BST

Speaking to reporters in her sixth press conference in three weeks, Hillary Clinton declared that “Americans will not cower” in the face of a spate of terrorist attacks across the country, urging Americans to “be vigilant, but not afraid.”

Hillary Clinton . Photograph: Matt Rourke/AP “It is crucial that we continue to build up trust between law enforcement and Muslim-American communities,” Clinton said of her counter-terrorism policy [https://www.hillaryclinton.com/issues/national-security/], emphasizing that the fight on global terrorism is a global fight requiring the US “work closely with our allies and partners to keep us safe.”

“We have faced threats before - if you see something, or you hear something, report it immediately to local law-enforcement authorities,” Clinton said. “We choose resolve, not fear. We will not turn on each other or undermine our values.”

Clinton, asked by a reporter about whether the person of interest in the bombings in New York and New Jersey, an Afghan **immigrant** and American citizen, would lend credence to Donald Trump ’s proposed ban on Muslim **immigration** to the United States, was dismissive.

“It is true that a suspect of interest has been identified,” Clinton said, “but let us remember, there are millions and millions of naturalized citizens in America from all over the world.”

“This is the kind of challenge that law enforcement can be and is prepared to address,” Clinton continued, telling reporters that while “I am absolutely in favor of and have long been an advocate for tough vetting, let’s not get diverted and distracted by the kind of campaign rhetoric we hear coming from the other side. This is a serious challenge, we are equipped to meet it… in concert with our values.”

Clinton also pointed to commentary from her opponent that has given “aide and comfort” to terrorists, citing CIA reports that Trump’s comments have been used to boost recruitment for terrorist organizations.

“Donald Trump ’s comments have been used online for recruitment of terrorists,” Clinton said, citing the former head of the CIA. “The kinds of rhetoric and language that Mr. Trump has used is giving aide and comfort to our adversaries… I’m the only candidate in this race who’s been part of the hard decision to take terrorists out of the battlefield.”

block-time published-time 3.21pm BST

Jill Stein: Hillary Clinton is more dangerous than Donald Trump Green party presidential nominee and future presidential also-ran Jill Stein has declared that Democratic rival Hillary Clinton is more dangerous for the future of the country, on climate change and other issues, than Republican nominee Donald Trump - an interesting platform for a Green party candidate to take, to say the least.

“Donald Trump , I think, will have a lot of trouble moving things through Congress,” Stein told Politico in a wide-ranging interview [http://www.politico.com/story/2016/09/jill-stein-trump-may-have-memory-problem-228346] for the podcast Off-Message. “Hillary Clinton , on the other hand, won’t. Hillary has the potential to do a whole lot more damage, get us into more wars, faster to pass her fracking disastrous climate program, much more easily than Donald Trump could do his.”

Over the course of the interview, Stein described the choice between Clinton and Trump as “death by gunshot or death by strangulation,” offered to run a (physical) race against Clinton, diagnosed Trump with a memory problem and lambasted Vermont senator Bernie Sanders for being on “the wrong team”:

block-time published-time 2.53pm BST

Hours before she is due to hold an event at Temple University in Philadelphia to address the needs of millennial voters, Hillary Clinton has penned an op-ed for Mic [https://mic.com/articles/154407/hillary-clinton-here-s-what-millennials-have-taught-me#.E9Xv92DMW], a millennial-oriented news and culture website\*, on what millennials have taught her.

“Your generation is the most open, diverse and entrepreneurial generation in our country’s history,” Clinton wrote. “And if we work together to take on the barriers that are holding you back and unleash your full potential, that won’t just improve your lives - it’ll make our entire country stronger.”

Clinton lavishes the generation with praise on its adaption to terrible economic conditions, its advocacy for human rights and work on behalf of marginalized communities before outlining her plan to win the support of young voters: reducing college debt, raising the minimum wage, paid family leave and the judicious appointment of supreme court justices. (Do most of those sound like non-specific campaign pledges that most Democratic-leaning voters, millennials included, might like? Probably.)

\*For which, full disclosure, I used to work.

block-time published-time 2.26pm BST

Donald Trump on Manhattan bombing: 'I called it' Donald Trump has a message for New Yorkers after a bomb injured 29 people in the Chelsea neighborhood of Manhattan on Saturday: Called it.

“I should be a newscaster because I called it before the news,” Trump said in a phone interview on Fox & Friends. “What I said was exactly correct and everybody says, ‘while he was right, he called it too soon.’ Okay. Give me a break.”

Trump was roundly criticized for declaring at a campaign rally that the explosion in Chelsea had been caused by a bomb [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/18/trump-reacts-to-new-york-explosion-we-have-to-get-tough-smart-and-vigilant-video], hours before police voiced any public conclusions. “Just before I got off the plane, a bomb went off in New York and nobody knows exactly what’s going on,” Trump said at the time.

Trump then called on racial profiling in combating terrorism, citing what he characterized as Israeli security procedures.

“Our local police, they know who a lot of these people are. They are afraid to do anything about it, because they don’t want to be accused of profiling, and they don’t want to be accused of all sorts of things,” Trump said. “You know, in Israel, they profile. They have done an unbelievable job, as good as you can do, but Israel has done an unbelievable job and they will profile. They profile.”

block-time published-time 1.28pm BST

Candidates react to string of terrorist incidents Good morning, and welcome to the Guardian ’s campaign live blog.

Fifty days before the presidential election, and one week until the first presidential debate, both major campaigns are attempting to navigate a series of terrorist incidents across the United States this weekend, from a mass stabbing at a Minnesota mall being investigated as a “ potential act of terrorism [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/18/minnesota-mass-stabbing-mall-fbi-terrorism-investigation] ” to a string of bombings [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/18/new-york-bombing-no-international-terrorism-link-governor-cuomo] in the New York metro area that so far has culminated with the discovery of five pipe bombs [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/19/new-york-bombing-both-devices-used-pressure-cooker-and-phone-reports] near a New Jersey commuter train station.

The reactions of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump to the rising fear of more attacks to come has highlighted the contrasts between the two candidates: Clinton, whose tenure as secretary of state, and as New York senator during 9/11, bolsters her credentials on national security, released a statement strongly condemning the “apparent terrorist attacks”, applauding first responders and linking to her comprehensive plan [https://www.hillaryclinton.com/issues/combating-terrorism/] to fight domestic and international terrorism.

Trump, meanwhile, declared at a campaign rally that the explosion in New York’s Chelsea neighborhood on Saturday night had been caused by a bomb [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/18/trump-reacts-to-new-york-explosion-we-have-to-get-tough-smart-and-vigilant-video], hours before police voiced any public conclusions. “Just before I got off the plane, a bomb went off in New York and nobody knows exactly what’s going on,” Trump said at the time.

The Trump campaign has not said whether the Republican presidential nominee had received information privately from New York officials or was speculating without evidence.

Trump followed up his statements at the rally with a series of tweets:

enltrUnder the leadership of Obama & Clinton, Americans have experienced more attacks at home than victories abroad. Time to change the playbook!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/777696356211326976]enltrSaturday’s attacks show that failed Obama/Hillary Clinton polices won’t keep us safe! I will Make America Safe Again!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/777696558464823296]enltrTerrible attacks in NY, NJ and MN this weekend. Thinking of victims, their families and all Americans! We need to be strong!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/777696726933180416]Both campaigns have events throughout the day:

\* Donald Trump will hold a rally in Estero, Florida, at 3pm ET. Trump will be the first Republican presidential nominee to visit the area since George W Bush’s re-election campaign in 2004.

\* Trump’s running mate Mike Pence will be holding a town hall at the Music Man Square in Mason City, Iowa, at 3pm CT (4pm ET) and will be holding a rally at Giese Manufacturing in Dubuque, Iowa, at 7pm CT (8pm ET).

\* Hillary Clinton will hold a rally to discuss the stakes of the election for millennials at Temple University in Philadelphia at 1pm ET, and will appear on The Tonight Show with host Jimmy Fallon on NBC tonight – maybe he’ll ruffle her hair [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u0BYqzdiuJc] too?

\* Clinton’s running mate Tim Kaine will hold a rally with wife Anne Holton at Iowa State University in Ames to talk about how young people can get involved in this campaign. That rally begins at 12pm CT (1pm ET).

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.01pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Prime minister offers more money for peace building and assistance but no additional resettlement places

Australia will take **refugees** from camps in Costa Rica as it offered more money for peace building and **refugee** assistance, but no additional resettlement places, at Barack Obama’s global migration summit in New York.

That humanitarian intake will include a cohort of **refugees** from the violence-plagued “northern triangle” countries of Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador taken from camps in Costa Rica, Malcolm Turnbull announced.

The prime minister praised Obama “for bringing us together to pledge new commitments to support some of the world’s most vulnerable people”, but did not pledge any additional places in Australia.

Instead he announced the previously earmarked increase in Australia’s humanitarian intake to 18,750 by 2018-19 would be made permanent.

Related: Australia criticised over 'hollow' promise to resettle 12,000 Syrian and Iraqi **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/08/australia-criticised-over-hollow-promise-to-resettle-12000-syrian-and-iraqi-refugees]

Australia’s approach to the issue of forced migration was “both principled and pragmatic”, Turnbull told the summit.

“Our strategy addresses all parts of the problem – employing strong border protection policies and a tough stance on people smugglers, while tackling the causes of displacement, with a generous and compassionate resettlement program supporting **refugees** in our communities.

“This is why Australia recently announced a $220m commitment to help the humanitarian and resilience needs in Syria and its neighbouring countries.

“And I can announce that Australia will commit an additional $130m over the next three years in support of peace building and assistance to **refugees**, forcibly displaced communities and host countries. This multi-year commitment will give greater certainty to aid delivery organisations and facilitate longer-term planning.”

Turnbull’s address did not mention Australia’s offshore processing regime, or the future of the 2,000 **refugees** and asylum seekers held on the islands of Nauru and Papua New Guinea’s Manus.

Nauru’s justice minister, David Adeang, told the same gathering that while he was proud of his country’s role in assisting in **refugee** processing, Nauru would never be a permanent home for the **refugees** now held there. “Nauru invites other countries to assist in finding durable resettlement solutions for our **refugees**,” he said. “This is the critical missing component.

“Remote processing is one part of what needs to be a comprehensive migration strategy. I encourage states today to assist us find permanent homes for the 924 **refugee** men, women and children currently on Nauru.”

Turnbull’s failure to acknowledge or address the ongoing human rights abuses in the Australian-run offshore camps – including physical and sexual violence, child abuse, and endemic rates of self-harm[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] – has been condemned by rights groups.

The Human Rights Law Centre’s director of legal advocacy, Daniel Webb, said the fundamental principle of indefinite offshore detention was flawed, and that “showing decency to one person seeking asylum doesn’t justify or require cruelty to another”.

“Right now there are 2,000 innocent people in our care who are suffering. I’ve sat face to face with women who have been sexually assaulted on Nauru. I’ve seen a man in our care collapse unconscious after being beaten on Manus. I’ve spoken with families desperate to begin rebuilding their lives in safety but who still languish on a painful road to nowhere after three years. Last night’s announcement doesn’t end their suffering.”

Turnbull has also been criticised for his consistent characterisations of Australia’s **refugee** resettlement program as one of the world’s most “generous”[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/20/malcolm-turnbull-tells-world-leaders-to-follow-australias-asylum-policies].

“Australia’s program of permanent **refugee** resettlement is the third largest in the world,” he told the Obama summit.

But Dr John Minns, associate professor at the Australian National University and convenor of Canberra **Refugee** Action Committee, said claims that Australia was the third-most generous resettler of **refugees** in the world was “a trick”.

“Last year Australia resettled just 11,776 people. According to the United Nations high commissioner for **refugees**, of those we recognised, registered or resettled – considered the truest way of determining generosity to **refugees** – Australia was ranked 25th overall, 32nd per capita and 47th compared to our GDP. Those we take compared to the total **refuges** under the UNHCR mandate puts us 81st in the world on a GDP basis – hardly something of which we can be proud.”

Minns said for Australia to boast of its performance in the face of an unprecedented global **refugee** crisis was embarrassing.

Related: Peter Dutton says getting women and children off Nauru is 'first priority'[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/20/peter-dutton-says-getting-women-and-children-off-nauru-is-first-priority]

“Australia took fewer than 12,000 in 2015 while a much poorer country such as Turkey has over two and a half million, Pakistan has around one and a half million and Lebanon and Iran have around one million each.”

Save the Children’s chief executive, Paul Ronalds, welcomed Turnbull’s announcement of a funding boost in Australia’s assistance for **refugees** in other countries but said the prime minister had failed to back this up with a meaningful increase in the **refugee** resettlement intake.

“Claiming that the maintenance of Australia’s already stated humanitarian intake for 2018-19 of 18,750 places into future years is some kind of significant pledge to help the international community deal with the global **refugee** crisis is disingenuous,” Ronalds said.

“While we welcome any additional financial contribution by Australia towards helping children and adults forced to flee their homes from conflict and persecution, the $130m announced by the prime minister pales in comparison to the $9.6bn the Australian government has spent since 2013 maintaining its damaging and isolationist ‘deterrence-based’ asylum seeker policy.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UN suspends Syria aid after humanitarian convoy hit by airstrikeSyria support group meets amid US-Russian tensionsObama also hosting meeting to tackle global **refugee** crisis

block-time published-time 10.03pm BST

A coalition of more than 30 countries unveiled a series of concrete responses to the **refugee** crisis on Tuesday, giving **refugees** a glimmer of hope in a week in which world leaders gathered at the UN summit in New York have otherwise failed to offer direct action on **refugee** issues, reports Patrick Kingsley from the UNleaders’ summit on **refugees**.

Barack Obama announced that the US-led coalition had collectively agreed to roughly double resettlement places for **refugees**, increase humanitarian aid for **refugees** by $4.5 billion, provide education to one million more **refugee** children, and potentially improve access to legal work for another million adults.

Full details were not disclosed, but the move constituted the most concrete set of **refugee** measures at the annual UN summit. On Monday, **refugee** advocates were left disappointed by the announcement of a non-binding declaration that upheld world leaders’ pre-existing responsibilities for **refugees**, but offered little in terms of direct commitments.

But the mood changed on Tuesday, with 18 developed countries announcing plans to increase legal access to **refugees**, 17 developing countries pledging to increase **refugees**’ access to education, and 15 claiming that they would take various measures that could help to expand **refugees**’ access to work.

The western countries included those that are well-known for their generosity to **refugees**, including Germany and Sweden, as well as those, such as Australia, who are often criticised for their treatment of asylum seekers. Argentina and Portugal were among the countries who pledged to start resettlement programmes for the first time. Commenting on the relative success of his initiative, Obama said: “We’re going to have to be honest: it’s still not enough – not sufficient for a crisis of this magnitude.” But he added: “I hope this is a beginning.”

Leaders from the world’s major **refugee**-hosting nations hailed the pledges, but warned that they meant little if they were not carried out. Most pledges made at a similar summit in London in February have not been fulfilled.

“The **refugee** crisis requires not just [pledged] commitment but follow-through,” said King Abdullah of Jordan, a country that hosts more Syrian **refugees** than all the countries in the EU, which has a population that is 50 times bigger.

block-time published-time 9.58pm BST

David Miliband is at the **refugees**’ summit:

enltrRefugees are....Olympians. Nice to see President Obama deferring/listening to Yusra Mardini. pic.twitter.com/ClsZnzwtw8[https://t.co/ClsZnzwtw8]

— David Miliband (@DMiliband) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/DMiliband/status/778318518232158208]enltrObama: "**Refugees** can make us stronger". pic.twitter.com/ySKSfb36ZQ[https://t.co/ySKSfb36ZQ]

— David Miliband (@DMiliband) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/DMiliband/status/778320974227836928]enltrPresident Erdogan emphasizes importance of citizenship as ultimate destination for **refugees** pic.twitter.com/FY70UOLADJ[https://t.co/FY70UOLADJ]

— David Miliband (@DMiliband) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/DMiliband/status/778335126551945216]block-time published-time 9.49pm BST

Over at the Leaders’ Summit on **Refugees**, president Obama is taking the lead, upping the US’s number of **refugees** it is pledged to take:

enltrObama just committed to take 110k **refugees** in 2017 (60% increase on 2015) despite toxicity of US politics.That is what leadership looks like

— Brendan Cox (@MrBrendanCox) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/MrBrendanCox/status/778324891552604160]block-time published-time 9.45pm BST

More strikes against the Security Council, this time from South Africa’s Jacob Zuma, who calls for its reform “in order to ensure the representation of Africa”.

“One billion people cannot continue to be denied a voice in this manner,” Zuma says, to applause from the chamber.

block-time published-time 9.28pm BST

The UN Leaders’ Summit on **refugees**[https://www.whitehouse.gov/aidrefugees] is about to begin.

The Guardian’s Patrick Kingsley is on the scene and will bring you more detail from the event as it unfolds, but politicians have squandered a chance to radically rethink the treaties and organisations that govern the world’s handling of **refugees**, the director of Oxford University’s **Refugee** Studies Centre told Kingsley earlier.

Interviewed here in New York, Alexander Betts said that the **refugee** system needs to be rethought in the same way that the international monetary system was reworked in the 1970s.

“The **refugee** regime was created in the 1950s for Europe and the early Cold War era,” says Betts. “Yes it’s been adapted incrementally but we’ve never had a moment of systematic reflection.”

Betts adds:

“In other areas like the international monetary system, when there was a big crisis as we saw in 1971, reform took place. 2016 should be the **refugee** system’s 1971. It should involve reflection on our legal model, our organisational model, and our operational model – and that’s what the political capital that we’ve invested in these two days should have gone towards.

But as it is, I think there are achievements, but I’m not sure these achievements reach the level of ambition that the international community should have had in response to the **refugee** crisis.

block-time published-time 9.16pm BST

Poland joins the UK in announcing that it has begun the process of ratifying the Paris climate agreements, Duda says, invoking the new beginning of the so-called “anthropocene” era.

block-time published-time 9.10pm BST

The afternoon plenary session is underway. Now speaking is Andrzej Duda, the president of Poland.

Poland’s ambassador to the UK has expressed concern[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/31/mp-horror-over-killing-of-polish-man-in-harlow-robert-halfon] about xenophobic attacks on Polish nationals which have begun occurring in Britain following the UK’s vote to leave the European Union. It is not known whether Duda will address the issue in today’s speech.

block-time published-time 8.51pm BST

“We will refuse to give into pressure to give in to pressures for easy votes” Trudeau says.

There is a choice to be made. Strong, diverse countires like Canada didn’t happen by accident, and won’t continue without effort. Every single day, we need to choose hope over fear, and diversity over division. Fear has never created a single job. Our citizens, the nearly 7.5 billion people we collectively serve, are better than the cynics and pessimists think they are. People want their problems solved, not exploited.

“Canada is a modest country. We know we can’t solve these problems alone. We know it will be hard work. But we’re Canadian, and we’re here to help,” he concludes.

block-time published-time 8.46pm BST

Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau is giving the final address of the morning session, switching between English and French.

We need to create economic growth that is broadly shared, because a fair and successful world is a peaceful one. We need to focus on what brings us together, not on what divides us.

In Canada, we see diversity as a source of strength.

He says that in recent months Canadians “have opened their arms and hearts” to **refugees** fleeing the Syrian war, and “welcomed them as new Canadians”.

Justin Trudeau addresses the 71st session of the United Nations General Assembly Photograph: Jewel Samad/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 8.40pm BST

May says the UK will ratify Paris climate change agreement this year May also used her speech to give her first major commitment that Britain will continue to tackle climate change after leaving the EU, as she promised to ratify the Paris agreement[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/dec/13/paris-climate-deal-cop-diplomacy-developing-united-nations] by the end of the year.

The UK remained determined to “play our part in the international effort against climate change … In a demonstration of our commitment to the agreement reached in Paris, the UK will start its domestic procedures to enable ratification of the Paris agreement and complete these before the end of the year,” she said.

The UK was party to negotiations as part of the EU[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/cop-21-un-climate-change-conference-paris] and will be expected to take on emissions reductions based on an EU-wide “burden-sharing” agreement, which is yet to be worked out, reports Rowena Mason.

May’s decision to speed up ratification will relieve green campaigners and charities amid worries that the new prime minister could start retreating from Britain’s position as a leader on tackling climate change after leaving the EU. She has rarely spoken about the subject in the past and was accused of a regressive step when she abolished the Department for Energy and Climate Change[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/jul/15/decc-abolition-major-setback-for-uk-climate-change-efforts] after taking office.

However, pressure on the prime minister to agree to ratify the deal intensified after China and the US made a joint declaration that they would do so earlier in the month.

A UK official said the prime minister’s announcement was “absolutely a reflection of her commitment to delivering on that international agreement where the UK has been at the forefront of efforts”.

You can read the whole piece here[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/20/theresa-may-uk-ratify-paris-climate-change-agreement-this-year].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.47pm BST

block-time published-time 8.36pm BST

“When the British people voted to leave the EU, they did not vote to turn inwards from our partners around the world,” May says. “They demanded action... but that action must be more global, not less.”

Only we... can act to ensure this great institution is as relevant to our future as to our past. So let us come together... and work together to build a better, safer, and more prosperous world for generations to come.

block-time published-time 8.32pm BST

“We should be clear that there is nothing wrong with going in search of a better life... but countries must be able to exert control over their borders,” May says. She says there are three fundamental principles that need to be established for migration.

“First, we must make sure that **refugees** claim asylum in the first safe country they reach,” she says, adding that we should all do more to help those countries where **refugees** first arrive.

Second, she says, a distinction must be made between economic migrants and those fleeing violence.

And third, she reaffirms the declaration of human rights, saying that “nearly 70 years on we are presented with a new form of slavery” run by organised crime groups. “Trafficked and sold across borders, victims are forced into the kind of existence which is almost beyond imagination. Victims are held captive in squalid conditions and forced into sex and labour.”

Britains Prime Minister Theresa May addresses the 71st session of the United Nations General Assembly Photograph: Jewel Samad/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 8.26pm BST

May talks now about fighting extremism; she mentions the UK-led resolution on aviation security, on which the UN will vote later. “It is not enough merely to focus on violent extremism; we must focus on... hate and fear in all their forms,” she continues.

“Across the world today there are 65m people displaced,” she says. “That is equivalent to the entire population of the United Kingdom.”

She calls for an end to the conflict in Syria.

block-time published-time 8.19pm BST

“It is a great honour for me to address this assembly for the first time,” May starts.

She says that the UN began to “deliver security across the globe.” Some of the threats we face today are the same as those faced by the founders, she continues, but some are new - “global warming, international terrorism, and mass movement of unprecedented number of people.”

“As a new prime minister of the UK, my message is simple: the UK will be a strong, dependable partner internationally.... we will continue to honour our commitment to spend 0.7 percent of our GDP on development.”

She says that the UK will continue to be “a steadfast member of the security council,” and condemns the bombing of the aid convoy in Syria yesterday.

She says, however, that those standing before the assembly must not forget that they serve their people at home, and that many have been left behind by globalization. “We need this, our United Nations, to forge a bold new multilateralism.”

block-time published-time 8.14pm BST

Theresa May to speak now It is the new prime minister’s second outing on the international stage after attending the G20[https://www.theguardian.com/world/g20] summit in China earlier this month, reports Rowena Mason.

She made a similar warning in Hangzhou about anti-globalisation sentiment, which has been linked to the rise of populist movements and leaders in many countries across the world, from Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump in the US to the leftwing party Syriza in Greece.

May’s priority at both summits has also been to reassure world leaders that the UK is not turning away from the world because of the vote to leave the EU.

She will meet the presidents of Turkey and Egypt on Tuesday morning before having her second meeting in a fortnight with the Japanese prime minister, Shinzo Abe. Their discussion comes after Tokyo warned at the G20[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/04/britain-japanese-brexit-letter-eu] that companies could withdraw from the UK without more clarity about access to the single market and other benefits of the EU after Brexit.

Theresa May meets with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe Photograph: WPA Pool/Getty Images On Monday night, May hosted a business reception at the consul general’s residence in New York[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/new-york] for US companies such as Goldman Sachs, Amazon, Black Rock, IBMand Morgan Stanley in a bid to convince them that Britain remains a good place to invest.

May has attracted criticism at the summit for her proposals about **refugees**, after she suggested it was better to help those fleeing war in the first safe country they reach than to resettle them further away. She argued that the UN needed to help stop “mass uncontrolled migration of people” because it is dangerous, and asserted the right of countries to control their own borders.

Speaking before the summit, the prime minister also challenged the arguments for taking in more **refugees** than the total to which the UK has already committed.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.44pm BST

block-time published-time 8.04pm BST

Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama, the prime minister of Fiji, is talking about February’s Cyclone Winston, as a harbinger of the ecological disaster that faces his island nation as global warming increases.

A 19 February Nasa satellite image of Cyclone Winston in the South Pacific Ocean. Photograph: NASA Goddard Rapid Response/NOAA “If this is what awaits us as global warming increases, then god help us,” he says. “We are facing a nightmare scenario.”

Our message from the Pacific is this: the two degree cap is not enough. We want the world to go one better and embrace the 1.5 degree cap.... but as a first step, I appeal to you all to ratify the Paris agreement, and turn our backs on the coalition of the selfish which would rather see the Pacific nations submerged than change their lifestyles.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.08pm BST

block-time published-time 7.58pm BST

In a dramatic display of Latin America’s political divisions, the delegations of Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua walked out during Brazilian President Michel Temer’s speech at the U.N. General Assembly, according to the Associated Press.

President of Brazil Michel Temer addresses the United Nations General Assembly Photograph: Drew Angerer/Getty Images Venezuela’s U.N. Ambassador Rafael Ramirez told the AP today that Temer is “an illegitimate president, the product of a coup d’etat. We do not recognize him.”

Ecuadorean diplomat Carola Iniguez says her country’s delegation walked out “to protest the political situation in Brazil.”

Temer became Brazil’s president following the ouster of Dilma Rousseff by the Senate over accusations of fiscal mismanagement.

In his speech, Temer defended the impeachment process, insisting it was an example of democracy at work. He said: “impeaching a president is certainly not a trivial matter in a democratic regime. But there is no democracy without rule of law without rules applicable to all, including the most powerful. This is what Brazil is showing the world.”

block-time published-time 7.52pm BST

Now Erdogan is calling for reform of the Security Council. “What about the other countries around the world? We ignore them,” he says. “The representative nature of the security council should be effective so that the security council could be more just and fair.”

block-time published-time 7.44pm BST

Erdogan says that Turkey is now home to 2.7m **refugees**, and he hits out at countries who turn **refugees** away.

“The rest of the world may not but we will keep on admitting them, because they are human being. We will keep our doors open, and we will keep our doors open in the future.”

The international community has failed its humanitarian values.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan addresses the General Assembly Photograph: Jason Szenes/EPA It is notable that Erdogan is mentioning Kurdish separatist groups such as the PKK in the same lists as groups like Isis.

This is a fraught topic; Turkey is an ally of the coalition against Isis, but so is Kurdistan, the autonomous northern region in Iraq that is home to the de facto Kurdish state - but Turkey is also home to a large number of Kurds, and the Turkish military has often engaged in fierce fighting with Kurdish separatists within south-eastern Turkey.

block-time published-time 7.35pm BST

“Within the first quarter of the 21st century, mankind has reached the peak in science, economy, development and health,” Erdogan begins. “However, this achievement conceals a dark face. In Syria, Iraq, and counties in the grip of terrorism around the world, hundreds of thousands of children, young, and elderly, are killed. **Refugees** running from oppression face derading treatment in many european cities.”

“It’s nigh time to show leadership with a sense of responsibility in addressing these problems in a determined fashion.”

Now he turns to the coup, which he describes as being orchestrated by a “terrorist organisation”.

This coup attempt was successfully repelled by our nation, protected heroically her democracy, govt, freedoms, future and const order. That’s why I take pride in my nation as my nation defeated this heinous coup attempt by risking their lives, and for a period of 29 days they never abandoned the squares around Turkey.

They threw their bodies in front of the tanks. They showed a very noble stance. If I stand here today before you it is thanks to our nation’s brave stance.

block-time published-time 7.25pm BST

Turkey’s controversial president Recep Tayyip Erdogan is due to speak next.

His appearance comes just over a month after a failed coup attempt[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/18/military-coup-was-well-planned-and-very-nearly-succeeded-say-turkish-officials] by a group of army officers against Erdogan’s administration, which was brutally put down. One fraught issue that might come up is that of influential US-based cleric Fethullah Gulen.

The Turkish president told Reuters[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-usa-idUSKCN11Q00T] in an interview on Monday that the United States should “not harbor a terrorist” like Gulen and that his activities should be banned worldwide:

Erdogan said Washington had “no excuse” for keeping Gulen, a former Erdogan ally who Turkish officials say has built up a network of followers over decades inside the armed forces and civil service to take over Turkey.

“If the U.S. is our strategic ally and our NATO partner... then they should not let a terrorist like Gulen run his organization,” Erdogan said, in an interview on the sidelines of the annual gathering of world leaders at the United Nations.

Erdogan said an initial three months state of emergency, declared in the wake of the coup, could be extended if necessary.

Critics say extending the state of emergency will give Erdogan a freer hand to limit or suspend freedoms, to bypass the parliament as well as taking swift measures against his opponents.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.26pm BST

block-time published-time 7.11pm BST

“Our generation is the first not to live through a world war,” says Johann Schneider - Ammann, president of Switzerland.

He contrasts technological achievements in solar power and combating climate change with the thousands of migrants dying in the Mediterranean as the best and the worst of this new world.

“We have equipped ourselves with tools for building a better world,” he says. “It is time for us to take up those tools.”

block-time published-time 6.55pm BST

Abdullah II Ibn Al Hussein, King of Jordan, is giving a very powerful speech about the battle against extremism.

“I find myself stating the obvious again and again,” he says.

False perceptions of Muslims will fuel a global struggle by polarising factions east and west, driven deeper into hatred and intolerance.

Muslims, a quarter of the world’s population, citizens of every country, have a central role in the future of our planet. Muslim men and women brign a rich heritage of civic responsibility, justice, gen, family life, and a faith in god.

When others exclude Muslims from fulfilling their role by prejudice or ignorance of what Islam is, or on the other hand when the outlaws of Islam... attempt to mislead some Muslims by deforming our religion through false teachings, our society’s future is put at risk.

“Ladies and gentlemen, this is a battle that we must fight together,” he adds. “ Let me state clearly that these radical groups do not exist on the fringes of Islam. They are altogether outside of it. They declare the civilized world as the enemy.”

He calls for an end to violence in Syria, led by a global coalition.

block-time published-time 6.41pm BST

Theresa May[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/theresamay] is set to be the penultimate speaker in the morning session of the General Assembly, and all eyes will be on the new prime minister as she faces the United Nations for the first time since the UK voted to leave the European Union in June.

She will use her maiden speech at the United Nations to warn that it must work hard to remain relevant as too many people feel left behind by globalisation, reports Rowena Mason in New York.

Speaking at the general assembly on Tuesday, she will draw attention to the British people’s decision to vote to leave the EU, arguing that they want a “politics that is more in touch with their concerns, and bold action to address them”.

The prime minister will argue that there is still a crucial role for international bodies such as the UN, even as people are wary of globalisation, but she will warn that it must modernise to meet the challenges of mass migration, modern slavery and terrorism. “We must recognise that for too many of those men and women, the increasing pace of globalisation has left them feeling left behind,” she will say.

“The challenge for those of us in this room is to ensure our governments and our global institutions, such as this United Nations[https://www.theguardian.com/world/unitednations], remain responsive to the people that we serve. That we are capable of adapting our institutions to the demands of the 21st century.”

You can read the whole piece here[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/20/theresa-may-calls-on-un-to-meet-challenges-of-globalisation].

block-time published-time 6.28pm BST

Canada’s prime minister Justin Trudeau is set to close out the morning session of the General Assembly, speaking immediately after Theresa May, according to the schedule.

In the meantime, the Canadian government, with the United Nations and billionaire George Soros, is launching an initiative to help other countries implement a program that has allowed private citizens to bring hundreds of thousands of **refugees** to Canada in the past 35 years, reports Ashifa Kassam from Toronto.

The country’s private sponsorship program, as it is known, enables groups of Canadians to settle **refugees** in exchange for a commitment to cover their expenses and provide help to the newcomers as they adjust to their new home.

Some 13 countries – including the United Kingdom -- have expressed interest in implementing their own version of the program, John McCallum, Canada’s minister for **immigration**, **refugees** and citizenship said on Tuesday. “Every country’s circumstances are different but we believe this is a good model which is exportable to other countries,” he told reporters in New York City. “You are miles ahead if you can bring **refugees** in supported by our own citizens. Then they have a base from which to go. They have a welcome, rather than having **refugees** come in uninvited or illegally or alone.”

Australia launched a pilot of the program in 2013 and a similar initiative is being planned in the United Kingdom and New Zealand. Germany and Switzerland have both experimented with the idea while Spain and Japan are among the countries who have expressed interest in the program.

Canada will now work with the UN High Commission for **Refugees** and Soros’ Open Society Foundations to create training modules based on an analysis of the Canadian model as well as provide technical assistance to countries interested in adopting the program, said McCallum.

Private sponsorship was launched in Canada after the Vietnam war and has since brought in more than 275,000 **refugees**, including nearly 9,000 Syrian **refugees**, in addition to those brought in by government programs. Studies suggest the support of private citizens facilitates the settlement process, with privately-sponsored **refugees** reporting more success and integration than their government-sponsored counterparts.

block-time published-time 6.13pm BST

An interesting spot on Twitter by the New York Times’ UN correspondent Somini Sengupta[https://twitter.com/SominiSengupta] : the Russian foreign ministrytweeted that, held up by US president Obama’s motorcade, Russian foreign minister Sergey Lavrov got out and walked the rest of the way to the General Assembly.

enltrManhattan traffic was blocked because of @BarackObama[https://twitter.com/BarackObama] motorcade. #Lavrov[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Lavrov?src=hash] decided not to wait in traffic jam & headed to @UN[https://twitter.com/UN] by walking pic.twitter.com/L4XVBsvU1d[https://t.co/L4XVBsvU1d]

— MFA Russia (@mfa\_russia) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/mfa\_russia/status/778242365962215424]block-time published-time 6.02pm BST

Hollande continues:

No county can say that it is immune to the threat of Islamic terrorism, which has claimed lost individuals within our countries and radicalised them.

No wall can stop... this scourge. Terrorism prospers from open conflicts that have for too long not been solved. Its brought a wave of **refugees**. It’s shaken the established order.... the collective security that was the very principles of the UN. In the face of these dangers, France once again turns to the United Nations.

If we want to eradicate terrorism, if we want to act, then we need to take decisons. We can’t just talk about solidarity, we can’t just show passion. We need to take action.

Francois Hollande addresses the 71st session of United Nations General Assembly Photograph: Jewel Samad/AFP/Getty Images He says that

block-time published-time 5.55pm BST

French president François Hollande is speaking now. He is calling for a “2020 agenda for Africa” to bring electricity to all Africans to encourage sustainable growth and development, and reducing migration which, he says, produces instability in the countries to which the migrants go.

Then he moves on to Syria.

The Syrian tragedy will be seen as a disgrace to the international community if we do no tend it soon. Aleppo is a martyrd city. Thousands have died in bombing. Humanitarian convoys have been attacked. Chemical weapons have been used. I have one thing to say here: this is enough.”

The international community must compel the regime to peace, he says, or they will be complicit in the tragedy.

France has four requests, he says. First, impose the ceasefire. Then ensure the immediate sending of aid to Aleppo. Then ensure that political negotiations resume; and finally punish the use of chemical weapons. “That is an issue of justice,” Hollande says.

block-time published-time 5.38pm BST

Nicky Woolf here, taking over from my colleague Haroon Siddique.

Prime Minister Theresa May is expected to speak later today. Currently, Argentinian president Mauricio Macri is addressing the chamber.

He calls the **refugee** crisis a “major challenge”.

“Though a year ago we made a commitment to not leave anybody behind, today the images we see pain us,” Macri says. “Reality calls for us to do more.”

He pledges that Argentina will ramp up the number of Syrian **refugees** it will take.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.39pm BST

block-time published-time 4.58pm BST

After that speech, in which he urged wealthy nations to do more to help **refugees**, Obama will be hosting a summit in New York dedicated to that very subject, where he hopes other countries will pledge more help.

He stressed throughout his speech that it was only through co-operation that the world’s greatest challenges could be addressed, whether climate change, ending conflict or addressing the **refugee** crisis. In tandem he warned of the dangers of nationalism, intolerance and isolationism.

Obama also made it a robust defence of his record in office and that of the US generally, describing it as a rare superpower that has been prepared to work not only in its own interests.

Not everyone will agree with that analysis but his references to the dangers of building walls may well have been intended as a warning of how he things might change if he is succeeded in the Oval Office by Donald Trump.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.05pm BST

block-time published-time 4.18pm BST

Obama says the US has been a “force for good”, a rare superpower in human history that has been able to think beyond narrow self interests.

He refers to more threats, nuclear proliferation, the Zika virus.

Obama says it is worth giving up some freedom of action to bind countries to international rules.

He says a peaceful resolution to the disputes in the South China Sea is far greater than “arguing over rocks and reefs”.Russia’s nationalism and interference in the affairs of its neighbours will “diminish its stature and make its borders less secure”.

We have to open our hearts and do more to help **refugees** who are desperate for a home...We have to do more, even when the politics are hard.

Obama says there is “a much darker and more cynical version of history we can adopt”.

Each of us has leaders, as nations, can choose to reject those who appeal to our worst impulses and choose those who appeal to our best impulses. We have shown that we can choose a better history.

He says his own family is made up of cultures, flesh and faith from different parts of the world just as America is built from **immigration** from different shores.

I believe I can best serve my own people, I can best look after my daughters, by actively seeking what is best for all people...All of us can be co-workers with God.

And that is the end of Obama’s last address to the UN general assembly as president.

Barack Obama addresses the United Nations general assembly in New York

Photograph: Carlo Allegri/Reuters block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.20pm BST

block-time published-time 4.04pm BST

Obama says:

We must reject any forms of fundamentalism, or racism or a belief in ethnic superiority that makes our differences irreconcilable with modernity.

He talks about protests against cartoons of the prophet Muhammad, then he takes direct aim at Vladimir Putin.

We see Russia trying to capture lost glory through force

The world is too small for us to be able to resort to “old ways of thinking”, says Obama. We have seen this in the Middle East where leaders persecuted political opposition or minorities/sects. He says they have helped fuel the growth of Isis.

Our international community must seek to work with those who seek to build, rather than destroy.

On Syria, Obama says we must provide aid to those in need and engage in “hard diplomacy”. There is no ultimate military victory to be won.

enltrA look at the #Syria[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Syria?src=hash] delegation in #UNGA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/UNGA?src=hash] audience as @POTUS[https://twitter.com/POTUS] speaks about the tragic five-year civil war in that country. pic.twitter.com/eBisO5aurR[https://t.co/eBisO5aurR]

— Steve Herman (@W7VOA) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/W7VOA/status/778247899595538432]He calls for progress on Israel-Palestine, saying Palestinians must reject incitement and Israel must realise it cannot criminally occupy Palestinian land.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.04pm BST

block-time published-time 3.56pm BST

For the small fraction of what we spent on war in Iraq we could invest money in fragile states to ensure they don’t collapse in the first places, says Obama. That’s why we must act on climate change and help the poorest countries “leap-frog” damaging sources of energy.

We need new models of the global marketplace, models that are inclusive and sustainable.

There is a growing conflict between libertarianism and authoritarianism, says Obama. He stresses he is not saying that the US model is the only right model but says that he will always come down on the side of libertarianism against authoritarianism.

I believe the road of true democracy remains the better path.

In Europe the progress of the eastern-bloc countries who embraced democracy have progressed much faster than those who didn’t, says Obama.

He rejects the idea that what happened in Ukraine was the result of a foreign plot but says it happened because of what Ukrainian citizens saw happening around them.

Those of us who believe in democracy need to speak out forcefully because the facts and history are on our side.

block-time published-time 3.46pm BST

The answer is not a rejection of global integration but working together so that the benefits of integration are broadly shared, says Obama. The cultural impacts of integration must be squarely addressed.

It starts by making the global economy work better and not just for those at the top.

Often those who have benefited the most from globalisation have often used their powers to undermine workers, says Obama. He refers to $8tn stashed away in tax havens.

A world in which 1% own as much as wealth as the other 99% will never be stable.

The US president says trade wars, market subsidies, an over-reliance on natural resources rather than innovation will make us poor.

We do not have to submit to “a soulless capitalism that benefits only the few”. The rights of workers must be respected, people should be invested in and there should be a strengthening of the safety net. Obama says he has pursued these policies in the US with “clear results”.

Last year, poverty in this country fell at the fastest rate in nearly 50 years.

It is not about punishing wealth but curbing the excesses of capitalism, says Obama.

US President Barack Obama addresses the United Nations general assembly in New York

Photograph: Mike Segar/Reuters block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.20pm BST

block-time published-time 3.39pm BST

By many measures the world is safer and more prosperous than ever before says Obama, and yet there is much strife.

We must recognise that the same forces of globalisation that have pulled us together have also exposed deep fault lines.

We must go forward and not backward.

As imperfect as they are the principles of open markets, human rights, democracy are vital. The integration of our global economy as made things better for billions of people.

It means children have enough to eat, mothers don’t die in childbirth.

A person born today is more like to be healthy, live longer and have access to opportunity than at any time in history, says Obama

Despite the areas where “freedom remains in retreat” the number of democracies has increased. Social media has given people more ways to express themselves and hold leaders to account, the US president continues.

He condemns nationalism, also crude populism - sometimes from the far left but mostly from the right - and tribalism.

block-time published-time 3.33pm BST

Here is Barack Obama, to applause.

He begins by recounting progress over the past eight years:

\* a response to the global economic crisis

\* taking away terrorist safe havens

\* resolving the Iran nuclear issue

He also refers to progress in Colombia and Myanmar.

Obama highlights the framework to protect the world from climate change.

This is important work that has made a real difference to the lives of our people. It could not have happened without us working together.

And yet, he goes on, there is the global **refugee** crisis, a break down of “basic order” in the middle east, too many governments muzzling critics.

This is the paradox that defines our world today.

block-time published-time 3.28pm BST

Another important segment from Ban Ki-Moon’s final address to the UN general assembly was the regret he expressed over sexual abuse by UN peacekeepers in Central African Republic[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/31/united-nations-widens-sex-abuse-inquiry-peacekeepers-central-african-republic-car] and an outbreak of cholera in Haiti. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/18/un-public-admission-haiti-cholera-outbreak]

He said that these two matters had “tarnished the reputation of the United Nations and, far worse, traumatised many people we serve.”

The United Nations has promised to crack down on abuses after dozens of accusations of sexual abuse and exploitation by peacekeepers in Central African Republic, where UN troops assumed authority from African Union troops in September 2014.

Ban said:

The despicable acts of sexual exploitation and abuse committed by a number of U.N. peacekeepers and other personnel have compounded the suffering of people already caught up in armed conflict, and undermined the work done by so many others around the world. Protectors must never become predators.

In Haiti, Ban is working on a new response to an outbreak of cholera. The country was free of cholera until 2010, when UN peacekeepers dumped infected sewage into a river.

Ban said:

I feel tremendous regret and sorrow at the profound suffering of Haitians affected by cholera. Let us work together to meet our obligations to the Haitian people.

He called it the “moral responsibility” of the UN to do so. A 2011 study by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention said U.N. peacekeepers from Nepal, where cholera is endemic, were the likely cause of the outbreak.

Since then, more than 9,000 people have died of the disease that causes uncontrollable diarrhea and 800,000 people have fallen ill, mostly in the first two years of the outbreak.

block-time published-time 3.19pm BST

And here he is:

enltrBetter late than... #UNGA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/UNGA?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/3TFGktvt3S[https://t.co/3TFGktvt3S]

— Margaret Besheer (@mbesheer) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/mbesheer/status/778235729847709696]block-time published-time 3.14pm BST

Here is the fashionably late president:

enltrPOTUS arriving now at #UNGA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/UNGA?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/KM5QgZhrOY[https://t.co/KM5QgZhrOY]

— Jim Sciutto (@jimsciutto) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jimsciutto/status/778235287659016192]block-time published-time 3.13pm BST

The United Nations and Arab League envoy to Syria, Staffan de Mistura, has echoed John Kerry in saying the ceasefire is not dead but warned that it is “in danger”.

enltrUN envoy de Mistura on #Syriaceasefire[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Syriaceasefire?src=hash] 1/ The ceasefire is not dead. That I can tell you. It was confirmed by everyone around the table....

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778233271016681472]enltrDe Mistura: 2 The ceasefire is in danger. The ceasefire has been seriously affected but the only ones who can announce the ceasefire is dead

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778233636399280128]enltrDe Mistura 3/ are the two co-chairs and they have today not done so. They want to give it another chance.

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778233829702197248]And here are Julian’s thoughts:

enltr #Syriaceasefire[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Syriaceasefire?src=hash] now continues a zombie existence in the hotel lobbies of New York, having died violently in Syria.

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778235001930473472]block-time published-time 3.08pm BST

Apparently, Barack Obama is still on his way so the speaker who was due to be after the US president is going to swap places with him and is at the podium now. It’s the president of Chad, Idriss Déby.

block-time published-time 2.59pm BST

Julian has more from the Syria meeting, this time from the UK foreign secretary:

enltr. @BorisJohnson[https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson] on #Syria[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Syria?src=hash] meeting Very difficult indeed, but the mood of meeting was that nobody wants to give this thing up../1

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778229384289353729]enltr. @BorisJohnson[https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson] on #Syriaceasefire[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Syriaceasefire?src=hash] : "The Kerry-Lavrov process is the only show in town and we have to get that show back on the road."

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778230158557843456]Reuters reports that the French foreign minister Jean-Marc Ayrault, said that today’s meeting was dramatic and that he’s not about to say the ceasefire will be saved. He proposed a wider mechanism to monitor the ceasefire, saying it could not just be a US-Russian effort.

block-time published-time 2.46pm BST

Syria ceasefire 'not dead' More news on Syria from the support group meeting. Despite recent events, members are not yet prepared to say the ceasefire has failed:

enltrKerry: the #Syriaceasefire[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Syriaceasefire?src=hash] is not dead. We are going to meet on Friday to decide on some specific steps.

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778228300724441089]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.49pm BST

block-time published-time 2.45pm BST

Meanwhile, as the International Syria Support Group, whose members include the US and Russia meet, Russia claims that there was no attack on a UN aid convoy yesterday but that it “caught fire”. From Reuters:

The Russian Defence Ministry on Tuesday rejected assertions that an aid convoy near Aleppo had been shelled or struck from the air, saying it believed it had caught fire instead, the Interfax news agency cited spokesman Igor Konashenkov as saying.

It quoted Konashenkov, commenting on the incident which occurred on Monday, as saying that only the White Helmets civil defence rescue group could answer who was responsible and why.

Konashenkov was cited as saying that the White Helmets were close to the militant group formerly known as the Nusra Front.

The Syrian government has also denied responsibility.

About 20 people were killed according to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The US has said Russia must bear responsibility for the attack on the convoy, regardless of whether Russian planes were involved.

block-time published-time 2.36pm BST

I did say Bocelli would be a hard act to follow.

enltrNo standing ovation for Ban Ki moon. Andrea Bocelli still the only person to get one

— columlynch (@columlynch) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/columlynch/status/778225150781222912]block-time published-time 2.34pm BST

Ban suggests that the UN president and his successor should look into ways to improve decision making. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2015/sep/23/un-security-council-failing-70-years]

He refers to countries exercising vetoes and “holding the world to hostage on so many important issues”.

There have been a number of vetoes on Syria[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/23/russian-vetoes-putting-un-security-council-legitimacy-at-risk-says-us], by Russia and China.

Ban says that when he came to office a smartphone was not available but now it is a “lifeline” for many people.

Despite being misused by extremists smartphones they can be of great value in making the world a better place, he says.

Our phones and social media have connected the world.

Ban concludes.

block-time published-time 2.26pm BST

My colleague Julian Borger questions Ban’s claim about appointing more women than ever before to senior problems:

enltrAt #UNGA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/UNGA?src=hash], Ban Ki-moon claims to have appointed more women to senior positions than ever before. Fact-check: https://t.co/dNIWEQsdce[https://t.co/dNIWEQsdce]

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778222526807826432]block-time published-time 2.25pm BST

Ban says he has appointed more women to senior positions than ever before. To applause he says:

I’m proud to call myself a feminist. Women hold up half the sky.

More must be done to tackle chronic violence against women and improve their participation in decision-making.

He is talking about a range of achievements, including in-roads against the death penalty, the international criminal court.

Ban urges those present to say “No” to cracking down against freedom of assembly and expression. One would imagine Turkey is on the list of countries he is thinking of. [https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2016/jul/29/press-freedom-groups-condemn-turkish-media-crackdown]

block-time published-time 2.18pm BST

Here is the quote that could be seen as criticism of Donald Trump, as well as other right wing politicians:

enltr"All too often, **refugees** and migrants face hatred."

Ban Ki-moon to world leaders at #UNGA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/UNGA?src=hash] https://t.co/D17Ok7Vo6h[https://t.co/D17Ok7Vo6h] pic.twitter.com/48g0opywDp[https://t.co/48g0opywDp]

— United Nations (@UN) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/UN/status/778221437459070976]block-time published-time 2.17pm BST

Ban calls on all with influence to end the fighting.

The future of Syria should not rest on the fate of a single man.

He says the prospects of a two-state solution in Israel/Palestine diminish by the day.

Ban also cites problems in North Korea, Ukraine, South Sudan, and urges leaders to serve their people and not pilfer resources.

In comments that seem aimed at Donald Trump, he refers to the demonisation of Muslims that he says has haunting echoes of the past, urging politicians to be wary of hateful rhetoric.

Ban also cites places where he says prospects are more positive, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Colombia and Cyprus.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.38pm BST

block-time published-time 2.10pm BST

Ban calls attack on aid convoy 'sickening' Ban says he stands before the assembly with “deep concern” despite many achievements since he entered office eight years ago.

He refers to “gulfs” between leaders and their citizens and the danger posed by extremists and climate change.

Nevertheless he remains optimistic that the gap between rich and poor can be bridged. He urges leaders to bring the Paris agreement on climate change[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/paris-climate-agreement] into effect before the end of the year.

There are “great security threats”, he says, citing radicalisation. The consequences are on display from Yemen to Syria. On Syria, he says “powerful patrons” of both sides in the conflict “have blood on their hands”.

Present in this hall today are representatives of governments that have ignored, facilitated, funded, participated in or even planned and carried out atrocities inflicted by all sides of the Syria conflict against Syrian civilians.

Many groups have killed innocent civilians, none more so than the government of Syria.”

He calls yesterday’s attack on a UN aid convoy sickening.

Ban Ki-moon addresses the 71st session of the UN general assembly. Photograph: Richard Drew/AP block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.39pm BST

block-time published-time 2.05pm BST

The general debate is about to begin. Before that, opera singer Andrea Bocelli serenaded heads of state with a rousing version of Nessun Dorma. It’s a hard act for Ban Ki-moon to follow.

enltrNow it's Andrea Bocelli singing Nessun Dorma at the UN pic.twitter.com/YVohrmj4cY[https://t.co/YVohrmj4cY]

— Edward-Isaac Dovere (@IsaacDovere) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/IsaacDovere/status/778217212439961601]block-time published-time 1.52pm BST

My colleague Julian Borger is at the hotel where the meeting of the International Syria Support Group is taking place. There is a lot for its members to discuss.

enltrKerry and Lavrov went past deep in conversation on way to #syria[https://twitter.com/hashtag/syria?src=hash] meeting

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778212376449576960]enltrLavrov and Kerry on way to Syria meeting in NYC. Lavrov spokeswoman came by but said nothing on convoy bombing pic.twitter.com/79K6vpck2S[https://t.co/79K6vpck2S]

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778213135555694592]Reuters quotes the German foreign minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, as saying they must see if there is a way back to a truce in Syria or if “this has already become hopeless”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.54pm BST

block-time published-time 1.46pm BST

Interested in the types of seats the heads of state will be sitting on? The UN thinks you are:

enltrShortly these chairs will be moved into the #UNGA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/UNGA?src=hash] hall for use by heads of states. Watch: https://t.co/YDghrBCyDr[https://t.co/YDghrBCyDr] pic.twitter.com/IpSzNyFW0o[https://t.co/IpSzNyFW0o]

— UN Spokesperson (@UN\_Spokesperson) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/UN\_Spokesperson/status/778211941294768128]And if that’s not exciting enough for you:

enltrThe UN is live streaming "VIP Arrivals" at #UNGA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/UNGA?src=hash] today like it's the Oscars or something https://t.co/4pHKwsSATQ[https://t.co/4pHKwsSATQ] …. Mesmerizing

— Lucy Westcott (@lvzwestcott) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/lvzwestcott/status/778211558325383168]block-time published-time 1.36pm BST

Theresa May’s plan to keep **refugees** to the first country they reach after fleeing their homes is unrealistic, the head of the UN’s migration agency has told the Guardian.

Comparing the UK prime minister’s idea to the EU’s failed Dublin scheme, which is nominally meant to keep **refugees** inside the first European countries they reach, William Lacy Swing, head of the International Organisation for Migration, said it was impractical to expect a similar plan to work better across a far wider area.

During an interview on the sidelines of the UN general assembly in New York, he said:

I’ve felt for a long time that Dublin is not being honoured or respected. I think that migrants and **refugees** should be able to go to where they need to go to get work and protection. I don’t think it’s something that is likely to be extendable [beyond the borders of Europe].

Countries like Germany and Sweden have largely failed to send people back to the countries in which they entered Europe partly because of the logistical impracticalities of moving so many people and also due to the failing infrastructures of countries like Greece.

block-time published-time 1.33pm BST

The International Syria Support Group, encompassing the foreign secretaries of international powers with interests in Syria, is taking place now.

The meeting comes amid a collapse of the short-lived ceasefire and tensions between the US and Russia over who is to blame for the ending of the truce, as well as the attack on the aid convoy outside Aleppo on Monday.

enltrAt the New York Palace Hotel waiting for #Syria[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Syria?src=hash] formins meeting Lavrov is in the building but had no comment as he walked by

— Julian Borger (@julianborger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/julianborger/status/778210351762509824]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.39pm BST

block-time published-time 1.26pm BST

This is the scene in New York:

enltrThe @UN[https://twitter.com/UN] General Assembly hall starts filling up for the official opening #UNGA[https://twitter.com/hashtag/UNGA?src=hash] 71. @eucopresident[https://twitter.com/eucopresident] to speak pic.twitter.com/W81yq94bF9[https://t.co/W81yq94bF9]

— ValedeAlmeidaEU (@ValedeAlmeidaEU) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/ValedeAlmeidaEU/status/778207450856058880]block-time published-time 1.15pm BST

Today’s the second and final day of the **refugee**-focussed parts of the summit. After the disappointment of yesterday’s UN-led meeting[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/refugee-crisis-rests-on-obama-summit-un-talks-fail], in which leaders agreed to a generic and non-binding statement on **refugees** that delayed collective action until 2018, around 45 countries are expected to make more concrete pledges on an individual basis at a US-led gathering today.

Negotiations are going down to the wire, and yesterday US officials wouldn’t tell me exactly what is expected from who but they did feel hopeful that they will more or less meet their target of a) increasing humanitarian aid by 30%, b) doubling resettlement places, and c) letting one million more **refugees** into the labour market, and another million **refugee** children into education.

“’We’re confident that we’re going to accomplish all this in terms of pledges,” Assistant Secretary of State Ann Richard said.

But Richard also admitted that they have included within this calculation anything that has already been pledged since the start of the year, and said that some of the pledges may not strictly fall within the goals of the summit. She said:

We took a very broad interpretation. It didn’t have to be a formal UNHCR resettlement programme, it could be other legal pathways for admission – scholarships, work visas or humanitarian visas.

Implementation is also a concern, said Richard.

For me the much harder piece is follow-up. The countries that make commitments – do they mean it, and will they follow through? Usually an administration would spend the next year making sure these countries follow up – but the Obama administration is going to leave office at the end of January.

Separately, various business leaders are expected to announce initiatives to help **refugees**. George Soros has already announced a $500 million fund for **refugee**-focussed enterprises.

block-time published-time 1.12pm BST

Russian and Syrian air forces were not involved in air strikes on a humanitarian aid convoy near Aleppo in Syria on Monday[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/19/syria-ceasefire-is-over-says-countrys-military], Russia’s defence ministry said on Tuesday.

In comments read on Russian state-run Rossiya 24 television channel, spokesman Igor Konashenkov said:

All information on the whereabouts of the convoy was available only to the militants controlling these areas.

The US has said Russia must bear responsibility for the air strike, whether or not Russian planes were involved because it was responsible under the ceasefire agreement for reining in Bashar al-Assad’s government forces. The convoy was hit while unloading food at a warehouse in opposition-controlled Urem al-Kubra.

The International Committee of the Red Cross says around 20 civilians were killed, including a member of the Syrian Red Crescent.

block-time published-time 1.07pm BST

Opening summary The 71st session of the UN general assembly has the theme of “The Sustainable Development Goals: a universal push to transform our world” but the general debate takes place today amid familiar rancour between the US and Russia:

\* A meeting of the Syria support group is due to take place (at 8.30am US eastern time) amid a collapse of the ceasefire and after an airstrike struck an aid convoy. There could be a tense meeting between John Kerry and his Russian counterpart Sergey Lavrov, if the latter shows up. The US has pinned blame for the collapse of the ceasefire on Russia and also said it must bear responsibility for the attack on the convoy, regardless of whether Russian planes were involved.

\* Barack Obama’s final address to the assembled international leaders is the most anticipated event of the general assembly. Aides have said he plans to summarise his diplomatic accomplishments and champion the value of international institutions such as the U.N. in helping address global crises, pointing to agreements on climate change and on sanctions against Iran and North Korea. He is also determined to press for more action to address the global **refugee**crisis. Proceedings are scheduled to start at 9am ET with an address by secretary general Ban Ki-moon. Obama is on third after Ban and Brazilian president Michel Temer, who is making his first address as president after Dilma Rousseff[https://www.theguardian.com/world/dilma-rousseff] was removed from office amid a bribery scandal.

\* Obama is also hosting a summit on how to respond to the global **refugee** crisis in New York today. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/refugee-crisis-rests-on-obama-summit-un-talks-fail] For leaders to speak at the summit, they will have to make substantial new pledges to either take in more **refugees**, do more to help those who have already arrived[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/prisoners-of-europe-the-everyday-humiliation-of-refugees-stuck-in-greece-migration] or give much greater assistance to host countries in the developing world, where 86% of the world’s **refugees** live.

\* The UK prime minister, Theresa May, will use her maiden speech at the UN to warn that it must work hard to remain relevant as too many people feel left behind by globalisation.[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/20/theresa-may-calls-on-un-to-meet-challenges-of-globalisation] She will draw attention to the British people’s decision to vote to leave the EU, while stressing that it does not mean it is turning away from the world.

\* The French president, François Hollande is also addressing the assembly this morning and is expected to address the future of Europe as well as foreign policy concerns. The country has suffered three major terrorist attacks in 18 months. Hollande will speak amid polls showing he is the least popular French president on record, largely because of the economy.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.33pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Exclusive: Tim Soutphommasane enters debate as Essential releases poll showing 49% of Australians support a ban on Muslim **immigration**

The race discrimination commissioner, Tim Soutphommasane, says Pauline Hanson is stoking division and appealing to xenophobia as new polling suggests 49% of Australians support One Nation’s call for a ban on Muslim **immigration**.

Following Hanson’s first speech in the Senate last week[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban], in which she declared that Australia was in danger of being “swamped” by Muslims and reiterated her call for a ban on Muslim **immigration**, Soutphommasane was expected to use the opportunity of a forum at the Australian National University to urge Australians to resist politicians’ attempts to divide the community according to race or religion.

The race discrimination commissioner argues that racism at its core is about an abuse of power, and appeals to Australians not be complacent about racial intolerance being some kind of “initiation rite” for new arrivals.

Related: When we walked out on Pauline Hanson, we were reaching out to decent Australians| Richard Di Natale[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/16/when-we-walked-out-on-pauline-hanson-we-reached-out-to-decent-australians]

“Some would say that just as the Irish, Italians, Greeks and Asians copped ugliness, so too will Muslims. That **immigrants** must show grit and forbearance, become part of the mainstream, and then be free to have a go at the next lot who arrive,” Soutphommasane’s speech notes say.

“While we may never eradicate racism and bigotry, it isn’t good enough to say its targets must grin and bear it, or that there’s nothing we can do. Doing so amounts to normalising racism, to suggesting that it should be tolerated.”

Soutphommasane’s strong public intervention comes as field work undertaken by Essential indicates the country splits down the middle when presented with a question about banning Muslim **immigration**.

Asked whether they would support or oppose one of Pauline Hanson’s most provocative propositions – a ban on Muslim **immigration** – 49% of those polled in the Essential survey agreed with the ban, while 40% opposed the idea.

Support for banning Muslim **immigration** is highest among Coalition voters at 60% and non-major party voters at 58% – but the ban also has substantial support from progressive voters.

According to the survey 40% of people identifying themselves as Labor voters support a ban on Muslim **immigration**, and there is 34% support among Green voters.

The main reason people nominate for not supporting further Muslim **immigration** is a view that the Islamic community doesn’t integrate into Australian society, with 41% of the sample articulating that view.

People also express concern about the threat of terrorism (27%), and agree with the proposition “they do not share our values” (22%).

Polling suggests Australians are also anxious about their economic prospects and their job security.

Separate polling from Essential indcates a sizeable proportion of Australians believe free trade agreements are a threat to their job security – an issue that ranks ahead of practical workplace-level developments like contracting out, technological change and inflated wages.

The recent federal election boosted the political stocks of two overtly protectionist political movements – the Nick Xenophon Team, a micro-party with positive attitudes to multiculturalism, and One Nation, a political party that contends multiculturalism has been a disaster.

Essential first unearthed the findings about Muslim **immigration** in August, but ran a second check to validate the numbers. “These results were surprising to us and we ran a second check to validate them – on both cycles the numbers were the same,” said Peter Lewis, the director of Essential Media Communications.

Lewis said he wanted to take a couple of weeks to think through the most responsible way to release the figures and “what they mean, especially in the context of Pauline Hanson’s maiden speech.”

In a column published by Guardian Australia on Wednesday[http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/21/progressives-can-attract-hanson-supporters-but-not-by-insulting-them] Lewis says: “Here’s the challenge to everyone concerned or affronted by these findings – how do you tell half the population that they are wrong?”

“The answer is you don’t. The one thing I’ve learned in more than 20 years around politics is that convincing people they are wrong is a zero-sum game,” Lewis says.

He says the challenge is to work with people to understand what is driving their views, and “work with them from the source to win their trust.”

In his speech to be delivered at the ANU on Wednesday, Soutphommasane acknowledges the broader context of Hanson’s resurgence.

He poses two significant questions: he asks should Australians should simply accept that a significant section of the community may be holding intolerant views? And should the response be “killing any racial ugliness with kindness, empathy and understanding”?

Soutphommasane rejects the idea that intolerance is ubiquitous, pointing out that 95% of Australian voters did not vote for One Nation in 2016. He says evidence suggests the vast majority of Australians are comfortable with multiculturalism.

But he says the nation must avoid the complacency of believing that there may be nothing more Australian than intolerance – “to believe that copping racism is just part of some initiation rite for any **immigrant** group.”

On the empathy question, the race discrimination commissioner says it should be extended only so far. “It’s one thing to discuss matters, including on race and religion, in a civil and respectful manner. Dialogue is always welcome. No reasonable person would disagree.

“Where a reasonable person might disagree is where the demand goes further – where we should call on those vulnerable to discrimination to suck it up and be nice to those dishing them out,” he says.

“That demand doesn’t make sense when such kindness and generosity may not be reciprocated. Too often, people can forget that the burden of racial tolerance isn’t something that weighs upon everyone evenly.”

Soutphommasane will say several ethnic and religious communities have expressed fears about a surge in prejudice and intolerance since the resolution of the federal election.

“I understand their fears. I remember the effect on our race relations when, twenty years ago, Ms Hanson said that Australia was being swamped by Asians – I remember what it felt like to be told that you and your family weren’t welcome,” his speech notes say.

“Today, it is Muslim Australians who may feel unwelcome. This is the cost of the politics of division.”

Related: If you want a response from the Muslim community, first understand it | Mostafa Rachwani[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/16/if-you-want-a-response-from-the-muslim-community-first-understand-it]

“When politicians target particular groups with their rhetoric, it hurts our communities. It can affect what children experience in the schoolyard, and what their parents experience in their workplace.”

He says politicians need to set a higher standard with their public interventions.

“Our society is diminished by inflammatory rhetoric or appeals to xenophobia. We expect our political representatives to set the tone for our society, not to be targeting particular groups with hostility.

“We should be forthright in speaking out against political appeals to fear. And we should resist political attempts to divide Australians according to race or religion.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Tim Farron has little choice other than to make his party the pro-European choice. But a second referendum is a risky option

When you can’t ask for much, it’s a good idea to ask for something you really want. And there lies the risk for pro-Europeans in the demand for a national vote on the terms of Britain’s exit from the EU, as chosen by the Liberal Democrats at their conference[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live] this week as a flagship policy.

Related: Farron says Lib Dems are only party that can stop Tory majority at next election – Politics live[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live]

There are impeccable reasons to resist the kind of tyre-screeching flight from Europe preferred by the Brexit ultras. It can also be argued that total rupture was not specified on the ballot paper, and that such a grave decision needs layers of consent. But it’s hard to imagine a campaign that urges leave voters to see the error of their ways prevailing over any deal Theresa May might negotiate. The offer of moving on would easily beat the offer of turning back the clock.

Electoral defeat evacuates stores of political capital, and Europhiles have to consider whether they want to spend their pennies on the sourest political grapes in the shop. The Lib Dems are aware of that hazard. Former business secretary Vince Cable voiced his concern[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/19/lib-dem-split-emerges-over-policy-of-seeking-second-eu-referendum] at the conference. Even Tim Farron’s allies concede that the prospect of a second referendum is of value largely as a rhetorical symbol of dissent.

There is tactical logic here: 48% of voters rejected Brexit – six times more than the Lib Dems attract. Millions of pro-Europeans are poorly represented. Labour is busy broadcasting a political colonoscopy, offering voters a tour of its internal pathologies. Tory liberals will not defy their new leader on EU matters before suspicion that she despises them is confirmed.

Not all remain voters are rigid with terror at the prospect of Brexit, desperate for politicians to stand up and scream “no”, but that constituency has the numbers to lift the Lib Dems back into third-party contention, back into the game. Farron’s uncomplicated position – against leaving the EU, for returning if we leave – is a poll-rating defibrillator, an emergency device to restore a pulse, not a long-term remedy.

Farron also has to listen to his members. Thousands joined after the referendum, and not because they were relaxed about the outcome. This is a party whose activists drape a giant blue and gold EU flag across the dancefloor at their conference disco. Debate on a second plebscite aired doubts, but defiance was the theme. Didn’t Nigel Farage say that if the result were close, there should be a rerun? Wasn’t the leave proposition criminally mis-sold – fictional millions for the NHS; imminent Turkish invasion? Don’t lies invalidate the mandate?

To Europe’s radical right, 23 June was an inspiration – an incitement to slash harder at the ties of solidarity

If remain had won, the leavers would indeed have cried establishment stitch-up and demanded a rematch, cribbing their strategy from Scottish nationalists who wasted no time moulding their defeat on independence into new grievance, stretching a 45% minority into a moral majority. Many Brexiters were hoping for an electoral martyrdom along those lines. They pace nervily around their unexpected trophy, which turns out to be tarnished with a duty to deliver the impossible.But in Scotland, it was the status quo (or a close variant) that won. It was easy to present the result as a stage in the spread of nationalist consciousness, with contagion to the rest of the country just a matter of time. In the vote on Britain’s EU membership, the status quo was sentenced to death. Even if it could be shown that millions of leave voters were wracked with buyers’ remorse (it can’t), the union they might rejoin will never be the one they asked to quit.

The referendum is already altering Europe’s political geometry. The shock of British rejection is changing debates around integration and **immigration**. Next spring, Marine Le Pen, leader of the far-right Front National, will almost certainly make it into the final round[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/nation-state-marine-le-pen-global-mood-france-brexit-trump-front-national] of a French presidential election. The Eurosceptic, anti-**immigrant** Alternative für Deutschland party is poised to enter Germany’s parliament[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/mecklenburg-vorpommern-german-anti-immigrant-party-strong-regional-election-exit-polls-merkel] for the first time next autumn. Nationalist and populist movements are thriving across Europe. Governments in Poland and Hungary are developing anti-liberal doctrines on a model borrowed from Vladimir Putin. To Europe’s radical right, 23 June was a provocation and an inspiration – an incitement to slash harder at the ties of continental solidarity. The idea that moderate leaders in Paris or Berlin will sit with their engines idling while Britain ponders whether to join the convoy and at what speed is delusional.

No one is more in denial about this than the Tory Brexiteers who skim over the detail of their mission as if leafing through the brochure for a pleasure cruise around the Commonwealthtoasting free trade deals on a recommissioned Britannia[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/20/brexit-weekly-briefing-buckle-up-a-nasty-divorce-looks-inevitable]. They treat practical questions about their agenda and concern that their campaign fuelled xenophobic fires as the sore losers’ whinge.

In truth, they are sore winners. Many resent the burden of political maturity that comes with getting their way. They keep in their pockets the card showing May’s quiet support for remain, ready to play it with a flourish when her first compromise with reality can be cast as betrayal. But it is hard for pro-Europeans to denounce that game while drenched in nostalgia, when the argument sounds like a plan to build a time-machine and return to the late 90s, back to the days when Brussels-phobia was but a yoke-stain on the tie of unelectable Tory reaction.

Related: Brexit weekly briefing: buckle up – a nasty divorce looks inevitable[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/20/brexit-weekly-briefing-buckle-up-a-nasty-divorce-looks-inevitable]

Lib Dems insist that their position is more nuanced than that, but nuance hasn’t exactly been flying off the shelves in the retail end of British politics recently. A position that lends itself to caricature as contempt for the will of the people will be cast that way.

Britain needs a liberal promise of engagement with Europe that absorbs the result of the referendum, and European liberals need British partners who will engage with their dilemmas on post-referendum terms. I understand why Farron is not ready to plunge his party into that mission without first underlining its anti-Brexit credentials. The Lib Dems are enfeebled, trying to build polling bulk. Undiluted remania is the only available political protein. Building a platform from which pro-Europeans can launch a bid to shape the future –one to rival the flimsy, retrograde prospectus of the militant sceptics is not a task that a shrunken liberal party can easily undertake alone. Sadly, as things stand, they have no choice but to try.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of the day’s political developments as they happen, including Tim Farron’s speech on the final day of the Lib Dem conferenceLunchtime summaryTim Farron’s speech - VerdictFarron’s speech - Summary

block-time published-time 4.26pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* Tim Farron, the Lib Dem leader, has closed his party’s conference with a speech saying he wants the Lib Dems to “once again become one of the great parties of government”. Praising much of what Tony Blair achieved, in terms designed to make the Lib Dems appeal to centrist Labour voters, Farron also said the Lib Dems were the only party with a realistic chance of being able to stop the Conservatives getting a majority at the next election.

No one believes, whether boundary changes happen or not, that Labour will gain a single seat from the Tories.

The SNP could only possibly take one seat off the Conservatives.

But there are dozens of Tory seats in our reach.

Which means that the only thing standing between the Conservatives and a majority at the next election is the revival of the Liberal Democrat

\* He said the Lib Dems had a duty to be strong opposition.

People say to me, ‘this is a great opportunity for the Liberal Democrats’…

…but this is more than opportunity…it is duty.

Britain needs a strong opposition. The Liberal Democrats will be that strong opposition.

\* He criticised Labour for not providing an effective opposition.

There is a contest happening now for the chair of the Home Affairs Select Committee – it is an important position but, let’s face it, it’s a retirement position.

Among the contenders are Yvette Cooper, Caroline Flint and Chuka Umunna.

Shouldn’t that be their leadership contest?

What are these people doing, jostling for position in a sideshow. They should be centre stage.

\* He stressed his support for much of what Tony Blair did in his early years in office.

I kind of see Tony Blair the way I see the Stone Roses, I preferred the early work.

Tony Blair’s government gave us the national minimum wage.

It gave us working tax credits.

It gave us NHS investment and a massive school building programme.

I disagree with him a lot, but I will not criticise him for those things. I admire him for those things.

I respect him for believing that the point of being in politics is to get stuff done, and you can only get stuff done if you win.

\* He said the Conservatives’ stance on Brexit meant they were no longer entitled to call themselves the party of business. The Lib Dems were now the “free market, free trade, pro-business party”, he said.

Make no mistake, the Conservative party has lost the right to call itself the party of business. It has lost the right to call itself the party of the free market.

It no longer supports business, no longer understands the need for calm economic pragmatism – but instead pursues the nationalist protectionist fantasies of the Brexit fundamentalists who have won the day.

Indeed, my message to any business in this country – large or small – is if you are backing today’s Conservative party, you are funding your own funeral.

There is only one party now that believes in British business – large and small; that believes in entrepreneurship and innovation: the Liberal Democrats.

We are the free market, free trade pro-business party now.

\* He accused Jeremy Corbyn of not being interested in winning elections or in holding the government to account.

My problem with Jeremy Corbyn is nothing personal. After all, I used to see him quite a lot. In the Blair years he was always in our lobby.

No, my problem with Jeremy Corbyn is that, for him, holding the government to account is not a priority.

Winning elections is a bourgeois distraction – unless it’s his own leadership election.

It is baffling to see the Labour party arguing about whether or not they should even be trying to win an election.

Can you imagine that? The Liberals and Liberal Democrats spent decades out of power and then when the opportunity finally came – in incredibly difficult circumstances, when the easiest thing in the world would have been to walk away – we chose to take power because we knew the point of politics is to put principles into action. To get things done. Not just to feel good, but to do good.

\* He suggested George Osborne was to blame for the remain side losing the EU referendum. (See 10.31am[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e0ffb0e4b0ef60eaef11a6#block-57e0ffb0e4b0ef60eaef11a6].)

\* He said the EU referendum felt like a “bereavement” to him.

\* He said the Lib Dems should be willing to increase taxes to raise money for the NHS. (See 10.31am[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e0ffb0e4b0ef60eaef11a6#block-57e0ffb0e4b0ef60eaef11a6].)

\* He called for the abolition of SATS in their current form in primary schools. (See 10.31am[http://for the abolition of SATS in their current form in primary schools.].)

\* He claimed that the Lib Dems had bounced back since the 2015 election defeat.

We are almost twice the size we were then, we’ve gained more council seats than every other party in this country put together.

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.01pm BST

block-time published-time 4.20pm BST

Here is some Twitter comment on the speech.

From the Observer’s Toby Helm

enltrTough one for Tim Farron, but impressive effort at lifting Lib Dems and showing Labour's demise is their opp to be important again.

— Toby Helm (@tobyhelm) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/tobyhelm/status/778240546414456832]From the Times’ Philip Collins

enltrThat was a good appeal to Labour supporters from Farron. Maybe not many will go over but his logic was perfectly sound.

— Philip Collins (@PCollinsTimes) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/PCollinsTimes/status/778240544975777796]From the Times’ Matt Chorley

enltrA passionate, articulate, bold pitch from Farron, desperately reaching out to Labour moderates. But is anyone listening? pic.twitter.com/C8SAVRqP2P[https://t.co/C8SAVRqP2P]

— Matt Chorley (@MattChorley) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/MattChorley/status/778241673939779584]From the Times’ Patrick Kidd

enltrI thought that was a decent speech from Farron. Set out some distinctive positions, passionate on EU/**refugees**,pitched to be real opposition

— Patrick Kidd (@patrick\_kidd) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/patrick\_kidd/status/778241079275642885]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.12pm BST

block-time published-time 4.05pm BST

Tim Farron's speech – Verdict Tim Farron’s speech – Verdict: Tim Farron is now the longest-serving main party leader in England and, unless Theresa May ups her game considerably in Birmingham a fortnight tomorrow, he is probably the best of them at delivering a platform speech. This one was certainly well written, and the delivery had its moments, but very few party conference speeches get remembered much after October and this one may sink from the memory even more quickly.

Lib Dem leaders always find themselves giving speeches in which they have to differentiate themselves from both the Tories and Labour and Farron had strong passages on both. He attacked the Tories, with more than a little justification, by saying they had forfeited the right to be seen as the party of business because of Brexit. (See 2.59am[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e1339fe4b0603ea33c444d#block-57e1339fe4b0603ea33c444d].) And he attacked Jeremy Corbyn and Labour for failing to provide serious opposition. More interestingly, he heaped praise on Tony Blair. Given that saying anything positive about Blair is tantamount to thought crime in Corbynworld, Farron is probably the only party leader who will pay tribute to Labour’s three-times election winner this autumn and the pitch for the Labour, centrist vote was obvious.

Farron’s jokes weren’t great, but there was a lot of personal content in the speech which came over as natural and uncontrived. And his passage about **refugees**, where he cleverly linked moral outrage with patriotism, was superb.

Blair famously spoke about the “hand of history” at one point and there was an echo of this when Farron said he wanted the Lib Dems “to be audacious, ambitious and accept the call of history”. Farron even set out plans for how his party might march back towards success although, having sketched out the Canadian route map to general election victory, he swiftly followed it up with a much more modest ambition that involved just depriving the Tories of a majority at the next election.

But, with the polls as they are (see 10.08am[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e0fa3be4b0ef60eaef1193#block-57e0fa3be4b0ef60eaef1193] ), even this felt quite a big ask. A great speech is one that can make its audience believe in its message. But, despite Farron’s eloquence on the subject of the Lib Dem recovery, it did not feel as if the Lib Dems will be going home truly convinced.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.11pm BST

block-time published-time 3.37pm BST

enltrFarron gets long standing ovation, there's plenty of classic Lib Dem meat (veg?) thrown. But not sure how well Blair stuff landed... pic.twitter.com/Gks7Bdv7Jx[https://t.co/Gks7Bdv7Jx]

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/778241210674806784]block-time published-time 3.35pm BST

Farron is now on his peroration.

The only movement with the desire and the potential to stop the calamity of Brexit and the tragedy of a generation of Conservative majority rule is this movement, is the Liberal Democrats.

So, you can despair if you want and accept the inevitability of a Tory government for the next quarter of a century.

Or you can recognise that the Liberal Democrats can prevent that inevitability.

That means you. It means us. Together.

Together, we must fight to keep Britain open, tolerant and united.

Together, the Liberal Democrats must be the real voice of opposition.

Together, we must win.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.43pm BST

block-time published-time 3.34pm BST

Farron turns to Nigel Farage.

Of all the things that depressed me the morning after the referendum, seeing Nigel Farage celebrating really took the biscuit.

Here is a man who fought a campaign that pandered to our worst instincts: fear, anxiety, suspicion of others.

And he is not alone. His victory was welcomed by Marine Le Pen in France, Golden Dawn in Greece, and by nationalists and populists all across Europe.

And in a few weeks he went from standing in front of that odious Breaking Point poster demonising desperate **refugees**…

To standing on a podium in Mississippi next to Donald Trump.

And make no mistake, Farage’s victory is becoming the government’s agenda.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.44pm BST

block-time published-time 3.33pm BST

Farron says the Lib Dems are the only party that could realistically deny the Tories a majority at the next election.

What would us ‘doing an Ashdown’ mean for Britain today?

Well, look, no one believes, whether boundary changes happen or not, that Labour will gain a single seat from the Tories.

The SNP could only possibly take one seat off the Conservatives.

But there are dozens of Tory seats in our reach.

Which means that the only thing standing between the Conservatives and a majority at the next election is the revival of the Liberal Democrats.

So let’s make it happen.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.44pm BST

block-time published-time 3.31pm BST

Farron says Lib Dems should try to emulate Canadian Liberals Farron sets out how this could happen.

Let’s be clear, we’re talking about doing a Trudeau.

Now, he’s better looking than me and he’s got a tattoo – I can fix one of those things, if you insist.

I wouldn’t get into the boxing ring with him, but I reckon I could have him in a fell race.

But the point is Trudeau’s Liberals leapt over an inadequate official opposition to defeat a right wing Conservative government. Do you fancy doing that? ’Cos I do!

And there are some who will say... steady on. You’ve only got eight MPs.

Well look, maybe for the time being you might be sceptical about us doing a Trudeau, but let’s agree that we can definitely do an Ashdown.

To take this party from a handful of seats to dozens of seats, from the fringe to the centre, from irrelevance to importance.

NOTE: The Liberals in Canada went from having 34 seats in parliament in 2011 to getting 184 in 2015. There is more on how they did it here[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-34578213]. The Lib Dems say they have been studying how their Canadian counterparts achieved this closely and that, for example, proposals to improve candidate diversity were in some respects directly modelled on what was tried in Canada[http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/lib-dems-could-become-first-party-to-introduce-minority-only-shortlists-at-next-election-a6858146.html].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.06pm BST

block-time published-time 3.29pm BST

Farron says he wants Lib Dems to become 'one of great parties of government' again. A century ago, the Liberals lost touch with their purpose and their voters, and Labour took their chance and became Britain’s largest progressive party.

Today I want us utterly ready and determined to take our chance as the tectonic plates shift again.

I didn’t accept the leadership of our party so that we could look on from the sidelines, I did it because our destiny is to once again become one of the great parties of government, to be the place where liberals and progressives of all kinds gather to provide the strong opposition that our country needs.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.46pm BST

block-time published-time 3.28pm BST

Farron sets out his plan to rebuild the Lib Dems.

So here is my plan.

We will dramatically rebuild our strength in local government, deliberately, passionately, effectively.

Winning council seats is our chance to shape, lead and serve our communities to put liberalism into practice.

Liberals believe in local government, I believe in local government, every council seat matters to me.

So my challenge to you is to pick a ward and win it, and my commitment to you is that I choose to build our party’s revival on victories in every council in the country.

And my plan includes continuing to grow our party – our membership is up 80% in just 14 months – but that is merely a staging post, we will continue to build a movement that can win at every level.

I will lead the Liberal Democrats as the only party committed to Britain in Europe, with a plan to let the people decide our future in a referendum on the as yet non-existent Tory Brexit deal.

block-time published-time 3.26pm BST

Farron says the Lib Dems can be the 'real opposition' Farron says that, with Labour failing to provide an opposition, the Lib Dems can perform that role.

There is a hole in the centre of British politics right now; a huge opportunity for a party that will stand up for an open, tolerant and united Britain.

There is a hole in the centre of British politics right now for a rallying point for people who believe in the politics of reason, of evidence, of moderation...

... who want facts, not fear;

… who want responsibility, not recklessness;

… who want to believe that someone is looking out for the long-term good of our country.

There is a hole in the centre of British politics right now that is crying out to be filled by a real opposition.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.33pm BST

block-time published-time 3.24pm BST

And he mocks the state of Labour.

There is a contest happening now for the chair of the home affairs select committee – it is an important position but, let’s face it, it’s a retirement position.

Among the contenders are Yvette Cooper, Caroline Flint and Chuka Umunna.

Shouldn’t that be their leadership contest?

What are these people doing, jostling for position in a sideshow. They should be centre stage.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.33pm BST

block-time published-time 3.23pm BST

Farron says he would work with Corbyn, but that Corbyn will not work with him.

I believe in working across party lines. I’m prepared to work with people of all parties and none if it will make people’s lives better.

But I couldn’t work with Jeremy Corbyn, because Jeremy Corbyn would never work with me.

I wanted to work with him during the referendum campaign, but he wouldn’t share a platform.

block-time published-time 3.23pm BST

Farron says he backs much of what Blair achieved But Farron praises Blair’s record in other respects.

I kind of see Tony Blair the way I see the Stone Roses, I preferred the early work.

Tony Blair’s government gave us the national minimum wage.

It gave us working tax credits.

It gave us NHS investment and a massive school building programme.

I disagree with him a lot, but I will not criticise him for those things. I admire him for those things.

I respect him for believing that the point of being in politics is to get stuff done, and you can only get stuff done if you win.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.24pm BST

block-time published-time 3.22pm BST

Farron says Labour people use the word Blairite “as if it’s the world’s most offensive insult”.

He criticises Tony Blair’s record in some respects.

Just to reassure you, I am not a Blairite.

I was proud to march against his illegal invasion of Iraq. I was proud to stand with Charles Kennedy. And I was incredibly proud when Charles’ brave stance was vindicated in the Chilcot report.

I was also proud to be in the party that stood up against his government’s attempts to stamp on our civil liberties – from compulsory ID cards to 90-day detention without charge.

And I was proud of Vince as he called out his government for de-regulating the banks.

block-time published-time 3.20pm BST

Farron accuses Labour of abandoning people who need a strong opposition.

We have huge crises in Britain today – in our NHS, in our economy, in our relationship with the rest of the world.

We have a Conservative government that got the support of less than a quarter of the electorate at the last election, led by a prime minister who nobody elected, that has plunged our country into chaos.

They spent a year going for the working poor, **refugees** and junior doctors.

And what have the Labour party been doing? Going for each other.

Instead of standing up to the Conservatives, they were sitting on the floor of half-empty Virgin trains.

Because maybe Jeremy Corbyn thinks there are more important things than winning elections, but for millions of people desperate for an affordable home, for a fair wage, for a properly funded NHS, they cannot wait. How dare the official opposition abandon them?

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.26pm BST

block-time published-time 3.19pm BST

Farron contrasts Corbyn’s attitude to winning power with the Lib Dems.

It is baffling to see the Labour Party arguing about whether or not they should even be trying to win an election.

Can you imagine that? The Liberals and Liberal Democrats spent decades out of power and then when the opportunity finally came – in incredibly difficult circumstances, when the easiest thing in the world would have been to walk away – we chose to take power because we knew the point of politics is to put principles into action. To get things done. Not just to feel good, but to do good.

So we took power … and we got crushed.

So you could forgive us for thinking twice about whether power is really worth it.

But of course it’s worth it.

Having fine principles but no power is just turning your backs on the people who need you the most, its letting someone else win the day.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.32pm BST

block-time published-time 3.17pm BST

Farron claims Corbyn not interested in winning elections Farron claims Jeremy Corbyn is not serious about winning elections.

My problem with Jeremy Corbyn is nothing personal. After all, I used to see him quite a lot. In the Blair years he was always in our lobby.

No, my problem with Jeremy Corbyn is that, for him, holding the government to account is not a priority.

Winning elections is a bourgeois distraction – unless it’s his own leadership election.

NOTE: The claim that Jeremy Corbyn is not interested in winning elections is one often made by his critics, but generally it is based on the perception that he seems more comfortable with protest than with preparing for government. Corbyn himself has never said anything to justify this accusation. But earlier this summer Jon Lansman, the Momentum founder and a close Corbyn ally, posted this message on Twitter that does confirm claims that at least some Corbynistas are ambivalent about the virtues of winning.

enltr @johnmcternan[https://twitter.com/johnmcternan] Democracy gives power to people, “Winning” is the small bit that matters to political elites who want to keep power themselves

— Jon Lansman (@jonlansman) July 10, 2016[https://twitter.com/jonlansman/status/752078612766027777]block-time published-time 3.16pm BST

Farron turns to Jeremy Corbyn.

One thing you can’t accuse Jeremy Corbyn of is short-term thinking. His lot have waited over a hundred years for this.

Finally, they have taken the Labour party. Like all good Marxists, they have seized the means of production.

They’ve even seized the nurseries too – opening branches of ‘Momentum Kids’. Or as they are also known, Child Labour... or Tiny Trots.

The Lib Dems have never had any trouble with entryists – unless you include the Quakers.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.26pm BST

block-time published-time 3.15pm BST

Farron says the Lib Dems would get rid of Sats in their current form in primary schools. This passage was released overnight. See 10.31am.[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e0ffb0e4b0ef60eaef11a6#block-57e0ffb0e4b0ef60eaef11a6]

He criticises Theresa May’s plans to expand grammar schools.

Over the last 40 years, millions of children have been liberated by comprehensive education who would otherwise be consigned to second-class status in the secondary audience.

And it’s important to remember who did that: Shirley Williams.

We will defend your legacy Shirley. It’s not just about being a liberal – this is personal.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.27pm BST

block-time published-time 3.13pm BST

Farron pays tribute to Kirsty Williams, the Lib Dem leader in Wales and an education minister in the Welsh Labour government.

In the last government we introduced a policy – a long-term policy – to try and help the poorest kids keep up with their better off classmates: the pupil premium. And this school year more than 2 million children will benefit from that Liberal Democrat policy.

And I am so proud of Kirsty Williams, who is making a real difference, every day, to the lives of children of across Wales.

The pupil premium is not safe in the Tories’ hands – but it is safe in Kirsty’s.

And what’s more, she’s doubled it. That’s what happens when you get into power.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.30pm BST

block-time published-time 3.12pm BST

Farron turns to education.

Governments have designed an education system – especially at primary school level – that is focused not on developing young people for later life, for work or for further study, but on getting them through the wrong kinds of tests.

It’s not about whether kids can solve problems, or converse in other languages – or even their own. It’s about statistics. Measurements. League tables.

Instead of building an education system, we have built a quality assurance industry.

block-time published-time 3.11pm BST

Farron says Norman Lamb will oversee this.

What Beveridge did for the 20th century, we need for the 21st century.

In Norman Lamb we have the politician who is most trusted and respected by the health profession – and deservedly so. And Norman and I are clear, we will not join the ranks of those politicians who are too scared of losing votes to face up to what really needs to be done.

We will go to the British people with the results of our Beveridge Commission and we will offer a new deal for health and social care, honest about the cost, bold about the solution.

NOTE: Norman Lamb was Farron’s rival in the Lib Dem leadership election last year. Farron was the favourite from the outset, but Lamb did better than many people expected.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.02pm BST

block-time published-time 3.10pm BST

Farron says if William Beveridge were writing his report today, he would propose a national health and care service.

If the great Liberal William Beveridge had written his blueprint today, when people are living to the ages they are now, there is no doubt that he would have proposed a national health and care service.

He would have been appalled about the child who has to look after their disabled parent or the hundreds of thousands of women across the country who are unable to work because they are disproportionately the care givers.

So let’s today decide to do what Beveridge would do. Let’s create that national health and care service.

And he says the NHS needs more money.

Of the 15 original EU countries – including Spain, Greece and Portugal – we rank behind them in 13th place when it comes to health spending. It would take tens of billions of pounds a year just to bring ourselves up to their average.

Farron says the Lib Dems would be willing to increase taxes to raise money for the NHS. This passage was released earlier. See 10.31am[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e0ffb0e4b0ef60eaef11a6#block-57e0ffb0e4b0ef60eaef11a6].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.31pm BST

block-time published-time 3.07pm BST

Farron is not talking about the need for new thinking on the NHS.

And nowhere is the danger posed by short-term thinking greater than with the future of the National Health Service.

Can you remember a time when there weren’t news reports on an almost daily basis saying the NHS is in crisis?

For years, politicians have chosen to paper over the cracks rather than come clean about what it will really take – what it will really cost – not just to keep the NHSafloat but to give people the care and the treatment that they deserve.

And that means, finally, bringing the NHS and the social care system together.

And he recalls what happened to his grandfather.

In my Grandpa’s journey through Alzheimers, he had good care in the home he spent his last couple of years in. But when he first became ill after the death of my Grandma, the place he was put in was despicable.

Lonely, unclean, uncaring.

It’s a few years back, but as I fought to get him out of that place and into somewhere better, it occurred to me that this was a standard experience for too many older people and their loved ones.

Maybe some people can just shrug and accept this, well I can’t.

I’ve seen enough terrible old people’s homes. And I’ve seen enough people who’ve had to wait forever for treatment – particularly people who don’t have someone to fight their corner.

block-time published-time 3.06pm BST

Farron goes on.

Much to the government’s delight, compassion fatigue has set in. The news has moved on.

We’ve had Brexit, a new prime minister, a Labour leadership contest.

And none of that makes a blind bit of difference to a nine-year-old kid stuck alone and hungry and cold in a camp in northern Greece.

Or to the family, this morning, fleeing their burning camp in Moria.

This government wants us to forget this crisis, it’s too difficult to solve, too risky to take a lead.

But we have not forgotten, we will not forget, those children could be our children, how dare the government abandon them.

NOTE: Farron sounds almost tearful at this point. He gets a standing ovation here, and the longest round of applause so far.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.23pm BST

block-time published-time 3.04pm BST

Farron accuses David Cameron of being short-termist.

David Cameron’s handling of our relationship with Europe is a master class in selfish, shallow short-termism. Party before country at every turn.

And he says the **refugee** crisis is an example of Tory short-termism.

Look at their handling of the **refugee** crisis. The biggest crisis facing our continent since the second world war.

They did nothing to help right until the point they thought it was in their short-term interest to act, when a photo of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi face down in the sand was on the front page of every newspaper.

The people were shocked, heartbroken, they demanded action and the Tories did the bare minimum.

But since the front pages have moved on, they have barely lifted a finger.

Now there are some on the centre left who are squeamish about patriotism, but not me.

I’m proud of my country; I hate it when my government makes me ashamed.

\* Farron says government’s response to **refugee** crisis has made him “ashamed” of his country.

And he goes on to tell a story about his visit to Lesbos.

When I was on the island of Lesbos last year, after we’d helped to land a flimsy boat of desperate **refugees**, I was handing out bottles of fresh water.

And a few yards away was an aid worker from New Zealand, who knew that I was a British politician.

She looked at me and shouted: ‘Stop handing out bottles of water and take some f\*\*\*ing **refugees**.’

Because that is how Britain is seen. Mean and not pulling its weight.

And maybe that doesn’t bother some people, but it bothers me.

Because I am proud of who we are – always a sanctuary for the desperate, the abused and the persecuted; and I will not stand by and watch my country become smaller, meaner and more selfish.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.22pm BST

block-time published-time 3.01pm BST

Farron says Theresa May should say what Brexit means.

Theresa May – tell us what Brexit really means.

You’ve had three months. You are the prime minister. Stop dithering. What is your plan?

And he restates the Lib Dem demand for a second referendum.

The Liberal Democrats have a plan. We know what we want and we know where we want to take our country.

When Theresa May does agree a deal with the EU, we want the people to decide.

Not a re-run of the referendum, not a second referendum, but a referendum on the terms of the as-yet-unknown Brexit deal.

And if the Tories say, ‘we’ve had enough referendums’, I say ‘you started it!’

NOTE: Farron obviously feels the need to include this because those calling for a second referendum on Brexit are being accused of ignoring the results of the first one. Owen Smith, the Labour leadership challenger, is saying the same as the Lib Dems on a second referendum, but in recent Labour leadership TV debates he has had audience members accusing him of ignoring democracy when he has tried to defend his position.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.11pm BST

block-time published-time 2.59pm BST

Farron says Brexit means Tories are no longer a party of business Farron says the Tories are no longer the party of business.

Make no mistake, the Conservative party has lost the right to call itself the party of business. It has lost the right to call itself the party of the free market

It no longer supports business, no longer understands the need for calm economic pragmatism – but instead pursues the nationalist protectionist fantasies of the Brexit fundamentalists who have won the day.

Indeed, my message to any business in this country – large or small – is if you are backing today’s Conservative party, you are funding your own funeral.

There is only one party now that believes in British business – large and small; that believes in entrepreneurship and innovation: the Liberal Democrats

We are the free market, free trade pro-business party now.

NOTE: This is one of the most powerful passages in the speech – “my message to any business... if you are backing today’s Conservative party, you are funding your own funeral” is a strong line – but the claim that the Conservatives have been captured by protectionists is misleading. Most of the leading Tory Brexiters strongly back free trade and want to reduce or eliminate tariffs.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.12pm BST

block-time published-time 2.58pm BST

Farron criticises Theresa May for having no plan for Brexit.

Theresa May says Brexit means Brexit. Well thanks for clearing that up.

Nearly three months since the referendum and we have a government with new departments, new titles, a new prime minister... but no plan. No vision. No clue.

And no leadership.

Theresa May did so little in the remain campaign that she actually made it look like Jeremy Corbyn pulled a shift.

And today, the absence of leadership from the prime minister is astonishing, the absence of clarity as to what will happen to our country is a disgrace.

Three months on, it isn’t good enough to have brainstorming sessions at Chequers while investment and jobs steadily bleed away;

… while our standing and relevance in the world diminishes in direct proportion to the number foreign visits by Boris Johnson.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.19pm BST

block-time published-time 2.56pm BST

Farron tells the story about the meeting he attended in Preston after the Brexit vote. And he suggests George Osborne was to blame for the remain side losing. I posted this passage earlier. See 10.31am[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e0ffb0e4b0ef60eaef11a6#block-57e0ffb0e4b0ef60eaef11a6].

I don’t blame the people in that church hall for their anger – actually, I share it. I’m angry.

And I’m angry at the calculating forces of darkness who care nothing for the working people of this country, nothing for our NHS, nothing for those who struggle to get by, and who exploited that anger to win an exit from Europe that will hurt the poorest the hardest.

The people in that church hall in Preston, they’d voted differently to me but I thought, you know what, we’re on the same side here.

We see a London-centric – no, Westminster-centric – approach from politicians and the media. Treating the provinces as **alien** curiosities.

Those people in Preston – and Sunderland and Newport – see a divide between those who win and those who lose. When the country is booming, they don’t see the benefit. And when the country is in decline they are the first to be hit.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.19pm BST

block-time published-time 2.54pm BST

Farron turns to division.

We Liberal Democrats worked harder than anyone else in that campaign, we put blood, sweat and tears into it.

We put the positive case for Europe, while Cameron and Osborne churned out dry statistics, fear mongering and shallow platitudes.

It’s easy to say – after such a narrow a referendum result – that we are a divided country. But in many ways we are.

And the split between leavers and remainers is just a manifestation of that division.

NOTE: This line about Britain being divided does not fit with the claim a few minutes ago that Britain is “an open, tolerant and united country”. The speech editing here could have been a bit tighter.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.13pm BST

block-time published-time 2.53pm BST

Farron says he is proud of his identity.

But there is nothing wrong with identity. I am very proud of mine.

I am a Lancastrian, I am a Northerner, I am English, I am British, I am European. I am all those things, none of them contradict another and no campaign of lies, hate and fear will rob me of who I am.

But the remain side lost, he says.

Now – I was born and raised in Preston but the football-mad half of my family is from Blackburn, so I’m a Rovers fan. Defeat and disappointment is in my blood.

So those who say I’m a bad loser are quite wrong.

I am a great loser.

I have had loads of practice.

He says the Brexit vote was like a bereavement.

But the referendum result to me was like a bereavement. I was devastated by it.

block-time published-time 2.52pm BST

Farron says there is no place called Little Britain.

Britain did not become Great Britain on fear, isolation and division – and there is no country called Little Britain.

There is nothing so dangerous and narrow as nationalism and cheap identity politics.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.17pm BST

block-time published-time 2.51pm BST

Farron says Preston voted to leave the EU.

He says he respects how they voted, but does not agree with them.

I’m still utterly convinced that Britain should remain in Europe.

I was on 23 June, I am today, I will continue to be.

Not because I’m some starry-eyed pro-European with Ode to Joy as my ring tone – we all know what I have as my ring tone – but because I am a patriot and believe it’s in our national interest to be in.

For more jobs, for lower prices, to fight climate change, to stop terrorism, catch criminals, to have influence, to be a good neighbour, to stand tall, to stand proud, to matter.

And, above all, because I believe that Britain is an open, tolerant and united country – the opposite of the bleak vision of Nigel Farage and Boris Johnson.

NOTE:“Open, tolerant, united” is the Lib Dem conference slogan. The party certainly is open (in the sense that it is less secretive than other parties) and tolerant. But the claim to be “united” took a hit yesterday when Sir Vince Cable openly criticised the party’s proposal for a second referendum on Brexit[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/19/lib-dem-split-emerges-over-policy-of-seeking-second-eu-referendum]. Paddy Ashdown also sounded critical. That means that, on one of the key issues of the day, two of the party’s most prominent figures disagree with the other two (Farron and Nick Clegg).

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.01pm BST

block-time published-time 2.49pm BST

Farron talks about his upbringing.

I have spent most of my adult life, worked and raised a family in Westmorland. I’m proud to call it my home.

But I grew up a few miles south, in Preston in Lancashire.

Preston is where I learnt my values, it’s where I was raised in a loving family where there wasn’t much money around and at a time when, it appeared to me, the Thatcher government seemed utterly determined to put every adult I knew out of work and on the scrapheap.

But our people and our community were not for breaking.

The great city of Preston is a no-nonsense place, proud of its history, ambitious about its future.

It is the birthplace of the industrial revolution;

It is the place where Cromwell won the most important battle in the English civil war. The complacent establishment stuffed by the outsiders.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.17pm BST

block-time published-time 2.46pm BST

Farron starts by saying he is the longest-serving main party leader.

He has seen off all the heavyweights – David Cameron, Nigel Farage... Natalie Bennett.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.10pm BST

block-time published-time 2.44pm BST

Tim Farron's conference speech Tim Farron is starting his conference speech now.

block-time published-time 1.46pm BST

My colleague James Walsh has collected the views of some Lib Dem-supporting Guardian readers on the state of the party.

Related: 'The party is rising from the dead': readers on the state of the Lib Dems[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/20/the-party-is-rising-from-the-dead-readers-on-the-state-of-the-lib-dems]

block-time published-time 1.17pm BST

Lunchtime summary

\* Sal Brinton, the Lib Dem president, has said the re-election of Jeremy Corbyn as Labour leaders should benefit her party. (See 11.56am.)[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e11391e4b02a226154fabe#block-57e11391e4b02a226154fabe] She was speaking on the final day of the Lib Dem conference. Tim Farron, the Lib Dem leader, will close the conference with his keynote speech this afternoon. But he suffered embarrassment this morning when Ipsos Mori released polling suggesting that in his first year as party leader he has failed to boost either his party’s standing in the eyes of the public or his own. (See 10.08am.)[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e0fa3be4b0ef60eaef1193#block-57e0fa3be4b0ef60eaef1193]

\* A senior Liberal Democrat MP has reiterated the party’s commitment to holding a second referendum on Brexit amid an apparent split over the issue, saying the government has no mandate for whatever deal is eventually decided on[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/20/senior-lib-dems-confirm-backing-for-second-eu-referendum]. As Jessica Elgot reports, Norman Lamb, the party’s health spokesman, said that with the terms of the UK’s departure from the EU still unknown, it was important for voters to have the chance to endorse or reject such a huge decision.

\* A crunch Labour meeting aimed at reuniting the parliamentary party seems set for deadlock after it emerged that Jeremy Corbyn will reject all the immediate changes proposed by his deputy[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/20/jeremy-corbyn-likely-to-reject-any-party-changes-at-labour-meeeting-nec]. As the Guardian reports, earlier on Tuesday, Tom Watson urged Labour to “put the band back together”[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/20/labour-urged-to-put-the-band-back-together-in-case-snap-election-tom-watson] by adopting elections for shadow cabinet positions, which he sees as a way to tempt back discontented MPs who left Corbyn’s frontbench over the summer. However, a source close to the Labour[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/labour] leader said that while Corbyn supported shadow cabinet elections as part of a wider examination of democracy in the party, he wanted to postpone the consideration of any changes until after the party’s annual conference.

\* David Cameron is to base his forthcoming memoirs on a frank and contemporaneous audio diary of his time as prime minister, according to a report[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/20/david-cameron-draw-on-audio-diary-upcoming-memoirs]. As Peter Walker reports, he recorded 53 hours of conversations[http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/cameron-has-1m-memoirs-on-tape-pkcfnftfh] with Daniel Finkelstein[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2012/jun/14/david-cameron-close-friendships-journalists], the Times columnist and former Conservative adviser who is a close friend of Cameron, and who was made a peer in 2013. The recordings were often made weekly, when the pair met with no others present, sometimes for lunch but usually in the evening at the prime minister’s Downing Street flat.

\* Michael O’Leary, the Ryanair boss and an opponent of Brexit, has suggested the UK will be “screwed” in trade talks with the EU. He said:

I have no faith in the politicians in London going on about how ‘the world will want to trade with us’. The world will want to screw you – that’s what happens in trade talks. They have no interest in giving the UK a deal on trade.

Nobody in the airline industry knows what the outcome of Brexit is, which puts us in exactly the same situation as most of the cabinet of the government of the UK, since they haven’t a clue either.

The European Union is not going to make it easy for the UK. All this kind of arrogant nonsense in London – ‘we’re the fifth-biggest economy in the world, they’ll give a good deal’. They won’t.

The European countries are paranoid about being seen to be tough on the UK, because if they are not tough on the UK, the rightwing parties in most of those countries – in Germany, in France, in Holland – will be next.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.12pm BST

block-time published-time 1.04pm BST

Gideon Skinner, Ipsos Mori’s head of political research, has posted this chart about Tim Farron’s approval ratings. (See 10.08am[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e0fa3be4b0ef60eaef1193#block-57e0fa3be4b0ef60eaef1193].) He says Farron is doing less well than Nick Clegg and Charles Kennedy were at the same point after their election as leader.

enltrFarron's LD leader ratings similar to Campbell and Ashdown after same time, but behind Clegg and Kennedy @IpsosMORI[https://twitter.com/IpsosMORI] https://t.co/7jBSuYShxI[https://t.co/7jBSuYShxI] pic.twitter.com/19ObwleDqX[https://t.co/19ObwleDqX]

— Gideon Skinner (@GideonSkinner) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/GideonSkinner/status/778187445779173376]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.04pm BST

block-time published-time 12.54pm BST

Sal Brinton, the Lib Dem president, addressing the conference this morning. Photograph: Dan Kitwood/Getty Images block-time published-time 11.56am BST

Corbyn's re-election as Labour leader could help Lib Dems, says party president Sal Brinton has just finished delivering her main speech to the conference as Lib Dem president. In it, she said that Jeremy Corbyn’s re-election as Labour leader could help the Lib Dems gain voters and members.

Should Jeremy Corbyn be re-elected, I know that a number of Labour supporters and members will be feeling very lost.

Befriend them.

Let them know that we are still the party that is pro the EU, that whilst Labour are facing inward and fighting, we will be the party who holds the May Tory government to account, on investment in the NHS, and on fighting against a growth of grammar schools. They may now want to support us, and even join us because they share our values.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.17pm BST

block-time published-time 11.38am BST

The Lib Dems have today announced a “national consultation” on Brexit. Lib Dem candidates will contact businesses, health and educational institutions and charities in their constituencies to discuss their concerns.

Dick Newby, the Lib Dem leader in the Lords, said:

Every sector of society is going to be affected by Brexit. We want to hear from people right across the country about how it will impact on their businesses, their jobs, their daily lives. How would restrictions on free movement affect your local hospital? What will losing European research grants mean for jobs in your local university?

We will challenge the government at every opportunity to hold them to account for the real damage that Brexit will do to individuals right across the country, and fight to keep Britain open, tolerant and united.

block-time published-time 11.31am BST

Lib Dems reform 'dysfunctional' party committee structure When the Tories started coalition talks with the Lib Dems in 2010 one of the senior Conservatives (Oliver Letwin, as I recall) told the Lib Dems that he had been studying their party structure and now had a good understanding of how their party worked. “We’re glad you do,” came the reply, “because we don’t.”

This morning Lib Dem members have approved a 25-page motion changing the way the party’s committees operate. I’ll leave the details to Oliver Letwin, but in her speech opening the debate on the changes, Sal Brinton, the Lib Dem president, explained the changes were necessary because the current structure was incomprehensible.

The starting point, just over a year ago, for the review was a very strong message from the party that nobody understood how the federal committees worked, many of which were invisible and unaccountable... When I became president I think the politest way of putting it is that our committee structure was dysfunctional.

As an example of the problem, she said the party had a federal communications and elections committee. It was responsible for all major election campaigns, she said. But, under the current structure, it did not report to conference and had no oversight of election candidates.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.25pm BST

block-time published-time 11.13am BST

Ivan Massow explains why he has defected to Lib Dems The businessman Ivan Massow is one of several high-profile new recruits who have joined the Lib Dems this autumn[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/17/farron-invites-labour-and-tory-members-to-join-lib-dems]. Massow was a Conservative, and once tried to get chosen as the Tory candidate for London mayor, but he briefly left the party for Labour before going back, so technically he is on his third defection.

This morning he was been explaining his conversion to Tim Farron’s team at an event at the conference. My colleague Jessica Elgot has been listening.

enltrIvan Massow tells Lib Dem conference he left Conservatives because "not even Ed Miliband could have inflicted such damage on the economy"

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/778167915610796032]enltrMassow, who was flat mates with Gove, says he also believes strongly in free movement, and the right to live across Europe #ldconf[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ldconf?src=hash]

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/778168529216561152]enltrMassow says strong economy was key reason he supported Tories - but can't support them on those grounds anymore post Brexit #ldconf[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ldconf?src=hash]

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/778168956158967808]enltrMassow: nothing wishy washy about being in the centre,you have ability to compromise, you have nuance. It's what made me sick of Tory party

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/778169262435397636]enltrMassow said he went to Tory dinners in Pall Mall and couldn't believe tone of comments made. Labour even more vicious. #ldconf[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ldconf?src=hash]

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/778169442756923394]enltrMassow: Lib Dems now the natural party of business. Business is naturally liberal #ldconf[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ldconf?src=hash]

— Jessica Elgot (@jessicaelgot) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jessicaelgot/status/778171944743084032]enltr @IvanMassow[https://twitter.com/IvanMassow] has joined @LibDems[https://twitter.com/LibDems] - chatting to @cmi\_ceo[https://twitter.com/cmi\_ceo] about why. I joined Tories first as it was the campest party. LDs are best option now pic.twitter.com/SBFjd4j3nB[https://t.co/SBFjd4j3nB]

— Tilly McAuliffe (@tillyboulter) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/tillyboulter/status/778168453572296705]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.27pm BST

block-time published-time 10.58am BST

You can read all the Guardian’s Lib Dem coverage here[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/liberaldemocrats].

And here are two articles on the state of the Lib Dems from today’s papers that are worth reading.

\* Hugo Rikfind in the Times (paywall) says the Lib Dems are struggling to make themselves seem forward-looking[http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/comment/farron-is-finding-that-liberals-are-now-the-enemy-q7d2wx5dg].

The Tory crisis, though, is at least forward-looking. The Lib Dems’ problem, by contrast, is that of all centrist remainers, which is that they abruptly find themselves cast as the defenders of yesterday’s status quo. The Lib Dem position on Brexit is in fact fairly nuanced, accepting departure from the EU, at least for now, and fighting for a future in the single market. Or at least, it’s more nuanced than that of Owen Smith, who simply wants to turn the clock back. Speaking from the stage in Brighton, though, Farron’s default mode was a lament for the recent past. As a result, he sounds like he belongs in it.

Although it’s worse than that. Quite suddenly, on both sides of our politics, it is liberalism itself that has become the enemy. For the right, it smacks of multiculturalism and aloofness; stick the word ‘elite’ on the end and you’ve really got something to rail against. For the Corbynite left, meanwhile, it smacks of Blairism, globalisation, cowardice and treachery.

With Labour moderates in despair and Tory moderates in hiding, the Liberal Democrats now look an awful lot like everything that the rest of our politics defines itself against. Tragic, really. Destined for extinction when they weren’t needed and somehow, still destined for it when they are.

\* Henry Mance and George Parker in the Financial Times (subscription) say the Lib Dems are struggling to get a hearing.[https://www.ft.com/content/a48944e4-7e79-11e6-8e50-8ec15fb462f4]

Perhaps the biggest challenge for Mr Farron is getting a hearing from voters. His team admit that he needs a byelection victory to raise his profile, although the party’s old hands say that two of his predecessors, Paddy Ashdown and Charles Kennedy, did not become widely known to voters until they fought a general election.

One byelection prospect is the former Lib Dem seat of Richmond Park, now held by the Tory Zac Goldsmith. Mr Goldsmith has said he will resign if the government approves a third runway at Heathrow. Alternatively, if a snap general election takes place, Mr Cable and other former Lib Dem MPs will stand, guaranteeing news coverage.

A high-profile defection from Labour would also help Mr Farron but none seems forthcoming. Talks of some kind of Lib-Lab realignment have not progressed, with moderate Labour MPs determined to stay and fight against Jeremy Corbyn.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.29pm BST

block-time published-time 10.42am BST

The more I hear about Glee Club, the more it sounds like a Momentum rally. As well as Owen Smith (see 9.33am)[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live?page=with:block-57e0f1ade4b02fcdee725e4e#block-57e0f1ade4b02fcdee725e4e], they had a go at Tony Blair. This is from the Independent’s Tom Peck.

enltrThe 'Lib Dem Glee Club' with their own take on a Don McClean classic there. ("Tony Blair can fuck off and die") pic.twitter.com/R1gwb8enpf[https://t.co/R1gwb8enpf]

— Tom Peck (@tompeck) September 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/tompeck/status/777996892173049856]And, as the Times’ Patrick Kidd reports, David Cameron was mocked too.

enltrLib Dem conference glee club treating the former MP for Witney with less than full respect pic.twitter.com/b5lxC9Qrr3[https://t.co/b5lxC9Qrr3]

— Patrick Kidd (@patrick\_kidd) September 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/patrick\_kidd/status/778002614910844928]block-time published-time 10.31am BST

Farron suggests Osborne to blame for remain losing EU referendum Here are some more lines from the extracts from Tim Farron’s speech released overnight.

\* Farron will suggest that George Osborne was to blame for the remain side losing the EU referendum. Describing a public meeting in Preston two weeks after the referendum, where most of the audience were leave voters, he will say:

One guy said that the clincher for him was George Osborne’s ‘punishment budget’ announcement.

And when he said that, pretty much the whole room chipped in and agreed with him.

There was near universal acknowledgement that this had been the pivotal moment.

Here was this guy, George Osborne, who they didn’t really like.

And who they felt didn’t really like them.

And he’d appeared on the telly bullying them into doing something they weren’t sure they wanted to do.

And they reacted.

You see, if you base your political strategy on divide and rule, do not be surprised if the people you have divided decide to give you a kicking.

\* He will say Theresa May’s failure to reveal her plan for Brexit is “a disgrace”.

Theresa May did so little in the remain campaign that she actually made it look like Jeremy Corbyn pulled a shift.

And today, the absence of leadership from Theresa May is astonishing, the absence of clarity as to what will happen to our country is a disgrace.

Three months on, it isn’t good enough to have brainstorming sessions at Chequers while investment and jobs steadily bleed away.

\* He will call for the abolition of Sats in their current form in primary schools.

I want our schools to be places where our teachers have the freedom to use their skill and their knowledge to open young minds not just train them to pass exams.

I want them to be places where children are inspired to learn, not stressed out by tests.

So I want to end the current system of Sats in primary schools that are a distraction from the real education that professional teachers want to give their children; that weigh heavy on children as young as six and add nothing to the breadth of their learning.

What are we doing wasting our children’s education and our teachers talents on ticking boxes?

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.28pm BST

block-time published-time 10.08am BST

Farron failing to make positive impact as Lib Dem leader, poll suggests The Evening Standard has published a poll this morning suggesting that in his first year as Lib Dem leader Tim Farron has failed to do anything to help raise the reputation of his party[http://www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/tim-farrons-leadership-flatlining-among-voters-poll-reveals-a3349046.html].

According to the Ipsos Mori survey, Farron’s ratings have not improved over the past year.

The Liberal Democrat leader’s personal ratings are at the same level as when he took over last September.

Fewer than one in four think he is doing a good job, while almost half say they dislike him.

At the same time his party is bumping along at rock bottom, actively disliked by around four in 10 people and with a meagre 6% of people saying they would vote Lib Dem in a general election.

Ipsos Mori also found that almost half of the people it surveyed could not say whether they were satisfied or dissatisfied because they did not have a view. The Standard says:

Despite Mr Farron’s energetic style of campaigning, many people seem to be unaware of or indifferent towards him.

Asked if they were happy with his performance, 45% responded that they didn’t know, including one in three Lib Dem supporters.

Only 22% are satisfied with the way Mr Farron is doing his job, while 33% are dissatisfied. Even among Liberal Democrat supporters, just under half are happy with him.

The Standard quotes Gideon Skinner, Ipsos Mori’s head of research, as saying the Lib Dems have been in single figures in the polls for 26 of the last 30 months. Before 2011 they had not been in single figures for 20 years.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.02pm BST

block-time published-time 9.52am BST

Tom Watson's Today interview - Summary Back to Labour for a moment, and Tom Watson, the deputy leader, was on the Today programme this morning, speaking ahead of today’s NEC meeting. Here are the main points from the interview.

\* Watson said Labour had to unite – or “put the band back together”, as he put it – because an early election was likely. Having an elected shadow cabinet would help, he said.

We’ve had a very bruising summer, we are going to get a new leader elected on Saturday, we all think there is the likelihood of a very early general election and so we have got to put the band back together.

For me, the heart of our party is the parliamentary party – they are the people that come on the Today programme to talk about our policies to the nation – and we have got to bring people back in.

I think to have an elected shadow cabinet, not an appointed shadow cabinet, is one way we do that.

The debate we are going to have today is how we may elect a future shadow cabinet so that we get all the talents represented round the table.

\* He said that the NEC would discuss alternative ways of electing the shadow cabinet and that he was “open minded” as to what was best. The parliamentary Labour party has voted to bring back the old system of shadow cabinet elections, which says shadow cabinet members being elected by MPs. Jeremy Corbyn has proposed an alternative that would involve party members elected some shadow cabinet members, MPs electing others, and the party leader choosing some too. Watson said:

I’m taking both options to our NEC today. Jeremy wants a debate at the NEC to discuss that. I’m open minded on both options.

\* Watson said the NEC would also be debating plans to change the way the party leader is elected, but that the proposed changes would not affect whoever is elected leader on Saturday. He said he wanted to scrap the system that allows registered supporters to vote in leadership contests.

In the last set of reforms we had was some very rushed reforms and we created a new category of member, a registered supporter, which is pretty unpopular in all sections. We want to remove that, and we also want to enfranchise more ordinary trade unionists in the new process...

Let me just specify – this would be after the current leader, whoever wins on Saturday, leaves their post. This won’t be a sort of sword of Damocles hanging over whoever is elected on Saturday.

Watson said he hoped the NEC would agree changes to the leadership election rules today, to enable them to be debated at Labour’s conference next week.

\* He said he was “very concerned” about some MPs facing the threat of deselection.

I’m very concerned about that because I do think if energy is expended trying to undermine political opponents in your own party then obviously that’s time not spent characterising and attacking our opponents.

Tom Watson. Photograph: Jonathan Brady/PA block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.19pm BST

block-time published-time 9.33am BST

In Brighton Lib Dem members have just started debating an emergency motion saying Britain should take “its fair share” of **refugees**, including unaccompanied children, and that **refugees** contribute “a huge amount to local communities throughout the UK”.

Perhaps many Lib Dems are still sleeping off the effects of Glee Club, the satirical singalong extravaganza that activists indulge in on the final night of their conference. (Political parties are like families; they may look normal from the outside, but they all have peculiar habits whose attractions are inexplicable to outsiders.)

According to the Press Association, Owen Smith, the Labour leadership contender, was one of the targets at this year’s Glee Club. Lib Dems sang this, to the tune of Robin Hood.

Owen Smith, Owen Smith,

Always on TV

Owen Smith, Owen Smith

Who the hell is he?

Hated by the left, loathed by the right?

What a shite, what a shite, what a shite

The song was written by the Southport Lib Dem councillor Nigel Ashton.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.22pm BST

block-time published-time 9.11am BST

The Liberal Democrats are today heading into the fourth and final day of their autumn conference but, with only eight MPs, very little leverage over power at Westminster or anywhere else and Labour’s civil war hogging the headlines, they have struggled to leave much of a footprint on the national news.

Today, though, they have a chance to make some headlines. The leader’s speech is generally the most important showpiece event at any party conference and Tim Farron is closing the conference this afternoon.

According to extracts from his speech briefed overnight, he will say the NHS needs “a lot more money” and that the Lib Dems would be willing to raise taxes to give it what it needs. This is what Farron will say:

And let’s stop being complacent about our NHS. We have of course a brilliant NHS, the best staff in the world, free care at the point of access... but we are spending at least far less every year than we need to make sure that we have a health and care service that really will provide for you and your family from cradle to grave.

So we need to face the hard truth that the NHS needs more money – a lot more money – not just to stop it lurching from crisis to crisis but so that it can meet the needs and the challenges it will face in the years ahead. So that it can be the service we all need it to be for the long-term. To provide confidence in our health service for the next fifty years.

In Norman Lamb we have the politician who is most trusted and respected by the health profession – and deservedly so. And Norman and I are clear, we will not join the ranks of those politicians who are too scared of losing votes to face up to what really needs to be done.

We will go to the British people with the results of our Beveridge Commission and we will offer a new deal for health and social care, honest about the cost, bold about the solution.

If the only way to fund a health service that meets the needs of everyone, is to raise taxes, Liberal Democrats will raise taxes.

And here’s the Guardian’s preview story.

Related: Lib Dems will turn NHS into National Health and Care Service, says Farron[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/20/lib-dems-will-turn-nhs-into-national-health-and-care-service-says-farron]

I will post more from the speech extracts released overnight soon.

Today I will mostly be focusing on the Lib Dems, but I will keep an eye on other stories, including, of course, today’s meeting of Labour’s national executive committee.

Here is the agenda for the day.

9am: The Lib Dem conference opens with an emergency debate on **refugees**. Later in the morning there will be debates on internal Lib Dem constitutional reforms and transport.

11.30am: Sal Brinton, the Lib Dem president, speaks.

12pm: Labour’s national executive committee meets to discuss proposed changes to the way shadow cabinet ministers are chosen. Here is our preview story[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/19/jeremy-corbyn-would-have-power-to-sack-elected-ministers-proposes-tom-watson].

2.10pm: Tim Farron, the Lib Dem leader, gives his keynote conference speech.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter, I’m on @AndrewSparrow[https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow].

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.26pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Lib Dem leader says he is surprised Labour members use word ‘Blairite’ as an insult, citing minimum wage as positive policy

Tony Blair should be admired for his government’s achievements on workers’ rights and the health service, the Liberal Democrat leader, Tim Farron, has said in a conference speech[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/20/tim-farron-speech-lib-dem-conferenence-says-lib-dems-would-be-willing-to-raise-taxes-to-find-a-lot-more-money-for-nhs-politics-live] pitched squarely at moderate Labour voters.

He told the party’s conference in Brighton he was amazed Labour party members were “throwing around the word Blairite as if it’s the world’s most offensive insult”.

Farron said he was not a Blairite, citing his opposition to the Iraq war, compulsory ID cards, 90-day detention, and deregulation of the banks. “There is more to Tony Blair’s legacy than that,” he went on. “I kind of see Tony Blair the way I see the Stone Roses[https://www.theguardian.com/music/stone-roses] : I preferred the early work.”

Related: I admire Tony Blair for beating Tories, says Tim Farron[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/15/corbyn-could-land-us-with-tory-government-for-25-years-says-farron]

Farron said Blair’s legacy was also the minimum wage, working tax credits, NHS investment and school building. “I disagree with him a lot, but I will not criticise him for those things. I admire him for those things,” he said.

“I respect him for believing that the point of being in politics is to get stuff done, and you can only get stuff done if you win. Otherwise you’re letting your opponent get stuff done instead.”

Farron has previously expressed admiration for the former Labour prime minister, telling the Guardian last week[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/15/corbyn-could-land-us-with-tory-government-for-25-years-says-farron] he believed “a person who thinks winning elections so you can do good is honourable”.

The party has made no secret during its Brighton conference of its desire to seize those on the centre-left and right concerned about the swerve of both main parties away from the middle ground.

There is little evidence thus far that those voters have been convinced that the Lib Dems are the answer, however, new polling released on Tuesday show their ratings have barely changed from a year ago, despite heightened attention post- Brexit vote[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/britain-votes-for-brexit-eu-referendum-david-cameron].

When asked to compare Farron with the Liberal Democrat party, just 23% stated that they liked Farron but slightly more – 28% – said they liked the Lib Dems, with no change from last year’s conference. Almost half of those surveyed said “don’t know”, an indication that the leader has barely raised his public profile since taking over from Nick Clegg[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/jul/16/tim-farron-named-liberal-democrat-party-leader].

It also remains to be seen how Farron’s praise of Blair will be received by his party. On Monday night at the Lib Dems’ annual unofficial glee club, members lustily sang: “Tony Blair can fuck off and die” to the tune of Don McLean’s American Pie.

In the hall, the response was certainly muted, but Lib Dem sources say they were not the target audience for the comments. They say their leader will push on with his appeal to New Labour’s early voters, ramping up his praise of some achievements of the Blair government.

Farron said he wanted to convince voters his party was the only one who could deny a pro-Brexit Conservative government a majority. He said: “I’m prepared to work with people of all parties and none if it will make people’s lives better. But I couldn’t work with Jeremy Corbyn[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/jeremy-corbyn], because Jeremy Corbyn would never work with me.”

He had kinder words for Owen Smith[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/owen-smith], Corbyn’s leadership rival. “Unlike Corbyn, he is certainly on our side of the European debate,” Farron said. “So if Owen Smith wins, I want to make clear that I am open to working together. And there are others I could work with too.”

In his speech Farron cited the former Labour frontbenchers Yvette Cooper, Chuka Umunna and Caroline Flint[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/08/labour-big-guns-chuka-umunna-caroline-flint-yvette-cooper-line-up-replace-keith-vaz], all currently competing to chair the home affairs select committee, which the Lib Dem leader called “a retirement position”. He said: “Shouldn’t that be their leadership contest? What are these people doing, jostling for position in a sideshow? They should be centre-stage.”

Farron had far fewer conciliatory words for the Conservative party – the Lib Dems’ former coalition partners. Earlier in the speech he said the Tories had “lost the right to call itself the party of business”.

He said: “It no longer supports business, no longer understands the need for calm economic pragmatism – but instead pursues the nationalist protectionist fantasies of the Brexit fundamentalists who have won the day. Indeed, my message to any business in this country – large or small – is if you are backing today’s Conservative party, you are funding your own funeral. We are the free-market, free-trade pro-business party now.”

Farron said he was confident the party could make inroads in Conservative seats, starting with local government. Party sources said they were closely studying the success of Justin Trudeau[https://www.theguardian.com/world/justin-trudeau] ’s Liberal party in Canada, a surprise but emphatic victory unseating the Conservative government after the collapse of the leftwing New Democratic party, which had been the official opposition.

Farron was unapologetic that he wanted to model himself on Trudeau, though admitted the Canadian was “better looking than me and he’s got a tattoo”. He said: “Trudeau’s Liberals leapt over an inadequate official opposition to defeat a rightwing Conservative government. Do you fancy doing that? ’Cause I do.”

Opportunities for the party existed in Tory seats after boundary changes, Farron said. “No one believes, whether boundary changes happen or not, that Labour will gain a single seat from the Tories. The SNP could only possibly take one seat off the Conservatives. But there are dozens of Tory seats in our reach. Which means that the only thing standing between the Conservatives and a majority at the next election is the revival of the Liberal Democrats.”

As well as reiterating his promise to fight for a second referendum on any Brexit deal, Farron’s speech also pledged a fully taxpayer-funded care service, rebranding the NHS as the National Health and Care Service, even if it would mean tax rises. The Lib Dems would also campaign against the reintroduction of grammar schools and would scrap Sats for younger children.

Farron said beyond his party and the UK he believed there was a wider battle emerging between “the forces of tolerant liberalism and intolerant, closed-minded nationalism”.

With genuine emotion, Farron spoke of his experience volunteering during the **refugee** crisis in Lesbos, where he was confronted by an aid worker from New Zealand, who knew he was a British politician. “She looked at me and shouted: ‘Stop handing out bottles of water and take some effing **refugees**.’ Because that is how Britain is seen. Mean, and not pulling its weight. And maybe that doesn’t bother some people, but it bothers me.”

The appeal not to abandon **refugees**, as more news came in that the UN will halt aid convoys into Syria after the shelling of one convoy, drew a standing ovation and raised fists in the crowd.

“I am proud of who we are – always a sanctuary for the desperate, the abused and the persecuted,” Farron said. “And I will not stand by and watch my country become smaller, meaner and more selfish.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Although a last-minute U-turn prevented a cap on benefits for people in supported housing, women’s **refuges** and homeless shelters are still under threat.

Last Thursday, a government climbdown was met with mass relief by thousands of people in disparate parts of the housing sector, including tenants. After months of criticism, campaigning and publicising the dangers, the decision to introduce a cap on housing benefit[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/15/housing-benefit-cap-exemptions-hostels-supported-housing-uk-government] to supported housing, such as hostels and homeless shelters, was deferred. The local housing allowance[http://england.shelter.org.uk/get\_advice/housing\_benefit\_and\_local\_housing\_allowance/what\_is\_housing\_benefit/local\_housing\_allowance] (LHA) cap was designed to impose a standard rate for housing benefit claims, preventing high rents being covered, and standardising housing benefit rates in order to trim the welfare bill.

Related: Government announces housing benefit cap exemptions to housing benefit cap after criticism[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/15/housing-benefit-cap-exemptions-hostels-supported-housing-uk-government]

Housing benefit is highly complex. Even leaving aside vast geographic disparities in average rent levels, which the LHA cap only partly addresses, thousands of people across the UK claim housing benefit for different types of supported housing. Women’s **refuges** are covered, as are many homelessness services and supported housing for disabled and older people. Domestic violence charity Women’s Aid reported that 67% of its affiliated **refuges** in England faced closure[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/05/womens-refuges-housing-benefit-cap-domestic-violence] if the LHA cap was applied, while 87% would be forced to scale down their operations.

With nowhere to go, the lives of women fleeing domestic violence would become even more perilous. Cuts to council budgets across Britain have already had worrying impacts on the finances and operations of women’s **refuges**, as funding for local services is slashed[https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2015/nov/06/cuts-womens-refuges-violence-death-social-housing] rather than salami-sliced.

Homelessness charities estimated that more than half of the 36,500 beds for rough sleepers would be at risk[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/mar/13/local-housing-allowance-cap-evictions-hostels-supported-housing] under the cap and due to the 1% reduction in rental costs[https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2015/jul/08/social-housing-rent-fall-chancellor-budget] social housing can charge, with many charities predicting huge shortfalls in income and putting expansion plans on hold. At the same time, homelessness rates in England have hit record highs, with a rise of 30% in one year alone[https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/mar/10/empty-homes-england-scotland-homelessness], from 2,744 rough sleepers in autumn 2014 to 3,569 in autumn 2015.

The National Housing Federation predicted that 82,000 specialist homes would be at risk of closure[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jan/26/benefit-cap-on-social-housing-will-leave-thousands-homeless-landlords-warn] if the cap and rent cut were implemented, leaving 50,000 people unable to work without support. In March 2015, the government announced a one-year deferment of the policy while the impact was assessed. Now, it has performed something of a U-turn. The cap will not be implemented in its current form, and supported housing will be safe from the LHA cap until the 2019-20 financial year.

‘It’s a hallmark of the Tories’ approach to housing: act first and leave every other agency to pick up the pieces’

Supported housing is not out of the woods yet. The government’s announcement offers a few years’ grace to supported housing providers. But work and pensions secretary Damian Green’s statement[http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Commons/2016-09-15/HCWS154/] to the Commons says the government “will bring in a new funding model [from 2020] which will ensure that the sector continues to be funded at current levels, taking into account the effect of government policy on social sector rents … however, it is also important that supported housing should make efficiency savings in the same way as the rest of the social sector.”

How exactly can supported housing be expected to make “efficiency savings” in a housing crisis? Rental costs for premises are high, and homelessness rates are rising in line with exorbitant rent increases[https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/jun/17/london-housing-crisis-homelessness-poverty-eviction], especially in areas of high deprivation. Housing charity Shelter found that the fastest-rising reason for becoming homeless was the end of an assured shorthold tenancy.

Every homeless shelter and **refuge** I’ve visited is already operating at capacity, and staff are fraught when they explain how many people have been turned away because there are simply not enough beds. People living in supported housing are already left without the level of support they need to live independently, even before any further budget cuts.

Related: Even in housing, the Tories stoop to divide and rule | Owen Jones[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/01/tories-pay-to-stay-housing-social-rents-tenants-homes]

It is a hallmark of the Tories’ approach to housing: act first and leave every other agency to pick up the pieces. The catastrophic bedroom tax was pushed through despite enormous opposition from housing associations, councils, housing specialists and the public. Yet people are still living in quiet misery as they muddle through the shortfall in benefits, and councils attempt to mitigate the impact of arrears. The axe may not have fallen yet for supported housing providers, but it’s still likely to. **Refuges** and shelters have some breathing space but aren’t safe yet. The government needs to admit that it spectacularly misjudged its entire housing policy.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**From the return of an underground classic to the rebirth of a superhero, here are some of the titles to pick up in late 2016 and early 2017

Exits by Daryl Seitchik[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/exits.html] (Koyama Press, September)

Seitchik follows up her Ignatz award-nominated Missy comics with a debut graphic novel focusing on mirror-store clerk Claire Kim, who hates herself and the world she lives in. Claire spends her days showing customers their reflections while dreaming about erasing her own: a wish that ends up coming true. ZA

Cheap Novelties by Ben Katchor[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/cheap-novelties.html] (Drawn & Quarterly, September)

Subtitled The Pleasures of Urban Decay, this collection of one-page strips featuring real-estate photographer Julius Knipl was originally published in 1991. Twenty-five years on, its observations of what is lost as cityscapes evolve and shift due to gentrification and changing demographics are still fresh and relevant. DB

Equinoxes by Cyril Pedrosa[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/equinoxes.html] (NBM, September)

The second of Pedrosa’s books to be given an English translation, Equinoxes promises to be another work of watercoloured gorgeousness. Divided into four sections (to correlate with each season), it follows several unconnected people who, as they seek equilibrium and meaning, begin to cross paths. ZA

Mooncop by Tom Gauld[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/mooncop.html] (Drawn & Quarterly, September)

Gauld will be no stranger to Guardian readers, with his cartoons appearing in the paper and online every Saturday[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/tom-gauld]. In Mooncop, he turns his deceptively simple style to a tale that is both heartwarming and sad; the story of the last policeman on the moon at a time when the novelty of the lunar lifestyle is fading for almost everyone else. DB

Cat Rackham by Steve Wolfhard[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/cat-rackham.html] (Koyama Press, September)

Wolfhard’s early, out-of-print Cat Rackham comics are collected here in one satisfyingly comprehensive volume. Although it fills him with existential dread, Rackham still gets out of bed every morning to somehow, yet again, find himself mired in trouble of the strangest kind. ZA

Fatherson by Richie Pope[http://www.youthindecline.com/product/frontier-13-richie-pope] (Youth in Decline, September)

Pope’s career has been on a rising trajectory these past few years, as he established himself with layered, sophisticated narratives such as last year’s Newdini, and his superlative illustration work. This latest book, a touching and surreal narrative of fatherhood, looks set to further cement his reputation as a fine contemporary talent. ZA

Dalí by Baudoin[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/daly.html] (Self Made Hero, October)

Self Made Hero continues its trend of exemplary graphic biography with this piece on Salvador Dalí by French creator Edmond Baudoin. The three-time Angoulême international comics festival award winner was commissioned by the Pompidou Centre to put together this look at the life and work of the surrealist extraordinaire. DB

Nightlights by Lorena Alvarez[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/nightlights-437028.html] (Nobrow, October)

An impressive year for Nobrow looks set to continue with Alvarez’s charming children’s story about fear and creativity: “Every night, tiny stars appear out of the darkness in little Sandy’s bedroom. She catches them and creates wonderful creatures to play with until she falls asleep, and in the morning brings them back to life in the whimsical drawings that cover her room.” Until somebody finds out. ZA

Space Battle Lunchtime by Natalie Reiss[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/space-battle-lunchtime.html] (Oni Press, October)

GBBO and Masterchef fever makes its way to comics – with a galactic twist. Amateur pastry chef Peony finds herself the sole earthling contestant in a popular TV cooking competition. Excited about the opportunity of a lifetime, doubts soon arise as Peony realises that the show shoots on location – on a spaceship – and her **alien** competitors don’t play nice! Reiss brings the story to life with some joyfully expressive, colourful art. ZA

Rolling Blackouts by Sarah Glidden[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/rolling-blackouts.html] (Drawn & Quarterly, October)

Continuing the grand tradition of graphic journalism most eminently practised by Joe Sacco, Sarah Glidden’s remarkable Rolling Blackouts adds a new twist to the form. Glidden accompanies a team of journalists through Syria and Iraq and her muted watercolours record not only the lives of people in war zones but the way the media interacts with them. Highly recommended. DB

Ghost Stories of an Antiquary by MR James, Leah Moore and John Reppion[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/ghost-stories-of-an-antiquary-437157.html] (Self Made Hero, October)

James’s ghost stories have been fertile ground for adaptions on TV and radio: now husband-and-wife writer team Moore and Reppion, along with four different artists, have brought four of James’s most famous and well-loved spectral tales – Canon Alberic’s Scrap-book, Lost Hearts, The Mezzotint and The Ash-tree – to graphic novel form (and just in time for Halloween). DB

Liberty Annual 2016[https://imagecomics.com/comics/releases/cbldf-liberty-annual-2016] (Image, November)

This yearly release from Image comics features a wealth of graphic talent telling the stories of true heroes who have made a difference in the world. Ordinary people who take a stand, suffragettes, campaigners and activists all get a look in from creators including Mary and Bryan Talbot, Paul Pope and Anina Bennett, with proceeds going to the censorship-busting Comic Book Legal Defence Fund[http://cbldf.org/]. DB

Clear Blue Tomorrows by Fabien Vehlmann, Ralph Meyer and Bruno Gazzotti [https://bookshop.theguardian.com/clear-blue-tomorrows.html] (Cinebook, November)

Clear Blue Tomorrows provides an amusing dystopian set-up: engineer Nolan Ska travels back in time to prevent the ruling dictatorship made possible by the inventions of one FG Wilson. His plan? To encourage Wilson’s first career of novelist. But the man who will eventually become a seemingly immortal despot turns out to be a poor author, and it’s up to Nolan to serve as his ghost writer. ZA

Sunny by Taiyo Matsumoto[https://www.viz.com/read/manga/sunny-vol-6/12407] (Viz, November)

Taking its name from the dilapidated yellow Nissan Sunny used by the residents of a children’s care home as a **refuge** and play area, this is the sixth and final volume in Matsumoto’s melancholy, beautiful series. Each chapter serves as a story in itself, with Matsumoto’s art reinforcing the emotional current of the narrative: dreamlike, yet rooted in something tangibly real. ZA

Paper Girls, Volume Two[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/paper-girls-volume-2.html] (Image, November)

Brian K Vaughan, Cliff Chiang and Matt Wilson’s homage to 1980s horror and sci-fi is a delight; think Stranger Things but with more girls and more **aliens**[https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2016/sep/08/paper-girls-what-to-read-while-waiting-for-more-stranger-things]. It’s probably not wise to leap into Vaughan’s convoluted plot with this second collection of the monthly comic, but you’ve still got time to catch up with book one before this is out. DB

Rumble 3: Immortal Coil by James Harren and John Arcudi [https://bookshop.theguardian.com/rumble-volume-3-immortal-coil.html] (Image, December)

Formerly a great warrior who has been reduced to a sorry, vestigial creature, Rathraq looks to avenge himself with the help of Bobby and Del, a couple of “normal” twentysomethings. The third instalment in what is an overlooked gem, this series is filled with wit, heart and fantastic art from Harren. A stellar example of how entertaining and impressive graphic storytelling can be. ZA

Harrow County Volume 4: Family Tree by[https://www.darkhorse.com/Books/30-219/Harrow-County-Volume-4-Family-Tree-TPB] Cullen Bunn[https://www.darkhorse.com/Books/30-219/Harrow-County-Volume-4-Family-Tree-TPB] (Dark Horse, February 2017)

Harrow County is one of the best and creepiest horror titles on the market, from writer Bunn and artist Tyler Crook. True southern gothic, it’s steeped in rural folklore and dark doings in the woods, with teenager Emmy discovering she is the carrier of a shadowy, witchy legacy, in a landscape haunted by creatures and myths both benign and alarming. DB

Wonder Woma n: Rebirth by Greg Rucka (DC, March 2017)

In her 75th year, Diana of Themyscira – Wonder Woman to you and me – gets the DC Rebirth treatment, a new project by the comics giant to reposition their classic characters in a bid to make some sense of their tangled continuity. Writer Rucka, with artists Nicola Scott and Liam Sharp, has been making Diana relevant for 2016 since summer in monthly comic form; the collected edition of this beautiful new series is out in spring. DB

Uncomfortably Happily by Yeon-Sik Hong[https://www.drawnandquarterly.com/blog/2015/06/dq-25-pr-yeon-sik-hongs-uncomfortably-happily] (D&Q, March 2017)

Drawn & Quarterly brings Korean cartoonist Yeon-Sik Hong’s acclaimed tale – of a young couple who leave the noise of the city in order to live off the land – to English for the first time. Her characters soon discover that living remotely on a mountain-top comes with a unique set of obstacles, as they tend their crops, fight depression in the intense solitude, and tramp through snow on grocery runs. ZA

Related: 'There's nothing like it in comics' … how Love and Rockets broke the rules[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/may/10/theres-nothing-like-it-in-comics-how-love-and-rockets-broke-the-rules]

Love and Rockets b[http://fantagraphics.com/flog/love-rockets-magazine-returns/] y Jaime and Gilbert Hernandez[http://fantagraphics.com/flog/love-rockets-magazine-returns/] ( Fantagraphics, autumn)

Jaime and Gilbert Hernandez are the darlings of the independent comics scene thanks to their 35 years spent creating Love and Rockets. These anthologies are most famous for Jaime’s punky Locas stories, featuring Maggie and Hopey, and Gilbert’s epic Heartbreak Soup, set in a remote South American village. After a few years being released in album form annually, they’re returning to regular magazine publication this autumn. DB

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Tweet, which echoes racist memes, prompts outrage and slew of rebuttals on social media

Donald Trump Jr has used a Twitter post to liken Syrian **refugees** to poisoned Skittles and suggest that America should not accept any.

This image says it all. Let's end the politically correct agenda that doesn't put America first. #trump2016[https://twitter.com/hashtag/trump2016?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/9fHwog7ssN[https://t.co/9fHwog7ssN] — Donald Trump Jr. (@DonaldJTrumpJr) September 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/778016283342307328]

The tweet sparked outrage on social media, with some users posting harrowing images of Syrians caught up in the civil war juxtaposed with the word Skittles.

Skittles. pic.twitter.com/inCjwrwzfd[https://t.co/inCjwrwzfd] — Nish Weiseth (@NishWeiseth) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/NishWeiseth/status/778063680114073600]

Jon Favreau, Barack Obama’s former speechwriter, was scathing.

Hey @DonaldJTrumpJr[https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr], this is one of the millions of children you compared to a poisoned Skittle today: https://t.co/SDSGw0eUIP[https://t.co/SDSGw0eUIP] pic.twitter.com/HuhY9RGvWW[https://t.co/HuhY9RGvWW] — Jon Favreau (@jonfavs) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/jonfavs/status/778036417167368192]

Reza Aslan, the religious scholar and author, did not mince his words.

Like piece of shit father, like piece of shit son. https://t.co/KHZRCANKa4[https://t.co/KHZRCANKa4] — Reza Aslan (@rezaaslan) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/rezaaslan/status/778051005845864448]

The singer John Legend was similarly unimpressed.

By that logic, you would take everyone's guns away. Because someone is gonna kill somebody at some point. But I guess that doesn't count. https://t.co/3BraX0Ew19[https://t.co/3BraX0Ew19] — John Legend (@johnlegend) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/johnlegend/status/778031659073413120]

In a series of tweets, Clara Jeffery, the editor-in-chief of the website Mother Jones, lambasted Trump Jr and contrasted his comments with her mother’s efforts to help **refugees** from the Cambodian genocide:

1/ Re Skittles, a personal tale. After the Cambodian genocide began. My mom started taping pictures and headlines to our dining room wall.— Clara Jeffery (@ClaraJeffery) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/ClaraJeffery/status/778086306115125249]

3/ I was ~9. She started sponsoring **refugees**. We were clueless white people. There was no real preexisting Cambodian community in DCmetro.— Clara Jeffery (@ClaraJeffery) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/ClaraJeffery/status/778086687075364868]

5/ Many followed. Horrible stories. One toddler had a crease across his nose from a bullet. Mass graves. Rapes.— Clara Jeffery (@ClaraJeffery) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/ClaraJeffery/status/778086854851780608]

7/ That trauma took its toll on all of them, some in more obvious ways. And it took its toll on my family too.— Clara Jeffery (@ClaraJeffery) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/ClaraJeffery/status/778087201057935360]

9/ Donald Trump Jr, never has known hardship. Nor charity. There’s utterly no evidence his family has ever done good by anyone.— Clara Jeffery (@ClaraJeffery) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/ClaraJeffery/status/778087422928248832]

Apart from being controversial, the tweet is not actually original. Joe Walsh, the former congressman and rightwing talk show host whose statements have been criticized as incendiary, has voiced similar ideas.

Hey @DonaldJTrumpJr[https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr], that's the point I made last month.

Glad you agree. pic.twitter.com/Nssw6KC1HY[https://t.co/Nssw6KC1HY] — Joe Walsh (@WalshFreedom) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/WalshFreedom/status/778030543803822080]

As well as the content of the tweet, some people took issue with Trump Jr’s grammar.

Beyond the blinding stupidity & accidental great argument for firing all cops, this was punctuated by an illiterate. pic.twitter.com/UfUowGGjI9[https://t.co/UfUowGGjI9] — Nima Shirazi (@WideAsleepNima) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/WideAsleepNima/status/778049834687356928]

Some came with the facts.

If you told me that three @skittles[https://twitter.com/Skittles] in each bowl are poisonous, I'd look at the data and conclude that you're wrong about Skittle safety.— matt blaze (@mattblaze) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/mattblaze/status/778050408136802309]

Each green dot represents 3 **refugees** admitted to the U.S. since 9/11. None of them will kill you. And none of them are Skittles. pic.twitter.com/FhgRJCNdTt[https://t.co/FhgRJCNdTt] — Judd Legum (@JuddLegum) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/JuddLegum/status/778050915202961408]

And others responded with humour.

I think we should stop eating any #Skittles[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Skittles?src=hash]. Just until we find out what's going on.— Randi Mayem Singer (@rmayemsinger) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/rmayemsinger/status/778063910213607424]

TRUMP CAMPAIGN: what if we told you three skittles in this bowl are-

ME: \*in front of empty bowl of skittles, through mouthful\* mmf whhf?— Nicky Woolf (@NickyWoolf) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/NickyWoolf/status/778052439329026049]

One Twitter user has suggested how Wrigley, the company that owns Skittles, could respond.

Here @Skittles[https://twitter.com/Skittles] I got you. "For every pack of Skittles you buy between now and Nov. 8, we'll donate $1 to support **refugees**."— Kyle (@heydudekyle) September 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/heydudekyle/status/778057211880669184]

A spokeswoman for Wrigley later told the Guardian that Trump Jnr’s analogy was inappropriate.

“Skittles are candy. **Refugees** are people. We don’t feel it is an appropriate analogy,” she said.

“We will respectfully refrain from further commentary as anything we say could be misinterpreted as marketing.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Trouble for Europe; Facebook censorship; Minding mindfulness

The fraught future of Europe

Your headline coverage of the hardening of attitudes to **refugees** and the corresponding rise of the far right in Europe made gloomy reading for me (9 September)[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/01/alan-kurdi-death-one-year-on-compassion-towards-refugees-fades]. All the more so because it reflects a similar hardening of attitudes towards **refugees** evident here in Australia.

On a recent flight from Dubai to Adelaide my wife Julie and I encountered Syrian **refugees** bound for re-settlement in South Australia. They were in a state of anxious anticipation at the prospect of new life down under. But, much more than this, they were relieved to be escaping the holocaust in their homeland.

I hope that promise of a new life is fulfilled. The odds are very much with them that it will. But it won’t be completely plain sailing for them here in terms of acceptance by any means.

They are starting out on a new life in a nervous society where buses for the first time ask passengers to be wary of unattended luggage, where government warnings encourage us to report anything that “doesn’t look right”, where an innocent question from a Syrian **refugee** to a policeman can be enough for that **refugee** to have his details written down as a routine security precaution, where our cyberspace is full of the most puerile anti-Muslim, anti-**immigrant** nonsense, where far rightists on **immigration** have just had marked success in our recent national election, and where a barbaric **refugee** policy still has strong public support.

Let’s hope we can buck our own version of the far-rightist trend you identify for Europe. At present it could go either way.

Terry Hewton

Adelaide, South Australia

• Natalie Nougayrède comments on the future of Europe (9 September)[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/02/angela-merkel-marine-le-pen-europe-destiny], with her opinion that behind all evil in the world is Russia. I totally agree that “the so-called Franco-German engine... is broken – mainly because of France’s economic weaknesses”. Germany, for all its talk of upholding the rules, breaks year after year the rules on trade surpluses. It is projected to reach this year alone up to 8.9% of GDP. Anything above 6% is in violation of EU rules.

Where are the politicians and journalists to shine the brightest light on this destruction of other nations’ economies? Is it a wonder that the French voters turn to the Front National if, on their backs, Germany exports its unemployment? A reduced import deficit from Germany would allow for breathing space for the other European nations.

Steffen Müller

Hastings, UK

• In The currency of community (9 September)[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/aug/22/the-euro-and-its-threat-to-the-future-of-europe-joseph-stiglitz-review], his review of Joseph Stiglitz’s book on the failings of the euro, John Kampfner makes the point that the present crisis in Europe embraces far more than a currency imbalance. Like it or not, the Brexit decision pinpoints wide disillusionment in the UK with the apparent evolution of the EU into an unwitting instrument of the uneven distribution of power and wealth.

The imminent withdrawal of Britain may have an even greater impact on the EU. It must contribute to the growing dissent among EU members suffering the dual impacts of austerity and the influx of **refugees**.

That the European experiment is still worth pursuing goes without saying. In our current geopolitical context, even major economies such as Germany stand little chance on their own of competing with the superpowers, China and America. It is ironic that the success of this attempt to create unity from recent disharmony now rests on whether Germany, under Angela Merkel, maintains effective leadership, or whether the various rightwing groups typified by Marine Le Pen gain effective control.

Should the rightwing movements gain power, the future for a united Europe looks bleak indeed. If this, the worst possible outcome eventuates, Britain may well enjoy a short period of self-congratulation for seeing the writing on the wall.

Noel Bird

Boreen Point, Queensland, Australia

Censorship by Facebook

I read with interest the Norwegian prime minister, Erna Solberg, commenting on the recent furore over Facebook’s censoring of the iconic image taken during the American war in Vietnam (16 September)[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/sep/09/facebook-deletes-norway-pms-post-napalm-girl-post-row]. The horrific image depicts Kim Phúc, as a young girl, running down a road near Trang Bang, her naked body spattered with burning napalm.

Solberg states, “I want my children, and other children around the world, to grow up in a society where history is told as it was. In a society where they can grow into mature adults by learning from experiences of past generations, to be better informed citizens of the world.”

I could not agree more. War is not only cruel because of the people that perpetrate violence. It is also cruel because of the people who fuel it. When I see this picture I see napalm. When I think napalm, I think of the Norwegian government permitting Norway to be one of the biggest suppliers of magnesium to the US production of napalm in the 50s.

Cut to the present day. Norway is still a major-league global supplier of weapons (per capita). The Norwegian female ski-jumping team and Norwegian biathletes are sponsored by the Norwegian-US arms producer Nammo.

Nobody is learning anything. Erna Solberg is just telling it as it is.

Patji Alnæs-Katjavivi

Oslo, Norway

Rise of the Anthropocene

The Anthropocene, according to ecologist James Lovelock, can be traced back to 1712 when the first steam engine began operation (9 September)[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/aug/29/declare-anthropocene-epoch-experts-urge-geological-congress-human-impact-earth]. Later, of course, we became even more inventive and began ransacking the energy stored in the Earth.

The Industrial Revolution’s carbon emissions and the “plastic pollution” that has now spilled over into our oceans, are just two of the major, and not entirely foreseen, consequences. But the most serious development that defines our epoch according to Lovelock, in his latest book A Rough Ride to the Future, is overpopulation. “Gaia, the Earth System,” he says, “cannot sustain the present level of human population for very much longer.”

Richard Orlando

Westmount, Quebec, Canada

Mindful of mindfulness

Terry Eagleton, in his review of The Happiness Industry (26 August)[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/aug/03/the-happiness-industry-by-william-davies-review], does the notion of mindfulness an injustice. At the recent Mind and Life Conference with the Dalai Lama in Brussels on Power and Care, we were reminded that the pursuit of happiness involves also doing our best to reduce suffering in the world. Training in mindfulness can help some to break out of the bonds of powerlessness and feel their own strength to become better advocates for global justice.

As temporary residents on this planet, we have the power and the responsibility to care enough to be, to the best of our ability, active in making a positive difference for the benefit of all creatures today and tomorrow.

Silvia Dingwall

Nussbaumen, Switzerland

Briefly

• I can fully sympathise with Anthony Walter (Briefly, 2 September)[https://www.theguardian.com/global/2016/aug/30/guardian-weekly-letters-australia-detention-nauru] and his difficulty with mystifying terms used in the Weekly. It isn’t just North Americans who may be flummoxed by new words that appear to have entered common parlance. I have increasingly found that my vocabulary is out of date, so that playing Scrabble creates confusion when my (1960s) dictionary doesn’t contain a word that my visiting daughter thinks is commonplace. Maybe I need to get a new dictionary.

Katy Beaver

Glacis, Mahe, Seychelles

• So London bankers consider brown shoes a determinant of failure (9 September)[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/01/top-graduates-missing-out-on-banking-jobs-for-lacking-polish]. In Canada, brown shoes were worn with a smart business suit by the new prime minister, Justin Trudeau, at his swearing-in ceremony. It is a look he seemed to favour prior to his election and it did not appear to hinder his success. Perhaps the bankers referred to in the story are of an older generation and have not yet caught up with newer fashion trends. Or perhaps they have not yet realised that success is best determined not by “accent” and “dress”, but by more substantive qualities.

Avril Taylor

Dundas, Ontario, Canada

• With regard to your 19 August article[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/09/peta-wants-tasmanias-eggs-and-bacon-bay-changed-to-apple-and-cherry-bay] (Peta: change name of Eggs and Bacon Bay) I am hopefully reminded of Gandhi’s saying: “First they ignore you, then they ridicule you, then they fight you, and then you win.”

It is not just that the name encourages poor dietary choices; it encourages a callousness toward the suffering of “food” animals and a disregard for the environment that we cannot afford.

Layne Powell

Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada

Email letters for publication to weekly.letters@theguardian.com [mailto:weekly.letters@theguardian.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**At a Florida rally, Trump used the bombings as an opportunity to promote his anti-**immigration** message, saying: ‘**Immigration** security is national security’

Just hours after the apprehension of a man suspected[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/19/new-york-bombing-suspect-ahmad-khan-rahami] of involvement in weekend bombings[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/18/new-york-bombing-no-international-terrorism-link-governor-cuomo], Republican nominee Donald Trump left open the possibility that he should be treated as an enemy combatant.

Speaking to a crowd on Monday in Fort Myers, Florida, Trump said of Ahmad Khan Rahami: “We must use whatever lawful methods are available to obtain information from the apprehended suspect to get information before it’s no longer timely. And Congress should pass measures to ensure that foreign enemy combatants are treated as such. These are enemies.”

Born in Afghanistan, Rahami at the age of seven moved to the United States and became a naturalized citizen. Under the 2004 supreme court decision in Hamdi v Rumsfeld , while US citizens can be treated as enemy combatants, they have the right to challenge that designation in federal court and file a habeas corpus petition to be charged.

The point of declaring someone an enemy combatant is to allow for indefinite detention until the end of hostilities. Thus, under current law, Congress would need to override the court’s Hamdi decision in order to allow Rahami to be detained indefinitely.

A campaign aide, who spoke to the Guardian on condition of anonymity, said: “Mr Trump was making the point that Congress needs to pass laws to provide clear guidance in these situations.” The aide did not respond to a question about whether the Republican nominee believed Rahami should be treated as an enemy combatant.

Republican Senator Lindsey Graham has already suggested[http://www.lgraham.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/press-releases?ID=EE1C5174-E148-4007-8A6D-2769B96BE5C3] that Rahami could be treated as an enemy combatant solely for the purpose of gathering intelligence. However, the South Carolina senator made clear that Rahami should be tried in a civilian court and not a military one.

Rahami was arrested on Monday after a dramatic manhunt and shootout in New Jersey that followed bombings on Saturday and Sunday in New York and New Jersey. A bomb in the Chelsea neighborhood of Manhattan left 29 people injured in New York. Authorities said that they had linked Rahami not only to the Chelsea bombing, but also to another unexploded device found nearby. They also said they believed he was linked to a pipe bomb that blew up in Seaside Park, New Jersey, and explosive devices found in Elizabeth, New Jersey.

At the rally on Monday, Trump used the bombings as an opportunity to promote his anti-**immigration** message. “**Immigration** security is national security,” he said, as he bashed Hillary Clinton for having what he described as “the most open borders of anyone ever to seek the presidency”.

He went on to say that Clinton refuses to consider “the worldview” of those who seek to **immigrate** to the United States and that terrorists “want her so badly to be your president”. He particularly attacked the process that allowed Rahami to **immigrate** as a child: “This thug today, they think he came through Afghanistan. What kind of screening procedures were performed?”

This thug today, they think he came through Afghanistan. What kind of screening procedures were performed?

Donald Trump

When asked about the attacks at a press conference earlier on Monday, Clinton insisted, “I am absolutely in favor of and have long been an advocate for tough vetting, for making sure that we don’t let people into this country – and not just people who come here to settle, but we need a better visa system.”

She added: “This is a serious challenge, we are well equipped to meet it, and we can do so with smart law enforcement, good intelligence and in concert with our values.”

Trump also bemoaned what he said was the plush treatment that would be accorded to Rahami. “The bad part,” he said, “now we will give him amazing hospitalization. He will be taken care of by some of the best doctors in the world. He will be given a fully modern and updated hospital room. And he’ll probably even have room service, knowing the way our country is. And, on top of that, he will be represented by an outstanding lawyer.”

Trump concluded by noting “and his punishment will not be what it once would have been. What a sad situation.”

The Republican nominee’s speech came shortly before he was reportedly scheduled to meet with Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, who is in New York for the United Nations General Assembly. Trump and his campaign have not said whether the Republican nominee will meet with any other world leaders as well.

Spencer Ackerman in New York contributed reporting

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happenNo 10 lobby briefing - SummaryLunchtime summaryCorbyn’s Q&A with Mumsnet - SummaryAfternoon summary

block-time published-time 4.26pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* Jon Ashworth , a member of the shadow cabinet and a member of Labour’s national executive committee, has cast doubt on the practicality of Jeremy Corbyn ’s proposal to let party members elect some members of the shadow cabinet. Speaking on the World at One, Ashworth, the shadow minister without portfolio, said:

This is an interesting proposal. We want greater democracy in the party. In the past Jeremy talked about more ballots of members on policy issues. That was a proposal put forward by Gordon Brown when he was the leader, but it got knocked back by people, indeed, particularly people who worried that it excluded the voice, the collective voice, of the affiliated unions. We will have to explore how these things work in practice.

But there are practical issues that we need to understand. A ballot of the members, if it’s along the lines of the NEC ballot, costs £250,000. Is that money not better spent fighting our county council elections next year?

\* Tom Watson , Labour’s deputy leader, has challenged anyone wanting to oust him from his office to “bring it on”. At the weekend it was reported that Corbyn and his allies discussed a move against Watson at a private meeting at a country house in Surrey owned by Unite. In an interview with the House magazine, conducted before the weekend revelations were published and due to be published in full later this week, Watson said he would resist any attempt to force him out. He said:

No one exists in democratic office forever. If there’s a move to nominate another candidate and trigger a deputy leadership race, then let’s bring it on. But I’m not entirely certain it would be a useful expenditure of collective political energy, particularly after the summer we’ve had.

\* Sir Oliver Letwin , the former Cabinet Office minister, has revealed that the Conservatives did not have plans for a Queen’s speech for a Tory-majority government in the run-up to the last election. He told the World at One:

We thought that there was a great likelihood of a coalition. I had several coalition agreements on my Blackberry, ready for different eventualities. As it turned out, we didn’t need them.

Asked if he had a Tory Queen’s speech ready to go, he replied: “No, we didn’t, and one had to be prepared quite rapidly.”

\* Theresa May will meet major US investors in New York in an attempt to reassure them about the Brexit process as part of her visit to the UN general assembly , she has said.

\* British forces took part in a coalition air strike which the Syrian government claims left dozens of its troops dead at the weekend, the Ministry of Defence has confirmed. As the Press Association reports, an MoD spokesman said they were “fully co-operating” with the coalition investigation into what happened. The US military has already accepted it may have unintentionally struck Syrian troops while carrying out a raid against Islamic State forces on Saturday.

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

Tomorrow I will be blogging from the Lib Dem conference in Brighton, where Tim Farron , the party leader, will be speaking.

block-time published-time 3.48pm BST

While we’re on the subject of the repeated consumption of cultural products, it is worth pointing out that David Cameron also had masterpiece that he liked going back to. According to a Times profile some years ago, he has watched Where Eagles Dare at least 17 times. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/2009/jun/17/david-cameron-war-films] also had masterpiece that he liked going back to. According to a Times profile some years ago,

block-time published-time 3.41pm BST

Corbyn's Q&A with Mumsnet - Summary Jeremy Corbyn has finished his Mumsnet Q&A. There were plenty of complaints on the page from readers unhappy about the quality of his responses, or the questions unanswered, but there always are, and so it would be a mistake to read too much into that.

The most interesting revelation was that Corbyn says he has read Ulysses at least four times. I’m very impressed. I did a degree in English literature, and that’s at least three times more than I’ve read it. This is what Corbyn said when asked if he had a favourite book.

Really hard choice as I love books and reading. I’ve just re-read Things Fall Apart, but I think the prize has to go to Ulysses on the grounds that it’s very hard to understand the first time and doesn’t get much easier on the third or fourth reading of it. I first read it as my companion on a complicated series of trains travelling from London to Marrakech.

Someone reading James Joyce’s modernist classic, Ulysses (but not Jeremy Corbyn , because he does not drink Guinness) Photograph: Richard Saker for the Observer Otherwise, here are some of the other points of interest in what he said:

\* Corbyn hinted that he was revising his views about wanting to decriminalise the sex industry. In a Q&A earlier this year Corbyn said: “I am in favour of decriminalising the sex industry.” [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/mar/04/jeremy-corbyn-decriminalise-sex-industry-prostitution] But today, when asked about this by a woman who said she did not agree, he adopted a more equivocal stance, saying that women working as prostitutes should not be criminalised, but suggesting, by implication, that he might be open to making buying sex illegal. Corbyn said:

Thank you to Apulina and Raestory for your questions. I have voiced my support for decriminalisation in the past, motivated by not wanting those engaged in prostitution to become criminals, but I recognise there are a range of passionately-held views by those currently in sex work, and those such as Raestory, who identify themselves as survivors, by campaigners, and women’s rights activists. All these people have women’s interests and equality at heart. Where we can agree is that women in prostitution and sex work should not be criminalised or stigmatised, and have their human and citizen rights protected, and have access to the support of social, health, public services and justice. This is no less than all women deserve.

\* He said that a “hard” Brexit would eliminate most manufacturing in the UK. Someone asked him about Brexit, saying that one notable economist has said a “hard” Brexit would mostly eliminate manufacturing. (This is a reference to Patrick Minford.) [http://press.strongerin.co.uk/post/143886137447/economists-for-brexit-founder-wants-to-move-to] Corbyn replied:

The economist who says that Hard Brexit would most eliminate [sic] manufacturing is right.

\* Corbyn said he was someone who trid to “see something good” in everyone. Asked how he kept his focus in the light of relentless media attacks he replied:

I am naturally a very patient person. I always try to see something good in all the people I am dealing with. And whilst the mainstream media have been fairly hostile it’s not my experience when travelling around the country and indeed in my office we have a wall of postcards from people of all ages from all parts of the country giving positive supportive opinions and wishing us well. Politics is too often done in a over-adversarial way which involves personal abuse and name-calling. I don’t do any of that and i don’t think anyone else should either.

\* He said that socialism was a “natural instinct” to him. Asked what inspired him to become a socialist, he replied:

Socialism is a natural instinct to me, one that shares wealth and resources, gives opportunities to all and recognises the limits of exploitation of our natural environment. I have many political influences, from my mother and father and also as a late teenager living and working in Jamaica and travelling throughout Latin America, I could see the dreadful levels of inequality there. Later as a trade union organiser seeing the way in which we can challenge injustice at the workplace and inequality through trade union membership. Socialism is about including all people and trying to create a world of peace.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.44pm BST

block-time published-time 2.57pm BST

Yvette Cooper , chair of Labour’s **refugee** taskforce, has issued this statement in response to reports of what Theresa May will say in her speech to the UN summit on **refugees**. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/19/theresa-may-to-warn-un-of-dangers-of-uncontrolled-mass-migration] Cooper said:

The prime minister is not doing enough. She is right to say there is a distinction between **refugees** and economic migrants – that is exactly why Britain should be doing more to help those fleeing persecution and war. Alongside border controls, we also need safe, legal routes to sanctuary including speeding up family reunion which is far too slow and mired in bureaucracy

After a 14 year old boy died in Calais trying to reach his brother in the UK, children’s safety should be the top of the agenda. There are 900 children alone in Calais at serious risk of harm and exploitation. It is a complete disgrace that still not a single child has been helped under the Dubs legislation parliament voted for, and that Home Office delays are blocking hundreds of unaccompanied children from reaching their family and safety.

The prime minister should immediately expedite the cases of all child **refugees** with family here in the UK, and work with the French to ensure no child is left in Calais by Christmas.

block-time published-time 2.27pm BST

Corbyn tells Mumsnet he is 'totally anti-sugar' A few hours after being on Today, Jeremy Corbyn is now doing a live Q&A with Mumsnet [http://www.mumsnet.com/Talk/mumsnet\_live\_events/2733415-Heads-up-webchat-with-Jeremy-Corbyn-Monday-19th-Sept-2pm?messages=100&pg=4]. As all politicians know, Mumsnet is the much tougher gig.

Corbyn has been getting stick for not typing quickly enough. Here’s an example.

There are lots of questions posted to you in advance of the web chat, Jeremy. Normal web chat protocol is that you answer at least some of them.

Or just you know more than 1 question in 15 minutes would be nice.

So far the policy answers seem a bit routine, but Corbyn has declared himself “totally anti-sugar” in his answer to a question about his favourite biscuit (a staple Mumsnet question ever since Gordon Brown mucked up his answer to it).

I’m totally anti-sugar on health grounds, so eat very few biscuits, but if forced to accept one, it’s always a pleasure to have a shortbread.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.11pm BST

block-time published-time 2.07pm BST

Lunchtime summary

\* Owen Smith , the Labour leadership challenger, has said that Jeremy Corbyn should have been given more time before being challenged for the Labour leadership. (See 1.21pm.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/19/corbyn-labour-leadership-says-huge-turnout-at-his-rallies-shows-he-can-win-an-election-politics-live?page=with:block-57dfd77be4b09322c33b7c4a#block-57dfd77be4b09322c33b7c4a] should have been given more time before being challenged for the Labour leadership. (See

\* Corbyn has claimed that the huge crowds attending his rallies were evidence that Labour could win a general election and that this would start to show at next year’s local elections. (See 8.36am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/19/corbyn-labour-leadership-says-huge-turnout-at-his-rallies-shows-he-can-win-an-election-politics-live?page=with:block-57df9071e4b0c762d480dddb#block-57df9071e4b0c762d480dddb]

\* Nick Clegg , the former Lib Dem leader and former deputy prime minister, has accused the Tories of being stuck“up the Brexit creek” without a paddle, canoe, or map. Speaking in a debate that say Lib Dem members vote overwhelmingly in favour of a motion saying any final Brexit deal should be put to the people in a referendum, Clegg said “swivel eyed” Tory backbenchers wanted to force Britain out of the single market and that this would have dire consequences for the economy. He said:

You cannot have untrammelled access to a single market, which remember is a single market of rules, without abiding in one shape or form by those rules. That is what will lead to gridlock in the next few years. That is why they find themselves up this Brexit creek, never mind that they don’t have a paddle, they don’t have a canoe, they don’t have a map, they have absolutely no clue whatsoever...

I think, under pressure from their swivel-eyed backbenchers, under pressure from the, sort of, Brexit press, under pressure from their own internal contradictions, they will move remorselessly towards a hard Brexit. Not only taking us out of the European Union , but taking us out of the single market as well. And when they do that they will do untold damage to the British economy.

When the Conservatives do that we must remorselessly remind them that they can never dare say again that they are the party of business.And, more importantly, they can never say again, having done so much damage to our great country because of their obsession about Europe, they can never again say that they are a responsible party of government.

But the Lib Dems faced embarrassment when Sir Vince Cable, the former Lib Dem business secretary, used a fringe meeting to say he was opposed to the new party policy calling for a second referendum. (See 1.45pm.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/19/corbyn-labour-leadership-says-huge-turnout-at-his-rallies-shows-he-can-win-an-election-politics-live?page=with:block-57dfdc82e4b09322c33b7c5f#block-57dfdc82e4b09322c33b7c5f]

Nick Clegg speaking at the Lib Dem conference this morning. Photograph: Gareth Fuller/PA

\* Philip Hammond’s decision to transfer shares of his company to his wife shows he is not serious about tackling corporate tax avoidance, the Liberal Democrats’ Treasury spokesperson told the party’s conference, accusing the chancellor of “doing a Philip Green”. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/19/lib-dems-accuse-chancellor-philip-hammond-doing-a-philip-green-wife-share-transfer] As Jessica Elgot reports, Susan Kramer said: “Despite being one of the richest MPs in parliament, Philip Hammond [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/philip-hammond] was reported by Channel 4’s Dispatches programme in 2010 to have done a Philip Green and transferred shares to his wife, which can have the happy coincidence of reducing one’s tax bill. This is certainly not illegal, but is it really the actions of a man certain to put the interests of Britain first, let alone to launch a crusade against corporate tax avoidance?”

\* The Lib Dems have voted to opposed the construction of the Hinkley Point C nuclear power station. Lynne Featherstone, the party’s energy spokesman,

Failing to call a stop to Hinkley will prove a costly mistake. Not just the financial cost to consumers and the public purse, but the opportunity cost for renewables.

The opportunity to pull the plug on Hinkley has been missed, and we will all pay for it from our pockets.

\* Theresa May is to tell the UN general assembly of the dangers of “uncontrolled mass migration” as it meets in New York to discuss how to help more than 21 million **refugees** around the world. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/19/theresa-may-to-warn-un-of-dangers-of-uncontrolled-mass-migration]

\* Alistair Darling , the former head of the Better Together campaign and former Labour chancellor, has dismissed the prospect of the SNP holding a second referendum on independence anytime soon. Speaking to BBC Radio Scotland’s Good Morning programme he said:

I don’t think it will happen any time soon at all. Nothing has changed since 2014 in that roughly speaking 45% of the population would vote for independence, 55% would vote against it. That’s where we are and Nicola Sturgeon is not going to risk everything, her reputation - she has seen what has happened to David Cameron , who the only thing people will remember about him I suspect when history is written in years to come is that he accidentally got us out of the EU and he didn’t want it. If she loses, she knows she would be finished. That’s why she is in no hurry to rush into it.

\* Ending the free movement of people from the European Union should become a key demand from Labour before the Brexit negotiations with the EU, according to a collection of essays from Labour figures. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/19/labour-urged-to-make-immigration-controls-a-key-brexit-demand]

\* The exodus of banks from the City in the event of a “hard Brexit” would be modest and manageable, Moody’s, one of the world’s three biggest rating agencies, has predicted. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/19/hard-brexit-would-have-only-modest-impact-on-city-says-moodys]

\* University vice-chancellors fear the UK’s global reputation for higher education and research is already at risk after the vote to leave the EU, with more than 80% of university chiefs surveyed saying they believed the risk to funding would be “considerable”. [https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/sep/19/universities-fear-uk-global-reputation-in-jeopardy-brexit]

block-time published-time 1.45pm BST

Cable refuses to back Lib Dem call for second Brexit referendum At the Lib Dem conference former business secretary Sir Vince Cable, appearing at a fringe meeting with TUC general secretary Frances O’Grady , set out a rather different position from Tim Farron and much of the rest of his party on Brexit.

Farron has made clear he will fight to keep Britain in the EU , and called for a second referendum to ratify the details of any exit deal - in which the LibDems would back remain. But Cable said:

I just don’t agree with that: I don’t think we can say that. We should never have had the referendum in the first place; but the public have voted, and I do think it’s seriously disrespectful and politically utterly counterproductive to say, ‘sorry guys, you got it wrong, let’s try again’.

He added that by rejecting even a “soft Brexit”, which preserved the best aspects of the “European ideal,” the LibDems would be lining up with Ukip, who would like to see a hard Brexit. “We should be very careful about the company we keep,” he said.

Sir Vince Cable speaking at a Social Liberal Forum fringe at the Lib Dem conference today. Photograph: Gareth Fuller/PA block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.49pm BST

block-time published-time 1.21pm BST

Corbyn should have been given longer before being challenged, says Owen Smith My colleague Anushka Asthana has published a long interview with the Labour leadership challenger Owen Smith . In it, he says Jeremy Corbyn should have been given longer before being challenged for the Labour leadership. (Smith only stood after Angela Eagle had triggered a leadership contest.) Here’s an extract.

What is his evidence that Corbyn can’t provide the necessary leadership in opposition? And even if that proves compelling, was nine months really enough time before MPs tried to oust a politician elected by the party’s membership?

“I wasn’t in favour of there being a challenge,” says Smith quickly. “But once a challenge had been made then I felt I needed to stand because I felt that I had something to say about the future of the Labour party, and a lot of other people in the PLP [parliamentary Labour party] felt that about me, which is why they asked me to stand.”

So Smith would have preferred to see Corbyn allowed to carry on for longer?

“Yes, is the honest answer,” he says.

Not that this is an admission of regret about his bid to topple the sitting leader.

“The truth is, things weren’t going well, things aren’t going well. Nine months may be a short period of time but it’s a period of time in which the Labour party has gone backwards,” he says. “We are at a lower ebb than we’ve been in the polls at any time since 1982, and we’re six years into a Tory government and right now they are unfettered, they feel able to act with total impunity.”

And here is the interview in full.

Related: Owen Smith: Labour leadership more crucial than my NI peace role [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/19/owen-smith-labour-leadership-more-crucial-than-my-northern-ireland-peace-role]

block-time published-time 12.26pm BST

Number 10 lobby briefing - Summary Here are the main points from the Number 10 lobby briefing.

\* Downing Street defended Liam Fox ’s decision to tell businesses they should invest more abroad. According to ITV ’s Robert Peston, the international trade secretary delivered this message recently at a meeting hosted by the CBI. Peston says some of those in the audience thought Fox was “bonkers”. [http://www.itv.com/news/2016-09-17/fox-tells-uk-businesses-to-invest-more-abroad/] Here is an extract from his blog.

“Right now we need as much investment here as we can possibly get, to prevent a rise in unemployment - which is what many of us believe will be the painful reality of leaving the EU ”, said the head of a huge UK company. “Few of us could really believe that he was telling us to invest more in other parts of the world. There was a real sense in the room of ‘this is bonkers’”.

A senior City figure said: “We assumed he would be telling us to invest here. It was literally amazing that he said we should do precisely the opposite”.

Another said the atmosphere in the room was “icy” - and said Mr Fox left without the usual applause.

The prime minister’s spokesman said that Fox was making the point that “over time we need a balance of inward and outward investment for the national current account”.

\* The spokesman insisted that the UK would not defy EU law when discussing future trade deals with countries outside the EU . Yesterday the Sunday Times (subscription) revealed that leaked documents show that Fox has been advised that, if the UK opens trade talks while still a member of the EU, it could be fined by the European commission. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/britain-risks-eu-fines-over-trade-8b5mx5bdm] The spokesman would not comment specifically on the leaked document. He said the government was engaged in a “dialogue” with other countries about what its future trade relations might look like. But it would not defy EU rules, he said.

Whilst we remain a member of the EU , we will comply with our responsibilities.

\* Number 10 snubbed the Telegraph campaign calling for the Royal Yacht Britannia to be recommissioned to assist in future trade talks. On Saturday the Telegraph splashed on a story saying dozens of MPs were backing the newspaper’s campaign for the yacht to be brought out of retirement [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/16/bring-back-britannia-to-rule-the-waves-after-brexit/]. In an editorial [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/09/17/the-royal-yacht-should-sail-again/] the paper said:

Brexit, and the need to negotiate new trade deals, is calling the royal yacht back to service. A debate has begun over whether or not to return Britannia to sea or to commission a replacement. It has demonstrated its potential before: Britannia brought in an estimated £3 billion in commercial deals between 1991 and 1995. Now that the UK is taking back control of its national trade arrangements from Brussels, engagement with countries such as Australia and Canada is primed to begin. Britain is rediscovering its ancient role as a seafaring, mercantile power. In that context, the symbolism of the royal yacht is striking.

But, when the spokesman was asked if the prime minister supported this campaign, he said the government was looking at “a number of ways” in which the government could achieve its ambition of turning the UK into a “global leader for free trade”. He went on:

As far as I’m aware, the recommissioning of Britannia is not on the agenda for that.

\* Downing Street defended the work of the Iraq Historical Abuse Team, following reports today that David Cameron tried to close it down when he was prime minister. [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3795778/David-Cameron-overruled-wanted-end-Iraq-abuse-probes.html] The spokesman said that the work of IHAT had recently been reviewed and that the review found it to be “well led and operating well”. It would soon be moving to a position where it had a much reduced caseload, he said, and it was expected it would finish its work by the end of 2019.

\* The spokesman said the government was raising the case of the “Chennai Six” at the highest level with the Indian government - but he refused to say if the government thought they had been wrongly jailed. Campaigners claim that the six former British servicemen, who were jailed for having weapons which they say they were using legitimately for anti-piracy work, are victims of a miscarriage of justice. [https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1807193/british-war-heroes-rotting-in-indian-prison-for-crimes-they-didnt-commit-beg-for-government-to-help-them/] The spokesman said that Theresa May was aware of the case and that British consular officials were “providing a full package of support”. The case has also been raised with the Indian government “at the highest level”, the spokesman said. But he refused to say whether the government was trying to secure their release or whether it was just trying to improve the conditions in which they are being held.

10 Downing Street. Photograph: Steve Back / Barcroft Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.27pm BST

block-time published-time 11.47am BST

Lib Dems back demand for referendum on final Brexit deal I’m back from the Number 10 lobby briefing, and I’ll post a summary of it shortly.

In the meantime, at the Lib Dem conference delegates have overwhelmingly backed a motion saying the final Brexit deal should be put to a referendum. Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, said:

The British people were trusted with the question of our departure, they should be trusted with the question of our destination.

The terms of Brexit will have a huge impact on jobs, security and the opportunity to travel and live abroad.

It cannot be right that such a momentous choice is secretly stitched up by bureaucrats on both sides of the Channel without the British people or Parliament having a say.

The Liberal Democrats are now the only party who will give the public a vote on the final deal and who will campaign to remain in the EU .

block-time published-time 10.55am BST

Jeremy Corbyn is doing a live Mumsnet chat at 2pm. You can read some of the questions already submitted here. [http://www.mumsnet.com/Talk/mumsnet\_live\_events/2733415-Heads-up-webchat-with-Jeremy-Corbyn-Monday-19th-Sept-2pm] is doing a live Mumsnet chat at 2pm. You can read some of the questions already submitted

I’m just off to the Number 10 lobby briefing. I will post again after 11.30am.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.56am BST

block-time published-time 10.49am BST

Theresa May is flying to New York for a UN summit on **refugees** and migrants. As Rowena Mason reports in her preview story, she will warn of the dangers of “uncontrolled mass migration”.

Related: Theresa May to warn UN of dangers of uncontrolled mass migration [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/19/theresa-may-to-warn-un-of-dangers-of-uncontrolled-mass-migration]

In Parliament Square campaigners from the International Rescue Committee have laid out 2,500 lifejacket to represent some of the **refugees** who have died trying to cross the Mediterranean. [http://metro.co.uk/2016/09/19/parliament-square-transformed-into-a-graveyard-of-lifejackets-to-highlight-dangers-for-refugees-6136977/]

enltrLife jacket Graveyard outside Parliament pic.twitter.com/VilbsLpLF8 [https://t.co/VilbsLpLF8]

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/777784756863897600]block-time published-time 10.11am BST

The leader of the Scottish Liberal Democrats, Willie Rennie , will dub the SNP and the Tories the “terrible twins of divisive politics” when he addresses delegates at the UK party conference in Brighton later today.

Rennie, whose party secured just five seats in May’s Holyrood elections, will tell the conference that both parties share an interest: “The Tories need Nationalists to scare voters in England. The Nationalists need the Tories to scare voters in Scotland.”

“With the blow of Brexit and the threat of another Scottish independence referendum it means that divisive constitutional politics remain at the centre of our national debate.”

“It is a dismal scene that has been visited upon us by the Conservatives and the SNP. Our future will be a divided one if we leave it to the Tories and the Nationalists. The terrible twins of divisive politics.”

block-time published-time 10.02am BST

Here is some Twitter comment on the Jeremy Corbyn interview from political journalists and commentators.

From CapX’s Iain Martin

enltrThat Corbyn package with @bbcnickrobinson [https://twitter.com/bbcnickrobinson] on @BBCr4today [https://twitter.com/BBCr4today] was fascinating. Corbyn's ego is now huge. He's on a different planet.

— Iain Martin (@iainmartin1) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/iainmartin1/status/777770191732281345]From the Times’ Hugo Rifkind

enltrHow much Corbyn hates Nick Robinson.

— Hugo Rifkind (@hugorifkind) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/hugorifkind/status/777769443107729408]From Huffington Post’s Ned Simons

enltrCorbyn giving next level snark to Nick Robinson when asked why he hasn't appeared on Today during the leadership contest.

— Ned Simons (@nedsimons) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/nedsimons/status/777770218546397184]From the Mail on Sunday’s Dan Hodges

enltrTo be fair to Corbyn and his press team, Today interview entirely on his terms. Not live. Supporters in the background. No hard policy.

— (((Dan Hodges))) (@DPJHodges) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DPJHodges/status/777772199017086976]enltrBBC will deny it, but Corbynites bashing of them is having desired effect. Today program wouldn't have agreed to that format otherwise.

— (((Dan Hodges))) (@DPJHodges) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DPJHodges/status/777773119536762880]From the FT’s Stefan Stern

enltrCorbyn refers to Lab MPs as if they were distant relatives or members of a marginal sect.

— stefanstern (@stefanstern) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/stefanstern/status/777770999647506432]enltrOn air now: @BBCNickRobinson [https://twitter.com/bbcnickrobinson] reports from a Jeremy Corbyn rally in Birmingham. #r4today [https://twitter.com/hashtag/r4today?src=hash] rally in Birmingham. pic.twitter.com/9tG0Ve8BqN [https://t.co/9tG0Ve8BqN] rally in Birmingham.

— BBC Radio 4 Today (@BBCr4today) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCr4today/status/777767268621115393]block-time published-time 9.42am BST

I’ve already covered most of the news lines from Jeremy Corbyn ’s interview on the Today programme: his claim that the huge turnout for his rallies showed he could win the election; his offer to reach out to Labour MPs and his belief that Labour members want more democracy in the party.

But here are two other lines worth noting.

\* Corbyn dismissed Alan Johnson’s claim that he was “incompetent” and said that Johnson had misunderstood the nature of Corbyn’s opposition to the Blair government. Johnson, the Labour former home secretary, was highly critical of Corbyn in an interview with the Times (paywall) [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/we-have-got-to-recapture-the-labour-party-otherwise-its-dead-and-finished-3r30ghb7g] on Saturday. When it was put to him that Johnson had called him “incompetent”, “useless” and “incapable”, Corbyn replied:

Very kind of Alan. How generous of him... Alan hasn’t fully understood what my concerns were in the past. My concerns were when a Labour government led by Tony Blair took us into war in Iraq, I opposed that. When he tried to bring in, and indeed did bring in, tuition fees, I opposed him on that. I think he should understand my opposition to those issues was on the politics of it. I didn’t indulge in that language that many have used against me, and I never will.

Here is a flavour of what Johnson said in the interview.

[Corbyn] is totally incompetent and incapable of being the leader of a political party and he knows it,” he says. “He hasn’t got a huge ego but it’s got bigger and he’s self-righteous. There’s this adulation out there, it goes to your head. No compromise with the electorate was the left’s theme in the early Eighties and God forbid we go back to that.

\* Corbyn rejected suggestions that he was avoiding giving interviews to mainstream media outlets. Nick Robinson, who was interviewing Corbyn, said this was the first interview with Today Corbyn had agreed to do since the leadership contest started. Citing what Corbyn said in his Guardian interview on Saturday about how “communication is everything” [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/17/jeremy-corbyn-should-be-tougher-not-my-style], Robinson put it to him that if he avoided interviews with the mainstream media, he could not win an election. Corbyn did not accept this. He insisted that he had done plenty of media:

With the deepest and greatest respect to the Today programme - I know it’s the most important radio programme on the whole planet - it is not the only radio programme on the whole planet. So, yes, of course we will be reaching as best we can to all forms of communication...

It is not the only radio programme. We’ve done lots of radio programmes, lots of TV programmes, lots of social media, lots of regional programmes, and we are going to carry on doing it.

enltr"I will reach out" to Labour MPs if re-elected @JeremyCorbyn [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn] tells @bbcnickrobinson [https://twitter.com/bbcnickrobinson] tells https://t.co/5lnmgJzs87 [https://t.co/5lnmgJzs87] tells #r4today [https://twitter.com/hashtag/r4today?src=hash] tells pic.twitter.com/qbyWjvbS7I [https://t.co/qbyWjvbS7I] tells

— BBC Radio 4 Today (@BBCr4today) September 19, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCr4today/status/777766708077555712]block-time published-time 9.02am BST

The BBC included Jeremy Corbyn ’s commenting about wanting to “reach out to” Labour MPs in its news bulletins before it broadcast the interview with him in full at 8.10am.

Responding to the news reports, the Labour MP Neil Coyle told the programme just after 7am that Corbyn and his allies were not interested in party unity. Coyle, who was one of the Labour MPs named on a list of supposed abusive rebels released by the Corbyn camp last week, [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/14/corbyns-team-mistakenly-issues-list-of-mps-who-undermined-leader] said that if Corbyn was re-elected, he and his supporters would “just continue to cause abuse”. Referring to the list Coyle said:

If this is their attempt at reaching out or an attempt at engagement, then they are failing abysmally. He [Mr Corbyn] knew about it and did nothing to stop it being drawn up, did nothing to stop it being published, and has done nothing to demonstrate that he is interested in a unified party, which is why I say to any Labour members still listening who haven’t voted yet, they still have until Wednesday to make sure we end this nonsense.

They are not interested in party unity. If they are re-elected, they will just continue to cause abuse. A year ago, the kind of abuse we are seeing in British politics, certainly on the left, was not there. Either by incompetence of design, it has happened under Jeremy’s watch and he should take some responsibility for it.

Coyle said that some members of Momentum, the pro-Corbyn group, were “pragmatic and want to win and want to engage with voters”. But he said some Momentum activists were on the hard left and that Corbyn and John McDonnell were encouraging them.

There is a section who aren’t interested in Labour winning the election, and are interested in only having a particular ideology and -ism at the top of the party. That’s unfortunate, and sadly Jeremy and John McDonnell in particular, they are encouraging that to continue - they are not trying to tackle it.

Neil Coyle . Photograph: Tolga Akmen/LNP/REX/Shutterstock block-time published-time 8.47am BST

Corbyn says there's a 'thirst for greater democracy' in Labour Here’s our story about Jeremy Corbyn ’s comments on Today.

Related: Corbyn calls on Labour MPs to recognise 'thirst for greater democracy' [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/19/jeremy-corbyn-calls-on-labour-mps-to-recognise-thirst-for-greater-democracy]

And here’s how it starts.

There is “a thirst for greater democracy” within Labour, Jeremy Corbyn has said on the eve of a party meeting where he is expected to propose letting members help choose the shadow cabinet [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/17/jeremy-corbyn-labour-leadership-members-choose-shadow-team], a move that could cement his position as leader.

However, less than a week before he is expected to be re-elected as Labour [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/labour] leader, Corbyn also said he was reaching out to dissatisfied party MPs, and stressed that they did not have to agree with everything he did.

He told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme that Labour MPs needed to appreciate that they had “to try and deliver for the people”.

block-time published-time 8.36am BST

The “good cop/bad cop” routine is a familiar one in any negotiation and it is a strategy the Labour leadership seems to have been adopting as Jeremy Corbyn ponders what to do about the majority of MPs who do not support his leadership. Some of his allies are quite happy to issue threats to the dissidents, as the Guardian reports in its splash today.

Related: Len McCluskey: disloyal MPs 'asking for it' and will be held to account [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/18/len-mccluskey-disloyal-mps-asking-for-it-will-be-held-to-account]

But Corbyn himself has always been much more conciliatory, and he has used an interview with the Today programme to reiterate his willingness to “reach out to” to Labour MPs who have opposed him, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37404211] assuming he wins the leadership election on Saturday. Corbyn told Today he hoped the party could unite.

I have made it my business to talk to quite a lot of Labour MPs and will continue to do so and I hope they will understand that we’ve been elected as Labour MPs...

It doesn’t mean everybody agrees on everything all the time - that I understand - but the general direction of opposition to austerity, opposing the Tories on grammar schools, those are actually the kind of things that unite the party.

In the interview, which was recorded at the weekend but broadcast this morning in the 8.10am, Corbyn also claimed the huge crowds attending his rallies showed that he could win an election. He was asked why he thought being able to get hundreds of people to attend a rally could lead to him gaining power. Corbyn said that tens of thousands of people had attended his rallies over the summer. That showed there was a real “interest in politics”, he said. The crowds were “pretty diverse”, he went on, and quite different from the sort of people who used to turn up to hear him speak before he became Labour leader.

That then becomes, surely, a very strong campaigning basis for the Labour movement, becomes a campaigning factor in towns and cities where there’s never been very much activity before. That does begin to change the debate and national mood. I think you’ll begin to see that play out, particularly in local elections next year and after that.

I’ve been at political rallies all my life, of various sorts. What I find exciting and nice, but slightly depressing, is when I know half the people at the meeting I go to. I go to these events all over the country, and some of them, I don’t know anybody. I don’t know anybody at all, and they’re people who come up to me who say ‘I’ve never been involved in politics before, I’m interested in what you have to say, because I’m interested particularly in the economic argument that you have to rebalance society away from inequality towards equality’.

I will post more from the interview shortly, and all the latest developments in the Labour leadership contest.

We’ve also a Number 10 lobby briefing, Theresa May heading for a UN conference in New York and the Lib Dem conference taking place in Brighton, with Nick Clegg holding a Q&A on Brexit at 4.30pm.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.51am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Fabian Society paper, with contributions from nine Labour MPs, says party must accept voters’ concerns over EU migration

Ending the free movement of people from the European Union should become a key demand from Labour ahead of the Brexit negotiations with the EU , according to a collection of essays from Labour figures.

Labour must accept that people who voted for Brexit had legitimate concerns over the scale of numbers arriving in Britain from the EU , according to the Fabian Society paper [http://www.fabians.org.uk/publications/facing-the-unknown/].

Related: Corbyn says huge turnout at his rallies shows he can win an election - Politics live [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/19/corbyn-labour-leadership-says-huge-turnout-at-his-rallies-shows-he-can-win-an-election-politics-live]

Gathering contributions from nine Labour MPs, as well as others within the party and from elsewhere in Europe, the report is billed as a chance for the party to start shaping its own post-Brexit narrative, rather than let the Conservatives dominate the debate.

In her contribution Rachel Reeves, the former shadow work and pensions secretary, noted that one study had found migration into the UK exerted a “slight drag” on workers’ wages, but that remain campaigners had refused to acknowledge this effect.

“The remain campaign – and Labour in particular – had little to say to working class voters with whom we, above all the other parties, should have been able to communicate,” Reeves wrote. “We did not offer any solutions to those who felt locked out from opportunities.”

Reeves added: “**Immigration** controls and ending free movement has to be a red line post-Brexit – otherwise we will be holding the voters in contempt. Subject to that, we need the greatest possible access that we can get to the single market without free movement.”

Also writing for the paper, titled Facing the Unknown: Building a Progressive Response to Brexit, was Emma Reynolds, the Labour MP for Wolverhampton North. She argued that free movement must end even if it meant settling for a worse trade deal.

“My constituents in Wolverhampton voted overwhelmingly for leave, and their principal reason was **immigration**,” she said.

“However, it is my strong view that no future deal can retain free movement of people in its present form. We must argue for restrictions while getting the best possible economic deal in the circumstances.

“This won’t be as good as the status quo but leave voters clearly said that their concerns about **immigration** trumped their worries about the economic cost of leaving.”

In another essay in the report [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/19/cure-divided-britain-managed-immigration-work-permits?CMP=Share\_iOSApp\_Other], Aberavon MP Steven Kinnock also said Labour needed to reshape its approach to large-scale **immigration** because it had been rejected by voters. He argued that a post-Brexit **immigration** policy was likely to involve work permits for EU nationals.

“Some will say managing **immigration** is a ‘tough’ approach,” he wrote. “If limiting **immigrant** numbers were the defining objective, I would agree. But it is not.

“The managed **immigration** approach I am proposing is rooted in leftwing values and anchored in the reality of post-referendum Britain. It will allow us to build an open and non-racist society, and help rebuild Labour’s electoral coalition, staying true to the values and pragmatism that have been the basis of our historic successes and support. It is a means to an end, not an end in itself.”

Other contributions took a different approach. Chuka Umunna, the Streatham, MP who is a leading figure in the Vote Leave Watch pressure group, argued that Brexiters in the government should still be pushed on the promises they made ahead of the referendum.

“Accepting the result does not mean accepting the way in which it was achieved,” he wrote. “There is no getting away from the fact that Vote Leave ran a cynical and mendacious political campaign.

“We must not stop from holding the leavers in government to account, and pushing our vision of a positive future relationship with Europe.”

Olivia Bailey, research director at the Fabian Society, who edited the report, said Labour must accept the Brexit result “and get on with fighting to shape the future”.

She said: “Labour must approach Brexit with a set of clear and comprehensive principles that clearly define red lines as well as opportunities. If Labour doesn’t get its tactics right fast, the right of the Conservative party will be left to shape Britain’s post-Brexit future in its own image.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Speaking at UN summit, the prime minister says security of national borders must come first if the public is to accept large migration flows

Malcolm Turnbull has told world leaders at the UN Australia’s uncompromising border protection regime should be a model for other countries, and their populations would never accept large-scale migration unless they could create “order out of the chaos” of current migration flows.

He said domestic asylum policies must have security of national borders as a primary concern, and a perceived lack of control of migration would lead to dysfunction and internal division.

“Addressing irregular migration, through secure borders, has been essential in creating confidence that the government can manage migration in a way that mitigates risks and focuses humanitarian assistance on those who need it the most,” he told a UN summit on **refugees** and migrants.

“This has had a direct impact on our ability to provide generous and effective support to **refugees**. Without this confidence, we would not have been able to increase our intake of **refugees** – the world’s third-largest permanent resettlement program – by more than 35%.

“And we would not have been able to commit to welcoming 12,000 additional Syrian and Iraqi **refugees**, on top of this.”

Related: Liberal MP says Turnbull can't possibly claim world's best border protection policy[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/19/liberal-mp-says-turnbull-cant-possibly-claim-worlds-best-border-protection-policy]

Resettlement of **refugees** assists less than 1% of the world’s **refugees** displaced from their homelands each year – 86% of the world’s 21.3 million **refugees** are hosted by developing countries, usually those close to the places people have fled.

Turkey has more than 2.5 million **refugees** living within its borders. Lebanon hosts 1.1 million, one in every five people in the country.

Australia’s current humanitarian intake is 13,750 a year, a figure that will rise to 18,750 in three years’ time.

Turnbull said Australia was a nation of migration and its diversity had been “an investment against marginalisation and extremism”.

“It helps our community unite against extremism, rather than be divided by it”.

He welcomed the growing global consensus that greater co-operation was needed internationally to deal with mass forced migration flows.

“There is now stronger recognition that the international community must better share responsibility for helping those forced to leave their homes. All countries have a role to play and Australia is committed to a playing a role that provides resettlement options to genuine **refugees**, that sees our multicultural society grow from strength to strength, and that supports international efforts to help the most vulnerable.”

Paul Ronalds, the chief executive of Save the Children[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/may/06/immigration-department-pays-compensation-sacked-nauru-save-the-children-workers] – the child welfare organisation that formerly worked on Nauru – condemned Turnbull’s speech, saying he had failed to commit Australia to any meaningful action to address the global issue of forced migration.

“Instead Mr Turnbull promoted an isolationist ‘deterrence-based’ model to asylum seeker policy that the evidence has shown is extremely expensive[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/13/australia-has-spent-96bn-on-asylum-seeker-policy-in-four-years-says-report], takes a heavy toll on those Australia should be aspiring to protect, compromises Australia’s global interests and places the humanitarian burden on those developing nations who have been left to host the vast majority of people forced to flee their homes because of conflict and persecution.”

Ronalds said Australia could have used the global stage of the UN to announce a substantial increase in its resettlement program, and promote a regional framework for assisting forced migrants.

Related: Australia criticised over 'hollow' promise to resettle 12,000 Syrian and Iraqi **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/08/australia-criticised-over-hollow-promise-to-resettle-12000-syrian-and-iraqi-refugees]

“Of course all this is to say nothing of the Turnbull government’s continual failure to announce sustainable and humane solutions for those **refugees** and asylum seekers Australia has left to languish on Nauru and Manus Island.

“These people have waited long enough for an opportunity to begin rebuilding their lives and the need for a solution is urgent given their understandable despair and the harm they have suffered for years.”

Australia’s asylum regime is built upon three major pillars: boat-turnbacks, offshore processing, and regional resettlement.

Boat-turnbacks have been successful in dramatically slowing the flow boats reaching Australian waters and shores. The last boat to reach Australian territory was in May this year.

But offshore processing and regional resettlements have been highly contentious.

The offshore processing centre on PNG’s Manus Island has been ruled illegal and unconstitutional[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/apr/26/papua-new-guinea-court-rules-detention-asylum-seekers-manus-unconstitutional], while it and the camp on Nauru[https://www.theguardian.com/news/series/nauru-files] have been beset by systemic reports of sexual and physical violence, cruel and degrading treatments, inadequate medical care, and epidemic rates of self-harm and suicide attempts.

Regional resettlement has resulted in just one person – a Rohingyan man – resettled in Cambodia at a cost of more than $40m. A further 72 men have been resettled in PNG.

Australia’s policies have been criticised by more than a dozen other governments around the world, several arms of the United Nations itself, the Australian senate, the PNG supreme court and international human rights bodies.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The prime minister cares little for nuanced definitions over who is and isn’t a migrant - she just wants fewer vulnerable people to have legal protection

New and more effective. That’s how Theresa May describes the migration policy she proposed to the world on Monday ahead of the UN general assembly. The prime minister wants to combat migration by helping more **refugees** to stay in the first country they reach; by distinguishing better between people fleeing war, and those fleeing poverty; and by giving countries more licence to protect their borders by force, or with a fence. Wrapped within this three-part plan is the implicit idea that it is better to enable developing countries than to offer sanctuary to the **refugees** stuck in them.

Related: Angela Merkel’s **refugee** policy must succeed – for Europe’s sake | Natalie Nougayrède [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/18/angela-merkels-refugee-policy-must-succeed-for-europes-sake]

In the global context, May’s comments are something of a sideshow; a British leader’s interventions in world affairs arguably matter less today than at any stage in the past few centuries. But it’s useful to examine May’s vision.

In short: it is neither particularly effective, nor new. The first plank of her plan – the suggestion that more **refugees** should be encouraged to stay in the first country they reach – is not a new idea. This is the status quo – and the situation that is driving migration in the first place.

Just look at the statistics. More than 86% of **refugees** live in the developing world, and the vast majority of them live in the first country they reach. Almost all of the **refugees** in Turkey, which has the world’s largest **refugee** population, have crossed the border from neighbouring Syria or Iraq. Lebanon hosts more **refugees** per capita and per square kilometre than any other; its 1.2 million Syrian **refugees** also came from next door. The Somalis at the world’s largest **refugee** camp in Kenya came from the next country along. The three million Afghans in Pakistan crossed just one border too.

So the problem is not that too few **refugees** are staying in neighbouring countries. It’s that too many are forced to do so. Since the west has refused to resettle meaningful numbers of **refugees** from the Middle East, or from Pakistan or east Africa, those **refugees** have been forced to choose between a life of limbo – in places where they do not have access to education, healthcare or work rights – or irregular migration to the west. And in 2015, a significant minority chose the latter, leading to what we have termed the European **refugee** crisis.

If May wants a new and effective policy, then organised resettlement – and the provision of safe and legal routes – is one option available to her. Instead, Britain was at the heart of behind-the-scenes moves to take out a pledge to resettle 10% of the world’s **refugees** from a new treaty signed on Monday at the UN summit in New York.

What about the increased border protection May speaks of? It’s certainly not new. This has been the knee-jerk migration policy of choice in Europe over the past 15 years. It’s not very effective, with walls simply shifting migrants elsewhere, and often forces them into the hands of smugglers. Increased policing of the Canary islands’ maritime borders, and ever-higher fences between Morocco and Spain, proved meaningless once migration routes shifted through Libya. Greece and Bulgaria’s two fences along their respective Turkish borders saw migrants take new routes to the Greek islands. Hungary’s Serbian fence routed people west through Croatia. And while Macedonia’s fence along its Greek border has significantly reduced Balkan migration numbers this year, at least 25,000 people have still passed through the Balkans since the Macedonian fenceborder was sealed in March.

What’s next on May’s shopping list? Differentiation between **refugees** and economic migrants. Taken at face value, this suggestion is at best misguided. One of the lessons I’ve learnt from reporting on migration in more than 20 countries is that the line between who’s fleeing poverty and who’s fleeing war is rarely clear-cut. How do you classify someone who left Senegal to find work in Libya, but then fled Libya to escape a war? What about a Syrian who reached Turkey from bombed-out Aleppo, and then left Turkey because he wasn’t allowed to work?

Related: Theresa May's scrapping of minister for **refugees** 'utterly disgraceful'[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/25/theresa-may-scrapping-minister-syria-refugees-disgraceful]

May isn’t interested in such nuances. She isn’t after better definitions – she simply wants to change them so that fewer vulnerable people qualify for legal protection in Britain. Again, this isn’t new. Last year, the Home Office, which she ran, adopted highly controversial guidelines that made it far harder for Eritreans to qualify for asylum in Britain. This change in classification didn’t make things better – a few months later a UN committee accused the Eritrean government of committing widespread crimes against humanity against its own people. But it did reduce the number of people able to seek sanctuary in the UK.

Finally, there’s the implicit suggestion that investment in developing countries should be pursued at the expense of resettlement programmes. Development is indeed essential in the general sense, and in the long term it may reduce migration. But migration researchers have shown it is no silver bullet. As specialists such as Hein de Haas have explained: “Emigration initially goes up with levels of development[http://heindehaas.blogspot.com/2011/05/development-leads-to-more-migration.html?m=1], and only goes down once countries move into high development categories. It indicates that if poor countries become wealthier, emigration will increase.”

The world certainly needs new and more effective means of addressing protracted **refugee** crises. But the ideas set out by Theresa May don’t fall in either category.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERERefugee** charities are disappointed that there’s no immediate promise to take in more **refugees**, but at least the postwar settlement survives

The idea of a **refugee**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/19/nujeen-mustafa-syria-isis-germany] or a displaced person means different things to different people. But the human suffering they encompass[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/17/world-will-not-face-up-to-refugee-crisis-un-obama] is often much the same. Europeans might envisage families in leaky boats adrift in the Mediterranean, or quietly determined crowds trekking northwards along highways. For people in the Middle East, it might be row upon row of tents in a **refugee** camp; for Africans, stories of men, women and children trafficked across the Sahel, only to end up in a sordid detention centre run by militias in Libya. In Asia, it might be desperate boat people being turned back, or the island camps where those who hope to find a new life in Australia find themselves detained.

Across the globe, the 21st century has become an era of disruption and exodus. An unprecedented 65 million people are fleeing war or persecution, or migrating in search of training, an education or a job. The response is asymmetrical: most **refugees** only go as far as a neighbouring country. According to Britain’s **Refugee**Council, 44% of **refugees** are in the Middle East and Africa, and 27% in Europe. Turkey, Pakistan and Lebanon are all sheltering more than 1 million from Syria and Afghanistan. The UK, according to the UNHCR, hosts about 170,000.

And beyond the human trauma, there are the geopolitical consequences. The stability of democracies is jeopardised when scenes of chaotic population movements fuel demagoguery and populism; authoritarian regimes or their proxies exploit **refugee** flows as weapons of war to destabilise adversaries whose resources will be suddenly stretched, or as a technique to score points in a diplomatic negotiation. Against that backdrop, a UN summit[http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/summit] devoted to the crisis can only be applauded – especially considering the topic had never been addressed before in a diplomatic gathering of all nations. Yet to many, today’s event in New York turned out to be a disappointment[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/refugee-crisis-rests-on-obama-summit-un-talks-fail].

It is more than 60 years since the world agreed that such huge population flows were a matter of global responsibility. Now the Geneva convention on **refugees**[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/uk/1951-refugee-convention.html], signed by 144 states in 1951, is facing a profound threat as politicians respond to domestic pressure by looking for ways to evade its obligations. Across the world, the power of a global moral imperative is being undermined by the rise of nationalism and identity politics, driven partly by a traditional fear of the other, partly by the impact of recession on governments’ capacity to provide public services.

At the UN this week, there will be much empathy and little concrete action. The great hope of the NGOs and other humanitarian lobbyists was for a commitment for the global north to resettle 10% of the world’s **refugees**. Instead, although the text of what is to be known as the New York declaration[https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/declaration] recognises the scale of the crisis, it fails to lay out concrete measures. Signatories are asked to continue to work towards a global compact to be reached by 2018. Whether the second summit, convened by President Obama, will do any better seems uncertain. Its objective is to encourage individual state pledges of aid to **refugees**, not develop a global strategy.

All of this leaves unaddressed the no less important matter of preventing or resolving the conflicts that drive mass migration. Hopes for a ceasefire in Syria[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/19/week-old-syrian-ceasefire-hangs-in-balance] have all but dwindled. Alone, this conflict has forced 12 million people from their homes in the last five years.

The wider picture is that politicians across the world feel little incentive to act – after all, **refugees** have no voice, no vote, and scant organisation. The moral commitment to them was made in the aftermath of what the world’s leaders thought was an unrepeatable catastrophe. It was not supposed to happen again. In that context, small as the results of the **refugee** summit appear, the mere restatement of the commitment was a small victory. Now President Obama will hope at least to incentivise some positive action.

But here’s the paradox: political leaders won’t reduce the risks they fear for themselves (and their careers) by sitting idle in the face of an unprecedented exodus. Creating safe channels for **refugees** and organising migration routes, not building fences, may be a better way. It has been tried before. Thirty years ago, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese boat people were saved by a coordinated and comprehensive plan. Globalisation increases mobility. Instead of resisting it, nations should consider organising it. Save lives, rather than creating conditions that only aid the people smugglers. Inaction breeds more chaos, not less.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With reports that Superman might be on course for a new solo outing, perhaps it’s time Warner Bros brought back the ‘big blue boy scout’ we all know and love

It’s easy to forget, Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice[https://www.theguardian.com/film/man-of-steel-2] having destroyed what was left of Zack Snyder’s reputation earlier this year, that there were many excellent things about 2013’s Man of Steel. Those splendid early scenes on Krypton, reimagining Superman’s homeworld as a striking vision of fantasy-inspired futurism; Michael Shannon’s remarkable General Zod, a raging, monomaniacal volcano of spite; even, to a certain extent, the retooling of Kal-El for the post-911 age, as an object of fear and fall guy for narrow-minded xenophobia.

At least this felt like a version of Superman that did more than pay tribute to the Richard Donner/Richard Lester movies, unlike Bryan Singer’s insipid 2006 effort Superman Returns – even if the new, green and ultra-conflicted man of steel seemed to lose a little celestial magic for every extra layer of complexity he gained. But with reports surfacing that Supes might be getting a new solo outing[http://europe.newsweek.com/dwayne-johnsons-rock-meet-dany-garcia-woman-behind-hollywoods-highest-earner-497885?rm=eu] once he’s helped take down the evil Darkseid in next year’s Justice League, here are some subtle (and not-so subtle) shifts we’d like to see when the last son of Krypton soars once again on the big screen.

A little starry-eyed optimism Just as the makers of the James Bond films stripped away all 007’s ostentatious smarm on 2006’s Casino Royale to reinvigorate the suave secret agent for a new generation, but have since begun to slowly reinject tried and test elements of the Bond mythos, it’s about time Warner Bros started transforming Superman back into the “big blue boy scout” we all know and love. It made sense for mankind to treat Kal-El with initial suspicion, especially when the **alien** interloper appeared to have brought a gang of Kryptonian crazies down to Earth, not to mention accidentally destroying half of Metropolis, in Man of Steel. But given he’s just sacrificed himself to save the world from giant CGI monstrosity Doomsday, and will most likely be required to complete more feats of Herculean heroism in Justice League, Superman is surely ripe for transformation into the symbol of hope and optimism he usually embodies in the comics. The world’s best-known superhero is supposed to transcend cynicism and leave even the most furrow-browed non-believer reaching for the superlatives. Let him once again inspire genuine awe, not endless bitterness and distrust.

A non-CGI villain Both Man of Steel and Dawn of Justice culminated in an almighty explosion of pixels and masonry, but all that spectacle still left critics and filmgoers roundly unimpressed. Why not learn from Marvel movies such as Iron Man 3[https://www.theguardian.com/film/iron-man-3], which intelligently dialled down the opposition to Robert Downey Jr’s power-suited hero, just when we might have been expecting the opposite? I am aware this probably means another run out for Jesse Eisenberg’s over-caffeinated Lex Luthor, but at least this means Superman will be confronted with a human enemy he can actually talk to, rather than a freakish **alien** zombie thing that just requires impaling on the nearest kryptonite spear. Speaking of which …

A retooled moral compass Superman’s decision to kill off Zod at the end of Man of Steel is the biggest bugbear fans have with the Snyder version of Superman right now – up there with Warner’s decision to retool Batman as a murderous thug – because it undercuts everything we know about the character.

The best of the Donner/Lester films often gave us villains who only came close to success because the man of steel refused to use the full extent of his powers on moral grounds. And that ultimately made them more interesting. If Kal-El can simply snuff out his weaker enemies, these movies lose all their joy, because film-makers are forced to pitch tougher and tougher bad guys against our hero in a sort of supervillain arms race.

More depth to Lois and Clark There is little of the brilliantly bumbling small-town doofus of the Donner/Lester films in Cavill’s portrayal of the Daily Planet newsman. And with Amy Adams’ Lane already aware of her lover’s secret identity, Kal-El has rarely been forced to choose between his superhero duties and his human paramour in the Snyder movies. Much of the duality of the character has therefore been lost: the contrast between the godlike Kryptonian and the Kansas farm boy; the decision whether to live his life as a normal human being (with all the attendant flaws) or to cut himself off from those he is charged with defending, for fear that personal attachments will always get in the way of making decisions for the greater good.

Related: Every single thing that is wrong with Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/mar/25/review-batman-v-superman-dawn-of-justice]

Without Clark as a clumsy oversized geek, Lane also loses a lot of her spark. We don’t get to see her attitude transform when the man of steel pulls on his suit, and it becomes even less believable that Superman would be able to maintain his secret identity. Man of Steel 2 needs to find new ways to flesh out its key relationship, because Adams deserves a little more to work with next time out. Where Margot Kidder’s street-smart, cynical Lane lit up the 70s and 80s movies, the new iteration has been reduced to little more than wide-eyed love interest, a glorified Kal-El groupie.

Some extra-terrestrial adventures On the other hand, if Warner Bros is incapable of interesting audiences in an earthbound man of steel, why not allow him to venture where few of his fellow metahumans would be able to follow? The new film could see Kal-El journeying into space on a cosmic mission, neatly explaining why his fellow Justice Leaguers are no longer around. A big-screen riff on the famous story of Brainiac and Kandor might seem far-fetched, but would at least give us the Silver Age-inspired Superman movie that no film-maker has yet dared make. It would be something new, even if audiences in 2016 might think the idea of shrinking Kryptonian cities (along with their entire populations) a little hokey and far-fetched.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Huge equine sculptures, installed among ancient Roman monuments, reference the struggle of millions of migrants. ‘I wanted this work to be an awakening,’ says the Mexican artist

Few pieces of art have borne witness to the movement, progress and tragedies of history quite like the four bronze horses of St Mark.

Related: What the Brandenburg Gate's pop-up horses say about the state of Berlin's public art[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/may/01/what-the-brandenburg-gates-pop-up-horses-say-about-the-state-of-berlins-public-art]

These ancient equine sculptures, thought to have been created in 3AD, have been pillaged and presented in Turkey, Italy and Paris through the centuries – and while they may now sit back in St Mark’s in Venice, the ancestry of these horses is not rooted in one single place.

It is these horses, and their story of endless travel driven by politics and war, that Mexican artist Gustavo Aceves has taken as inspiration for a vast artwork that will take over Rome for the next four months, which grapples with the omnipresent issue of human migration and Europe’s ongoing **refugee** crisis.

Lapidarium is made up of 40 horses, some a towering 12 metres high, that will stand across four of Rome’s most significant sites: the Colosseum, Trajan’s Market, the Imperial Forum and the Arch of Constantine. Never before has permission been granted for new artworks to stand among these ancient ruins.

The giant horses that make up Aceves’s work are cracked, broken, stripped both of legs and the grand tails and manes associated with equestrian sculptures celebrating military victory. For Aceves, this is to represent the human suffering that affects millions of migrants, and the bodily toil involved in the quest for survival. Instead of legs, they are mounted on fragments of boats.

The Mexican artist began work on the show eight years ago, before the migration crisis truly hit mainland Europe, and said that as the rhetoric of “us” and “them” had increasingly come to dominate public discourse, he felt more than ever that the message of the work was important. “Europe was sleepy back then, very Eurocentric,” he says. “People couldn’t see that there were things happening beyond their own borders. So I wanted this work to be an awakening.”

Its unveiling in Rome, following a spell in Berlin[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/may/01/what-the-brandenburg-gates-pop-up-horses-say-about-the-state-of-berlins-public-art], is timely, after it has been confirmed we are in the midst of the greatest movement of people in history, with some 65 million displaced from their homes.

“I’m not doing this work because suddenly everyone is talking about migration, but it has been fascinating to watch the subject rise up in people’s consciousnesses as I’ve created these sculptures,” said Aceves.

“We have forgotten that we all come from the same place, that all of our ancestry is rooted in the same place, and that human history is defined by migration. The most evolved societies have today forgotten their origins.”

Aceves, well known as a painter, turned to sculpture to realise this project. “I wasn’t able to transmit the grounding and depth of what I wanted to say with this project with just a paintbrush,” he said. “I wanted the work to make a public statement, and to have a presence in public spaces.”

Each horse stands for a fragment of human history, and the progress of humankind is reflected in the materials he used to make them: wood, bronze, granite, marble and iron. Aceves said the idea of the work had first come to him when travelling in Niger, where he witnessed a boat carrying an entire family and their life’s possessions.

As well as the horses of St Mark, Aceves drew on Greek mythology of souls sailing across the mythological river Styx that separates the land of the living from the dead. With so many millions dying in the sea crossings of migrations, he said it bore a “haunting” parallel to the **refugees** in flight today.

Lapidarium is an ongoing project and will follow the trajectory of the horses of St Mark, travelling to Istanbul, Paris and Venice after it finishes in Rome in January. In each city, Aceves will create and add more horses to the project until 2017, when he will display it in his own birthplace, Mexico City – a completed work of 100 horses.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**German chancellor takes responsibility for poor Berlin poll result over chaotic scenes at borders and train stations in 2015

Angela Merkel has taken responsibility for her party’s disastrous showing in Sunday’s Berlin state election, admitting mistakes in her handling of last year’s **refugee** crisis.

In an unusually self-critical but also combative speech, the German chancellor said on Monday afternoon she was “fighting” to make sure that there would be no repetition of the chaotic scenes on Germany’s borders last year, when “for some time, we didn’t have enough control”: “No one wants a repeat of last year’s situation, including me,” Merkel said.

However, Merkel did not distance herself from her decision last September to keep open Germany’s borders to thousands of **refugees** stranded at Budapest’s Keleti station. The mistake, the chancellor said, was that she and her government had not been quicker to prepare for the mass movement of people triggered by conflicts in the Middle East. “I wish I could turn back time,” she said.

Germany’s two governing establishment parties, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Social Democratic party (SPD) on Sunday night both plummeted to the worst Berlin result in their parties’ histories, while both leftwing Die Linke and anti-**immigrant** Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) enjoyed impressive gains.

On Monday, Merkel admitted she had in the past failed to sufficiently explain her **refugee** policy, and that her phrase “ Wir schaffen das” (“We will manage”) had “provoked” some of those who didn’t agree with her political course. Her words will be interpreted as an olive branch to the leader of her CDU’s sister party, the Bavarian CSU, who have in recent months repeatedly called on her to distance herself from the much-cited slogan.

For too long, Merkel said, she had relied on the Dublin procedure, “which, to put it simply, had taken the problem off Germany’s hands”, adding: “And that was not good”.

The 62-year-old also rebutted the CSU’s calls for a “static upper limit” to the amount of asylum seekers Germany could accept in 2016, arguing that it “would not solve the problem”. Banning people from entering the country on the basis of their religion, she said, would be incompatible with Germany’s constitution and her own party’s “ethical foundation”.

She lamented that the European Union as a whole was failing to recognise the **refugee** as “a global and a moral challenge”. “What we are seeing in Europe is a realisation that we are no longer leading the field when it comes to globalisation, we are not setting the pace.

“In 1990, when the wall fell, the cold war came to an end and freedom blossomed everywhere; it looked like we were on an irreversible road to victory, and that it was just up to the rest of the world to join our model. Freedom had won. It now turns out things aren’t that simple”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**British PM will use first UN speech to seek to block **refugees**’ escape routes and push for poorest countries to bear brunt of crisis

Theresa May will use her first speech to the United Nations to argue that the world’s wealthiest countries should offer only minimum protection[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/19/theresa-may-to-warn-un-of-dangers-of-uncontrolled-mass-migration] to all but the most vulnerable of the world’s **refugees**.

Related: Theresa May to warn UN of dangers of uncontrolled mass migration[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/19/theresa-may-to-warn-un-of-dangers-of-uncontrolled-mass-migration]

It will mark the start of her international campaign to dilute the right to claim asylum and to ensure – by enshrining the principle that claims for asylum should be made in the first safe country – that more than 86% of the world’s **refugees** are looked after by the poorest and middle-income countries.

For make no mistake, when May talks of agreeing “a better distinction between **refugees** and economic migrants” she is talking about the limiting the right of asylum seekers to reach Europe to have their claims for **refugee** status properly considered. When she also proposes that countries must “take responsibility to stop uncontrolled migrant flows” she is willing the means to ensure that happens.

We know this because the UN’s speech is not a one-off. Indeed May showcased her strategy for dealing with the worst **refugee** crisis since the second world war in her Conservative party conference speech[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/oct/06/theresa-may-speech-new-low-politics-migration] as home secretary last October.

Then she made clear that she wanted to limit the number of asylum seekers who made it to Britain to claim **refugee** status by branding those who had made it across the Mediterranean to Calais or Britain as the “wealthiest, fittest and strongest” with the quasi-Darwinian implication that they are in some way undeserving queue-jumpers.

She said more than 290,000 Syrians had claimed asylum across Europe at that point, and contrasted them sharply with the plight of the “most vulnerable” **refugees** in the Middle East camps. May boasted of Britain’s decision to take 20,000 of those most vulnerable **refugees** and promised that she would “not in a thousand years” take part in any Europe-wide **refugee** responsibility-sharing programme.

Instead May made clear last October that she wanted Britain to unilaterally enforce the “first safe country” rule by breaking the link between being recognised as a **refugee** and getting the right to settle in Britain.

“If you’ve spurned the chance to seek protection elsewhere – but we cannot return you to that safe country and you still need **refuge** – you’ll get the minimum stay of protection and you won’t have an automatic right to settle here,” she warned, adding that when that came to an end they would be returned as soon as a case review deemed it safe for them to do so. This lesser form of **refugee** status will also apply to those who successfully claim asylum after overstaying a British visa.

She also launched her campaign for a review of the international legal definitions of who can qualify as a **refugee** or be rejected as an economic migrant to chip away at the 1951 Geneva convention definitions of those who should not be returned to countries where they face serious threats to their lives or freedom.

This was not just party conference rhetoric. Home Office ministers confirmed in February that work was under way on a strategy to cut the numbers claiming asylum in Britain and to provide temporary protection to all but the “most deserving” **refugees**.

There is a new twist. In her final months as home secretary, May was considering introducing a policy that a greater number of the most vulnerable **refugees**would be resettled in Britain only if it matched a reduction in those claiming asylum after reaching Britain under their own steam.

Today’s UN summit on **refugees** and migrants will see many developing countries arguing for a major expansion in legal routes such as resettlement programmes, so that the wealthiest countries share some of the responsibility for the greatest **refugee** crisis since the second world war.

They are hoping the UN special assembly will prove “a watershed moment” in the world’s response. Instead of rising to the challenge, the British prime minister will be blocking people’s escape routes and leaving the world’s poorest countries to cope with the crisis.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Previous evidence of racism in county’s segregation only anecdotal Parking fees and homeowner association rules said to support segregation

It was another sun-kissed afternoon in Huntington Beach this week, the seafront a playground. Surfers skimmed the waves. Volleyballers leaped and shrieked. Sunbathers splayed on the sand. Families paraded the boardwalk.

Almost everyone had brown skin, though really they were white, just with tans. Those with permanent brown skin, Latinos, were mostly miles inland, on the other side of the 405 freeway.

“It’s called life. In this world, no one gets along, so you hang out with your own kind,” said Ruben Montanez, 54, in shorts and shades, perched on a bench.

His heritage was Puerto Rican, but Montanez did not identify with, nor yearn to see, the absent Latinos. Huntington Beach was fine just as it was. “When a neighborhood goes downhill, people leave.”

There is little chance the social services worker will feel forced to flee his home, at least not on account of Latinos.

Orange County, a cluster of cities and freeways tucked between Los Angeles[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/los-angeles] and San Diego[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/san-diego], is known for being white and politically conservative. California’s Republican bastion, it helped launch Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, who called it the place “where all the good Republicans go to die”.

It led the state’s crackdown on illegal **immigration**[http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-latino-republicans-20160530-snap-story.html] in the 1990s. A sub-group of neo-Nazi surfers[http://www.vice.com/read/ed-templetons-huntington-beach] acquired notoriety for daubing swastikas on boards. The Real Housewives of Orange County[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2014/feb/16/real-housewives-interview-scott-dunlop], a reality TV show, has bolstered the impression of a white enclave.

In fact, over the past two decades, the county has become diverse to the point that whites are no longer a majority. They make up 44% of the population of 3 million, with Latinos comprising 34% and Asians 18%.

But melting pot it is not. Most whites live in tracts that are at least 60% white, many of them coastal cities such as Newport Beach, Huntington Beach, Laguna Beach and San Clemente. The inland city of Santa Ana, in contrast, once predominantly white, is now 78% Latino.

Economics explains much of this. Whites are wealthier and can afford pricey coastal real estate. Most Latinos cannot. Many observers have long suspected racism, too, but the evidence has been anecdotal.

Now there is an academic study bolstering the case that racism does indeed fuel the segregation. Celia Lacayo, a postdoctoral scholar at UCLA’s Institute of American Cultures, has published a report titled Latinos Need to Stay in Their Place: Differential Segregation in a Multi-Ethnic Suburb[http://www.mdpi.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/2075-4698/6/3/25].

It is based on in-depth interviews with 40 white residents in 2010, conducted by two white researchers Lacaya contracted to encourage candour. The random sample was aged 25 to 61 and mostly middle to upper class professionals involved in law, real estate, sales and marketing.

A small sample, but with striking findings. The respondents “overwhelmingly characterized Latinos and African Americans as culturally deficient, problematic and inferior”, according to Lacayo. They used words like “trash”, “third world” and “gangy”.

Asians, in contrast, were deemed assimilated to white American norms and values. “The Asians come in and they’re freaking motivated. Hispanics aren’t,” said one respondent. “Asians seem to be more proper, cleaner and conservative,” said another.

Many residents, Lacayo found, have split the county between the relatively diverse north and the whiter south, with freeways “functioning as a Mason-Dixon line”. People made intentional decisions to keep it so, she wrote. “Most respondents admit that they made a conscious choice to live in overwhelmingly white neighborhoods, and far away specifically from Latinos.”

Related: Latino students win battle to wear Dump Trump shirts to school[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/03/donald-dump-trump-shirts-latino-vote-calfornia-high-school]

Examples included a 42-year-old repo company owner named Mark. “Hispanics, they just don’t fit in,” he told the researchers. “The Mexicans go to the beach, and I don’t know why they always swim in their clothes... They have a wet dirty blanket and they’ll drag it, and they’ll stop on the boardwalk. They’ll just stop there. And it’s like: ‘Get out of the way. How stupid are you?’”

In an interview this week, Lacayo said whites used parking fees, homeowner association rules and gated communities to deter unwanted visitors and settlers, even middle-class Latinos. They resisted the transport of Latino children to white-majority schools and expressed willingness to withdraw their children from integrated schools.

Those interviewed by the Guardian on the boardwalk – a very unscientific sample of teenagers, fortysomethings and pensioners – bristled at any suggestion of prejudice. “It’s not segregation. We all get on. It’s just that people are more comfortable with their own culture,” said one 15-year-old girl.

Ask a Mexican and you get a very different perspective. Not just any Mexican - Gustavo Arellano, editor of the alternative magazine OC Weekly[http://www.ocweekly.com/] and author of the syndicated column ¡Ask a Mexican![http://www.ocweekly.com/topic/ask-a-mexican-6568416], which answers reader queries about Latino stereotypes.

Donald Trump’s head – the remnant of a piñata smashed at a protest rally[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/28/donald-trump-protesters-supporters-san-diego-new-mexico] when the presidential candidate visited Orange County – adorns the entrance to Arellano’s office. Which is apt, because the paper’s first Latino editor swings an ax at the county’s record.

Arellano, 37, has delighted and enraged readers by denouncing the absence of blacks and referring to Santa Ana as SanTana, the way Latinos pronounce the city’s name. Trolls routinely assail Arellano (and still ask about Latinos wearing clothes in the sea), but public discourse has evolved, he said. “We’re beyond the era of outright racism. No politician is stupid enough to be that blatant anymore. They code it as about illegal **immigration**.”

He thinks the “old Orange County” is dying, giving way to millennials who were reared by Mexican maids and eat Mexican food. “Which makes them half Mexican.” Progressive, artsy types who used to flee the Stepford Wives-type vibe were now staying to create a new Orange County, he said. “You have to fight the belly right in its beast.”

The Orange County Register recently crunched census data[http://www.ocregister.com/articles/county-291818-white-percent.html] showing the region had become slightly more diverse since 2000, largely due to Latinos and Asians moving into white areas. The median of the Diversity Index, a statistical tool, nudged from 48 to 54, meaning that in a typical neighborhood there is a better than even chance that two random residents will belong to different ethnic groups. But unless whites move to Latino areas such as Santa Ana, which demographers say is unlikely, the metropolis will remain segregated.

Still, even Huntington Beach yields little surprises. Richard, a 35-year-old longshoreman who declined to give his last name, was in a Mexican restaurant tucking into a taco. White male, blue-collar job, from a family of Trump supporters. But he himself loathed the GOP candidate.

So did somebody else in his neighbourhood, he smiled, showing a photo on his phone: a car with a Trump sticker vandalised with spray paint. “Fuck Trump. Trump Chump.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Clinton campaign is optimistic of success in the west, though past experience suggests that is akin to Charlie Brown ‘believing Lucy won’t pull the football’

Will this be the year Arizona turns blue? It’s a question Democrats ask every four years, only for the state to stay a deep Republican red.

Related: Trump allies scramble to defend false 'birther' claim as candidate shifts views[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/18/trump-birther-claims-chris-christie-mike-pence]

In 2016, they sense a real opportunity. Sean Spicer, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee, predicts states like Arizona and Georgia will remain fire-truck red – and that even to ask the question again is akin to “ believing Lucy won’t pull the football[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=055wFyO6gag] ” away from Charlie Brown.

But this has been a presidential election year unlike any other in modern history, and Democrats see an opportunity as golden as the hair atop the head of the Republican nominee, Donald Trump.

“Anticipation is high this year,” said Enrique Gutierrez, a spokesman for the Arizona Democratic party. “You can feel the excitement in our volunteers, at phone banks and training. It’s really boosting morale for Democrats and for our supporters here in the state.”

Opinion polls show Clinton within striking distance of Trump in Arizona and Georgia, traditionally conservative states now in the churn of major demographic change. Clinton trails Trump by just two points[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/az/arizona\_trump\_vs\_clinton\_vs\_johnson\_vs\_stein-6087.html] in Arizona; according to the RealClearPolitics.com polling average, a smattering of recent surveys show her with a small edge. In Georgia, the average has Trump leading by four[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/ga/georgia\_trump\_vs\_clinton\_vs\_johnson-5968.html].

Republicans see opportunities in Nevada, where averages show the race in effect tied[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/nv/nevada\_trump\_vs\_clinton\_vs\_johnson\_vs\_stein-6086.html], and Iowa, where Trump leads by more than four points[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/ia/iowa\_trump\_vs\_clinton\_vs\_johnson\_vs\_stein-5981.html].

Since the second world war, Arizona has given its handful of electoral votes to just one Democrat: Bill Clinton in 1996.

Hoping to re-create that magic, Hillary Clinton’s campaign recently opened two new field offices and launched a six-figure ad buy; the Democratic National Committee is expanding its presence[http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/dnc-expands-footprint-arizona-georgia-utah-n641611] in the state as well. Through a coordinated effort, Democrats have 27 field offices and 160 officers, not including volunteers.

“We thought it would be 2020 [when we had a chance], but the dynamics of this presidential race have just leapfrogged expectations,” said Gutierrez. “We did not expect Arizona to be in play this early.”

Over the past year, Democrats have outpaced Republicans in registering new voters. Since October 2015, Democrats have registered 100,000 and Republicans 80,000, according to data from the office of the Arizona secretary of state.

But there are still more Republicans than Democrats in the state and GOP voters have a stronger turnout record. There are 1.9 million Republicans registered in Arizona, just over 1 million Democrats and 1.6 million undeclared.

“Last month, Trump came here, to Arizona, to give his **immigration** speech,” said David Waid, a Democratic strategist and former state party chair. “You don’t come in and work a state if you think there’s no way can it can go into the Democratic column.”

Trump gave a fiery speech in downtown Phoenix on 31 August[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-vows-to-deport-millions-during-first-hour-in-office-in-hardline-speech], dashing hopes among moderate Republicans and his Hispanic supporters that he would soften his views on **immigration**. He reasserted his plan to build a border wall paid for by Mexico and declared that criminals would be deported while everyone else would have “to return home and apply for re-entry”.

Waid said that if Democrats could improve Latino voter turnout in Arizona by a few percentage points, Republicans up and down the ballot would be in trouble. In 2012, Latinos accounted for 18% of all votes cast, up from 16% in 2008.

Republicans still hope to woo Latino voters by stressing values like the importance of family and religion that they believe can resonate.

Democrats have struggled to mobilize Latino voters, engagement failing to keep pace with the sharp increase in eligible Latino voters. But Trump has driven record-setting numbers of citizenship applications and a surge in voter registration among Hispanics concerned about his hardline stance on **immigration** or turned off by his remarks about a federal judge of Mexican origin.

Related: Arizona Democrat aims to unseat McCain: ‘Nobody in DC thinks I’ll win’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/ann-kirkpatrick-arizona-democrat-john-mccain-senate]

“Latinos want to vote this year. We’re seeing that across the state,” said Pita Juarez of One Arizona, a Phoenix-based coalition of Latino voter registration groups.

The group’s Viva the Vote campaign had hoped to register 80,000 voters before November. Juarez said the group has surpassed that goal and is on track to meet a new goal of 120,000.

“Arizona is in play if the Democrats want it to be,” said Chuck Coughlin, Republican strategist and head of the political consulting group HighGround.

In the short term, Arizona could swing in the presidential election depending on the resources Clinton and the Democrats invest, Coughlin said. But in the long term, whether the state goes Democrat or remains Republican will be determined by how the GOP remakes itself after the election – especially on the issue of **immigration**.

“The Arizona electorate is ground zero for the **immigration** debate,” he said. “We’ve been baptized in this issue; we know what real answers are.

“The wall is not real answers,” he said, adding that Mexico is the state’s biggest trading partner. “It’s about building a secure economic and social relationship with our neighbors. Voters here know that.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Turkish officials argue the most vulnerable deserve priority resettlement. Some question whether a degree makes **refugees** less vulnerable

More than 1,000 Syrian **refugees** in Turkey have been blocked from resettlement in the US and other countries because they have university qualifications.

The **refugees** were approved for resettlement by American officials, before being blocked – sometimes just days before their departure date – by the Turkish authorities.

Related: UN members reject concrete **refugee** resettlement target[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/03/un-members-reject-concrete-refugee-resettlement-target]

The news further complicates a much-hyped UN summit on resettlement in New York on Monday[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/03/un-members-reject-concrete-refugee-resettlement-target], where developed countries are being encouraged to resettle more **refugees**, 86% of whom live in the developing world.

Countries such as Turkey, which hosts more **refugees** than any other, are keen for western partners to share the responsibility. But this development suggests that they are also unwilling to let countries like the US cherry-pick the most educated **refugees**, and leave behind the rest.

“We believe that the most vulnerable need to be helped before others,” a senior Turkish official told the Guardian this week.

Some of those affected have nevertheless questioned whether vulnerability can be determined by the standard of one’s education.

Loreen and Shero, a Syrian Kurdish couple whose home was destroyed in Aleppo, applied for resettlement in the US in April 2014, along with their three children. The process took nearly two years and involved several security checks and interviews with US officials, the UN **refugee** agency, and the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC), a charity that organises part of the US resettlement procedure.

Disheartened and frustrated by the long wait, the family twice prepared to leave for Europe by rubber dinghy instead – before timely phone calls from the UN**refugee** agency reassured them they had reached the next stage in their application, and restored their faith in the formal process.

In February 2016, the US finally accepted their application, and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) bought them plane tickets to Chicago for 31 May. The family sold their furniture, gave up their affordable flat, and moved into a more expensive one for the few weeks they had left.

Then, four days before their departure, Shero went to secure exit permits from the Turkish authorities – and was denied.

At first, no one from the Turkish government, IOM, the UN, or the ICMC could explain the delay. “Your case is not processed yet,” read a message on their online account. “Please try some other time.”

But finally, after a series of phone calls with the UN, an official admitted to them that Turkey had blocked their departure because Loreen had a banking qualification.

Related: From war in Syria to a Turkish sweatshop for child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/06/war-to-sweatshop-for-child-refugees]

For Shero and Loreen, the move has been a disaster. They are now stuck in a flat they can’t afford, while their children are facing a second year out of school.

Despite recent legislative changes, the vast majority of **refugees** in Turkey – including Shero and Loreen – have no access to legal work[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/11/fewer-than-01-of-syrians-in-turkey-in-line-for-work-permits], in contravention of the 1951 **refugee** convention. As a result, both work as manual labourers on the black market for about half the minimum wage. With both out all day, their children have been left to fend for themselves – leading to two alleged abduction attempts on their eldest daughter, Soleen.

“One day she was walking and a van stopped beside her,” said Shero. “Men inside the van said: ‘You are Syrian, you need money, come with us.’ So she ran away. After two days, the kids were playing in the streets, again people came past, walking rather than in a van, and yelled at her: ‘Come with us, we will give you money.’ And she recognised one of them [from the previous attempt].”

Several other families interviewed by the Guardian have been left in a similarly vulnerable position. Heba, a 34-year-old charity worker, was told in July that her application, along with that of her husband and baby daughter, had been canceled because of her degree in English literature from Aleppo University.

“We have no notion of what to do,” Heba said, before outlining how the situation for **refugees** in Turkey falls short of what is pledged under the 1951 **refugee**convention. “We are unhappy in Turkey, we have no rights. We can’t leave. My husband has no work permit. My baby was sick, she had a temperature, so we went to the government hospital, but they would not treat her. A while ago I went to hospital in a critical situation, I was very dizzy. They refused to help me or receive me.”

Fatima, a 25-year-old electrical engineering student, was approved for resettlement in March, along with her brother, sister, and parents. They were told they would be sent to Chicago, but before their flight was booked, their application was suddenly canceled because at least one of them had a degree.

Fatima speaks four languages and wants to develop electronics. But like other interviewees, she queried whether their educational attainment made her family any less vulnerable in Turkey.

“In Turkey, we’ve never had a job contract or a work permit,” Fatima said. “You need to work 13 hours a day just to eat. That’s why people prefer to go in the sea rather than living here. We don’t have any rights. We don’t even have the right to decide whether we leave or not. Why do we have to stay here? Why do they have the right to force us to stay here? How can they do this to us?”

Becca Heller, the director and co-founder of the International **Refugee** Assistance Project at the Urban Justice Center, said: “We work with thousands of **refugees** who wait years to be approved for resettlement in extremely treacherous circumstances. To yank the promise of safety away at the last minute of the process is inhumane and a gross violation of international law.”

Interviewees said UN officials had privately informed them that at least 5,000 Syrians were facing the same predicament. Turkish, US, UN and ICMC officials would not comment on the figure. The Guardian has met with members of a group of affected **refugees** who represent more than one thousand people whose resettlement has been blocked. Some of them were bound for Canada or Europe.

Should the situation continue, some of those affected said they may try to reach the west by boat, highlighting how the absence of formal means of resettlement can encourage more irregular means of migration.

“If we can’t leave to the US, we will go by boat to somewhere,” said Fatima. “Definitely we can’t stay here.”

Additional reporting by Eiad Abdulatif. **Refugees**’ names have been changed for their safety.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Education for **refugees** is often seen as an optional extra. But getting **refugee** children into school will help them to thrive, not just to survive

A few weeks ago my husband and I drove our daughter, Alessandra, to university to start her first year at Sciences Po[http://www.sciencespo.fr/campus-de-nancy/en] in Nancy, France.

As is usual for new students in new places, Alessandra was anxious. Would her French be good enough? Would she miss her network of close friends in Vienna? We fretted about the usual fresher things – the furnishings for her room, opening a bank account and getting her a phone contract. Everywhere she was asked for her passport. But eventually she was set – tuition and accommodation paid for, room set up. All she had to do now was work hard.

Related: Education is essential for giving **refugee** children hope for the future[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/aug/31/education-is-essential-for-giving-refugee-children-hope-for-the-future]

The whole experience got me thinking about another girl I know who also wants to embark on a university career. Her name is Esther, and we met in June in the Kakuma **refugee** camp in Kenya[https://kanere.org/about-kakuma-refugee-camp/], in the country’s far northwest. Esther is an 18-year-old South Sudanese girl who showed me around the camp, which has been her home since she was 11 when she, her two sisters and her mother fled their home in Juba. It took a long time to get Esther’s paperwork sorted so that she could go to school and when she did get in most people wondered why she was bothering. Her mother couldn’t read or write, they said, and she would never amount to anything, either – better to get married and have children as soon as possible.

Esther decided to prove her doubters wrong. As it happened, a new privately-financed school for girls had just opened in Kakuma – well built, with better facilities and solar-powered lighting – and once the idea of walking through its gates had got under her skin, she studied day and night and won a coveted place. Somewhere along the line she got on the internet and read about becoming a surgeon – a neurosurgeon, to be exact – and in the way that children do, Esther decided, “OK, I want to be South Sudan’s first female neurosurgeon.”

It is an inspiring story – but I left out a few details.

Just by completing secondary school, Esther has overcome huge odds. Across the world, one in two **refugee** children is in primary school and fewer than one in four in secondary. By contrast, more than 90% of primary-age non-**refugee** children are in school, as are 84% of secondary-age children. As for higher education, a paltry one in a hundred[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/uk/education.html] **refugee** children makes it that far. That compares badly with the worldwide figure of 34.5%, but it compares even worse with North America and western Europe, where nearly three-quarters of young people are in some form of higher education.

The most protracted **refugee** situations now last an average of more than 20 years. That means a child born to **refugees** can reach adulthood without ever having known the country of their parents. It means that many children who were forced to flee to safety will become adolescents and then grown-ups with only the haziest memories of home.

Related: No teacher lets them suffer: inside the German schools taking in **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/teacher-network/2015/nov/29/german-schools-taking-refugee-children-syria]

Yet one day they will return. When they do, the tasks ahead will be enormous: buildings, roads, farms, factories, schools and universities … after 20 years of conflict and neglect, all of these things will need reconstruction or renewal. So will families, friendships and communities, no less difficult to build and preserve. The question is this: will they be equipped for the challenge?

We send youngsters to school and university for many reasons. We want them to be academically curious, to develop their capacity for critical thinking, explore new ideas, to acquire the means to realise their ambitions and aspirations. Indeed, in wealthy countries a government that does not provide an education for its people is considered incompetent. So why do we fail to do this with **refugees**? Why do we say, “Here’s a tent, a blanket, food and water, a certain level of healthcare – but anything else you might wish for, such as a school, an apprenticeship, a satisfying job, all the tools for self-sufficiency... no, sorry, that’s not for you”?

It’s a priority for UNHCR and our partner organisations – that is why we develop accelerated education programmes to enable overage learners to catch up and rejoin the curriculum, why we lobby education ministries to include **refugee** children in their national education systems as the most effective and sustainable way of ensuring they are taught by experienced teachers and receive accredited qualifications. It is why we campaign for funding for new and improved facilities: safer classrooms, internet connections and computers, uniforms and backpacks, proper toilets and sanitation. And it is why we strive to improve opportunities for girls, given the huge positive effects on equality, leadership and healthcare.

In a few days, the international community will gather[http://www.un.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/pga/70/from-the-president/calendar/] for the UN general assembly, which is hosting a summit on **refugees** and migrants, and for a leaders’ summit on the global **refugee** crisis, hosted by Barack Obama. It is vital that world leaders prioritise education as a crucial means of protecting children and securing their future. At present, however, the state of **refugee** education is unacceptable.

Related: Six reasons why Syrians are fleeing to Europe in increasing numbers[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/oct/25/six-reasons-why-syrians-are-fleeing-to-europe-in-increasing-numbers]

It needs investment – in training teachers and in giving them the tools they need: more schools with proper facilities, better connectivity and more innovation; computers, tablets, software and internet access. It needs investment in initiatives to get more girls into school. It needs investment in scholarships and programmes to get **refugees** from secondary school into university. And it needs investment in technical and vocational training to foster skills and improve employment prospects.

In our new report on the state of **refugee** education, UNHCR is highlighting the formidable barriers that exist for the children who need school the most. But it also tells the stories of people like Esther who have found a way to overcome those barriers and whose lives have been transformed as a result.

A few weeks into her first university year, I watch my daughter find a new circle of bright and caring friends, stretch her mind and challenge her intellect. Her future is in her hands. Esther’s future is in ours. “I would love to return as a successful citizen, ready to make a change. I want to be the girl who made it from the camp to campus and from a **refugee** to a neurosurgeon,” Esther said.

There are so many casualties of war. Education should not be one of them.

Melissa Fleming is head of communications for the UN’s High Commissioner for **Refugees**

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Leaders will have to make fresh pledges to take in more **refugees** or give more to countries in the developing world

Hopes of a fast and effective response to the global **refugee** crisis now rest on a summit convened by Barack Obama on Tuesday in New York, after negotiations before a meeting of world leaders at the UN on Monday failed to produce any concrete measures.

The UN summit is expected to conclude by giving the international community another two years to reach a “global compact” on how to share the burden, after a pledge to resettle 10% of the world’s **refugees** within the developed world was removed during negotiations last month.

For leaders to speak at the Obama summit, they will have to make substantial new pledges to either take in more **refugees**, do more to help those who have already arrived[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/prisoners-of-europe-the-everyday-humiliation-of-refugees-stuck-in-greece-migration] or give much greater assistance to host countries in the developing world, where 86% of the world’s **refugees** live.

“The onus on the participants on Tuesday is all the greater because of the triumph of the lowest common dominator politics on the Monday,” said David Miliband, the former UK foreign secretary who is now president of the International Rescue Committee aid organisation. “Any **refugee** reading the conclusions of Monday’s summit is bound to say ‘what is going to change?’ and the answer they would have to be given is very little.”

The challenge to the leaders’ meeting on Tuesday, Miliband told the Guardian, was “not just to make a difference to the world’s most vulnerable people. It’s to show that political leaders don’t have their heads in the sand at a time of international crisis.”

Obama will co-host Tuesday’s summit with the UN secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, and leaders of some of the countries deemed to have done most for **refugees**or carrying more than their share of the burden[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/01/alan-kurdi-death-one-year-on-compassion-towards-refugees-fades] : Jordan, Mexico, Sweden, Germany, Canada and Ethiopia. Before the event, the president raised the goal of the number of **refugees** the US would permanently resettle in the coming year by 10,000, to 110,000.

British officials say the prime minister, Theresa May, will be a speaker at Tuesday’s summit, in part because of the UK’s role in hosting a donor conference that raised $12bn (£9bn) in pledges for Syria and the region. They said she would also be making new British commitments.

Samantha Power, the US envoy to the UN, made it clear that any other world leader wanting to speak at the event would have to come up with genuinely new and meaningful offers of help.

“We are leveraging the additional steps that we are taking to get other countries also to do their part, given that up to this point a small number of countries have been carrying a disproportionate share of the **refugee** opportunity and burden,” Power said.

“So you’re going to have dozens of countries present at the meeting. I can’t give you an exact number now because we’re still in a whirl of countries coming to us and saying, this is what we’re going to commit, and us saying, actually, that’s not new or significant, and then some of those countries going back to the drawing board. But it will be dozens of countries and you’ll be able to see a very significant return on this format of meeting.”

Helen Clark, New Zealand’s former prime minister who is now head of the UN Development Programme, said that even if the summit produced a significant increase in support for **refugees**, it would not help the majority of the record 65 million people forced from their homes by conflict or persecution around the world – internally displaced persons (IDPs) who flee their homes but do not cross into another country.

“Of the 65 million, my understanding is that the clear majority are IDPs and they’re not dealt with, so that means there is more work to do to raise awareness of those needs,” Clark said.

She said it was possible IDPs were getting less attention because by not leaving their country of origin they did not pose such a direct threat to the political stability and budgets of the developed world.

“That might be a factor. All I can say is that the IDPs also want their kids in school,” Clark said. “The IDPs are unfinished business, obviously.”

On the eve of the UN summit, the head of the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), Pierre Krahenbuhl, urged leaders not to forget the plight of long-term **refugees**, nearly half of whom are Palestinians.

“The summiteers are clear that no one must be left behind and I urged that this must include the 5.2 million Palestine **refugees** registered with UNRWA,” Krahenbuhl said. “They represent 44% of the world’s long-term **refugees**, the largest in scale and most protracted in duration of any **refugee** situation today.”

Despite the failure of world leaders to agree firm commitments for the UN summit on Monday, the UN **refugee** agency (UNHCR) said the draft of its final non-binding declaration would still make a difference by reaffirming the global community’s collective responsibility for **refugees**, encouraging longer-term responses to prolonged **refugee** crises, which are currently often dealt with in a knee-jerk way.

Volker Turk, the UNHCR’s assistant high commissioner for protection, said: “I see it as the beginning of an exciting process … it identifies a response framework that consolidates the nuts and bolts of what is needed if a country is faced with a large-scale [**refugee**] situation.”

The declaration was also praised by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), which was pleased that it engaged with migrants as well as **refugees**. “We’re not disappointed in any way,” said Leonard Doyle, IOM’s chief spokesman.

But others are. Record numbers of people are displaced worldwide, and given the gravity of the crisis, rights campaigners along with countries hosting large numbers of **refugees** are frustrated that the declaration has achieved no concrete measures, and concrete proposals will not be approved until 2018.

Lebanon has a higher number of **refugees** per capita and per square mile than any other country in the world – and its ambassador to the UN, Nawaf Salam, said the proposals did not go nearly far enough.

“From our perspective, all this falls way behind what is needed to address, one, the plight of **refugees** and, two, the needs of host communities,” Salam said. “There are no commitments in terms of responsibility-sharing, no agreement on relocation of **refugees**, no real commitment to [the creation of] development funds that could address the needs of **refugee** and host communities.”

Salam said he would have liked to have seen international partners “make good on pledges already made. We need to shift from only humanitarian aid to development aid and humanitarian aid. We need to give more help to host communities. And we need to prepare plans for a safe and dignified return [of Syrians to Syria] … That’s not implementable today, but preparations need to start today, to be implemented when conditions permit.”

The watered-down nature of Monday’s summit means that the stakes on Tuesday are far greater, Miliband argued. “It would be better not to have a summit at all than to have a summit that doesn’t lead to substantive change,” he said. “If Tuesday’s summit achieves nothing, if the convening power of the American president on Tuesday doesn’t deliver, it will further drain confidence that the international system gets it.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**People’s attraction to the Brexit camp’s dodgiest claims is not an invitation to those in authority to abandon truthfulness

One offshoot of the Brexit aftermath that is particularly disturbing is a growing obsession with the “post-truth” society. This has allegedly sprung into being because politicians who made stuff up polled well in the EU referendum and, in Michael Gove’s catchy line, “people in this country have had enough of experts”[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/09/michael-gove-experts-academics-vote].

Related: You’re wrong Michael Gove – experts are trusted far more than you | Anand Menon and Jonathan Portes[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/09/michael-gove-experts-academics-vote]

This assertion has put politicians and the research community on the defensive. It expressed the feeling of being cut adrift by the electorate, which surged through government, the civil service and professional bodies following the referendum result. It has now spiralled into a debate about how to better appeal to “post-truth” citizens, as though they are baffling and lack reason. In fact those citizens could say the same of the discussions about **immigration**, public spending and why we were having a referendum in the first place, all of which the politicians did not confront.

Anyway, are the public really sick of experts? Given the provenance of that claim, shouldn’t somebody with sense have checked it before we all set to trying to work out how to handle it?

Fortunately someone has. The Institute for Government (IfG) has released a poll, conducted by Populus, which suggests that 85% of people want politicians to consult professionals and experts when making difficult decisions, and 83% want government to make decisions based on objective evidence. Trust in experts and confidence in government have both increased since a similar poll in 2014 and people who voted leave and remain share much the same view.

This unequivocal finding must now chase the debate. The rush to believe that facts and evidence aren’t what people want is already streaming through policy and professional circles and influencing a rethink of how to communicate with the public. A post-Brexit New Scientist editorial[https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg23130803-500-post-brexit-experts-need-to-reassert-their-value-to-society/] proposed communicators of science use more emotion. Civil servants who, pre-referendum, were embracing the demand to share more of the evidence behind policy are now talking as if it were subversive - “now’s not a good time to raise this with the minister”.

No doubt some election 2020 Svengali is right now writing the plans for how to win over a post-truth electorate - more statements on buses. Someone at an event I attended last week declared that while experts are trusted by “people in this room”, ie professionals, the public out there doesn’t have the same respect for expertise. They don’t use it in their daily lives. He clearly doesn’t have a subscription to Sky Sports, where an hour’s viewing guarantees multiple encounters with statistics, unlike the passage of many bills through parliament.

This is, however, all a counsel of unnecessary despair and the IfG poll couldn’t make that clearer.

So why is a post-truth, evidence-rejecting public so beguiling? Because, I’m afraid, it flatters timidity and easy populism. Big decisions are hard. Policymaking is not straightforward. There are always trade-offs, mitigating factors and politics to contend with and these are difficult to communicate. Facts and evidence are disruptive too. They don’t always fit easily with scoring points or appealing to prejudices in debates about **immigration**, drugs or prison sentences. Sometimes they’re just hard work to explain. The idea of a post-truth public is an excuse to run from all this.

Yes, people respond to slogans and emotion. Most of us do, but politicians and communicators who insist this means the public doesn’t want to be informed risk driving us to a two-tier society – one in which evidence is discussed in corridors of power, senior common rooms and private members clubs, while publicly leaders just play to the gallery or hide.

Such doublespeak is not an appeal to the public and its priorities. It’s elitist and obnoxious. It means that the account of the world that decision-makers work from goes unscrutinised and fewer of us get to consider the world as it really is. It is the stuff of the 1950s, when what authorities knew privately on subjects including homosexuality and abortion didn’t appear in the public domain. For a healthy society we must insist that we discuss what we know about all aspects of it openly, in public.

At Sense about Science[http://www.senseaboutscience.org/], where I am director, I hear from people all the time about why evidence matters, on subjects as diverse as air pollution, childcare, the safety of military personnel and cause-of-death investigations. These are people who want to make the best choices and to be able to tell when people in authority are doing so ; people who aren’t looking for a sound bite or a quick fix, who expect policy to draw on experts and evidence.

We all have work to do to create more space for a frank discussion of what we know and a culture where that’s expected. Maybe this aggravating debate spawned by Brexit – and the correctives it is now prompting from the IfG and others– is just the catalyst we need.

People’s attraction to some of the dodgiest claims of the referendum was a signal of many things, but it was not an invitation to people in authority to abandon the principle of truthfulness in public life.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Vast majority of the 60 reported incidents involved citizens from eastern European countries, particularly Poland

European embassies in Britain have logged dozens of incidents of suspected hate crime and abuse against their citizens since the vote to leave the European Union, according to figures obtained by the Guardian.

The vast majority of xenophobic incidents involved citizens from eastern European countries, with more attacks against Poles than all the other nationalities put together, the survey of EU embassies in London revealed.

The Polish consular service in London, Manchester and Edinburgh has logged 31 incidents of reported hate crime since 23 June, including eight attacks in the past three weeks.

They include the killing of Arkadiusz Józwik in Harlow[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/31/harlow-death-arkadiusz-jozwik-exposes-left-behind-town-where-residents-live-in-fear], in an apparently unprovoked attack that is being treated by police as a possible hate crime. Five 15-year-old boys and one 16-year-old boy, all from Harlow, were arrested on suspicion of murdering Józwik[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/30/five-teenage-boys-arrested-after-man-dies-following-attack-in-essex] and bailed until 7 October pending further inquiries. A second Polish man survived the attack.

The Guardian contacted the London embassies of all 27 EU member states. Of the 17 embassies that replied, almost half reported a rise in incidents of xenophobic abuse in the 12 weeks since the EU referendum. Between them, there were 60 incidents logged, including shots fired at a Lithuanian home in Lurgan, Northern Ireland, this month, an arson attack on a Romanian shop in Norwich in July and a break-in at a home in Nottingham in the immediate aftermath of the vote when a Latvian family were called “fucking **immigrants**” and told to leave the UK.

The bulk of the attacks were against Poles or people mistaken for Poles. A Finnish mother was told “Poles go home” when she was overheard talking to her children, according to the Finnish embassy in London. The embassies of western European countries that responded to the survey, including Spain, France and Germany, reported no post-referendum abuse against their citizens.

Arkady Rzegocki, the Polish ambassador to the UK, said he was “saddened by each and every incident”.

He added: “The Polish community is the largest national minority in the UK and, due to its visibility, may be statistically an easier target of xenophobic abuse. We recognise and appreciate the show of solidarity from the British public and the decisive steps taken by the British government and local authorities to resolve the problem. We need to work together to foster dialogue and mutual understanding between communities.”

The issue of hate crime in the wake of the vote was raised by London-based diplomats at a working lunch of the Nordic group of ambassadors on Tuesday. Latvia’s ambassador, Baiba Braže, who hosted the lunch, said: “It is a trend that we discussed. Our citizens have not experienced anything like this before the referendum.

“None of six incidents [involving Latvians] referred to the referendum, but there is maybe an atmosphere that is more permitting of unpleasant words and maybe actions. There shouldn’t be any discrimination and the Latvian community shouldn’t let it go unreported.”

Jon Burnett, a researcher at the Institute of Race Relations, said: “The upsurge in attacks against eastern Europeans should come as no surprise, given the way that they have been portrayed repeatedly as scroungers, cheats and, ultimately, threats. This depiction, which intensified in the build-up to the referendum, of course predated it. The hate crimes are a product of a politically constructed climate which has been years in the making.”

Braže welcomed the British government’s assurances that it would not tolerate such abuse. She said she had been encouraged by a fall in incidents involving Latvians since the immediate aftermath of the vote.

But the Polish embassy is troubled by a recent uptick in violence against Poles. Many of the 31 attacks it recorded took place in the days after the vote and, by early August, the embassy had detected a lull in incidents. But there has been a new spike in attacks, with eight incidents in the past three weeks, including attacks on three other Poles in Harlow and an allegedly racist attack on a Polish man in the Armley area of Leeds last Friday.

‘We’re going to put cameras up’ In the days after the Brexit vote, one Polish family in Plymouth felt the force of what appears to be a continuing spike in hate crimes across the country. An arson attack destroyed a shed at their home in Efford. The perpetrators left a note which read[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-devon-36737529] : “Go back to your country next be [sic] your family.”

Ewa Banaszek, 22, said the experience had stayed with her and her family but they were trying to get on with their lives and had received support from the local community. A crowdfunding appeal on behalf of the family raised £7,000.

“It has been overwhelming really,” said Banaszek, who works at a leisure centre in Plymouth. “When it happened, lots of local people left flowers outside the house and even now people are always checking if we are OK.

“The way the money was raised was really heartening. I told Hannah [Brotherstone], who arranged the fundraising, how overwhelmed we were. We now have the money and we are going to put cameras up around the house and this will help to pay for them.

“Since the incident we have tried to just get on with our life. The attack will always be in the back of my mind, but people have been supportive.”

Gareth Cuerden, hate crime manager for Victim Support in Wales, said a media focus on hate crime had led to a positive impact in encouraging victims to speak out.

“It has made people feel empowered to come forward and report what has happened to them. I think because of that we are getting a truer picture of the scale of hate crime,” he said. “Research shows that it is underreported – 50% of people wait until it gets more serious before they consider reporting and instead they tend to normalise incidents. But this attention on hate crime has made them feel able to report, which is a positive thing.”

Iolanda Viegas, a councillor for the Portuguese community in Wrexham, north Wales, said people had been heartened by the support they were receiving from their neighbours and from the police in the aftermath of the vote.

“The police have come along to tell us what to do if these incidents happen, they have talked to people about what a hate crime is and what they should do if they are targeted. And many people in the wider community are helping. At least we feel we are not alone and that someone will help us.”

Embassy breakdown of reported xenophobic incidents since the referendum Poland 31 incidents reported as hate crimes. As well as the killing of Józwik they include eight assaults, including attacks on Polish men in Yeovil, St Ives and Leeds; seven attacks on Polish homes and businesses; and four cases of abusive graffiti, including messages scrawled on the front door of the Polish Cultural Association in Hammersmith, west London, and on a war memorial in Portsmouth. The 31 cases include six reports of fresh abuse in longstanding complaints about intimidation from neighbours that predate the referendum.

Lithuania 10 incidents of alleged hate crimes, five of which are being investigated by the police. They include a shooting at a Lithuanian home in Lurgan, Northern Ireland, on 5 September. Other incidents of alleged abuse have been reported in Peterborough, Kings Lynn and Boston, where many Lithuanians work as agricultural labourers. A spokesman said: “The Lithuanian community is very concerned [by] the surge of hate attacks after the referendum.”

Lithuania’s deputy foreign minister, Mantvydas Bekešius, has raised the issue with the Foreign Office. He said Lithuanian children in UK schools had been verbally abused[https://www.urm.lt/default/en/news/concerns-over-attacks-against-lithuanians-have-been-expressed-to-the-uk-minister-of-state-for-immigration-who-visited-lithuanian-embassy-in-london] not just by other pupils but by parents and even teachers since the referendum.

Latvia Six incidents of alleged xenophobic abuse and harassment, in Nottingham, London, Bristol, Wellingborough, Yorkshire and South Shields. The worst incident involved a break-in at a home in Nottingham where a Latvian family were branded “fucking **immigrants**” and told to leave the UK. The embassy also reported that Latvians had been refused service at a post office in London and at a mobile phone shop in Bristol in the days after the vote.

Sweden “Around five” incidents of verbal abuse. A spokesman said: “That’s a big increase, because we haven’t really seen abuse against Swedish citizens in recent memory. It is obviously linked to the referendum, because phrases like ‘go home’ were used.”

Finland Until the referendum, no Finns had been involved in xenophobic incidents. Since the vote, there have been four incidents, including a mother being told “Poles go home” when she was overheard speaking to her children.

Romania On 8 July, a Romanian shop in Norwich was torched in what Norfolk police are treating as a hate crime. The embassy also reported “a few” other xenophobic incidents, but declined to give details.

Bulgaria One “xenophobia-motivated” attack against a Bulgarian national in the UK. The embassy refused to provide details.

Hungary A “marginal number” of inquiries expressing fear after the referendum.

The embassies of Belgium, Greece, Germany, France, Denmark, Cyprus, Austria, Spain and Estonia reported no abuse of their citizens in the UK.

Additional reporting by Chris Owen

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The PM should use talks in New York on the global **refugee** issue to find a country to resettle those in Australian offshore detention, says Russell Broadbent

Malcolm Turnbull needs to use a looming **refugee** summit to find a country prepared to take detainees from Nauru and Manus Island, according to one of his backbenchers, who says the government’s policy amounts to indefinite detention.

In the lead-up to the high-powered gathering this week in New York, the Victorian Liberal backbencher Russell Broadbent has comprehensively rejected a recent characterisation by the the prime minister that Australia has the best border protection policy in the world[https://au.news.yahoo.com/thewest/wa/a/32653440/world-should-follow-us-on-migration-policy-pm/#page1].

Broadbent told Guardian Australia on Monday Turnbull could not possibly make that claim, given the consequences of the current policy. “It’s not the world’s best policy if you end up with 2,000 people in limbo in indefinite detention,” Broadbent said Monday.

Related: Notes on the great Syrian exodus: ‘Epic in scale, inconceivable until you witness it’ | Richard Flanagan[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/05/great-syrian-refugee-crisis-exodus-epic-inconceivable-witness-lebos-islamic-state]

“We should use this summit to look for a third country to take the people on Nauru and Manus Island.”

This week the United Nations secretary general, Ban Ki-Moon, will host a summit in New York “addressing large movements of **refugees** and migrants”. A draft declaration document[http://www.un.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/pga/70/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2015/08/HLM-on-addressing-large-movements-of-refugees-and-migrants-Draft-Declaration-5-August-2016.pdf] from the summit has already been widely circulated – and widely condemned – for its failure to commit countries to concrete actions to make **refugees**’ journeys better or safer.

The day after Ban’s summit the US president, Barack Obama, will host his own “leaders’ summit”, also in New York.

But, unlike the UN event, the US summit has been billed as a “pay-to-play” summit, with Obama offering invitations only to countries who indicate in advance they are prepared to make concrete commitments to accept more **refugees**.

Turnbull will attend the summit with the **immigration** minister Peter Dutton, but the government has not given any public indication about what its commitment might be.

It appears unlikely Australia’s contribution to the summit will be any reform to its controversial mandatory detention, offshore processing, or regional resettlement policies but instead likely to be directed towards distant **refugee** flows, probably in the Middle-East.

Given the international publicity Australia’s punitive asylum regime has generated, the prime minister is expected to face questions about when its offshore processing centres will wind up.

Late last week Dutton signalled Australia might shift its position[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/peter-dutton-open-to-refugees-on-nauru-being-resettled-in-new-zealand] on whether asylum seekers could be resettled in New Zealand, but he shut the door on that prospect on Thursday evening[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/asylum-seeker-processing-at-nauru-will-continue-for-decades-says-dutton], saying Australia’s regional processing relationship with Nauru would continue for “decades”.

The group Australian Lawyers for Human Rights[https://alhr.org.au/] has written to the **immigration** and foreign ministers of New Zealand, Canada, the US, and Germany, urging those countries to resettle the recognised **refugees** currently held on Manus Island and Nauru.

The letter said it was “indisputable” that Australia’s offshore detention regime breached international law, a position supported by the UN, the Australian Senate, and Papua New Guinea’s supreme court.

“All of these countries [ALHR has written to] have demonstrated considerable generosity with respect to their resettlement intakes, particularly in response to the crisis in Syria,” ALHR president Benedict Coyne said. “New Zealand previously offered to resettle 150 **refugees** from Australia’s offshore processing centres but the Australian government refused.”

“ALHR is concerned that if countries such as these do not offer resettlement places, **refugees** will be sent to countries that do not have the capacity to adequately protect and provide for their rights.”

Canada has already accepted for resettlement two **refugees** held on Nauru, who had family members resettled in Canada.

The vast majority of people held in Australian-run offshore detention centres have been found to be **refugees** with a “well-founded fear of persecution” in their home country – 98% of the men on Manus[http://www.aph.gov.au/About\_Parliament/Parliamentary\_Departments/Parliamentary\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1516/Quick\_Guides/Offshore] who have been processed have been found to be **refugees** and 77% of the men, women and children on Nauru[http://www.aph.gov.au/About\_Parliament/Parliamentary\_Departments/Parliamentary\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1516/Quick\_Guides/Offshore].

An estimated 86% of the world’s 21.3m **refugees**[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/576408cd7] are hosted in developing countries, usually close to the homelands they have fled.

The **Refugee** Council of Australia said Australia needed to outline – before this week’s two global summits – firm new commitments on its **refugee** policies.

The acting chief executive of the council, Tim O’Connor, said the agreed draft of the outcome document to the secretary general’s summit on Monday – which has been significantly watered-down from its original form – failed to adequately address the global forced migration issue.

“The international community is set to miss a landmark opportunity to manage the greatest displacement crisis the modern world has known if we again evade our responsibilities to provide durable solutions to displaced people and **refugees**.

“The global community needs to ensure people who flee conflict and persecution are protected and can live with dignity. The current draft does not go far enough and is an abrogation of our responsibilities.”

The **refugee** council said Australia’s **refugee** and asylum policies – which have been condemned by the United Nations, the Human Rights Commission, the Australian Medical Association, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and staff who work in Australia-run detention centres – undermine Australia’s credibility in international forums.

“The brutal impacts of Australia’s current offshore detention policy continue to undermine the positive story of Australia’s **refugee** resettlement success and the urgent need to engage with Australia’s neighbours to develop sustainable and humane regional solutions to the challenges of human displacement,” O’Connor said.

Related: Oxfam calls for Australia to triple humanitarian migration intake[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/19/oxfam-calls-for-australia-to-triple-humanitarian-migration-intake]

The **refugee** council proposed expanding and reforming the existing community proposal pilot, which allows communities to sponsor **refugees** to come to Australia. Moving this program outside Australia’s humanitarian intake, and reducing its cost – currently about $70,000 – would allow more **refugees** to be resettled in Australia in a safe and orderly movement.

The St Vincent de Paul Society also urged the government to increase Australia’s annual intake of **refugees** to 30,000. “Contrary to the government’s assertions, breaking people’s spirits in offshore processing facilities is not the unavoidable alternative to deaths at sea,” said its chief executive, John Falzon.

“The most urgent matter facing the Australian government is the fate of **refugees** and asylum seekers stuck in limbo on Nauru and Manus Island.”

“We call on the prime minister to embrace a humane and respectful way forward for the vulnerable children and their families on Nauru, along with the more than 800 men on Manus Island, who have been living without hope for too long.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**My grandfather’s family came to Australia to survive, make a life, get work and make significant contributions to society. The **refugees** on Manus and Nauru want to do the same

Last week, after 78 years of life in Australia – most of them happy and productive, the final few marred by dementia – Kurt Kuhn passed away. He was our grandfather. He was our father. He was loved deeply by his family. But years before we came into the picture he was, in the vernacular of the times, a “refo”.

At the age of nine he came to Australia from Vienna with his little sister and their parents. They were Jews fleeing the Nazis, and they arrived here by boat. In the years and months leading up to their escape, their home had turned against them. After the Nazi annexation of Austria, Kurt’s father Otto, a pastry cook and baker, had been humiliated on the streets of Vienna. He was thrown into a concentration camp for weeks in order to intimidate him and his family into leaving. It worked.

To many Australians during the 1930s and 1940s, Central European Jews were foreign and strange. At least, in the days of the White Australia policy, they were pale. But they ate peculiar food, and they had weird beliefs about their weird food, and God, and how to dress. According to some Christians they were even responsible for killing Christ. They were supposed to be miserly, clannish and **alien**.

Related: Newly leaked Nauru reports detail harrowing accounts of sexual abuse and self-harm[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/19/newly-leaked-nauru-reports-detail-harrowing-accounts-of-sexual-abuse-and-self-harm]

Such prejudices were common, especially in elite circles. Then, as now, wealth and power were often associated with self-satisfaction. Unless association with them brought personal advantages, people who were different were regarded as inferior or dangerous. After all, racism against Jews and especially against southern Europeans, after World War II, helped divide workers against each other and undermine union organisation and solidarity.

Although matzah balls and gefilte fish were regarded with the same suspicious attitude that some Australians have to Halal Snack Packs today, there were foods from the old world Australians ate with gusto – cakes and biscuits. Otto was a highly skilled pastry cook and baker and eventually set up a cake shop in Bondi. At school Kurt also worked in the shop. Unlike most members of his generation, he went to uni. While studying chemical engineering, he still had to get up at 2am on Saturdays to help with baking.

Kurt was thorough and precise. After university, he began a 40 year-long career at the Gas Company, eventually heading its laboratory as a senior technical manager.

His family came to Australia to survive, make a life, get work and in doing so made significant contributions to Australian society.

The **refugees** on Manus and Nauru want to do the same. So do others who are keen to come to Australia.

Capitalism will always generate economic crises. Despite them, it is workers who generate social wealth. Working people – regardless of skin colour – do not “take” jobs, they create them. More workers mean more potential wealth.

“Refo” was a straightforwardly racist, pejorative term. Now Australian governments use more sophisticated language like “unlawful boat arrivals” and “asylum seekers” to denigrate **refugees**. The right wing mass media and populist politicians both in and outside mainstream political parties, and the fascist fringe are cruder with their mendacious ravings about “queue jumpers”, “deliberate self-harm” and “threats to the Australian way of life”. Regardless of the terminology, the underlying racist logic is the same.

That logic led to the deaths of Omid Masoumali, Reza Barati, Fazel Chegeni, Hamid Kehazaei, Ali Ahmad Jafari, Reza Alizadeh and Mohammad Nasim Najafi. All died as a result of murder, medical neglect or suicide during detention or its aftermath. They were imprisoned in off and on-shore concentration camps set up, run and paid for by Australia.

Justified by hypocritical appeals to humanitarian motives, like the desire to prevent drownings at sea, our governments have used many of same repressive, violent and inhuman techniques as the regimes that **refugees** escaped from in the 1930s, and are still fleeing today.

The self-serving economic and political logic of Australia’s treatment of the children, men and women, who are hanging on interminably in camps has led to rape, other physically abuse, denial of healthy living conditions, the mental torture of being denied a future, and callous treatment by bureaucracies and individuals with authority.

The Coalition and Labor are both committed to sustaining and intensifying racist attitudes to those currently imprisoned. Now “boat people” largely means Muslims and Arabs. Portraying **refugees** as threatening bogiemen distracts attention from attacks on our living standards and civil rights. As in the post-war years, it divides workers and creates a false sense of unity with employers, in the face of contrived “security threats” at home and abroad.

Related: The Nauru files: cache of 2,000 leaked reports reveal scale of abuse of children in Australian offshore detention[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention]

Kurt, his parents and sisters only spoke German when they arrived here in 1939, shortly before the outbreak of the war. Their presence did not endanger anyone in Australia.

As a Jew, Otto’s previous nationality had been revoked. He was not Austrian or German. Like so many fleeing today, he and his family were outcasts. In Australia, as an “enemy **alien**” Otto had to report to the police weekly. Compared with today’s security paranoia about **refugees**, and their persecution by Australian governments, that war-time foolishness looks trivial.

Neither Central European Jews on the run from Hitler nor **refugees** seeking haven in Australia today are threats. In 78 years, when the lives of the children we’re currently detaining have blossomed and faded, do we want to look back, as our family has this past week, in awe at their contributions?

The alternative is to reflect aghast at our wastefulness, at the way our fear and ignorance so many years ago caused us to destroy such wonderful, human potential.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Exclusive: Incident reports from early 2016 describe child **refugees** attempting suicide and the terror felt by a woman who says she was bundled into a car and raped by two menRead the documents

Child and adult **refugees** held on Nauru under Australia’s offshore detention regime are continuing to report allegations of sexual abuse and engage in self-harm, new leaked documents reveal.

The new incident reports, seen by the Guardian, include a harrowing account of the alleged rape of a **refugee**, who refused to report the encounter to Nauruan police. The reports also tell of children stubbing out cigarettes on their arms, trying to jump off buildings and attempting suicide by other means.

Related: Nauru files 'an extraordinary trove of short stories', says Richard Flanagan[https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/sep/01/nauru-files-an-extraordinary-trove-of-short-stories-says-richard-flanagan]

The reports make reference to “ongoing, significant risks” to children held on Nauru between January and March this year. The leak follows the Guardian’s publication of the Nauru files[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention], incident reports revealing the trauma and abuse inflicted on children held by Australia in offshore detention.

Peter Dutton, Australia’s **immigration** minister, has sought to diminish as “hype” the 2,116 leaked reports that contain accounts of self-harm, abuse and sexual assault in the offshore centre up until October 2015, although he said the government would investigate them. In interviews he said: “There are some that are legitimate and there are others that aren’t and others that have been found not to be substantiated,” and: “Some people do have a motivation to make a false complaint.”

A caseworker wrote in March that a woman reported that she had been waiting for a bus when she was grabbed, pushed into a car, driven away, then raped by two men. She was dropped at another location and, according to the report, told “that if she told anyone they would kill her”. She repeatedly told the Nauru police force she did not wish to make a statement.

The report said the caseworkers had recommended that the woman be encouraged to speak to the police and were continuing to provide support to her.

In another report a **refugee** said she had been spat on and repeatedly sexually harassed at a restaurant she managed in the Nauruan community. The woman told a caseworker how “on numerous occasions” men of Nauruan appearance requested that she “engage in sexual intercourse with them in exchange for money”.

“[The woman] reported that on two different occasions the men appeared in the restaurant’s kitchen, wrapped their arms around her with force and tried to kiss her.”

She said other staff and customers had come to her aid. As the men, who appeared to be intoxicated, left they continued “using abusive language, spitting on her and throwing rocks towards the restaurant”.

The woman reported “that she has been afraid to report the harassment to Nauru Police Force … she stated that one of the main reasons behind the closure of [the restaurant] was the ongoing sexual harassment by clients.”

The caseworker wrote that staff would monitor her wellbeing and assist her in submitting a police report if required.

The new reports include a number of serious allegations of self-harm by children. In one report from February, a child **refugee** under 15 tried to jump off the balcony of his home in an attempt to kill himself. His father stopped him. The caseworker said he had “provided practical support and advice to [the father], including advising him to remove all sharp objects from the home in an attempt to minimise further risk of harm.”

Related: The Nauru files: cache of 2,000 leaked reports reveal scale of abuse of children in Australian offshore detention[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention]

In another report from that month a **refugee** girl aged under 10 had disclosed “thoughts of walking in front of moving traffic”. She told the casework manager that the reason for this “related to the lack of activities available in Nauru and her dislike of school. [The girl] also stated she was experiencing difficulty sleeping and intense feelings of fear, which she identified commenced upon her entry into detention.”

A **refugee** reported to a caseworker that her brother, a child under18, had “self-harmed by burning his arms with cigarettes and cutting his wrist with a knife”. There had been between five and seven episodes of self-harm, she told the caseworker.

A spokesman for Australia’s **immigration** department said: “**Refugees** living in the community are encouraged to report all incidents, including alleged sexual assault, to the Nauru Police Force.”

“While law and order in the Nauruan community is a matter for the government of Nauru, the department and its service providers offer significant support to assist with providing information and encouraging victims to undertake appropriate action stemming from reported incidents.”

“The Australian federal police has also deployed officers to work alongside the NPF and build their capacity to investigate complex and sensitive incidents. This project is achieving positive results and is providing valuable skills to local officers.”

The **immigration** minister did not respond to requests for comment.

It is three years since the first two **refugee** children arrived on Nauru, on 18 September 2013.

The leaked documents are incident reports filed by caseworkers for Connect Settlement Services, which provides support to **refugees** in the community on Nauru. They were filed between January and March 2016 and are a small sample of hundreds of other reports filed during this period.

It is the first time documents from CSS have been published. The company has operated largely without public scrutiny since it began providing services on Nauru. This year it took on an expanded role, providing support services to **refugees** in Cambodia.

\* In Australia, the crisis support service Lifeline is on 13 11 14. In the US, the National Suicide Prevention Hotline is 1-800-273-8255. In the UK, the Samaritans can be contacted on 116 123. Hotlines in other countries can be found here[http://www.suicide.org/international-suicide-hotlines.html]

\* Do you know more? How to contact Paul Farrell securely and confidentially[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/aug/10/how-to-contact-the-nauru-files-reporters-securely-and-confidentially].

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The large Somali American community of St Cloud confronted longstanding tensions as an unconfirmed report named man responsible for stabbing nine people

The Somali American community in St Cloud, Minnesota, condemned on Sunday the mass stabbing attack at a mall the night before, as the **immigrant** population confronted longstanding tensions and unconfirmed reports emerged of the suspect’s identity.

Related: FBI investigates Minnesota mass stabbing as 'potential act of terrorism'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/18/minnesota-mass-stabbing-mall-fbi-terrorism-investigation]

Police have not yet named the suspect, who wounded nine people on Saturday night at the Crossroads Center mall, and whose attack is being investigated as “potential act of terrorism”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/18/minnesota-mass-stabbing-mall-fbi-terrorism-investigation]. But Ahhmed Adan, a Somali **immigrant**, told the Minneapolis Star Tribune on Sunday that police had told him the night before that his son, Dahir Adan, had died the night before.

None of the nine injured people suffered life-threatening injuries, and the only fatality of the attack was the suspect, who was shot dead by an off-duty police officer.

Police did not mention the attack on the mall, Adan said, but they seized photos and other materials from the family’s apartment. Adan said his son came to the US 15 years ago and was a student at St Cloud Technical and Community College. He added that he had “no suspicion” that his son might have considered such an attack.

Within hours of the attack, in which the suspect reportedly spoke of Allah, members of the Somali American community began to see anti-**immigrant** and Islamophobic messages directed toward them online. The virulence increased when an Islamic State-run news agency claimed credit for the attack; the terror group has previously claimed credit for attackers with whom it had no contact.

A leader of the community, Abdul Kalane, said he fears how those online messages will translate into the real world, especially since Dahir Adan was his neighbor. Kalane said he had moved to a new building at the beginning of the month, and met Adan in the parking lot. Though he didn’t know Adan well, he said he believed he was in his 20s and had moved to the United States at a young age.

“When I heard that the guy who did this was a member of the Somali community, I was so devastated, because I know what’s going to happen. The repercussions, the retaliation,” Kalane told the Guardian. “I was shocked, because the guy lives in the same building I live in. And even though we don’t know the full picture, we are actually devastated by this. It’s really tragic.”

St Cloud is home to a growing Somali Muslim community, largely made up of **refugees** feeling the country’s civil war. In January, the local paper reported[http://www.sctimes.com/story/news/local/immigration/2016/01/24/fact-check-somali-student-numbers/79062702/] that about 20% of St Cloud’s students came from homes where the primary language spoken at home was Somali.

Not everyone has been accepting of the new arrivals. Last year, Somali students at one local high school staged a walkout to protest discrimination after a Somali student was labeled as “Isis” on snapchat. A nonprofit called #UniteCloud[http://www.unitecloud.org] later formed to help bridge the gap between the Somali community and the more established, mostly white St Cloud residents.

Natalie Ringsmuth, a white Minnesotan who co-founded the group with Haji Yusuf, said they had long feared something like this could happen.

“A some point in our community, we knew that the tensions were so high that somebody from either side of the equation was going to commit an act of violence,” she said. “Unfortunately, we’re here, but we’ve mentally prepared for this.”

Somali community leaders held a press conference Sunday afternoon to plead to plead for unity. Activist Lul Hersi said she had feared for her one of her sons when she heard about the attack, and was relieved when he arrived home that night. She called it a “dark day” that the community would never forget.

“We condemn the acts of yesterday. It was an individual and we don’t know what motivated that individual,” she said. “Let’s unite as one Minnesota. Let’s take love instead of hate.”

Community leader Hassan Yussuf said he hoped the city’s recent progress wouldn’t be derailed. “St Cloud has done a lot of hard work to come together, all of the leaders, and that should not be broken by this incident,” he said. “This incident should not be used to spread hate. It should be used to bring us together.”

Despite the absence of confirmed facts, at least one anti-**immigrant** group, Act! For America[https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/act-america], seized on the attack for political purposes. The group posted a link about the stabbings with a question: “More **refugees**, anyone?”

Jaylani Hussein, the executive Director for the Minnesota Chapter of the Council of American-Islamic Relations, said central Minnesota has a history of anti-Muslim organizing. He pointed to a string of incidents dating back years, including visits by well-known anti-Muslim speakers[http://www.startribune.com/anti-muslim-speaking-circuit-runs-through-rural-minnesota/375924701/] and a recent billboard[http://www.startribune.com/anti-muslim-billboard-posted-near-st-cloud-taken-down/369177621/], eventually removed, that read “Catholic Charities Resettles Islamists, Evil or Insanity.”

“It’s not just random people being upset and acting randomly. This is people who actually organize, who hold events, who hold meetings, who fundraise. They make sure everyone in their community is aware of what is going on,” he said.

Hussein, like many present, said he hoped the stabbings would help bring the community together.

“There is tension, there is real concern, and this incident just magnifies everything that has happened here,” he said. “But we hope, even this big of an incident can bring St Cloud residents who have not played a role in this discussion to start to take back the narrative from the extremes.”

Ringsmuth, too, thought the attack posed Minnesotans a choice. “We are at a crossroads in our community,” she said. “This has broken us, we can either begins the road of healing together by choosing peace, or we can be broken even further, and that’s up to us.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CDU achieves just 18% of vote, leaving city likely to have its first leftwing triple-coalition government

Berlin is likely to get the first leftwing triple-coalition government in its history, after Angela Merkel’s CDU party and the ruling Social Democrats both plummeted to their lowest result in the Germany capital.

Centre-left Social Democrats (SPD) came out top with 21.6% of the vote, ahead of the centre-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU) on 17.5%. Leftwing Die Linke came third on 15.7%, ahead of the Greens on 15.1%.

Anti-**immigration** populists Alternative für Deutschland are set to enter the German capital’s state parliament for the first time, with 14.1%.

Days before the election, mayor Michael Müller had warned that a double-digit score for the AfD “would be seen around the world as a sign of the return of the rightwing and the Nazis in Germany”.

“Berlin is not any old city”, the Social Democrat (SPD) politician wrote on Facebook on Thursday. “Berlin is the city that transformed itself from the capital of Hitler’s Nazi Germany into a beacon of freedom, tolerance, diversity and social cohesion.”

Before an election in which about 2.48m people were eligible to vote, Müller had indicated that he would prefer not to continue governing the city in a “grand coalition” between centre left and centre right, seeking a coalition with the Green party instead.

To gain a governing majority, the two parties will require the support of a third party, such as the Left party or the liberal Free Democrats, who managed to get back into parliament with 6.7%.

Berlin, once hailed as “poor but sexy” by its former mayor Klaus Wowereit, has seen unemployment rates drop below 10% and tax earnings rise in recent years. But a population growth of 40,000 residents a year has led to a build-up in state bureaucracy and given rise to fears of urban gentrification.

Asked by pollsters which issues had most influenced their votes, Berliners in the west and the east[http://wahl.tagesschau.de/wahlen/2016-09-18-LT-DE-BE/index.shtml] listed social justice, the local economy and the state of the education system above the management of the **refugee** crisis.

The month of campaigning in the German capital was dominated by rising rental prices and the ongoing fiasco of the new Berlin Brandenburg airport rather than **refugees** or fear of terror attacks.

Unlike most capitals in Europe, Berlin has higher public debts than other big cities such as Munich or Hamburg and continues to be subsidised by richer states around Germany.

Müller took over from Berlin’s long-term mayor Klaus Wowereit two years ago, after previously serving as party leader and senator. A more managerial figure than the often exuberant, openly gay Wowereit, Müller initially enjoyed high popularity ratings.

Yet, after 15 years of Social Democrat rule, Sunday’s result is a sobering step down from the 30.8% the party enjoyed at the height of the Wowereit era – and the 61.9% achieved under late mayor and ex-chancellor Willy Brandt. Like the CDU, the Social Democrats gained their lowest share of the vote in Berlin ever. In the history of modern Germany, no party has previously won an election with a similarly poor result.

The Pirate party, a band of internet freedom activists who managed to enter parliament in 2011, dropped below the 5% threshold.

But the result will hurt Merkel’s CDU most. After defeats for the Christian Democrats in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Rhineland-Westphalia and Baden–Württemberg, the Berlin result is the fourth blow in a row for the centre-right party, which came close to gaining an absolute majority at federal level only three years ago.

For the party leadership, it has become hard to ignore a pattern behind the results. In all four elections, established parties shed votes while the upstart AfD, founded in 2013, managed to achieve double digits.

As in the three previous votes, the CDU’s mayoral candidate in Berlin, Frank Henkel, got punished even though the party tried to distance themselves from their own chancellor’s stance over the **refugee** issue. Henkel, the deputy mayor, campaigned on a strict law and order ticket, at one point calling for a ban on the full facial veil for women and an end to dual citizenship – initiatives that were promptly watered down by the interior ministry.

Henkel’s profile as a law and order candidate was partly undermined by the fact that Berlin **refugee** authority LaGeSo gained a reputation for bureaucratic inefficiency and inhumane conditions under his own watch, leading to jibes of Berlin as a “failed city”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Off-duty officer Jason Falconer praised as hero after shooting suspect Isis claims credit for attack but officials say attacker’s motives not clear

The FBI is investigating a mass stabbing in Minnesota[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/18/several-peope-injured-in-minnesota-mall-stabbings] as a “potential act of terrorism”, the special agent in charge said on Sunday, the day after a man walked into a shopping mall and injured nine people before being shot dead in a dramatic confrontation with an off-duty police officer.

Related: Eight people injured in Minnesota mall stabbings[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/18/several-peope-injured-in-minnesota-mall-stabbings]

The officer, Jason Falconer[http://www.smeac.org/Jason-Falconer.html], was hailed as “clearly a hero” after confronting the suspect and shooting him repeatedly after he lunged with his knife.

Three people remained in hospital on Sunday, St Cloud mayor Dave Kleis told reporters, one of them with life-threatening injuries. Kleis did not identify the suspect or the victims, but said one more person had admitted themselves for treatment since Saturday night. The youngest victim was a 15-year-old girl and the oldest a 55-year-old man, he said.

“We are currently investigating this as a potential act of terrorism, and I do say potential,” FBI agent Richard Thornton said at a press conference.

“There’s a lot we don’t know. We don’t know whether the subject was in contact with, had connections with, was inspired by a foreign terrorist investigation. That’s what the investigation is attempting to ascertain.”

Earlier on Sunday, Islamic State claimed credit for the attack, calling the assailant “a soldier of the Islamic State” after reports the suspect had spoken about Allah while carrying out the stabbings. Authorities in St Cloud noted that they did not yet have evidence about the attacker’s motives. Isis has claimed other attacks by people without links to the group.

St Cloud police chief William Blair Anderson said police had had three contacts with the man who attacked the mall, though all were over minor traffic infractions. Police and the FBI had impounded the man’s car, he said, and executed a search warrant for his residence.

The suspect wore “a private security uniform” during his attack, the chief said, though it was not clear whether he was ever an employee of such a firm.

The attacker was stopped after a harrowing confrontation with Falconer that was caught on Macy’s surveillance footage and described by the mayor. The suspect entered the mall carrying a knife and began stabbing people, Kleis said. Falconer quickly confronted him.

“From what witnesses say, he identified himself as a police officer,” Kleis said.

Falconer asked the man to back down. “You actually see him going down by command and then immediately lunging toward the officer,” the mayor said, “what may have been 20ft or beyond, covered in less than two seconds with a knife.”

Falconer fired, and the man fell. He rose and lunged again. “You see him fall and get back up,” Kleis said, “three times, and then even after that to the point where he’s still attempting to get back up again when the officer made a fatal blow.

“And then you see our officers, St Cloud PD, entering the scene at that moment.”

About five minutes passed between the first 911 call and the moment “the subject was eliminated”, Anderson said, praising Falconer, whom Kleis said was “clearly a hero”.

“This could have been a lot worse but for the swift response,” Anderson said. “Officer Falconer’s actions, again, were swift and direct and in my opinion appropriate.”

“There’s no imminent threat,” he added, of the aftermath of the attack. “Right now there’s nothing that we have gleaned that would suggest to us that it is anything other than what it appears to be now.”

Kleis said: “What happened last night is what keeps me up at night.” Praising his town and its law enforcement’s response, he added: “This individual and this evil act, unjustifiable by any means, will not shake this community.”

On Sunday, the parking lot of the mall was deserted on what would normally been a busy shopping day. A constant trickle of would-be shoppers tried the doors and left frustrated. Anderson said the attack occurred in the Macy’s and several other places and that therefore the “entire mall is an active crime scene”.

A note posted at the entrance by management said the mall would remain closed for the day, “out of respect to the victims, their families and the ongoing investigation”.

While the the motive for the attack remains unclear, the attack could raise community tensions in St Cloud. The city, which has a population of about 67,000 and lies 70 miles north-west of Minneapolis, is home to a growing population of Somali **refugees** and at times has been flashpoint [http://www.citypages.com/news/st-cloud-is-the-worst-place-in-minnesota-to-be-somali-7976833] for Islamophobic and anti-**immigrant** sentiment.

Somali students at the local school district, which is about 20% Somali[http://www.sctimes.com/story/news/local/immigration/2016/01/24/fact-check-somali-student-numbers/79062702/], told Minnesota Public Radio this March they regularly face discrimination and harassment[http://www.mprnews.org/story/2010/03/15/st-cloud-tensions] from fellow students.

In February, a someone anonymously rented a billboard in nearby St Joseph Township to display a message[http://www.startribune.com/anti-muslim-billboard-posted-near-st-cloud-taken-down/369177621/] that read: “Catholic charities resettles Islamists: evil or insanity?”. The billboard was taken down, as Catholic Charities is not actually active in the St Cloud area.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Merkel might be changing her emphasis, but the importance of her message remains constant

There is an admirable calm in Angela Merkel[https://www.theguardian.com/world/angela-merkel] that contrasts immensely with the bluster and hysteria that has come to dominate a lot of the political discourse in Europe. So when on Saturday she distanced herself from the “ Wir schaffen das ”[http://www.politico.eu/article/angela-merkel-drops-the-we-can-do-it-slogan-catchphrase-migration-refugees/] (we can do it) slogan she’d so often repeated about the **refugee** crisis, many wondered if the chancellor had lost her confidence. Merkel may not be called “Mutti” that often any more. Yet she remains Europe’s towering figure. She also appears rather lonely at the top. In fact, Germany as a whole looks lonely these days, as it deals with the monumental task of integrating more than a million **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/14/germany-unveils-integration-law-for-refugees-migrants], whose arrival last year up-ended politics and triggered much national soul-searching.

Related: Angela Merkel and Marine Le Pen: one of them will shape Europe’s future | Natalie Nougayrède[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/02/angela-merkel-marine-le-pen-europe-destiny]

Don’t be under any illusion that diplomacy, whether at the European summit in Bratislava[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/16/bratislava-summit-donald-tusk-urges-eu-leaders-not-to-waste-brexit-crisis] or in New York, where the UN summit on **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/united-nations-criticism-refugee-crisis-plan-human-rights] opens on Monday, will offer much relief. Germany will basically need to cope on its own. If I had to bet, I’d say its chances are good. This is arguably the single most important challenge Europe faces: overcoming the shock of seeing huge numbers of victims of the world’s chaos turn up in cities and regions previously sheltered from external disruption. Germany stands at the heart of this test, and its neighbours are watching closely.

There is no lack of gloomy predictions. Nor is schadenfreude entirely absent when Germany’s European partners wring their hands at the **refugee** problem. (France’s prime minister, Manuel Valls, stooped low last year when he publicly smirked at suggestions Merkel should get the Nobel peace prize for welcoming **refugees**.) No small amount of criticism has been levelled at Merkel from populists across the continent, as well as from within her own party and governing coalition. Much less vociferously highlighted are the reasons why Germany may just succeed.

Of course, public mood can swerve in unpredictable directions. Amazing scenes of Germans applauding **refugees** as they got off trains were swiftly forgotten after the Cologne New Year’s Eve attacks[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/06/cologne-sex-assault-attacks-case-collapses]. That’s not to say German civil society isn’t deploying impressive efforts to make sure the migration phenomenon ends on a positive note.

On a recent study tour of “Germany and the **refugees** story” organised by the Robert Bosch Foundation, I met incredibly dedicated social workers, NGO representatives and city or regional officials in Cologne and Stuttgart. Many did speak of the difficulties they encounter, not least the bureaucratic hurdles that stand in the way of easing **refugees** into the labour market after they’ve taken German language courses. But what struck me was how upbeat most of these interlocutors wanted to appear. Merkel may want to play down “ Wir schaffen das ”, but those words have nevertheless said something about the nation’s state of mind. One outstanding example of can-do spirit comes from a business in Stuttgart called Lapp Group, which has taken 12 young **refugees** into apprenticeship programmes. Hearing these smiling young men from Syria, Afghanistan and Eritrea describe how they intend to make the most of this chance helps dispel doubts. The Lapp family, who founded this electric cable producing firm in the 1950s and still run it, are keen to take their proud share of a nationwide effort.

Related: Germany unveils integration law for **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/14/germany-unveils-integration-law-for-refugees-migrants]

Just as Germany reinvented itself after the war, and just as it achieved reunification, this is seen as a defining moment in the country’s history. The Lapp family’s role may be small in the wider picture, but it certainly makes the word “solidarity” sound less empty than it does in much of the rest of Europe.

If any country can succeed in coping with a massive influx of **refugees**, surely this is it. Stuttgart’s lush residential neighbourhoods and its industrial powerhouses point to Germany’s thriving economy. And the prosperity and stability of Germany’s institutions are key assets in the integration effort. Unemployment is at its lowest since 1990, and trade surpluses are at a record high. As Armin Laschet, deputy federal chairman of Merkel’s CDU party, puts it, the question isn’t so much whether Germany can afford financially to deal with the **refugee** equation, “it’s whether our society can get to grips” with the new situation.

Globalisation is widely faulted for breeding populism. But Germany has dramatically benefited from globalisation, thanks to its exports. What is at stake here has more to do with adapting to new forms of diversity, as the country imports population groups. This is the first ever wave of Arab **immigrants** to Germany, whose Muslim community had since the 1950s been essentially composed of Turkish “Gastarbeiter” (guest workers).

The positive side is that Germany has none of France’s historical hangovers in dealing with Arab **immigration**. The less positive side is that it took decades for Germans to accept that Turkish workers and their families would stay and become full citizens.

It’s been said German officials have tried to paper over the magnitude of the task – including when information was scant about the Cologne attacks. But it’s hard to deny that managing public perceptions is as important as setting up education, housing and work for the newly arrived. This sits at the centre of Merkel’s numerous “keep calm” messages. It is also at the centre of Germany’s revived interest in European defence and security. Merkel is acutely aware that if terrorism rears its head again, as it did this summer[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/26/germany-bavaria-police-attacks-munich-ansbach-wurzburg], the nation’s quest for a new sense of cohesion might quickly be shattered.

Germany’s strengths in addressing its **refugee** challenge can be easily overlooked. The reasons why Merkel repeated “ Wir schaffen das ” so often have not suddenly vanished – even if she’s toned down the message. But just as Europe needs Germany to succeed in integrating **refugees** (otherwise populists will benefit everywhere), the country needs Europe to act collectively to make sure the conditions for integration aren’t thwarted by violence. Loneliness is something it can’t afford.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**14-year-old said to have had legal right to travel to Britain, but despair at application delays led him to try stowaway route

A 14-year-old boy from Afghanistan has been killed in a hit-and-run incident on the motorway leading to Calais port, highlighting the extreme risks that asylum-seeking children take every night as they attempt to join relatives in the UK.

Related: Child **refugees** in limbo in Calais 'because of Home Office delays'[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/14/child-refugees-in-limbo-in-calais-because-of-home-office-delays]

The boy was trying to climb on to the roof of a lorry that had slowed as it approached the port in the early hours of Friday morning, according to eye-witnesses. They said another child was attempting to pull the boy on to the moving vehicle, but he lost his grip and fell onto the road, where a car hit him. The driver did not stop.

Calais-based charities say his death was the 13th fatality near the port this year, and that he was the third child to have died. The boy is understood to have had a brother in the UK, and consequently a right to travel to the Britain legally. An application for papers to allowhim to be transferred had been made several months ago, but progress was so slow that he began trying to stow away on lorries at night.

Related: Britain is still failing child **refugees** in Europe. We must help them – and fast | Alf Dubs[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/04/britain-failing-child-refugees-europe-help-them-fast]

“We try dissuading them from taking these risks, but it falls on deaf ears. They are so desperate to get on with their lives, to be rejoined with their families just 30 miles away,” said Jess Egan, a volunteer at the migrant camp in Calais who knew the dead boy. His name is not being released, because family members in Afghanistan are not aware of his death.

Egan said the boy, who had been in Calais for five or six months, “loved being with his friends, playing football and listening to music”. “We would often have conversations about how much he wanted to be in the UK, in school, and to get on with his life,” she said. “But he was stuck in the camp, in awful conditions.”

There are more than 900 unaccompanied asylum-seeking children living in second-hand tents and wooden shacks in Calais, according to a survey conducted by the charity HelpRefugees[http://www.helprefugees.org.uk/]. Many have family in the UK, and some are as young as eight. Many of make several attempts a week to get into the UK every week.

Related: Hungry, scared, and no closer to safety: child **refugees** failed by Britain[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/02/child-refugees-calais-failed-by-britain]

Alf Dubs, the Labour peer who persuaded the government earlier this year to introduce legislation promising sanctuary for some unaccompanied child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/jan/16/pressure-grows-on-theresa-may-to-admit-3000-lone-refugee-children-to-uk], said he was shocked by the death. Since the so-called Dubs amendment in the **Immigration** Act was passed, no children have been transferred to the UK under it provisions, despite a campaign to get a substantial number of them moved in time for the start of the school year.

“The government must speed up the process of identifying the children eligible to join family members already in the UK and start the procedures to discover children eligible under the **Immigration** act,” Dubs said. Because so little progress has been made on implementing his amendment, few people are aware of their rights in terms of claiming asylum “which means the people traffickers can persuade people to choose the risks of getting on the back of a lorry in preference to trying the legal and safer method.”

Related: 'They are falling apart': the fate of lone children in Calais' **refugee** camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/29/they-are-falling-apart-the-fate-of-lone-children-in-calais-refugee-camp]

Labour’s Yvette Cooper, who is campaigning for Britain to give asylum to more unaccompanied **refugee** children, said: “This is shocking, heartbreaking news. This is the third child from the Calais ‘jungle’ to die this year. The French and British authorities cannot keep dragging their feet and ignoring the urgency of this. While governments dither and delay, children are suffering and even losing their lives.”

Friends of the dead boy were “shocked, upset, angry that this has happened to someone in their community”, Egan said. Volunteers who work with the children have persuaded many of those without family in the UK to seek asylum in France, but local facilities for caring for children are often full, and unable to house new arrivals.

Even those who know they have a legal case to travel to the UK, continue to take the extreme risks of attempting the crossing because they have little faith that their case will be successful. “The system that doesn’t work,” Egan said. “It takes months and months.”

Related: ‘It is a disgrace to Europe’: former child **refugee** Lord Dubs on the Calais camp[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp]

Lorry drivers are becoming increasingly concerned about the risks of driving near the port, because large number of children and adults attempt to hide in vehicles every night. When police find children attempting to stow away they send them back to the camp. Many report having been hit with police batons and sprayed with teargas.

Laura Padoan, a spokeswoman for the UN **Refugee** Agency (UNHCR), said: “We remain deeply worried about the situation of vulnerable **refugee** children living in precarious situations across Europe. With colder weather approaching, it’s now crucial that transfers of unaccompanied **refugee** children who can benefit from the Dubs amendment are fast-tracked.

“This will require the UK and the other relevant governments in Europe to substantially pick up the pace in identifying those children in need of protection in whose best interest would be to come to the UK and transferring them here as a matter of urgency.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**British holidaymakers lead league table of arrivals to Greece with about 2.4 million in 2015 – with Brexit having no impact so far

Greek presidents are not given to speaking off the cuff. So when Prokopis Pavlopoulos went off script to entreat CNN’s Christiane Amanpour to visit his country next summer, it was noticeable.

“This is a hospitable country,” he said in a rare interview with a foreign TV channel. “Hopefully you can come back next summer. After all, the Greek people are always appreciative of those who care about them.”

Like Greek politicians across the board, Pavlopoulos did not miss the chance to advertise his homeland abroad. It is easy to see why. Tourism has become the mainstay of an economy not only locked in a perpetual fiscal vice – the price of being bailed out to the tune of more than €300bn[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/05/greece-faces-standoff-over-bailout-funds-after-athens-fails-to-impose-reforms] – but languishing in a recession.

Figures released byGreece’s tourism confederation, SETE, reveal the extent to which the sector is protecting Europe’s weakest economy. With a 6.5% increase in tourist arrivals at major airports between January and August – the equivalent of about 750,000 holidaymakers – the industry accounted for eight out of 10 new jobs.

Extrapolating ministry of labour data, the confederation said 210,226 of the 253,945 positions created in that time were either in tourist accommodation or restaurants. Unemployment, still the worst in the 28-nation bloc, fell to 23.1% between April and June, down from an all-time high of 28% in 2014.

“Despite everything that has happened in the last year, despite Greece debating and arguing with its [bailout] lenders, despite Brexit, and global financial instability in the market, tourism still managed to outperform every other sector,” the tourism chief, Andreas Andreadis, said in an interview.

British holidaymakers, after Germans, lead the league tables in arrivals to Greece with an estimated 2.4 million visiting in 2015. “But what has been really surprising is Brexit,” added Andreadis. “In terms of effect it has not been at all significant and already the picture is looking very positive for next year with early bookings doing better than expected.”

Gareth Plumb and his wife, Pauline, are testimony to that trend. They have been visiting the tiny Argo-Saronic isle of Agistri for 12 years.

Next year will be no different despite the slide in sterling since the vote for Brexit. “We love Greece,” said Plumb, 79, who is the manager of the author Barbara Cartland’s country estate. “And, if anything, the way it has been treated by the EU has made us want to come back more. Things will even out. The fall in the pound will stop.”

Industry figures say the country has not only benefitted from turmoil in the Middle East, security fears in Turkey and terrorist attacks elsewhere in Europe, but also the dramatic drop in **refugees** in the six months since the EU signed a controversial deal with Ankara[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/18/refugees-will-be-sent-back-across-aegean-in-eu-turkey-deal] to stop the flow.

Related: ‘The human heart is surviving’: the woman giving sanctuary to **refugees** in Lesbos[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/sep/06/lesbos-refugees-efi-latsoudi-unhcr-nansen-award-humanitarian]

Aegean islands close to the Turkish coast that bore the brunt of the influx – such as Lesbos and Chios – have seen tourist arrivals plummet but Andreadis claimed even Kos, which was similarly hit, had begun to bounce back. “It is recovering well and will, if anything, suffer a single digit dip. People realise that the flows have stopped and it is safe.”

Tourism takings – and arrivals – broke all records last year. More than 23.5 million tourists visited, generating €14.2bn (£12bn) of revenues – or 24% of gross domestic product - according to the Bank of Greece.

SETE forecasts that up to 25 million – or 27.5 million when cruise ship passengers are included – will come this year, which is more than twice the Greek population.

But officials worry Greece could be priced out by taxes imposed by a government facing enormous pressure to raise funds and rein in public spending. VAT has soared over the past year with the ruling leftists increasing it from 6.5% to 13% on accommodation costs and from 13% to 24% on food and beverages.

“It is crucial taxes are reduced,” said Andreadis. “We understand that VAT has exploded this year and is way above budget. Lenders agreed that if performance was better than expected they would bring it down. This has to happen soon.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**David Clarke has been accused of covering up a deputy’s misdeeds while Joe Arpaio has been called ‘unrepentantly lawless’. Meet the prominent officers who want the businessman in the Oval Office

Vincent Caldara, one of the Donald Trump campaign’s official pilots and head of his “Florida law enforcement coalition”, is doubly devoted to the Republican presidential nominee and his pledge to crack down on criminality.

A former police officer in New York and Miami, Caldara told supporters at a recent gathering in Florida that he had been flying vice-presidential nominee Mike Pence “from coast to coast to make sure we get the law and order message out to every single person that will be voting on November 8th”.

Caldara is simultaneously fighting claims that he is a lawbreaker himself.

The 55-year-old pilot is charged with aggravated battery with a deadly weapon, after he allegedly drove a vehicle at another person repeatedly in Pompano Beach in July last year. According to court records, the victim, whose name is withheld, was treated in hospital for leg and back injuries. Caldara has pleaded not guilty.

In a separate case, Caldara is accused of severely injuring a woman in June 2014 by recklessly driving into her with his Harley Davidson motorcycle in Fort Lauderdale. The woman is suing Caldara and seeking a jury trial. According to court records, officials have been unable to find Caldara to serve him with a summons.

Related: No sleep till November: this election may be the most exhausting one yet[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/17/2016-us-election-hillary-clinton-pneumonia-donald-trump]

Caldara and spokespeople for Trump’s campaign did not respond to several requests for comment.

The accusations of wrongdoing against Caldara are only the latest in an eclectic series of claims leveled at law enforcement figures who have publicly endorsed Trump’s campaign for the White House.

Amid a spike in crime in some US cities, Trump on Friday received the endorsement of the national Fraternal Order of Police union, whose president, Chuck Canterbury, said: “Our members believe he will make America safe again”.

But dark spots on the records of some of Trump’s most prominent police backers challenge the credibility of his claim to be the “law and order candidate”. In July, a coalition of dozens of police chiefs and prosecutors pleaded with the Republican nominee[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/13/donald-trump-crime-policy-law-enforcement-officials-letter] to abandon his draconian ideas and embrace contemporary policing theory and criminal justice reform.

Here, the Guardian reviews some of the allegations made against a half-dozen lawmen who have lent their support to Trump’s presidential campaign:

David Clarke Sheriff David Clarke of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, has been Trump’s most visible ally among serving police. Although a registered Democrat, Clarke, 60, accused Hillary Clinton’s campaign of “embracing criminality” after mothers of African Americans killed by police [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/26/black-lives-matter-mothers-democratic-convention-hillary-clinton] appeared onstage at the Democratic National Convention.

But Clarke has been accused of violating rules and regulations himself since being elected in 2002. After one of his deputies broke a woman’s neck by crashing his vehicle into her car, Clarke was alleged to have overseen an attempted cover-up[http://fox6now.com/2014/07/13/false-accusation-leads-to-lawsuit-for-county-sheriff/] that involved framing the woman for drunk driving.

The victim, Tanya Weyker, sued Clarke, several deputies and county authorities in state and federal court in 2014 for compensation and civil rights violations. She said Clarke and his officers continued pursuing charges against her for months even after they knew video evidence showed the officer was at fault.

“Clarke was personally involved in the conspiracy to continue with the baseless prosecution of [Weyker],” the federal lawsuit said, “or, at the very least, was deliberately and recklessly indifferent to his subordinates’ unconstitutional actions and related misconduct.” Clarke and the officers denied the allegations.

An attorney for Weyker, Drew DeVinney, said Weyker settled her state lawsuit for the state-capped maximum $250,000 in compensation, and then settled the federal lawsuit for more than $95,000 for civil rights violations and attorneys’ fees.

Clarke has also come under criticism from within his own ranks. In 2010, deputy Richard Graber, a senior official in the Milwaukee deputies’ union, alleged that Clarke aggressively confronted him, called him a “sick fuck” and threatened to “come after him” for questioning an order that deputies must work mandatory overtime after the high-profile death of a local child.

“Clarke’s profanity-ridden rant included yelling, pointing, and calling Graber ‘waste,’ an ‘organizational terrorist,’ a ‘fucker,’ and a ‘cancer to the agency’,” according to an appeals court filing. Clarke denied most of Graber’s account of their confrontation. A federal appeals court said Clarke’s behavior amounted to an “adverse employment action” but rejected an allegation from Graber that the mistreatment was because of his union activity.

Inspector Edward Bailey, a spokesman for Clarke, declined to comment. “This county office does not involve itself in the current presidential race in any capacity,” he said in an email.

Joe Arpaio Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County, Arizona, has over the past two decades become notorious as “the most unrepentantly lawless lawman in America”[http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/national/archive/2014/03/sheriff-joe-arpaio-the-most-lawless-lawman-in-america/359613/] : repeatedly condemned by the courts, denounced by civil liberties advocates and forced to pay out tens of millions of taxpayer dollars in compensation.

Arpaio currently faces possible criminal charges for contempt of court for ignoring a judge’s order in 2011 that his aggressive **immigration** patrols must stop racially profiling suspects. Earlier this year, Arpaio was held in civil contempt on three counts[http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2016/05/13/arpaio-contempt-federal-court-ruling/77833232/] by a federal judge.

Less well known than Arpaio’s “Tent City”[http://www.12news.com/news/local/arizona/inmates-endure-extreme-heat-in-tent-city/250951997] detention center, however, is his record of using his department to go after personal and political enemies. In 2013, the cofounders of the Phoenix New Times newspaper, which had been investigating questionable real estate deals by Arpaio, were awarded $3.75m in damages[http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/joe-arpaio-loses-new-times-co-founders-win-375-million-settlement-for-2007-false-arrests-6651491] after Arpaio’s men arrested them on false charges in late-night raids on their homes.

In 2008, Arpaio had local judges and county legislators indicted on trumped-up criminal corruption charges that later collapsed entirely, resulting in yet more million-dollar payouts to those targeted. The failed charges also prompted the state supreme court to disbar the county attorney, an Arpaio ally, who was found to have brought malicious prosecutions against political foes.

Last year it emerged that Arpaio had even hired a private investigator to look into the wife[http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2015/04/23/joe-arpaio-apologizes-contempt-hearing-day-three-abrk/26240715/] of the federal judge who ruled in 2013 that Arpaio was engaged in illegal racial profiling. Spokespeople for Arpaio did not respond to a request for comment.

Tim Howard Sheriff Tim Howard of Erie County, New York, is a co-chairman of Trump’s campaign in the Republican nominee’s home state, which Trump has declared he can win even while trailing Hillary Clinton in state polls by an average of 19 percentage points[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/ny/new\_york\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5792.html].

Despite holding an official position in the Republican’s campaign, Howard earlier this year was involved in policing a Trump campaign rally in Buffalo, where he was filmed overseeing the removal of protesters. Aides to the sheriff denied that he had a conflict of interest.

Howard, 66, has endured rocky patchesin the upstate county – not least on three separate occasions when prisoners escaped or were mistakenly released from his jail. Two of them went on to commit serious crimes before recapture.

In April 2006, Ralph “Bucky” Phillips escaped from Alden prison. He killed a state trooper and wounded two others before being caught after five months on the run. In March 2009, Rasheed Milton was released from the same facility by mistake. Milton was recaptured after raping a woman. Then, in March 2012, Awet Gebreyesus was mistakenly released from Alden after being indicted for the attempted murder of his partner. Gebreyesus was caught before harming anyone.

Howard has also been accused of cronyism[http://wnymedia.net/2013/10/howard-widens-pay-play-net-8-years/] after it emerged that companies that gave Howard’s election campaign tens of thousands of dollars in contributions received hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of county contracts for purchases such as new police cars[http://wnymedia.net/2005/09/sheriff-howard-bought-like-new-car/], software and furniture.

Howard’s spokesman did not respond to a request for comment.

Paul Babeu Sheriff Paul Babeu of Pinal County, Arizona, enthusiastically supports Trump’s anti-**immigration** stance and campaign pledge to build a wall along the US border with Mexico. Babeu is also running as a Republican for a seat in the US House of Representatives and has made border security a key plank of his campaign.

Babeu promises voters on his website that he will tackle the “hundreds of thousands of illegal **immigrants** pouring across our southern borders”, warning that at present, “possible terrorists with military training, deliberate plans and lots of money can cross the border”.

In 2012, Jose Orozco, a Mexican man and ex-boyfriend of Babeu who worked for the sheriff’s election campaign, alleged that he was threatened with deportation by an aide to Babeu when he refused to sign an agreement not to publicly disclose the relationship. Orozco’s attorney said she was told Orozco’s US visa had expired, making him undocumented. Babeu denied Orozco’s allegations. An inquiry by the Arizona attorney general concluded[http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/sheriff-paul-babeu-pleaded-with-ex-boyfriend-to-keep-silent-about-relationship-ags-investigators-reveal-6641494] that he committed no criminal violation.

Babeu has also faced allegations made public by his sister [http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/sheriff-paul-babeu-on-defensive-again-denies-sisters-claims-he-had-sexual-relationship-with-17-year-old-boy-from-boarding-school-he-once-ran-6643099] that as headmaster and executive director of a boarding school for troubled teenagers in Massachusetts, he had a sexual relationship with a 17-year-old student. Babeu, who led the controversial DeSisto School in West Stockbridge between 1999 and 2001, responded by publishing his sister’s mental health history[http://tucson.com/news/blogs/senor-reporter/babeu-camp-attacks-sister-over-new-allegations/article\_398e3692-622f-11e1-a591-0019bb2963f4.html].

The former student, Joshua Geyer, has not disputed[http://tucson.com/news/blogs/senor-reporter/babeu-camp-attacks-sister-over-new-allegations-updated/article\_398e3692-622f-11e1-a591-0019bb2963f4.html] that he had a relationship with Babeu, but insisted that it was not “inappropriate”. This week, a spokesman for Babeu sent the Guardian a letter purportedly from Geyer that said he and Babeu had no sexual relationship at all. Asked twice whether Babeu himself denied that the relationship took place, the spokesman did not respond.

State authorities pursued DeSisto[http://media.phoenixnewtimes.com/7687064.0.PDF] for operating illegally without a state license. Over the years, the school became notorious[http://www.bridges4kids.org/articles/2004/3-04/Globe2-23-04.html] for its severe punishment system, and was investigated repeatedly for allegations of abuse and mistreatment of students. It has since closed.

The Babeu spokesman, Barrett Marson, said in an email: “Paul was in charge of the business operations at the school. He never had any control over student discipline or instruction. He was in charge of ensuring there was food and bathroom supplies and things like that. But Paul was never investigated nor had any knowledge of any alleged abuse at the school while he was employed there.”

Wayne Ivey Sheriff Wayne Ivey of Brevard County, Florida, is playing an energetic part in Trump’s campaign. Earlier this month, he appeared at the opening of a Trump campaign office in Cocoa Beach with Caldara, the campaign pilot.

“I believe we need a leader that is going to stand shoulder to shoulder with those people that protect our great nation,” Ivey told supporters, “those men and women in uniform that protect our communities.”

Five years ago, Ivey retired as an agent with the Florida department of law enforcement (FDLE) three days after he was accused by a local muckraking website[http://volusiaexposed.com/fdle/ivey/phonecall.pdf] of making a threatening telephone call to a female probation officer who was the ex-fiancee of Ivey’s son, Robert.

A brief review by FDLE of the allegation said that no complaint had been made by the female officer, and that because Ivey was no longer employed by FDLE, the case was out of the department’s hands.

A spokesman for Ivey did not respond to a request for comment.

Scott Jones Sheriff Scott Jones of Sacramento County, California, pledged earlier this year to support Trump. But Jones, who is also running for Congress as a Republican, has dialed down his enthusiasm after the Republican nominee’s recent string of inflammatory remarks.

“He has not personally or publicly endorsed any candidate, but has said he will cast his ballot for Trump given the only alternative is Hillary Clinton,” Dave Gilliard, a spokesman for Jones, said in an email.

Jones was accused of sexually harassing a junior female deputy starting when he was a sergeant about 12 years ago, which he denies. The deputy, Tosca Olives, said in a sworn deposition that Jones frequently harassed her on visits to the department’s law library, to which she was assigned. Jones denied the allegations.

“It started with, like, rubbing my shoulders while I was on the phone,” said Olives. “It progressed to going underneath my shirt and feeling my breasts. There would be times when there would be kissing. There were times that he would unzip my pants and … but mainly feeling my breasts and kissing.”

She said Jones touched her inappropriately “approximately 30” times. Once, when she told him he must stop touching her breasts, she alleged, Jones replied: “Stop being so tempting.” Olives said she feared retaliation for taking action against Jones, and that when she eventually told him she was going to make a complaint about him, he advised her not to and suggested she would ruin both their careers.

Olives’s testimony was submitted as evidence in a lawsuit brought by four other female deputies, who alleged retaliation and discrimination by the sheriff’s department – much of it in a county jail, when it was run by Jones. Jurors ruled in favor of the female deputies and awarded them $3.6m.

In an emailed statement, Jones said the allegations against him were “without merit, corroboration or evidence” and that he denied them “in the strongest possible terms.”

“I have never been the subject of any internal complaint of misconduct of any kind during my 27-year career with the sheriff’s department, and have consistently opened up my personnel records for review,” said Jones.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Clinton and Trump oppose the 12-country Trans-Pacific Partnership but Obama wants to get it through the Congress and Senate before his term ends

Australia will seek out alternative free trade agreements in the region should the Trans-Pacific Partnership fail to pass a US Congress vote, the foreign affairs minister, Julie Bishop, has said.

Bishop made the comments while addressing reporters in Washington, where she has met representatives for US presidential candidates Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump . She will also meet the US Secretary of State, John Kerry , and attend US president Barack Obama ’s leaders’ summit on **refugees** in New York.

Clinton and Trump oppose the 12-country Trans-Pacific Partnership, saying the deal is not in the US interest. However Obama is committed to passing the agreement through the Congress and Senate before his term ends.

Bishop said she had urged the Trump and Clinton camps to view the deal as “not only economically important but strategically vital for our region”.

“I had a fairly sympathetic hearing from all of the representatives who see that free trade is the basis of US economic success,” she said.

Related: Trans-Pacific Partnership provisions 'questionable', says Productivity Commission [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jul/25/trans-pacific-partnership-provisions-questionable-says-productivity-commission]

“Countries like Australia need to continue to press the case for liberalised trade and I believe the Trans-Pacific Partnership is a comprehensive high quality agreement that will be of benefit to the people of United States in appropriating more jobs and economic growth.”

If Obama failed to pass the agreement and her appeals to the presidential candidates proved unsuccessful, Bishop said Australia would be looking for other free trade agreements “and continuing our quest for a free trade zone in this part of the world, in the Asia-Pacific”.

“There is the regional comprehensive economic partnership that is being promoted by the ASEAN countries of south-east Asia, but we still want to see the Trans-Pacific Partnership pass through the US Congress and we’re certainly urging both the Clinton and the Trump camps to do just that,” she said.

“But in the meantime, president Obama has made it clear that he will seek to pass it through the period from the presidential election through to the inauguration.”

The opposition leader, Bill Shorten, is also in Washington meeting US officials. Asked by reporters whether Labor would support the deal, Shorten said the opposition would wait to see if the US ratified the accord and also for the findings of Australia’s Senate inquiry into the Trans-Pacific Partnership before endorsing it.

Bishop was also pressed by reporters about who Australia would be supporting for the UN Secretary-General position, after the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, declined in July [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/29/malcolm-turnbull-kevin-rudd-un-secretary-general-nomination] to endorse the former Labor prime minister Kevin Rudd for the role. Bishop had supported Rudd’s nomination, though she did not endorse his campaign.

“We haven’t made a decision because there are still a number of opportunities for other candidates to put their names forward and I imagine that over the coming weeks we’ll see more candidates, not less,” she said.

Related: Malcolm Turnbull refuses to nominate Kevin Rudd as UN secretary general [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/29/malcolm-turnbull-kevin-rudd-un-secretary-general-nomination]

Asked whether she would be meeting Rudd in New York, she replied: “I haven’t planned to but if he’s here I’ll see him.”

Bishop also said she had not heard about comments made [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/16/turnbull-attacks-george-christensen-and-pauline-hansons-anti-muslim-rhetoric] by the far-right Liberal-National MP George Christensen this week that Australia should stop taking **immigrants** from countries experiencing violent extremism and that did not “share Australian values”.

However, she said she did not agree with him.

“I believe we should have an open and transparent **immigration** system,” she said.

“We certainly don’t discriminate but we ensure that all necessary steps in terms of health, security, safety and character tests and checks are carried out.”

-with agencies

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Opposition leader, who is overseas, cites time zone differences as the reason and says he will not criticise senator for choosing to put his family first

The opposition leader, Bill Shorten, has made his first public comments on the shock resignation of Labor’s deputy Senate leader, Stephen Conroy [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/16/stephen-conroy-resigns-from-the-senate], telling reporters in Washington that Conroy informed him he was going to resign via text message.

Conroy, who held the communications portfolio, was one of Shorten’s most valuable factional allies and also served under the former prime ministers Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard.

Shorten is in Washington to meet with US officials following a meeting last week with Canadian leader Justin Trudeau in Montreal. On Saturday he told reporters that Conroy had attempted to contact him by text before tabling his resignation.

“Senator Conroy endeavoured to contact me, by text, different time zones in Canada,” Shorten said.

“He then made his statement.”

Related: The Conroy conundrum: enforcer's departure leaves Bill Shorten exposed [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/16/the-conroy-conundrum-enforcers-departure-leaves-bill-shorten-exposed]

Shorten he said he had no criticisms of his colleague, saying the senator had chosen to put his family first.

“I am not going to criticise him for that,” Shorten said.

“Stephen Conroy has served the Australian Senate and the Labor party and the Australian people with fearless energy and great passion for 20 years. I only wish him, his wife and daughter the very best in the future.

“He has chosen to prioritise his family over a future engagement in politics after two decades, he steps down with the best wishes and the blessings of the Labor party.”

He said the party was still in the process of finding a replacement, with the government confirming it intends to grant Labor a pair until Conroy can be replaced.

During the news conference, Shorten was again asked whether he would tell the Labor caucus to block the same-sex marriage plebiscite. He has said he believes a plebiscite would be divisive and a waste of public funding. The Greens have already vowed to reject the plebiscite after reading the proposed legislation, and want a parliamentary vote held on the issue.

Related: Marriage equality plebiscite appears doomed as Shorten moves to block bill [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/marriage-equality-plebiscite-bill-appears-doomed-as-shorten-moves-to-block-it]

“Now the legislation has been tabled, we’ll have a discussion at our next caucus meeting,” Shorten said.

However, he labelled the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull , as “weak” for relying on a plebiscite rather than putting the vote to parliament, adding, “if he needs us to be strong for him we will”.

Meanwhile, Turnbull is in New York for the annual United Nations General Assembly ministerial week. Next week, he and the foreign affairs minister, Julie Bishop, and the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton , will attend the UN summit on **refugees** and migrants, hosted by the US president, Barack Obama .

Obama is expected to urge world leaders to increase their **refugee** intake, boost education options for resettled **refugees** and to increase funding for humanitarian aid.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Trump speaks to group dedicated to people killed by undocumented migrantsEvent closed to press as Vice says one of its reporters arrested

After reversing course a day earlier on false claims about Barack Obama’s birth, Donald Trump produced a familiar stance on another favourite theme on Saturday, telling an audience in Texas he would save American lives by securing the border.

Related: Donald Trump: Clinton's bodyguards should disarm and 'see what happens'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/16/trump-miami-clinton-disarm-security-obama-birther]

“Our nation should not accept one lost American life because our country failed to enforce its laws,” the Republican presidential candidate said. “This has to end. It will end if I become president, I promise you.”

The event at which Trump spoke, in Houston, was closed to press. Vice News reported that one of its journalists was arrested[https://news.vice.com/article/vice-news-reporter-arrested-outside-a-donald-trump-campaign-event] for alleged trespassing at the hotel “while inquiring about press access”.

Earlier, Trump’s standing on national security and foreign policy was attacked by the former defense secretary Robert Gates, in an op-ed [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/sizing-up-the-next-commander-in-chief-1474064606] in the Wall Street Journal.

At the lunchtime event, though, the Republican nominee concentrated on domestic policy, denouncing so-called sanctuary cities – places that do not cooperate with all federal **immigration** enforcement – and describing Hillary Clinton’s plan for comprehensive **immigration**reform[https://www.hillaryclinton.com/issues/immigration-reform/], including a pathway to citizenship, as an “amnesty” that would mean “a virtual end to **immigration** enforcement in the United States of America”.

Trump claimed his Democratic rival was “effectively proposing to abolish the borders around the country that she is supposed to be representing”.

He was speaking at a luncheon in a Houston hotel held for the Remembrance Project[http://www.theremembranceproject.org/], which bills itself as “a voice for victims killed by illegal **aliens**”. The group was founded by Maria Espinoza, the daughter of a Mexican **immigrant** father, in 2009. Its flagship initiative is The Stolen Lives Quilt[https://wethepeoplerising.wordpress.com/stollen-lives-quilt-project/], which depicts Americans killed by undocumented **immigrants**.

A subdued Trump spoke for about 15 minutes, then invited family members of victims, who wore T-shirts bearing names and images of their killed relatives, to tell their stories on stage.

The organisation has enjoyed a boost in attention and momentum during this election thanks to Trump’s inflammatory comments about migrants and his contention that unauthorised **immigration** presents not only an economic but also a safety threat to America.

In his speech at the Republican national convention last July, the candidate named several people allegedly killed by undocumented **immigrants**, including Kate Steinle, whose shooting death on a San Francisco pier last year became a cause célèbre for conservatives given that city’s status as a sanctuary city.

“I’ve met many incredible people during this campaign but nothing has moved me more deeply than the time I have spent with the families of the Remembrance Project,” Trump said on Saturday.

After initially inviting applications from members of the media to attend, the Project said on Friday that it was now a private event. It was livestreamed on YouTube.

Asked about a Vice report of one of its staff being arrested, a Houston police department spokesman confirmed that an adult male was arrested for trespassing at the event. According to police, hotel management asked them to arrest the 27-year-old for trespassing when he entered the hotel for a second time and refused to leave, shortly after complying with a prior request to exit.

According to the Vice report, Alex Thompson “entered the lobby of the Omni to ask members of Trump’s communications staff whether a final decision on access had been made.

Trump spokesman Steven Cheung said “the campaign was not involved in this incident or aware of the details surrounding it.

“The event organizers were responsible for today’s media presence and requested the campaign limit attendance to the traveling pool. The campaign had no staff presence at check-in for guests or media and therefore has no further knowledge of what occurred.”

A man who answered the phone at the hotel said no one was available this weekend to discuss the arrest. In March, police arrested a CBS News journalist[http://www.cbsnews.com/news/charges-dropped-against-cbs-news-journalist-sopan-deb/] who was covering a Trump rally in Chicago when scuffles broke out amid protests. He was accused of resisting arrest but all charges were dropped.

Espinoza and her not-for-profit group have been accused of fearmongering that feeds far-right nativist sentiments. She has described[http://www.theremembranceproject.org/about-us.html] deaths at the hands of undocumented **immigrants** as an “epidemic of killings across the country”, though studies[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/10/15/crime-rises-among-second-generation-immigrants-as-they-assimilate/] indicate that **immigrants** are significantly less likely to commit crimes than people born in the US.

Victor Ibarra, a 47-year-old born in Mexico, was one of a small group of protesters outside the hotel on Saturday.

“There is more crime committed by American citizens than **immigrants**,” he said, clutching a Mexican flag and standing next to a Trump piñata with devil horns sprouting through blond hair.

“We’re not criminals. He keeps saying all that and I think he’s not right. If he wants to be president he needs to calm down with how he’s saying things. If he wants the Hispanic community, people who vote, he needs not to be so hard on us.”

Related: Two American Dreams: how a dumbed-down nation lost sight of a great idea[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/17/american-dream-divided-nation-equal-opportunity-trump-clinton-campaign]

The Remembrance Project’s website lists 14 people who it says have been killed in Texas by undocumented **immigrants** since 1998. While each death is an undoubted tragedy, that number would represent only a small fraction of the total number of murders in the state. Just in Harris County, which includes Houston, nearly 400 people[http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Variety-of-factors-cited-in-rise-in-Houston-6730937.php] were murdered in 2015.

There are an estimated 11 million undocumented migrants in the US, with about 1.5 million in Texas – second among states[https://www.texastribune.org/2015/01/28/undocumented-population-demographics/] to California’s three million - according to the Texas Tribune.

On Friday morning, Trump, after years of stoking rumours that Barack Obama was not born in the US, finally conceded that the conspiracy theories were baseless[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/16/trump-miami-clinton-disarm-security-obama-birther]. He then headed to Miami for a rally in which he criticised Hillary Clinton’s stance on guns and suggested that his Democratic opponent’s bodyguards should disarm, then “ let’s see what happens to her[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/16/trump-miami-clinton-disarm-security-obama-birther] ”.

The real estate and reality TV mogul was scheduled to head to a rally in Colorado later on Saturday.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and Czech Republic will veto any Brexit deal that restricts free movement of workers

Four central European countries are prepared to veto any Brexit deal agreed between the UK and the European Union that restricts their citizens’ rights to live and work in Britain, theprime minister of Slovakia has said.

In a stark reminder of the challenge Britain faces at the negotiating table, Robert Fico said Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia – the Visegrad or V4 group[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/23/poland-czech-republic-hungary-slovakia-brussels-brexit] – would not hesitate to block any accord that threatened the key EU principle of free movement of workers.

Related: Brexit vote was rejection of economic status quo, says Jeremy Corbyn[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/15/brexit-vote-was-rejection-of-economic-status-quo-says-jeremy-corbyn]

“The V4 countries will be uncompromising,” Fico said on Saturday, a day after EU leaders met informally in Bratislava without Britain to try to chart a roadmap for the bloc’s future after the shock of the Brexit vote[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/britain-votes-for-brexit-eu-referendum-david-cameron].

“Unless we feel a guarantee that these people [living and working in Britain] are equal, we will veto any agreement between the EU and Britain,” Fico told Reuters. “I think Britain knows this is an issue for us where there’s no room for compromise.”

London has not yet revealed what kind of trade agreement it wants with the European Union, but has said its priority is to control EU **immigration**[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/31/restricting-immigration-will-be-at-heart-of-brexit-deal-theresa-may-says] while maximising opportunities for trade.

The European commission and parliament, in addition to the 27 remaining member stateswho must ratify a future Brexit trade deal, have repeatedly made clear that enhanced access to the single market will not be on offer [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/28/brussels-eu-summit-leaders-push-quick-divorce-cameron-germany-brexit] unless Britain accepts free movement.

Brexit was not formally discussed at Friday’s meeting, but the commission’s president, Jean-Claude Juncker, reiterated the bloc’s stance at a press conference. Fico also stressed after the summit that he and other central European governments would not allow their nationals to become “second-class citizens”.

Fico said on Saturday that the EU had shifted its position on the migrant crisis in the face of fierce and united Visegrad opposition to the idea of mandatory quotas for **refugees**, and would now pursue a new principle of “flexible solidarity” – although it is not yet clear what that might mean in practice.

He said the four countries were now ready to show the same determination in defending their common interest in protecting their citizens’ rights to work in Britain, reiterating that there could be no “cherry-picking” in upcoming Brexit negotiations and that EU freedoms must be respected.

Britain has said it will not trigger article 50 of the Treaty of Rome, starting the formal two-year negotiating period before its exit, this year because it needs time to consider its position, but could do so next year.

Related: What is article 50 and why is it so central to the Brexit debate?[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/25/article-50-brexit-debate-britain-eu]

On Friday the European council president, Donald Tusk, said in Bratislava that he believed following a meeting with the prime minister, Theresa May, that article 50 would probably be invoked in January or February 2017[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/theresa-may-likely-trigger-article-50-brexit-talks-early-2017].

However, a Downing Street source said on Saturday that the prime minister did not specifically mention January or February at the meeting and that Tusk’s comments were an “interpretation” of their conversation.

Fico said the Visegrad group would continue to adopt and defend common positions, which he described as being sometimes more “pragmatic” than other EUnations owing to the four states’ history since the second world war and the collapse of the communist bloc.

He said he wanted migration issues to be more clearly addressed in the bloc’s future roadmap, but was happy that border security was more of a priority and that discussion was now underway on flexible solidarity to allow countries to offer what they feel they can to help resolve the migrant crisis.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Article 50 could be triggered in January or February, European council president says at Bratislava summit

The UK is expected to launch formal talks to leave the European Union in January or February next year, one of Europe’s top leaders said after a special summit without Britain, aimed at rallying the bloc battered by Brexit and the migration crisis.

The European council president, Donald Tusk, said the British prime minister, Theresa May, had told him article 50 was likely to be triggered in January or February next year, dashing remain voters’ hopes of delaying the UK’s departure from the EU.

The British government was also sent a stark warning not to expect any compromise on the EU’s cherished principle of free movement of people if it wants access to the single market.

Related: Brexit vote not surprising after years of lies about EU, says Jean-Claude Juncker[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/15/brexit-vote-years-of-lies-eu-jean-claude-juncker]

Speaking of his meeting with May in London last week[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/08/donald-tusk-theresa-may-article-50-brexit-negotiations-eu], Tusk said the prime minister had been open and honest about her difficulties in launching EU exit talks this year.

“She declared that it was almost impossible to trigger article 50 this year but it’s quite likely that they will be ready, maybe in January, maybe in February, next year.” He said the rest of the EU was ready to start negotiations tomorrow.

Standing at his side, Jean-Claude Juncker, the head of the European commission, vowed there would be no compromise on free movement of workers. “This is not a game,” he said. “It is about the rights of ordinary people, of workers in Europe, so I can’t see any possibility of compromising on that very issue.”

A Downing Street source, however, said on Saturday that May did not specifically mention January or February at the meeting, and that Tusk’s comments were an interpretation of their conversation.

The PM “recognises the need to deliver on the public verdict without delay”, the source said.

Brexit was not top of the agenda at the one-day summit in Bratislava, as European leaders concentrated on charting a way forward for a bloc that has stumbled from crisis to crisis in recent years.

The German chancellor, Angela Merkel, said the EU was in “a critical situation” not only because of the Brexit referendum but also because of other difficulties.

It was only the second time in 43 years that EU leaders have met without the UK and the mood was solemn. At an earlier gathering the week after Brexit[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/29/eu-leaders-begin-summit-talks-without-uk-for-first-time], EU leaders “were still shellshocked, but now it has sunk in”, one source said.

Nevertheless there was determination to show a united front – for a few hours at least.

Related: Key Brexit talks unlikely to begin until late 2017, says Van Rompuy[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/15/herman-van-rompuy-brexit-negotiations-cannot-begin-until-late-2017]

During a lunchtime cruise along the Danube on a German-registered luxury boat and steered by a German captain, EU leaders quickly agreed to reassert their earlier pledge not to negotiate with the UK until the government invokes article 50.

Earlier in the day in the gilded halls of Bratislava castle, they had discussed what had gone wrong with the EU. One EU source described the discussions as polite and with no recriminations, a sharp change in tone following a ferocious war of words between Hungary and Luxembourg over asylum seekers.

The friendly tone partly dissipated, however, once leaders had left the castle walls.

Italy’s leader, Matteo Renzi, refused to appear at a press conference with his French and German counterparts, declaring that he “was not satisfied with the conclusions on growth and **immigration**”. Renzi, who faces a difficult referendum vote in October, said the EU was still far from meeting its post-Brexit challenges. On migration “the usual things were said again,” he said.

The same splits were on display as Hungary’s prime minister, Viktor Orbán, slammed the EU’s migration policy as “self-destructive and naive”. Unless Germany imposed a firm ceiling on the number of **immigrants** it was willing to take in, a “suction effect” would continue to draw masses to Europe. “Something must happen,” he said.

The Visegrád group of Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia reaffirmed their hostility to **refugee** quotas. In a surprise paper sent to EU leaders on the morning of the summit, the central European quartet also mounted a robust defence of free movement of labour, with an implicit critique of “intra-EU protectionism”. The move follows debates in France on foreign workers undercutting locals and the Brexit vote centred on **immigration**.

These countries will be staunch defenders of the principle of free movement of people in any talks with the UK. Brexit must avoid “the risk of creating second-rate citizens in the United Kingdom,” said Robert Fico, Slovakia’s prime minister. Brexit negotiations should “not damage our interests” and must show “it is worth being a member of the EU,” he said.

In an effort to avoid confrontation, Tusk had steered the meeting to focus on areas the 27 leaders could agree on: a mix of plans on security, counter-terrorism and moves to take more control of globalisation against a backdrop of stubbornly-high youth unemployment in southern Europe.

Related: Theresa May does not intend to trigger article 50 this year, court told[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/19/government-awaits-first-legal-opposition-to-brexit-in-high-court]

Countries pledged to send border guards and more equipment to the secure the EU’s external border in Bulgaria, although exact numbers have yet to be finalised. Earlier this week, Juncker called for an extra 200 border guards and 50 vehicles to be stationed at the Bulgarian frontier by next month.

On paper, leaders also promised immediate implementation of a joint declaration with Nato, after signing a cooperation pact in July aimed at overcoming decades of debate about securing Europe’s borders. France and Germany have swung behind plans for a common European defence headquarters and shared military hardware, and EU leaders have now promised to agree a common plan by December.

Big questions remain unresolved, kicked down the road to further summits in 2017. Tusk said the Bratislava meeting had paved the way for agreeing a range of economic and security measures in March 2017, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the European project.

Few observers, however, expect serious changes such as far-reaching reform of the eurozone until French and German elections are completed later next year.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**After a string of defeats this year, a setback for the CDU in Angela Merkel’s backyard could revive questions over her leadership

Related: Angela Merkel's crown slips after party's local election defeat[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/05/angela-merkel-germany-mecklenberg-vorpommern-election-analysis]

When Berlin’s Christian Democratic Union conceived of the poster campaign for Sunday’s state elections in the German capital, coming up with a core message must have felt like a no-brainer.

After last November’s terrorist atrocity in Paris[https://www.theguardian.com/world/paris-attacks?page=11], New Year’s Eve’s sexual assaults in Cologne[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/05/germany-crisis-cologne-new-years-eve-sex-attacks] and a string of gun, bomb, axe and machete attacks in Bavaria in July[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/25/germany-boosts-police-presence-warns-acts-of-terror-ansbach], Germany’s conservative party could fall back on its roots and promise to assuage people’s fears with a law-and-order agenda.

For six weeks, posters with the slogan “Strong Berlin” have lined the streets, promising more police and more video technology. In his campaign ad, the CDU candidate and current deputy mayor Frank Henkel promises to boost the police force by 750 officers and spend an additional ¢2m (£1.7m) on new equipment, in particular “high-resolution CCTV cameras at all underground and overground train stations”.

In a city with historic sensitivities around surveillance, Henkel’s team hopes fears of terrorism and a high-profile criminal case have changed attitudes. Last year, Berlin police managed to arrest the murderer of two children[http://www.thelocal.de/20160726/man-gets-life-in-jail-for-murder-of-two-young-children] only after he had been caught on a shopkeeper’s CCTV camera.

Yet with two days to go until Berliners cast their votes, polls indicate that on issues around privacy and data protection, the German capital will preserve its unique status.

Latest surveys have the Christian Democrats on a mere 17% of the vote, well behind mayor Michael Müller’s Social Democrats. Some polls even put the CDU into third place, behind the Green party.

After five years of a “grand coalition” between the centre left and centre right, Berlin looks likely to be governed in the future by an alliance between the Social Democrats, the Greens and the Left party.

After a string of defeats at state elections in Baden–Württemberg, Rhineland-Westphalia and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/mecklenburg-vorpommern-german-anti-immigrant-party-strong-regional-election-exit-polls-merkel] this year, a further embarrassment for Angela Merkel’s party in her own backyard is likely to increase pressure on the chancellor over her management of the fallout from the **refugee** crisis.

The Die Zeit weekly newspaper reports that party rebels have given Merkel a deadline: if she does not to perform a public U-turn by Tuesday, some MPs will rise up in open rebellion.

The anti-**immigration** party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) is expected to gain a double-digit share of the vote in the capital for the first time – a result Müller warned would be seen around the world as a sign of the return of the rightwing and the Nazis in Germany.

Though the **refugee** crisis continues to dominate the news agenda at national level, it has played only a minor role in the campaigns for the state election. The latest polls have the AfD as the fifth strongest party in the state parliament, behind four others with a broadly pro-**refugee** stance – a reminder, perhaps, that fears of rising rents still register higher than fears of terrorism in Berlin.

On closer inspection, the Christian Democrats’ crisis in the city looks like a reflection of the party’s struggles nationally rather than the failure to engage with attitudes on interior security at a local level.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall authorities in the German capital have had to work with tighter restrictions on state surveillance than have affected other big cities internationally. While almost 15,000 CCTV cameras are installed at rail stations and on public transport, data privacy regulations stop the police from installing, in public spaces, cameras that transmit images in real time.

The city’s police union argues that such restrictions put its officers at a disadvantage compared with those in regions such as Bavaria, where they can set up mobile CCTV units. “At the moment, we are short of qualified staff and state-of-the-art kit, which means we are always one step behind the criminals”, said Bodo Pfalzgraf, the union chief.

In June, Henkel, then still the Berlin senate’s interior minister, had tried to change local law to allow CCTV surveillance of crime hotspots such as Alexanderplatz and Kottbusser Tor in Kreuzberg. But the proposal failed partly because of a last-minute intervention by the Pirate party, which entered the state parliament in 2011 on a data protection agenda.

The defeat left Henkel’s conservatives with an issue to campaign on, but little evidence that they were up to the task of changing Berlin’s cultural consensus around surveillance when they were in power.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Stella Grey’s Midlife Ex-wife column about her online dating exploits ran in the Guardian Family section for 18 months. Then she met Edward. She shares what she’s learned about cohabiting the second time round. Plus, an extract from her brilliant new book, The Heartfix

For almost 18 months, up until April, I wrote a column in Family[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/stella-grey] about my midlife online dating disasters, an experience that ended in triumph when I found Edward on a website as I was deleting myself from it. Now we live together, I’ve been thinking about how different cohabiting is the second time round. Edward and I had been in long marriages before living alone, and shacking up has presented unforeseen hazards and lessons. Here are 13 things I have learned.

1 Shopping, cooking, entertainments and housework are subjects full of unexpected traps. Ordinary things you’ve done with someone else for 20 years (and then in a self-determining way for another two) are abruptly sources of controversy. Suddenly there’s a man on the next sofa cushion who is, in a word, **alien**. He can’t miss an episode of Robot Wars, doesn’t like Almodóvar and finds televised motor racing relaxing. These aren’t bad things in themselves – taste is taste – but they have to be acclimatised to. This **alien** in your bed, this Mork[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EbEBErvW-Uc] : he’s the man who buys the cheap pizzas, not really seeing the difference; he’s revealed as a natural Frugal, while you’re a natural Lavish. When you’re away he buys a pouch of filled pasta, eats half and keeps the rest for the following day. He suggests that the cooked soggy broccoli he put in the fridge in a bowl be “used up” in the mac cheese.

2 Unexpectedly, kitchens can be flashpoints. You come into a midlife shack-up with ingrained domestic habits. I overstock the dry goods cupboard, perhaps subconsciously convinced that Armageddon will come without warning. Having nine kinds of pasta and every spice known to botany makes me feel safe. Edward limits himself to heavy sighs when he opens the doors and there’s a cous-cous avalanche. He doesn’t get that the shelves in the fridge are hierarchical. Cream goes on the top shelf with the cheese, right? It never goes on the bottom shelf with the meat, ever. I have declared there is no cream and he’s gone and produced it from behind some pork loins and I have been bulgy eyed with critique. He doesn’t rinse and squeeze the sponge when he’s mopped the worktop and this insignificant thing has brought us the closest we’ve come to a blazing row. The thing they never tell you about living with someone is that the worst arguments you’ll ever have (barring bankruptcy, adultery, pranged cars and other such trivia) will start with a kitchen sponge.

3 Learn how the other operates when you disagree. We’re starting to take account of that, which is a skill it has taken me all my life to learn. I used to rush in, during my marriage, and escalate and make generalised accusations and self-sabotage. I’m getting better at taking a breath and listening. A recent incident ended with me saying calmly, “You’re getting on my nerves,” and him saying, “Sometimes you get on mine,” and me saying, “Sometimes I’m bloody annoying when I’m right,” and him saying, “Sometimes, yes, you are, but not often. Hardly ever.”

We kissed and that was that. This talk-down technique has worked in both directions.

Sex-wise, you need to find your real pattern, which might not tally with the one you had when you were dating

4 Resist the urge to be Veruca (or Vernon) Salt about getting things your own way, but be prepared for some saltiness: when two busy traffic streams converge, there’s always an adjustment period. Sometimes the other person will secretly be grateful that you’re a control freak because they don’t want the job of rummaging through every antique pair of curtains on eBay looking for The One. They’ve had enough of looking for The One. It’s vital for both of you to sharpen your awareness of when taking the initiative is necessary and wanted. And when it isn’t.

5 Tolerance is hugely important. I’ve become almost cool about Edward’s need to watch golf on TV. He is tolerant of my need to research everything to the nth, including holiday locations (he favours a lucky dip approach). While investigating the possibility of buying a teeny European bolthole for our old age, I announced that I’d found a great village by a Spanish lake, but then discounted it because the lake was a reservoir and I once had a dream in which big sucky pipes under the surface of one sucked me right in and away, and Edward sat nodding sagely before saying, “No reservoirs, then. Noted.”

Mutual resilience about the other’s quirks is a key signifier of contentment, and contentment is the state to aim for. Contentment’s relaxed and everyday and sustainable. Happiness is often too uppy a state to last and the inevitable downy can easily be misinterpreted as a catastrophe, whereas contentment ambles along in the inter-zonal.

6 Sex-wise, you need to find your real pattern, which might not tally with the one you had when you were dating. For us, there are a) periods of intense activity – OK, not usually that intense – interspersed with b), sibling snuggling-up like the babes in the wood. Occasionally one of us is in A mode while the other is definitely in B. This happened the other night. “Why are you jiggling?” I asked. “What’s that fidgetiness mean?” “I’m frisky. It means I’m frisky.” “Oh God, no. Go to sleep. I’m so tired.” He started rubbing the small of my back. “Hey,” I said. “You there. You try to whisk my PJ trousers off and I’ll thump you in the Adam’s apple.”

It’s lucky for me that he thinks I’m funny, and that he can make me howl with laughter. Nothing is as underrated by the young as the necessity of that.

7 Incompatible circadian rhythms might unexpectedly be a thing. Edward is a lark and I used to be a night owl but, like nuns in a convent whose menstrual cycles get into sync, I’m gravitating into lark mode and have started to see a midnight bedtime as daringly late. We’re often ensconced with books and the teapot by 10pm, like picture book pre-digital-age midlifers, like Raymond Briggs’ Jim and Hilda. “I’m glad I have you,” I say sometimes, when we’ve kissed our goodnights. I mean it most fervently.

We confess our failings to one another and find them amusing. An inability to admit them is even funnier

8 If you are ready to embrace the cardigan, be sure not to move in with a snowboarder. Our holidays are growing steadily more middle aged; we’re probably only a biscuit’s width from coach trips to Germany so as to cruise along the Rhine. With only ourselves to please, we can hit the Neolithic trail and dawdle round magnificent gardens, where Latin plant names have been noted on phones.

9 Little ways of showing your love are a big deal. Edward was hugely supportive of my writing the book, even though it’s about the lead-up to him and then him specifically. He doesn’t want to read it but says he hopes others find it useful; it hasn’t much to do with who we are now. He smiles and shrugs, when he says so, and the love and trust really move me.

He’ll say “You look nice,” if I make an effort, but he doesn’t care if there’s makeup or not, or what I weigh; he has no ghoulish notions about a woman being an asset on his arm. He’s getting wrinkly and greyer and his jawline isn’t what it was when we met and nor is mine and he doesn’t give a shit. He’s unselfconsciously self-accepting and that is inspiring.

10 You should be able to relax completely and be yourself. We socialise a little bit, keep a sketchy track of culture, but essentially we’re home bodies. We hole up with hot chocolate and books and blankets and music and box sets and big socks. He falls asleep with a Robert Harris clutched to his chest and I feel a surge of fondness. We’ve been known to draw down the blinds on a Sunday morning and watch a thriller and eat ginger sponge pudding, though that’s about as transgressive as it gets.

11 At some point while shacked up, the M word may arise. Marriage. Is it worth doing again, when really there’s no need? We’re good as we are. I have occasional hankerings, I admit, for “I do” (and how it would make my mother less anxious) and an incredible dress and rose petals thrown at my head. And for our coming old age. I never want to be in a situation in which he’s in hospital with a stroke and I am not next of kin, for some outmoded reason. Or vice versa.

12 There ought to be a mutual plan for the next chapter. That’s part of the second chance romance: using the newness and freshness to have new and fresh ideas. We have an optimistic view of our 60s. Sixty is still some way off but it’s on the horizon, and if the span of life is marked off into quarters, 60-80 is probably going to be the final segment. As Jeff Bridges said recently, he thinks of retirement as re-tyrement, having new tyres fitted to life and going off in a new direction. It’s a weak pun but I know what he means. How you see your final quarter unfolding is a key point of compatibility, one you mightn’t have thought about when you were gaily (or not so gaily) wading through available matches on CloseToDespair.com.

13 It’s important to trust enough to be saved from aspects of yourself. I have obsessive and perfectionist tendencies, so three trips to paint stockists and 11 matchpots daubed on to squares of lining paper were needed to decide on the sitting room walls. A trip to a garden centre to get two pots to flank our door turned into four visits and nine pots, and six clematis plants and four geraniums and three rose bushes, and if Edward hadn’t pleaded for a cease-fire the war on the garden would never have ended. I was happy to admit to this. We confess our failings to one another and find them amusing. An inability to admit to them is even funnier, and that’s pretty key. Once the wall colours were agreed upon we spent a happy week with paint rollers, singing along to the radio, and it was a bit like being 28 again. The idea that we’re at the beginning, that things are fresh, unspoiled, rich with possibility – what better feeling could there be in your 50s than that?

Read our extract from Stella Grey’s book, The Heartfix

When I told my mum I was abandoning online dating and going out to find men in the city, she clapped her hands in rejoicing. She thought there was a qualitative difference, as if finding a man online would be like finding one on sale at Aldi. Real-world men were bound to be better quality, she thought. Generally, I spared her the sad litany of failures to instigate chat in bookshops and delicatessens and with men in parks, letting my dog meet their dog. I didn’t even know if I wanted to go back to that kind of happenstance. Online dating at its best sends you to meet-ups fully informed. I’d grown accustomed to the data sets. I’d grown used to self-descriptions, the likes and dislikes, the bucket lists and the all-round self-revealing that goes on in a properly filled-out profile page. Little is known about a stranger who asks you out while your terriers say hello to one another beside a shrubbery after five minutes of dog chat. You can’t really subject them to the standard questions. You can’t go barging in to their private lives, gung ho. So, are you married? Oh – single, really, that’s interesting, and what are you hoping for, from a relationship, something long term? When you’re used to the online way of doing things, accidental first meetings offer so little of people upfront, as facts. When you meet online it isn’t usually going to take until the third date to discover that someone is a Scientologist or a conspiracy theorist, or that he has nine children.

I’d already tried singles-oriented real-world socialising, and I could only attempt it a second time if I pretended the first time hadn’t happened. I’d done the joining-societies thing; I’d become a gallery friend and had been to public lectures. Nothing doing. How can a conversation start in those circumstances that isn’t embarrassing or obvious?

I’d already humiliated myself in wine shops, rushing in, sidling up to nice-looking men and talking to them about vins de pays. They’d bought their wine and gone home.

I’d tried to initiate chat with men who stopped off in the railway station food hall at six o’clock, as they stood in front of the Meals for One section. I’d done this in an early phase, post-separation, when my mental health wasn’t the best. In my head I was someone else. I was 28 again. I could see her, the slender, striking, dark-haired girl, in the falsely reflecting mirror behind my eyes. At 28, I was flirted with on an ongoing basis, by men older and younger.

At 28 you don’t see yourself at 50, thickened in the waist and loosening around the throat. It doesn’t occur to you that those same men who ogled you at the office, back then, would run a mile if they met you now, even though they’re all older than you.

The Heartfix by Stella Grey is published by Harper Collins, £12.99. To order a copy for £10.65, go to bookshop.theguardian.com [https://bookshop.theguardian.com/heartfix.html?utm\_source=editoriallink&utm\_medium=merch&utm\_campaign=article] or call 0330 333 6846

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Look past the attention-seeking orations from Pauline Hanson and Derryn Hinch to find heartfelt words from new MPs that will restore faith in politics

If you want to regain faith in our elected representatives, read some first speeches[http://australianpolitics.com/parliament/maiden-speeches].

Not necessarily the attention-seeking ones that make the news – such as Pauline Hanson’s fact-free musing [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban] on the latest minority group she thinks we should fear the most, or Derryn Hinch’s use of parliamentary privilege to name convicted sex offenders[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/12/derryn-hinch-uses-parliamentary-privilege-to-name-sex-offenders-in-maiden-speech]. The other ones. The speeches that seek to answer what Liberal minister Christian Porter described in his own first speech three years ago as “the existential questions of politics: who is the member? Why are they here? What do they believe?”

They’re not all good. Some plod through the not-particularly-interesting attributes of the electorate from which the MP has just been elected, move on to the fairly pedestrian life story of said MP and finish with the ubiquitous heartfelt thanks to spouses, parents and friends.

Related: Turnbull attacks George Christensen and Pauline Hanson's anti-Muslim rhetoric[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/16/turnbull-attacks-george-christensen-and-pauline-hansons-anti-muslim-rhetoric]

But some are fascinating and moving – telling personal stories that have shaped and motivated, setting individual goals and priorities before they are diluted by the mendacity of the political process or dulled by meaningless talking points.

Julia Banks, the new Liberal member for the Victorian seat of Chisholm, delivered a particularly powerful one this week, a defence of feminism and multiculturalism and a personal story of the effects of hate speech.

She contradicted John Howard’s view that women would never achieve equal representation in politics, saying it was “never right to say never ever” and describing her own life as a working parent.

“It is true to say that women have borne the brunt of the caring responsibilities, but it is not right to say that we will never achieve a 50-50 ratio simply because that has been the case historically. This is the modern world. Increasingly, men and women share the responsibilities of domestic life and childcare,” she said.

“The impact of male and female models who reverse traditional roles should not be underestimated. The pursuit of gender equality is intrinsically linked to love and respect and the dignity of work.”

She mused that her late father, Sofoulis Phillip Lolatgis, who arrived in Australia in 1949 as a 15-year-old who had fled post-war poverty in Greece without his parents and unable to speak English, would have considered it a “miracle” that his daughter had been elected to parliament.

And she described her own childhood experience of racial abuse and intolerance, back when Greeks were the ethnic group that was being told to go back to where they came from.

“In my early years, prejudice and discrimination shattered my childhood world. Despite what I would describe as my very Aussie upbringing … I did not know what a boy at primary school meant when he said to me, ‘Wog, go back to your home country.’ ‘Home?’ I asked myself. I was born and raised and knew and loved no other country than Australia as my home. I did not know the meaning of the word ‘wog’ and the first thing I did when I got home from school that day was to look up the word in my brother’s dictionary. Incredulously, I read the definition over and over: ‘Someone of dark skin who is foreign to the land on which he lives.’ I was hurt more by the tone of the word and less by its definition. I felt ugly, scared and very alone,” she said, immediately linking that experience to the current debate about hate speech.

“I am a passionate believer in free speech … (but) ‘hate speech’ is simply not part of Australia’s moral code, regardless of our views … whilst this was just a primary school playground experience, it sowed the seeds for my belief that public figures, and those who have a big share of voice in the media and other forums, have a higher duty of care and responsibility to think before they write and speak. This is not ‘political correctness gone mad’; rather, that those who have this voice should apply the test of respect and responsibility, and ask themselves: how would that Australian child who is watching or reading this feel? I suspect the same way I felt that day at primary school.”

A few days earlier, Peter Khalil, the son of Egyptian migrants, who won the seat of Wills for Labor, had nailed his colours to the mast on the issue of asylum policy.

“I believe Australia has a moral obligation, at the minimum, to take responsibility for the care of those **refugees** that have been physically or emotionally damaged by the long-term detention that we have submitted them to,” he said.

“I also think we should re-examine the assumed nexus between detention centres and discouraging people smugglers to ascertain how much this argument holds in the context of robust turn-back policies.

Related: If you want a response from the Muslim community, first understand it | Mostafa Rachwani[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/16/if-you-want-a-response-from-the-muslim-community-first-understand-it]

“I supported our leader, Bill Shorten, when he made clear that if we won the election one of his first acts would be to negotiate with the UNHCR the resettlement of the **refugees** to safe and secure countries … But I recognise that even this falls far too short in our moral, legal and international obligations as a good international citizen.”

Julian Leeser, the new Liberal member of the New South Wales seat of Berowra gave a searing account of his father’s suicide 20 years ago, including finding his final note “on the glass-topped table in the hall”.

“Like so many of the notes from my father [it was] written in red pen on the back of a used envelope. It said simply: ‘I am sorry Sylvia. I just can’t cope, love, John’.”

Leeser was open about his regrets at not noticing the signals his father had been giving and his view that despite many many programs and millions of dollars in spending, Australia is still failing in mental health services and suicide prevention.

Susan Templeman, the new Labor member for Macquarie, described how, 10 years ago, her “family’s foundations were rocked” by her daughter’s first experience of mental illness, something that started Templeman on the path that led to this speech, watched by her family from the public gallery, including her daughter who was “determined that her history is something not to be ashamed of”.

“I vividly remember a distressing night, standing in my kitchen with my husband, asking: how do other families do this?,” Templeman recounted.

“And while I did not then and there declare my intention to run for parliament, that was the moment I look back on as transformative, when something in me shifted. It turned out we were not the only ones facing the same challenge. Having mental illness in a family makes you question your parenting and your values, and I have learned more from that experience than any other in my life … So that was how I became someone who did not just sit around solving the problems of the world at a dinner party, but an advocate and an activist … The funny thing about standing up on an issue is that once you start it is hard to stop. Injustice is injustice, no matter what form it takes.”

There was Mike Freelander, the new Labor member for Macarthur, describing his work as a doctor with children with developmental problems and illnesses and how it motivated him to fight inequality on healthcare. Anne Aly, the new Labor member for Cowan, an anti-radicalisation expert whose work was used by the Coalition during the election campaign to make claims she was “soft on terrorism”[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jun/24/julie-bishop-steps-up-attack-on-anne-aly-in-hate-preacher-row], and who saw her election as a kind of vindication.

“It is no secret that I find the politics of division, this attempt to... set people against each other to win votes, to be desperate, dangerous and undemocratic, especially at times like this, when unwise words can be bullets,” she said.

Related: Politicians and Muslim leaders condemn Hanson: 'She doesn't know what she's talking about'[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/politicians-and-muslim-leaders-condemn-hanson-she-doesnt-know-what-shes-talking-about]

Parliamentarians can mostly blame themselves for the fact the public view them with mounting disdain. Voters think politicians put political power and tactics ahead of real world problem solving because very often they do.

But it is also true that we don’t always see the best of them, the people committed to being good representatives, according to their own beliefs and ideologies, motivated to serve by their own diverse human experiences.

First speeches are a benchmark, a permanent record of a politicians’ starting-line ideals and aspirations, words that will be used as a reference point for the rest of their careers. Reading them reveals that, despite our cynicism, we seem to have elected some very good ones.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hanson reiterates comments from her factually-incorrect maiden speech when she said Australia was at risk of being ‘swamped by Muslims’

Senator Pauline Hanson’s One Nation party has hired a former economic adviser to the US Republican candidate, Donald Trump.

Hanson’s chief-of-staff, James Ashby, told a community forum in the central-Queensland town of Rockhampton on Friday night: “... on the economic side on things, tomorrow there’ll be a front-page announcement, from what I understand”.

“We have just taken him from the Trump camp, so he’s come on board with us,” Ashby said.

“So that’s pretty exciting and we need to build credibility on the economics front.”

Related: Meeting Pauline Hanson's voters: silent screamers find their voice[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/17/meeting-pauline-hansons-voters-silent-screamers-find-their-voice]

Ashby described the person being hired as “one of the world’s leading economists” and said he had arrived in Australia on Thursday.

He declined to name the adviser, and further details were not forthcoming by Saturday morning. Guardian Australia has contacted the senator’s office requesting further information, but did not immediately receive a response.

However, the Queensland One Nation senator, Malcolm Roberts, tweeted that he was “very excited” by the news.

The Rockhampton forum was organised by the businessman Dominic Doblo, who has previously been accused of provoking religious division after posting comments online about Islamic extremists. In November, he took out a front page advertisement criticising extremist Muslims.

While Doblo told a local radio station that he expected about 500 people to attend the forum, the ABC reported[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-09-16/pauline-hanson-hires-donald-trump-economist-james-ashby-claims/7854244] the figure was closer to 200 people.

Related: Pauline Hanson calls for **immigration** ban: 'Go back to where you came from'[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban]

Addressing attendees, Hanson reiterated comments from her factually-incorrect [http://www.sbs.com.au/news/thefeed/article/2016/09/15/10-times-pauline-hanson-got-the-facts-wrong-her-maiden-speech] maiden speech[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban] when she said that Australia was at risk of being “swamped by Muslims”. She said on Friday night that she stood by the speech.

“If anyone wants to have a go at what I said, I’d suggest go and read the speech, everything I said in it was factual, and especially about Muslims, Islam and the impact it’s having on our country,” she said.

“I won’t back down from what I believe in. We need to be able to have an opinion about it, and not shut down by saying the word racist.”

She also spoke about unemployment, development and **immigration**.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of the Ukip conference in Bournemouth, including Nigel Farage’s final speech as leader and the announcement of his replacementPaul Nuttall’s speech - SummaryNigel Farage’s speech - VerdictLunchtime summaryDiane James elected leader - Results in fullDiane James’ speech - Verdict

block-time published-time 4.25pm BST

Afternoon summary

\* Ukip has elected Diane James as its first female leader, as the party faces a struggle for relevance after the Brexit vote and departure of Nigel Farage. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/ukip-elects-diane-james-as-new-party-leader] As Rowena Mason and Peter Walker report, James, a former parliamentary candidate who came close to taking Eastleigh off the Liberal Democrats in 2013, won with 47% of the vote out of a wide field of relative unknowns. The 56-year-old former businesswoman will have to contend with a party riven by infighting between various factions, including Farage loyalists, a circle around the former Conservative cabinet minister Neil Hamilton, and others close to Douglas Carswell, the party’s only MP.

\* James has exerted her authority over the party by axing planned conference speeches by Neil Hamiltion, leader of the Ukip group in the Welsh assembly, Lisa Duffy, her main rival for the leadership, and the other leadership candidates. Hamilton, and to a lesser extent Duffy, are seen as critics of the Farage wing of Ukip with which James is loosely associated. James also said at a press conference that if party members did not agree to back the party reforms she is proposing, they could leave.

\* James has accused Theresa May of stealing Ukip policies. In her speech she said:

Magpie May you have stolen so far our 2% defence spending, you’ve also tried to steal our grammar schools but I think you are going to have a few difficulties getting that one through.

\* James has said she will make Ukip more professional. In her speech she said:

Professionalism though will be top of my agenda. If we are going to reach and achieve the goals this party is still capable of achieving, then change is going to have to happen.

It is not going to be change for change’s sake, it is not going to be change because I think I want to change it and I can’t justify it, it is going to be because change is necessary and justified.

\* James has said she will not try to copy Farage’s approach to leadership. She said in her speech:

I am not Nigel-like, I am not even Nigel-lite. I’ll never ever pretend to be so. What I will be doing is stepping into his leadership shoes, but I will be doing everything to achieve the political success that he’s handing over to me.

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time published-time 4.12pm BST

The press conference is now over. Diane James probably made quite a good impression. She took questions from everyone who wanted to ask one, and she was brisk, confident and direct. She sounded a bit like a management consultant giving a presentation, but telling clients that for answers to some questions, they’re going to have to wait.

block-time published-time 4.09pm BST

Q: Where will Ukip be on the political spectrum? Appealing to Labour voters, on the left? Or to Tory voters, on the right?

James says the questioner should ask her in three months’ time. Her 100 days project will look at issues like this. And it needs to appeal to both.

block-time published-time 4.02pm BST

Q: What do you think of Donald Trump ? And would you vote for Hilary Clinton?

James says she cannot imagine voting for Clinton.

The jury is still out on Trump, she says.

But she says it is up to the Americans to choose their president.

block-time published-time 4.01pm BST

Q: Will you carry on using the phrase “remainiacs’?

Why not, James asks. She says even remain supporters use it.

block-time published-time 4.00pm BST

Q: What will you do to help Ukip in the north?

James says she wants two chiefs of staff, one focusing on the south and one focusing on the north.

Q: Will Paul Nuttall take the post for the north?

James says she has not decided yet.

block-time published-time 3.59pm BST

Q: Did you support the Breaking Point poster during the EU referendum?

James says she defended it during the Wembley debate. That poster showed what the situation was in Europe.

Q: Why have Neil Hamilton and the other leadership candidates been removed from the conference programme?

James says that was her decision. She was entitled to change the programme, and she did so.

block-time published-time 3.58pm BST

Q: Would you stand aside if Nigel Farage said he wanted to come back?

James says Farage has made it clear that he has stepped aside from the leadership role.

block-time published-time 3.57pm BST

Q: Would you fight a byelection?

Of course, says James. But she would have to go through a selection process. She does not intend parachuting herself into a constituency. She would only stand if she had a link with a constituency.

block-time published-time 3.56pm BST

Q: How will you heal the Ukip divisions in Wales?

James says Nathan Gill has her 100% support. She trusts him entirely in terms of his views.

Q: Can he be an MEP and a member of the Welsh assembly?

Why not, asks James. She says the way the European parliament is run is a farce. Gill is in Brussels when it is necessary.

block-time published-time 3.52pm BST

James says she has not come across misogyny in Ukip.

Ukip has better mechanisms to root out extremists when selecting candidates, she says.

block-time published-time 3.52pm BST

James denies claims she avoided the media during the leadership campaign.

She says she is not worried about Arron Banks setting up an alternative party. Banks has been talking about a movement; that’s different, she says.

She says she would be willing to meet Douglas Carswell to discuss his differences with the party. They could meet next week, she says.

Q: Do you want members to leave if they don’t accept your plans to get rid of the NEC?

James says she wants people to stay. But members must get behind what is accepted. If they don’t do that, they can leave, she says.

block-time published-time 3.49pm BST

Q: How will you define success?

James says there are four byelections coming up.

And she thinks Theresa May will call an early election, possibly next May.

block-time published-time 3.45pm BST

Diane James's press conference Diane James is giving a press conference now.

Q: Can you fill Nigel Farage’s shoes? And can you make Ukip a winning party?

James says she does now know what Farage’s shoe size is.

She says her focus is on the first 100 days. She thinks her profile will rise. How many people can name the Lib Dem leader?

Q: Paul Nuttall said Ukip must unite or die.

James says she does not know why he said that. She was surprised.

She urges the media to give her time and to not carry on the negative narrative about

block-time published-time 3.40pm BST

Originally the unsuccessful leadership candidates were also due to address the conference this afternoon. That session has been axed from the revised programme too.

block-time published-time 3.38pm BST

Neil Hamilton axed from speaking slot The original conference agenda said that Neil Hamilton, leader of the Ukip group in the Welsh assembly, would be giving a 15-minute speech tomorrow morning.

But Ukip officials have just issued a revised agenda for tomorrow. Hamilton no longer features instead Nathan Gill, the Welsh MEP and official party leader in Wales (even though Hamilton leads the Welsh assembly group) is giving a speech in the slot originally set aside for Hamilton.

Is Hamilton the first victim of a Diane James purge? James is about to give a press conference so we may find out.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.39pm BST

block-time published-time 3.15pm BST

And here are some comments on Diane James’s speech from journalists on Twitter .

From the Telegraph’s Christopher Hope

enltrDiane James speaks like the finance diet or of a small company. Lacks the charisma of Nigel Farage. Could be a real problem for @ukip [https://twitter.com/UKIP] ?

— Christopher Hope (@christopherhope) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/christopherhope/status/776767100157325312]From the Guardian ’s Peter Walker ’s

enltrIf Nigel Farage's speaking style was part jovial pub landlord, Diane James is part amiable-if-stern-when-needed family GP.

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/776763527495294976]From the FT’s Sebastian Payne

enltrDiane James claims she is “not Nigel light” and says “my language might be a little different”. Could this be a softer Ukip? #UKIPConf [https://twitter.com/hashtag/UKIPConf?src=hash]

— Sebastian Payne (@SebastianEPayne) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SebastianEPayne/status/776766224281853952]From the Sunday Times ’ Tim Shipman

enltrDiane James, the David Moyes of politics...

— Tim Shipman (@ShippersUnbound) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ShippersUnbound/status/776769663464271872]block-time published-time 3.12pm BST

At the top of this blog we have got a relatively nice picture of Nigel Farage and Diane James together on stage. But there are alternative ones, as the BBC ’s Nick Robinson has discovered.

enltrAny suggestions for what UKIP's new leader @DianeJamesMEP [https://twitter.com/DianeJamesMEP] is thinking as @Nigel\_Farage [https://twitter.com/Nigel\_Farage] puckers up? pic.twitter.com/QjHoj6TZy4 [https://t.co/QjHoj6TZy4] puckers up?

— Nick Robinson (@bbcnickrobinson) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbcnickrobinson/status/776778263775576065]block-time published-time 2.53pm BST

Diane James's speech - Verdict Diane James’s speech - Verdict: Unashamedly underwhelming. Whoever succeeded Nigel Farage was likely to plunge Ukip into charisma deficit but, on the basis of that speech, Diane James seems remarkably bland. To her credit, though, she acknowledged quite openly that she was not a colourful character. “I am not Nigel-like, I am not even Nigel-lite,” she said. You certainly can’t argue with that.

Still, dull and sensible is not always a bad thing in politics and, although James did not say anything particularly specific in her speech, she did give some indication as to what sort of leader she will be. She stressed the importance of Ukip having a credible manifesto and she said the party should be offering “pragmatic” solutions to the country’s problems. That means the era of bonkers ideas like compulsory uniforms for taxi drivers [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2015/04/15/ukip-2015-manifesto\_n\_7068920.html] is definitely over. By Ukip standards it was a remarkably moderate speech. The only line that slightly jarred was her claim that Ukip was the “opposition party in waiting” (a touch of David Steel telling the Liberals to go back to their constituencies and “prepare for government”?) But she compensated for that with a reasonably good line about the Conservatives and “magpie May” stealing Ukip policies.

But that only raised the question that Alexander Phillips (see 9.51am) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/16/ukip-conference-nigel-farages-last-speech-as-leader-politics-live?page=with:block-57dbb0f0e4b067ad3008849c#block-57dbb0f0e4b067ad3008849c] and others have been asking: if Theresa May is adopting Ukip policies, then what is the role for Ukip? Like Farage earlier, James said Ukip would be insisting that Brexit does actually materialise, but she sounded far less suspicious on this front than Farage did and her demands (see 1.57pm) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/16/ukip-conference-nigel-farages-last-speech-as-leader-politics-live?page=with:block-57dbebcce4b0e813b694da80#block-57dbebcce4b0e813b694da80] sounded much the same as Liam Fox and David Davis’s. In fact, about the only thing she said that would have sounded out of place in a speech at the Conservative party conference was her attack on first-past-the-post.

And that’s why Labour will be pleased by the speech. Ukip lead by a working-class leader with a northern accent committed to blue collar issues would have been a huge threat to Jeremy Corbyn . A party led by someone who sounds like a Tory is much less of a worry.

But in one respect, at least, James’s election should make Labour feel uncomfortable. The Tories are on their second female leader, the SNP, Plaid Cymru and the DUP all have female leaders, the Greens have one too, but the only parties yet to get in on the act are the UK’s two biggest “progressive” ones, Labour and the Lib Dems. Quite why this should be is a bit of a mystery. If anyone can explain it, please post below.

Diane James. Photograph: Matt Cardy/Getty Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.31pm BST

block-time published-time 2.12pm BST

Diana James was elected with 47% of the vote, my colleagues Rowena Mason and Peter Walker report in their story on her election [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/ukip-elects-diane-james-as-new-party-leader]. (Curiously Ukip uses first-past-the-post for its leadership elections, not the alternative vote, even though the party strongly opposes the use of FPTP at Westminster.)

block-time published-time 2.07pm BST

Here is my colleague Rowena Mason’s profile of Diane James.

Related: Diane James offers crumbling Ukip a safe pair of hands [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/diane-james-profile-crumbling-ukip-safe-pair-of-hands]

And here is an extract.

Perhaps [Diane James’] most notable achievement within Ukip is that she has been one of the few senior figures not to have fallen out publicly with Farage.

James is not part of Farage’s inner circle, but those who are close to the former leader say he clearly favoured her as “the only qualified candidate”.

She was also publicly endorsed by Arron Banks, the donor with major influence in the party, who is pushing for internal reforms. Like Farage, he is concerned about the power of Ukip’s elected national executive committee, which prevented the initial frontrunner for the leadership, Steven Woolfe, from standing because he filed his application forms 17 minutes late.

“Diane gave an interview saying if people step out of line, they will be getting their P45s. Nigel is a great politician but maybe not a great man manager,” Banks says. “Diane is probably more steely than Nigel. And she needs to deal with them.”

block-time published-time 2.01pm BST

James asks people to help her make “Ukip the winning machine will become”.

And that’s it. She gets a round of applause, but it is a bit perfunctory.

block-time published-time 1.59pm BST

James says, from one grammar school girl to another, she says stop the fudge, and get on with it - invoke article 50.

She says the best Christmas present Ukip could have would be to have it on 25 December.

block-time published-time 1.58pm BST

James claims Ukip is the “opposition party in waiting” James says if Theresa May is watching, she is watching the “opposition party in waiting”.

\* James claims Ukip is the “opposition party in waiting”.

block-time published-time 1.57pm BST

James says it must be no to single market membership, no to Brexit lite, and no to keeping free movement.

And it must be yes to exit from the EU , yes to a sovereign United Kingdom, yes to trade and yes to an **immigration** system that lets in those with the skills and values this country wants.

block-time published-time 1.55pm BST

James says the party needs to change.

It won’t be change for the sake of it; it will be because change is necessary.

She wants Ukip to be a winning machine, she says.

\* James says party structure needs to change.

block-time published-time 1.54pm BST

James says Britain is embarking on a new era.

And so is Ukip, she says.

I am not Nigel-like. I am not even Nigel-lite.

But she will do everything she can to be successful.

She says politics is different from what she has done before - leading companies and boards, in the public and private sector.

She says she will need the party to support her.

And she supports Ukip values: democracy, opportunity and pragmatic solutions to the country’s problems.

She says she will always be honest. And she will always support the party’s values.

block-time published-time 1.52pm BST

James pays tribute to Nigel Farage, and asks the audience to applaud him.

block-time published-time 1.51pm BST

James says the 17m people who voted for Brexit voted to reach out to the world.

They voted for an outward-looking country, she says.

And they voted for control of the borders.

She says if the Tories do not insist on control of borders, Ukip will fight them.

block-time published-time 1.49pm BST

James pays tribute to the work of Ukip MEPs in preparing its policy ideas.

And she says she is glad Nigel Farage will stay in the European parliament givingn grief to the Eurocrats.

block-time published-time 1.48pm BST

James says Ukip must prepare manifesto to be “battle ready” for an election James says she outlined her first 100 days’ priorities during the campaign.

She wants the party to be “battle ready” for an election, she says.

At the last election Ukip’s manifesto was the best one available. She wants to ensure that applies again.

She wants Ukip to be a proper political force.

\* James says Ukip must prepare a manifesto to be “battle ready” for an election.

She accuses Theresa May of being “magpie May”, stealing Ukip’s idea, like grammar schools.

\* James accuses “magpie [Theresa] May” of stealing Ukip’s policies.

block-time published-time 1.45pm BST

James says Ukip cannot take its eye off the elephant in the room.

It has just one one heat in the contest to leave the EU , she says.

But, she says, the UK’s signature ink is not yet dry on that document.

And until it is, she says, to every single “remainiac”, we are still in, she says.

Britain is still in, she says.

block-time published-time 1.43pm BST

James thanks grassroots supporters.

She says councillors face a huge challenge in 2017.

She will be behind them, she says. She will ensure they get the support they need.

block-time published-time 1.42pm BST

James says Ukip are the “political change” movement James thanks the media for being here.

That is because Ukip are the political change movement, she says.

\* James says Ukip are the “political change” movement.

block-time published-time 1.41pm BST

Diane James's speech Diane James is speaking now.

She starts by saying “we did it” (ie, win the referendum), and then she says she did it (win the leadership election).

She thanks members and says she is deeply honoured to succeed Nigel Farage.

She has been an MEP for two years, she says. She may not have fought a parliamentary seat, but she has helped in parliamentary campaigns.

She says the first-past-the-post system is flawed.

And “project fear” tactics have had their day, she says.

block-time published-time 1.37pm BST

Diane James elected Ukip leader The afternoon session has started. Paul Oakden, the current chairman, is announcing the results.

He says 17,917 people voted. Diane James won.

Here are the figures.

Diane James - 8,451

Lisa Duffy - 4,591

Bill Etheridege - 2,052

Philip Broughton - 1,545

Elizabeth Jones - 1,203

block-time published-time 1.30pm BST

In the hall members are now gathering for the announcement of the results of the leadership contest.

block-time published-time 1.28pm BST

Lunchtime summary

\* Nigel Farage used this final speech as Ukip leader to set three tests for the government that will show whether Brexit is really being delivered. Claiming that there is already evidence that Theresa May is heading for a “soft” Brexit - he cited what she said at the G20 about the UK getting back just “some” control over **immigration** - he said Ukip would judge whether Brexit was being delivered by three measures.

We will judge whether Brexit means Brexit for me on three very simple measures. By the time the next general election comes along, will we have back our territorial fishing waters around the coast of the United Kingdom? Will we be outside the single market?

And above all the acid test of Brexit, the only time we will really know....that Brexit means Brexit is when that has been put in the bin and we get back a British passport.

He said Ukip were essential to ensuring these things were delivered.

I have a feeling they are not going to deliver all of that, and I’m certain they are not going to deliver it unless Ukip is strong and fighting hard in every single constituency in this country. As I say, we have won the war, we must now win the peace.

\* He said Ukip could win many more votes from Labour.

Not only are there millions of people out there who feel loyal to us, but I don’t think that the harvest of votes that we could potentially get from the Labour Party has really even started yet.

\* He said that, after stepping down as Ukip leader, he would support anti-EU movements in Europe. He might also build up his profile in the US, he said.

I intend this autumn to travel around other European capitals to try and help independence and democracy movements in those countries too. Who knows I may even go back to America at some point. I’m going to be engaged in political life without leading a political party.

\* He said Ukip needed to change.

We have to change our management structures, and we have to guard - because one of the problems of success is that it brings people into the party who perhaps don’t do it for altruistic aims for the country or its people but perhaps are more motivated by their own professional careers in politics.

Nigel Farage to Ukip: now I’m free to speak my mind [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/sep/16/nigel-farage-to-ukip-now-im-free-to-speak-my-mind-video]

\* Paul Nuttall, the Ukip leader, criticised leading figures in the party for feuding, accusing them of creating a “cancer in the heart of the party”. He did not name names, but he suggested all factions had been to blame.

I will be frank at this point, because I can be now. Ukip has not been a happy camp for over a year, and the animosity has spilt over into the media. No one, no one has emerged from this with their head held high..

The designation process between Leave.EU and VoteLeave created a cancer in the heart of the party and led to its leading lights using Ukip as a football - so much so that the party resembles a jigsaw that has been emptied onto the floor. The new leader must put it back together. And this can only be done through talking to people, not issuing empty threats or pursuing internal naval gazing schemes that will most likely amount to nothing.

\* Nuttall has said Farage must avoid intervening when a new leader takes over.

The opportunities are there, today is a breakwater in the history of this party. It is a changing of the guard, both Nigel and I are standing down from the stage, and standing down must mean standing down.

The new leader will not benefit in any way, shape or form if any of us attempt to backseat drive. They must be their own person, they must stamp their own mark and they must control every lever of the party.

\* He said the party had to unite.

They must not lead what the Westminster journalists call a Faragista Ukip or a Carswellite Ukip - they must lead Ukip, a Ukip for everyone. They must ensure that the party is a big tent where all talents are utilised and people are not marginalised for simply holding alternative viewpoints.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.16pm BST

block-time published-time 1.07pm BST

Here are tweets from two Guardian colleagues on the Farage speech.

enltrPaul Nuttall was explicit: Farage should stay away from front line. But Farage, up next, served notice he's not going to.

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/776751219264086016]enltrSo Farage quits as leader but will remain leader of UKIP group in EU parliament. That's quite some backseat driver.

— Gaby Hinsliff (@gabyhinsliff) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/gabyhinsliff/status/776745404562104320]block-time published-time 12.53pm BST

Nigel Farage's speech - Verdict Nigel Farage’s speech - Verdict: Enoch Powell is one of Nigel Farage’s political heroes, and so there is a certain irony in the fact that Farage’s departure disproves Powell’s most famous contribution to the Oxford Dictionary of Quotations. [https://sluggerotoole.com/2014/10/10/essay-all-political-careers-end-in-failure-the-legacy-of-enoch-powell/] Echoing comments made by other speakers earlier Farage said that the EU referendum would never have happened if it had not been for Ukip and, unlike a lot of claims made by Brexiteers, this one passes the truth test. (See 9.18am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/16/ukip-conference-nigel-farages-last-speech-as-leader-politics-live?page=with:block-57dac330e4b0e813b694d5b0#block-57dac330e4b0e813b694d5b0] It is very rare to see a politician stand down having succeeded so completely in his own terms and, if this speech was triumphalist, then that was understandable. But in fact it was more reflective than smug, and Farage was very interesting as he reminisced on how Ukip had emerged from nothing, and how PR (for the European elections) was absolutely crucial to the party’s success. Whether electoral reformers will regard that as good or bad for their case is another matter.

Otherwise, by Farage’s standards, it was relatively low key. Apart from taking a swipe at Neil Hamilton, he avoided the temptation to engage in internal party score-settling. (Perhaps he got that out of his system with Sky.) [http://news.sky.com/story/farage-on-carswell-i-dont-know-why-he-joined-10579532] Instead he gave us some clues as to what he will be doing next: supporting leave movements in other EU countries, and building up a profile in the US. He repeated his claim that Ukip has a huge opportunity to take votes from Labour. And, interestingly, he set three tests for Brexit. Two of those may well be achieved by 2020: British passports (preferably old-style blue, hard-cover, inconveniently-sized ones, he implied) and withdrawal from the single market. But the chances of Britain having exclusive access to fishing waters up to 200 miles off the coast are slight because EU countries almost certainly would not accept this, and the threat of retaliatory measures would make it not worth the risk ( see this House of Commons briefing paper) [http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7669]. So it may be that Farage is already setting the conditions for a “Brexit betrayal” narrative that Ukip could use in the 2020 general election.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.54pm BST

block-time published-time 12.16pm BST

Farage is getting an adulatory standing ovation.

And now they are giving him three cheers - which is very Ukip.

block-time published-time 12.15pm BST

Farage ends by saying that, now he is no longer constrained by office, he will be free to speak his mind.

block-time published-time 12.14pm BST

Farage says he will help parties in other EU countries campaigning to leave the EU Farage says he is not leaving politics. He will support the new Ukip leader. And he will continue to sit in the European parliament leading the Ukip group.

And in the autumn he will travel around Europe helping democracy movements.

\* Farage says he will help parties in other EU countries campaigning to leave the EU .

He may even return to America, he says.

Nigel Farage speaking alongside Donald Trump at a Trump rally last month. Photograph: Jonathan Bachman/Getty Images block-time published-time 12.12pm BST

Farage says he never expected to achieve this.

I have put absolutely all of me into this. I could not have worked any harder or been any more determined. I guess it has been my life’s work to get the party to this point. I could not have done any more. I think, folks, I have done my bit.

block-time published-time 12.11pm BST

Farage sets his 3 tests for whether Brexit means Brexit Farage says the process of Ukip taking votes from Labour has barely started.

Jeremy Corbyn may be a principled man, he says. But he does not believe in Britain.

He says he will judge whether Brexit means Brexit by three measures.

1 - Will the UK get back control of it fishing territorial waters?

2 - Will we be out of the single market?

3 - Will we have British passports again? He is flourishing his EU -style passport.

Farage says he does not think the government will deliver on this.

block-time published-time 12.08pm BST

Farage criticises careerists who have joined Ukip Farage says Ukip was a grassroots party. Until 1999 it did not even have any elected representatives. It did not have nationally-known figures.

It was run by the grassroots, he says.

But now it has to modernise, he says.

He says some people have come into the party who are not motivated by altruism, but who are in it for their own careers.

(That is probably a jibe at Neil Hamilton.)

\* Farage criticises careerists who have joined Ukip.

block-time published-time 12.06pm BST

Farage says he wishes the new leader the best of luck. He guesses it will be a her.

His job is not to interfere. But if the new leader wants advice, he is four-square behind the party.

He pays tribue to Steve Crowther. The Lib Dems have more than 100 peers. If Ukip get peers, Crowther should be top of the list, he says.

block-time published-time 12.05pm BST

Farage says Theresa May said Brexit meant Brexit.

But he thinks her views are starting to change, he says.

He says at the G20 May said the Brexit vote meant people wanted “some” controls over **immigration**. That’s wrong, he says. They want full control.

He says, with Labour in trouble and the Conservatives in a very easy position, the temptation from May will be to go for a “soft” Brexit.

He says Ukip has won the war. But it must win the peace too.

The only way to ensure this “is for Ukip to be healthy and for Ukip to be strong”.

block-time published-time 12.02pm BST

Farage says Ukip won the 2014 European elections.

Without Ukip, there would have been no referendum, he says. And without the party’s members, there would have been no ground campaign.

Together, we have changed the course of British history.

They have also brought down the prime minister, and got rid of the chancellor, and got rid of a European commissioner.

There are cheers after each of those three is listed.

Farage says he predicted an earthquake in British politics. That happened, he says.

block-time published-time 12.00pm BST

Farage says Ukip were not frightened to talk about the need for **immigration** controls. At the time that was a taboo subject.

Other people could not touch the subject because they were committed to the EU , and free movement.

block-time published-time 11.59am BST

Farage says Ukip owed its early success to the introduction of PR for the European elections in 1999 Farage says the advent of PR for the European elections in 1999 made all the difference.

\* Farage says Ukip owed its early success to the introduction of PR for the European elections in 1999.

Farage says he was interviewed then. It was his first interview. He was asked if, when he went to Brussels and got invited to all the drinks parties and dinners, he would be corrupted by the lifestyle. “No,” he replied. “I’ve always been like that.”

block-time published-time 11.57am BST

Farage says he was the first Ukip candidate, at the Eastleigh byelection.

By 164 votes he beat the late, great Screaming Lord Sutch, he says.

block-time published-time 11.57am BST

Farage says that it felt like a fairy tale on the night of the referendum when he realised they would win.

He jointed the Anti-federalist League 25 years ago. Not many people can say that, because there weren’t many of them.

Then it turned into Ukip. His friends thought he was mad. But it did not matter. To him, it was a matter of principle.

block-time published-time 11.55am BST

It has finally stopped.

We did it, Farage says. And we could not have done it without you.

block-time published-time 11.55am BST

They are still clapping.

block-time published-time 11.54am BST

Farage gets a standing ovation as he takes to the stage.

block-time published-time 11.52am BST

It includes the clip of President Obama saying the UK will be “at the back of the queue” for a trade deal if it leaves the EU .

That generates loud booing in the hall.

block-time published-time 11.52am BST

Nigel Farage's speech Nigel Farage is about to speak.

Ukip are first showing a “Farage’s greatest hits” video.

block-time published-time 11.50am BST

Crowther says commentators are baffled by the way someone like Nigel Farage, who went to private school and worked in the City, could speak for the people.

But he can, Crowther says.

He says the media used to replay Farage’s gaffes regulary, “in the belief that that would put people off him.”

It took them some years for them to understand that that is what made people want to vote for him.

block-time published-time 11.49am BST

Crowther says the “gilded elite” are refusing to accept the referendum result.

And it is being led by the Tory peer Lady Wheatcroft, who has said the Lords should try to block Brexit. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-uk-leaves-the-eu-36940775]

Crowther says this would not only be a suicide note for the Lords; it would mark the end of democracy.

But her comments show that Ukip’s claims about the elite obstructing the will of the people are correct, he says.

He says Lady Wheatcroft if Baroness Wheatcroft of Blackheath. Blackheath is where the peasants’ revolt took place, he says. And if Wheatcroft has her way, there will be another peasants’ revolt.

block-time published-time 11.43am BST

The Daily Mirror’s Dan Bloom has a very jolly picture gallery of the 11 most Ukip things at the Ukip conference. [http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/11-most-ukip-things-conference-8847397#ICID=sharebar\_twitter]

block-time published-time 11.42am BST

He turns to the future of Ukip’s NEC. (See 10am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/16/ukip-conference-nigel-farages-last-speech-as-leader-politics-live?page=with:block-57daccf8e4b067ad3008811c#block-57daccf8e4b067ad3008811c]

He says the party’s constitution was set up with the intention of creating a power balance between the leader and the NEC.

For five of his six years it worked well, he says.

But in the last year he says it has become dysfunctional.

He says Ukip needs to reform itself, and get “back in order”.

block-time published-time 11.39am BST

Crowther says Nigel Farage asked him to be party chairman in 2010.

Farage said accepting the job would ruin Crowther’s life. But in fact he had the opportunity to contribute to making history.

block-time published-time 11.37am BST

Steve Crowther's speech Steve Crowther, the former Ukip party chairman, is speaking now.

He says he has always had a low profile. He is just really here to say goodbye and thank you, he says.

But he does have some advice for the party.

block-time published-time 11.36am BST

My colleague Simon Jenkins has written a First thoughts column saying Ukip should now disband. Here’s an excerpt.

Ukip followed the short-lived Referendum party [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Referendum\_Party] as essentially a single-issue party. Farage has declared that issue over. The party’s fate is now to descend into the grimy fringes of British politics, characterised by petty rivalries and personal disputes. They are held in place only by a collective unpleasantness, and hatred for some perceived foe.

Last June the British people rebelled, peacefully but emphatically, against what it saw as its ruling class. It was a gesture of democratic defiance: to some an act of political suicide, to others of political genius. The nation is still reeling. That the rebellion pumped adrenaline into Ukip’s veins is understandable. But it has done its job. It should respect its victory and go.

And here is the article in full.

Related: Ukip’s work is done – the party should respect its victory and disband [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/16/ukip-work-done-party-conference-should-disband]

block-time published-time 11.33am BST

Huffington Post’s Owen Bennett has high praise for the Paul Nuttall speech.

enltrThat @paulnuttallukip [https://twitter.com/paulnuttallukip] speech was his Kinnock 1985 moment. https://t.co/YGwgZu3z9K [https://t.co/YGwgZu3z9K] speech was his Kinnock 1985 moment.

— Owen Bennett (@owenjbennett) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/owenjbennett/status/776728866886942720]block-time published-time 11.22am BST

Paul Nuttall's speech - Summary Here are the main points from Paul Nuttall’s speech.

\* Nuttall criticised colleagues for infighting and said that, as a result, the party was broken, like “a jigsaw that has been emptied onto the floor.

\* He said the new leader had to unite the party and avoid factionalism.

\* He said Nigel Farage should resist the urge to interfer when he stands down.

\* He said Ukip could replace Labour as the party of the working class.

\* He said the party needed new internal structures, but that it would be a mistake not to have an elected national executive.

enltrA very relaxed @paulnuttallukip [https://twitter.com/paulnuttallukip] addresses activists. If he'd stood in the leadership election he'd have walked it pic.twitter.com/jlJ1zRLqrK [https://t.co/jlJ1zRLqrK] addresses activists. If he'd stood in the leadership election he'd have walked it

— Owen Bennett (@owenjbennett) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/owenjbennett/status/776716988378910720]block-time published-time 10.52am BST

Nuttall says it has been a great honour to be deputy leader. He thanks members for their support. They are the lifeblood of the party, he says. Leader and deputy leaders come and go. But without members, the party is nothing.

And that’s it. Nuttall is now getting a very enthusiastic standing ovation.

block-time published-time 10.51am BST

Nuttall says eight years ago the party did not register in the polls. Not a single journalist attended its national conference, he says.

But in 2014 it became the first party since 1906 other than Labour or the Conservatives to win a national election.

block-time published-time 10.49am BST

Nuttall says there must be some constitutional reform.

He says he has proposed a new party board.

But it must be democratic, he says.

Do not allow the party to become like the European commission that you have destroyed.

He says there should be a political board for the party, but also a national executive elected by the regions.

block-time published-time 10.48am BST

Nuttall says he wants to talk about the new leader.

Ukip has not been a happy camp for over a year, and the animosity has spilled over into the media. No one has emerged from this with their head held high.

He says Ukip’s leading lights have used it “as a football”.

The party resembles a jigsaw that has been emptied onto the floor. The new leader must put it back together.

He says today is a breakwater for the party. It is a changing of the guard.

He and Nigel Farage are standing down.

And standing down must mean standing down. The new leader will not benefit if any of us backseat drive.

He says the new leader must not lead a Faragist Ukip or a Carswellite Ukip. They must lead a Ukip for everyone.

People should not be marginalised for holding alternative views, he says.

He says any party can be judged by how it treats people with different opinions. Ukip must get better at that, he says.

He says the new leader should look outwards, not inwards. Ukip must “focus on fighting Ukip’s enemies and not each other”.

block-time published-time 10.44am BST

Nuttall says he told the Ukip conference a few years ago that Ukip should become the party of the working class. At the time people did not believe that. But now it is becoming clear that that is realistic, he says. He says Labour has lost touch with its working class supporters.

block-time published-time 10.43am BST

Nuttall says he wants Britain to now forge better relations with Commonwealth countries.

block-time published-time 10.42am BST

Nuttall says the referendum would not have happened without Ukip.

He tells the members that they will be thanked by the generations to come. The Brexit vote will shape Britain’s destiny for the next half century, he says. Britain will now have control of its own future.

He says any attempt to allow continued free movement for EU citizens “will not be acceptable”.

block-time published-time 10.39am BST

Paul Nuttall's speech Paul Nuttall, the outgoing deputy leader, is speaking now.

He starts by saying Ukip succeeded. It has got the UK out of this “sclerotic, out-of-date union”.

And it did so just in time, he says. He says Jean-Claude Juncker has just said the EU is going ahead with plans for a European army. When Nigel Farage said the EU wanted its own army in his TV debates with Nick Clegg in 2014, Clegg said that was a fantasy. What has happened to him?

Nuttall says the UK will “go from strength to strength free from the shackles of our Brussels masters”.

block-time published-time 10.35am BST

This is from the FT’s Sebastian Payne on Nigel Farage’s speech later.

enltrKey messages of Farage's speech today: we won the Brexit war, now need to broker the peace + party must rally behind new leader #UKIPConf [https://twitter.com/hashtag/UKIPConf?src=hash]

— Sebastian Payne (@SebastianEPayne) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SebastianEPayne/status/776713989552209920]block-time published-time 10.33am BST

Stevens says he does not understand the Westminster obsession with staying in the single market.

That would involve accepting unlimited **immigration**, all EU rules, and the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice , he says.

We don’t want to be in the single market. We want free trade.

He says the UK’s negotiating position with the EU is stronger than people realise. If we don’t get a trade deal, we can just leave, he says. After that the EU will be falling over itself to do a deal.

block-time published-time 10.31am BST

Stevens says he thinks the UK should either become a free trade area after Brexit (ie, impose no tariffs on imports) or adopt World Trade Organisation rules). And it should do so as soon as possible, he says.

Of course there will be problems, he says. But the threat that firms will relocated to the continent should be ignored. In practice, firms are not going to want to move to countries like Spain, France, Greece or even Germany, he says.

block-time published-time 10.28am BST

Michael Crick has also established that Neil Hamilton, the former Tory minister who resigned following the cash-for-questions scandal and who is now leader of the Ukip group in the Welsh assembly, will not be returning to his old party.

enltrWould Neil Hamilton ever defect back to the Tories? "A dog never returns to its vomit," he told me

— Michael Crick (@MichaelLCrick) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MichaelLCrick/status/776711415830810624]block-time published-time 10.26am BST

Ukip could soon have its own version of Momentum, Channel 4 News’s Michael Crick reports. He has been speaking to Arron Banks, the millionaire Ukip donor who co-founded Leave.EU.

enltrArron Banks tells me Leave.eu polling members about setting up new Momentum style movement to work alongside Ukip pic.twitter.com/GLqfgYwCyQ [https://t.co/GLqfgYwCyQ]

— Michael Crick (@MichaelLCrick) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MichaelLCrick/status/776709568105705472]block-time published-time 10.25am BST

Stevens criticises Vote Leave for not cooperating with Ukip. There would not have been a referendum without Ukip and Nigel Farage, he says. And he says Vote Leave eventually realised that it did need to talk about **immigration** in the EU referendum campaign (as Ukip advocated.)

block-time published-time 10.23am BST

I’m sitting on the floor at the back of the conference hall and I haven’t had any problems with Ukip members or staff at all. But my colleague Darren McCaffrey hasn’t had such a happy experience.

enltrJust been told by a @UKIP [https://twitter.com/UKIP] delegate that "I'm a f\*\*king c\*\*t and I should shut the f\*\*k up." Ah... Conference season really has begun.

— Darren McCaffrey (@DMcCaffreySKY) September 16, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DMcCaffreySKY/status/776710442857144320]block-time published-time 10.20am BST

Stevens says that, after the election of the new leader, there may be “disgruntled members who seek to disrupt the party”. That must be avoided at all costs, he says.

This gets a cheer from the audience.

block-time published-time 10.18am BST

Almost all the seats in the hall are full, although Ukip are not using the main arena at the Bournemouth International Conference centre. They are in one of the smaller rooms. It looks as if there are around 1,000 people in the rooms.

Lord Stevens, the Ukip peer, is currently speaking. The gist of his speech is that all the doom-laden predictions about what would happen if Britain voted for Brexit have been proved wrong.

block-time published-time 10.11am BST

Alexandra Phillips, Ukip’s former communications director who has defected to the Tories, was also on the Today programme this morning. This is what she said about feuding in the party.

There are far too many schisms and divisions which I think at this point are irreparable. There are so many factions in Ukip it becomes a Venn diagram, almost, where my enemy’s enemy is my friend.

Part of Nigel [Farage] stepping down was because a lot of things had ground to a halt. Being able to keep the machine oiled and functioning in terms of co-operating and working with the National Executive Committee had all dried up.

I think Nigel eventually just threw his hands up and went ‘Well, what’s the point?’

block-time published-time 10.08am BST

And while I’m on the subject of Ukip articles published over the summer, this Bagehot column in the Economist is definitely worth reading. [http://www-economist-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/britain/21706337-brexit-achieved-and-nigel-farage-gone-little-remains-unite-uk-independence-party] Here’s an excerpt.

Beyond leaving the EU , virtually nothing unites Ukip. The party is at once libertarian and authoritarian. It preaches individual freedom but contains admirers of Vladimir Putin . It wants to privatise the National Health Service , apart from when it does not. It has flirted with both a tax on luxury goods and deep tax cuts for the richest. It hems and haws on gay marriage, halal food and the burkini. It is vague about what sort of **immigrants** Britain should let in, and in what numbers. Even on the EU it is utterly divided: some (like Mr Carswell) want Britain outside the union to become a European Singapore, while others (like Aaron Banks, the forthright businessman who bankrolled the party’s pro-Brexit efforts) want something more like a return to the 1950s.

All parties, and especially populist ones, contain a range of views. Yet they tend to congregate around certain stretches of the political spectrum. Founded in pursuit of Brexit alone, UKIP has no such common ground. On sprawling, defining themes like the vocation of the state, the meaning of nationhood, the interaction of public and private spheres, and the roles of pluralism, globalisation and citizenship in modern societies it has no continuity and is irredeemably at odds with itself. That inhibits it from establishing and sticking to the sort of long-term strategy it needs to become and remain more professional.

This points to a grim cycle. The last time Mr Farage resigned, UKIP tumbled. For 11 ignominious months Lord Pearson, a languidly aristocratic former Tory, trashed his party’s prospects: in a television interview shortly before the 2010 election he appeared not even to have read its 14-page manifesto. All of which may now repeat itself. “One quite plausible possibility is we end up with a re-run of the Lord Pearson experience: a year or two of messy and incoherent leadership under a figure not cut out for the big leagues, then Farage comes back,” suggests Robert Ford, a UKIP expert at Manchester University . The fact is that UKIP’s weaknesses point to Mr Farage’s weird genius. Besides the quest for Brexit, his unique schtick was all the party had. Now, again, it may be its only salvation.

block-time published-time 10.00am BST

Nigel Farage on Ukip's NEC Earlier I quoted what Nigel Farage had to say about Ukip’s national executive committee. He made the comment in an article for Breitbart last month. [http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/08/01/ukip-needs-to-play-the-long-game-and-bypass-the-total-amateurs-on-the-national-executive-committee/] His full critique is so remarkable it is worth quoting at length.

But the barrier to radical change and the modernisation of UKIP was implanted in the mid-1990’s. It is called the National Executive Committee. Many of its current crop are among the lowest grade of people I have ever met. To them, being a member of the governing body of Britain’s third-largest political party is the equivalent of scaling Everest.

People with no qualification in business or politics make the ultimate decisions of whom should be our candidate at a by-election. Or whether the former disgraced Tory MP Neil Hamilton should be given a route back to public life via being elected as an Assembly Member in Wales. It may sound odd to many but I have been a moderniser in Ukip. I have been fought at every step of the way by total amateurs who come to London once a month with sandwiches in their rucksacks, to attend NEC meetings that normally last seven hours.

The new Leader of Ukip should bypass the vanity of such people and make big decisions about Ukip’s future via direct polling of the membership. Yes of course, it brings risk but in a way we get back to the Brexit referendum result. Do you trust the political class or the people? Ukip must trust its members. Whoever wins, if they have the courage to transform the management of our party they will have my wholehearted support.

It says a great about Farage that he views having sandwiches for lunch as a key indicator of someone’s essential worthlessness. Farage, of course, is a champion of the PFL - the “proper fucking lunch”. [https://www.buzzfeed.com/emilyashton/another-bottle-please?utm\_term=.fya7kRKmMD#.is3j5Jb0Xa]

block-time published-time 9.51am BST

In her interview with my colleague Anushka Asthana [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/nigel-farage-aide-says-ukip-supporters-have-flocked-to-tories], Alexandra Phillips, the former Ukip communications chief who has defected to the Tories, explained why Paul Nuttall is right to worry about more Ukip supporters switching. She said under Theresa May the Tories were now implementing Ukip policies.

If you look at our 2015 manifesto, Theresa May has announced it all in the first months of being prime minister – grammar schools, fracking, Brexit means Brexit, controlling **immigration**. The things that made me resolutely Ukip are the things that Theresa May is doing now.

Phillips is not the only senior Ukip figure to have defected. Yesterday Steve Stanbury, a former Ukip director, told the BBC’s Daily Politics he had defected to the Tories. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37374340] He explained:

[Ukip’s] best days are behind it... Ukip’s mission was to get a referendum and to contribute to the winning of that referendum, and it has done that spectacularly well... Going forwards it’s the Conservative party that’s better placed to deliver on Brexit.

block-time published-time 9.44am BST

Here are some of the other Ukip stories around this morning.

\* Nigel Farage has used an interview with Sky News to criticise both Douglas Carswell, Ukip’s only MP, and the archbishop of Canterbury. [http://news.sky.com/story/farage-on-carswell-i-dont-know-why-he-joined-10579532] On the archbishop he said:

It’s a great shame that the head of our established church is not actually prepared to stand up and fight for our Christian culture in this country. He’s somebody else who should go too.

And on Carswell he said:

I don’t know why he joined. Genuinely, I don’t know why he joined.He doesn’t seem to support anything we stand for - it’s very odd.

\* David Maddox in the Daily Express says that, contrary to expectations, the race to succeed Farage is too close to call. [http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/711126/Ukip-beg-Nigel-Farage-spoil-ballot-papers-leadership-election]

Mr Farage is due to give his last speech as leader at the party conference in Bournemouth this morning where he will get a hero’s reception for winning the campaign to get Britain out of the EU .

But with his successor due to be unveiled this afternoon, it is understood that the race to lead Ukip is “too close to call” between South East MEP Diane James and former party director Cllr Lisa Duffy with a shock on the cards.

Cllr Duffy, who has won plaudits from Ukip members for taking a tough line on Muslims wearing the veil in public and calling for a ban on Muslim schools, could be on the verge of a shock victory.

\* Paul Nuttall, the outgoing deputy Ukip leader, has told the Today programme that the party now faces a problem with supporters defecting to the Tories. As the Telegraph reports [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/16/nigel-farage-insists-he-will-support-new-ukip-leader-but-says-im/], he told the programme:

This is the issue that the new leader will have to face and probably one that Nigel Farage never had to face. Now there is a possible new home for people and people may well drift across. That’s why it’s so important that Ukip unifies.

And here is a picture of Nigel Farage’s socks, taken when Farage was in the European parliament earlier this week, just to prove that Theresa May is not the only politician whose shoes get photographed.

Nigel Farage’s socks. Photograph: Vincent Kessler/Reuters block-time published-time 9.18am BST

The United Kingdom Independence Party (Ukip) starts its autumn conference in Bournemouth today. Its supporters would claim that it is the most successful party in the history of British politics. Its detractors would claim that it is one of the most shambolic and useless. Both descriptions are reasonably accurate.

Ukip has only won one national election (the European elections in 2014) and it only has one MP, but if you judge a party by whether it has achieved its key objective, then Ukip’s record is hard to fault. Just over 20 years after it was founded, it got exactly what it wanted: a referendum on EU membership, and a vote to leave. No other party can make this boast. There is an argument to be had about quite how important a part Ukip played in the EU referendum campaign itself. (Douglas Carswell, Ukip’s only MP, told the Guardian at the weekend that leave only won because Vote Leave ignored the approach favoured by Ukip’s leader Nigel Farage.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/09/douglas-carswell-im-having-far-too-much-fun-lo-leave-ukip] But Ukip was decisive in ensuring that the referendum was held in the first place. David Cameron has a hearty dislike for Farage and Ukip, and he conceded a referendum because he was under pressure to do so from Tory MPs, but those Tories had leverage because the Ukip started soaring after the 2010 general election and Cameron concluded that, without offering a referendum, the Conservative party could not win in 2015 (and/or he could not survive as leader).

But, organisationally, Ukip is also a total disaster. In fact, it is so riven with hate and feuding that it makes Labour relatively harmonious. The intricacies of who loathes who are not straightforward (BuzzFeed ’s Emily Ashton wrote a very good, lengthy analysis a few weeks ago) [https://www.buzzfeed.com/emilyashton/seriously-what-the-heck-is-going-on-with-ukip-right-now] but essentially it is Farage, the outgoing leader who sought to run the party as a one-man dictatorship versus his enemies, not least those on Ukip’s national executive committee, “among the lowest grade of people I have ever met”, as he describes them. [http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/08/01/ukip-needs-to-play-the-long-game-and-bypass-the-total-amateurs-on-the-national-executive-committee/] but essentially it is Farage, the outgoing leader who sought to run the party as a one-man dictatorship versus his enemies, not least those on Ukip’s national executive committee, “among the lowest grade of people I have ever met”,

Farage has had two stints as leader and he resigned for the second time (or the third if you included the 2015 resignation followed by the “unresignation) after the Brexit vote. At today’s conference he will make his outgoing speech as leader before the party announces the result of its leadership contest. The new leader, who is almost certain to be Diane James, the MEP and Eastleigh byelection candidate, will then give a speech before holding a press conference later in the afternoon.

Here are the key timings.

9.45am: The conference opens

10am: William Dartmouth, an MEP and international trade spokesman, speaks.

10.20am: The Ukip peer Lord Stevens speaks.

10.40am: Paul Nuttall, the outgoing deputy leader, speaks.

11.30am: Steve Crowther, the former party chairman speaks.

11.45am: Nigel Farage speaks.

1.30pm: The results of the leadership election are announced, and the new leader speaks.

3.30pm: The new leader holds a press conference.

Here is our conference preview story, by Anushka Asthana.

Related: Nigel Farage aide defects to Tories claiming a mass exodus from Ukip [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/nigel-farage-aide-says-ukip-supporters-have-flocked-to-tories]

I’ve just arrived at the conference centre in Bournemouth and I will post a round-up of overnight Ukip conference stories shortly.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.53am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Chinese artist and activist responds on Twitter saying none of the participants have publicly given their opinion on his work being excluded for political reasons

The architect and artist Anish Kapoor has exhibited at the Yinchaun biennale in China despite planning to boycott the event in solidarity with his friend and fellow artist Ai Weiwei, who was dropped from the program [http://theartnewspaper.com/news/ai-weiwei-dropped-from-biennial-in-china-/] for political reasons.

Ahead of the biennale’s opening last week, Kapoor told journalists in Seoul that he was considering to withdraw: “Since they’ve excluded Weiwei, I think it’s problematic [to show at the biennale],” he said. “To be honest, I’m wondering if I’m going to take part.”

After it emerged that Kapoor’s work was still part of the biennale, which opened on Friday, Ai responded on Twitter by saying that no artist had reacted to the political victimisation of a fellow artist. “Unsurprising for the Chinese art market,” he said, add added that [https://twitter.com/aiww/status/775272014428966912] “of the over 70 artists, most of them from outside of China, none have publicly given their opinion on this issue”.

No artist has reacted to the political victimization of a fellow artist. Unsurprising for the Chinese art market. https://t.co/nVbE9bq5Do [https://t.co/nVbE9bq5Do] — ??? Ai Weiwei (@aiww) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/aiww/status/775272609252511744] (@aiww)

The two artists had joined hands as they walked through London [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/sep/17/ai-weiwei-anish-kapoor-london-walk-refugees] last year, in a march to show solidarity with **refugees** around the world.

Related: Ai Weiwei and Anish Kapoor lead London walk of compassion for **refugees** [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/sep/17/ai-weiwei-anish-kapoor-london-walk-refugees]

Over lunch in Seoul on 31 August, before a new exhibition of his work at the Kukje Gallery, Kapoor said artists needed to take a stand against censorship, and showing at the inaugural Yinchuan biennale implied that they sided with the Chinese government’s alleged censorship of Ai.

“I’m going to dare to say what I really think about it... I think censorship is not acceptable. We need to stand against it,” Kapoor said. “So even though the work’s on the way I’m not sure I’ll show it. One wants to support these things because it’s a fledgling biennale and they’re trying to do the right thing. But to take part means to be on the side of the authorities. I don’t want to make too much of it, but at the same time it’s problematic.”

His stand was widely reported in the art media, but his work opened at the Yinchuan biennale on Friday. Kapoor has yet to give a statement about his involvement.

Organisers of the biennale had invited Ai to exhibit a sculpture made from steel bars [http://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/ai-weiwei-hits-back-after-being-dropped-from-art-show-in-chinas-ningxia-08292016120500.html] taken from the rubble of the 2008 Sichuan earthquake that left 80,000 people dead – but the work was then excluded from the show a month before the opening. Writing on his Instagram account, Ai said, “I have just learned that my artwork has been excluded due to my ‘political sensitivity’.”

He said a “vague” letter [https://twitter.com/aiww/status/768142612331192320] from the artistic director Hsieh Suchen confirmed that his participation had been cancelled – a move that he said “comes as a surprise for an ‘international art biennale’, with over a hundred international artists and a foreign curator”.

He continued: “China is trying to develop into a modern society without freedom of speech, but without political arguments involving higher aesthetic morals and philosophies, art is only served as a puppet of fake cultural efforts.

“Therefore I am happy not to be a part of that effort as a political decoration. I believe the real effort we should make, is in defending freedom of speech for our humanism. Only by doing so, art is worth making.”

Kapoor and Ai have been contacted for further comment by Guardian Australia.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Bridie Jabour travels in search of the people who brought One Nation back into parliament, scattered across the country and with a variety of experiences but with real and imagined grievances at the bedrock of their politics

Kerrie Young’s great yearning in life was to be a rock star. Instead, at 59 years of age, she finds herself as a housewife in Brisbane with two adult children she adores but is confounded by. Her daughter, a Christian convert who is on a scholarship at university, does not “drink, smoke or have sex”, a puzzled Kerrie says. Her husband thinks Kerrie’s a redneck.

Young has been a lifelong Labor voter, but at the last election she cast her No 1 Senate vote for Pauline Hanson’s One Nation party. The future terrifies her.

She is dreadfully nervous about being interviewed as one of the people who voted for Hanson. She speaks quickly at the beginning, looking away and laughing defensively when making certain statements. But she thinks the issue is too important not to speak out about, to try to warn people, to hopefully be at the start of what will become a national conversation.

Related: Pauline Hanson is back, and it's still just as hard to counter her rhetoric with facts[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/10/pauline-hanson-is-back-and-its-still-just-as-hard-to-counter-her-rhetoric-with-facts]

“I don’t think there’s enough awareness of my generation having been told all our lives, paying taxes, paying into superannuation, you can retire, you can get in your bus and travel around, you can go on cruises or whatever, now all of a sudden – boom – you can’t. I want to know why,” she says.

“My friend said retirement is not a right, retirement is a privilege and I can’t see that. If we have all paid our taxes, if our parents have paid their taxes, why are we sending the money overseas, why are we bringing in **refugees** who I read somewhere it cost $60,000 to each set up.

“This is my money. This is our money.”

With her hair in a neat braid, wearing glasses and a simple floral shirt, Young holds forth on all of her fears while sipping a chai latte in a suburban Brisbane shopping centre. Her retirement. Foreign investment. **Immigration**. Mining destroying arable farming lands. She is one of roughly 134,000 who gave Hanson a first preference vote in Queensland. The hundreds of thousands who cast votes for her One Nation party Australia-wide delivered four One Nation representatives into the Senate [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/03/australias-double-dissolution-election-backfires-badly-with-likely-senate-makeup] with the chance to have a powerful influence in a chamber where the government has not got a majority.

In the spirit of most dogmatic people Hanson has not let facts get in the way of her cause[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/10/pauline-hanson-is-back-and-its-still-just-as-hard-to-counter-her-rhetoric-with-facts]. She has warned of Australia being swamped by Muslims[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/video/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-australia-in-danger-of-being-swamped-by-muslims-video] when they make up 2.2% of the population. In the 1990s Hanson’s focus was on Asians – so far she has not explained what happened to the supposed invasion of the 1990s. She has linked organised crime, welfare fraud, unemployment and the prison population to Muslims without producing data or evidence to back her claims.

Rising inequality, coupled with the ability to create communities of people who live tens of thousands kilometres apart through social media, has made a fertile patch for Hanson to flourish in.

Divided by geography, united by fear Young is a housewife whose husband has dealt with health issues for many years, meaning periods where he has not been able to work.

Robyn McLaughlin is an amputee recovering from cancer.

Graham (not his real name) lost his livelihood when he was punched on a night out and acquired a brain injury that meant he was not allowed to work in his manual labour industry anymore.

Shirley’s daughter looked for work on years after finishing university while Shirley looked on helplessly until one day her daughter suggested they both kill themselves.

It’s very, very difficult these days to express anything without sounding racist or non-PC

Kerrie Young

They live scattered across the country, from Western Australia to Newcastle to Townsville, but they all say almost the exact same thing when asked why they voted for Hanson. The economy. They are worried about their futures and terrified for their children’s. Where are they going to live? What jobs are they going to have? How are they going to survive?

Fuelled by posts on social media, particularly Facebook, they have discovered what they think the root of their problems is – foreign investment and asset sales. This segues into concern about **immigration**.

While Malcolm Turnbull has been talking innovation and Bill Shorten has been pitching to the middle class, those becoming poorer and feeling the class lines shifting under their feet, have had just one person listening to them. They don’t just read Hanson’s Facebook page, they are talking to her. She is talking to them. Hanson responds to multiple comments every day, reassuring people who are upset about particular policies and situations, arguing with people who disagree with her and seemingly taking them into her confidence (“I don’t handle compliments very well”) while her fans tell her they are concerned about **immigration**, politician wages (“cut them across the board to the average Australian’s wages”) or offering Hanson advice (“I notice you get quite flustered when you are upset or angry, try mindfulness breathing”).

Or they just talk to her as they would any of their other mates on Facebook. “Good job getting the tea in without looking, really good technique.”

Young has befriended people as part of the community and has had Hanson respond personally to her messages and comments. Young’s political beliefs are a patchwork that don’t follow the conventional patterns – she does not really care about marriage equality either way, is passionate about the environment, suspicious of **immigration** and upset by foreign investment.

She seems slightly surprised at how her life has turned out and will often start ruminating on that while answering questions about policy. At one stage while talking about Indigenous Australians she diverts and reveals she has seen my Facebook profile. “I looked at your wedding photos, you looked so beautiful and happy, I hope you never lose that fresh loveliness, but you will. Nobody gets out of here without a bit of pain.”

Hanson’s One Nation has been Young’s personal middle ground between parties that have let her down. She will not vote Greens as she does not think they talk about the environment enough and she will not vote Nationals because she thinks they don’t believe in climate change. She has never voted Liberal and she is appalled by Labor’s behaviour over the past six years and does not think there is any talent there anyway.

“The rot set in when they all ganged up on Kevin Rudd, everybody I know says Kevin Rudd is a real prick, blah blah blah, if you can’t work with him maybe it’s your problem? Truly brilliant people are really hard to for normal people to deal with, look at Paul Keating. Everyone thought he was an asshole too, but he is brilliant.”

Young thinks Australia does not have the resources to support many more people and there should be a temporary stop to **immigration**, as well as an examination of the welfare system. When it comes to these issues, her angst could almost be lifted directly from Hanson’s maiden speech[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban].

All the businesses are gone, car manufacturing is gone, sugar is gone, everything’s gone for that little bit of money

Shirley

“The ones who are working are getting taxed more and more to pay for the people who aren’t working, it’s just untenable, it’s not possible to keep going that way. It’s like if you get a fish tank and they’ve got too many fish in it, they start eating each other. That’s what happens,” she says.

“It’s very, very difficult these days to express anything without sounding racist or non-PC. I wouldn’t hurt anybody, I don’t care what you do in your own time, I honestly believe there is a section out there who stop any intelligent debate by throwing these ‘vile racist bigot’ comments around. Is there a way to express disapproval of certain value systems and certain belief systems without sounding racist? Is there a way of doing it? Or do you just have to wear it? I’ve been called that, my friend that I walk with every day calls me her redneck friend. And I say to her ‘are you aware that this happens in Islam? Do you understand what Eid is?’”

The cause that dare not speak its name Young is also called a redneck by her husband and the mocking by people close to her is common to other Hanson voters. Further north on the Sunshine Coast Shirley talks in a granny flat she is housesitting.

Shirley’s daughter does not know that she votes Hanson (“I would never tell her, she supports Muslims”) and Shirley is careful before she tells friends, sounding them out first to see if they already agree with her on other issues.

As she welcomes me at the door she tells me she has been researching my name and knows it is Lebanese. “Is your father a Muslim?” she asks narrowing her eyes. To her small comfort the family were Maronite Christian when they arrived in Australia.

Related: Pauline Hanson emerges as the queen of a potentially unruly Senate | Katharine Murphy[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/04/pauline-hanson-emerges-as-the-queen-of-a-potentially-unruly-senate]

“[Hanson is] interested in what I’m interested in which is the selling of Australia, I don’t mind foreign investment but our land is going, if you go to another country you can’t buy the land … Australia is just too open,” she says.

A short and talkative woman who cheerfully describes herself as fat, Shirley is 66 and retired. She has lived in Cairns and Sydney before settling on the Sunshine Coast and voted Labor until she switched to One Nation at the last election. She is also a Sri Lankan **immigrant**.

“I got out of Sydney because people thought I was Muslim, and I get Muslim men looking at me, I started to feel treated differently, in shops people weren’t serving me,” she says.

“I got this in Cairns in the 70s … I remember getting an ice cream for my little girl, who’s really white, can’t go in the sun … they could see me, it was packed this ice cream shop, all these people were behind me, these girls were serving everyone in the shop except for me.

“I got really sick of it, I said really loud ‘Am I too short? Am I too black for you to serve me?’ It happened so many times in Cairns, it really did. We were classed as Aboriginal, we were treated as Aboriginal, which was not very nice.

“There’s still racism here, I feel it I know it and I don’t care.”

So does she have any empathy for how Muslim people, and Aboriginal people, may feel about Hanson and her comments? She concedes Hanson “came across as racist” in the 1990s in the way she spoke about Aboriginal people but what Hanson really wanted was equality for all, not for one group (Indigenous people) to be treated differently from other Australians by getting certain welfare payments.

It’s about time Australians stood ground for their own country

Graham

“She said you’re gonna lose Australia, Australia is going to be lost, and all these yeas later she’s absolutely right, we’re selling Australia. It’s OK to have foreign investments, but all the businesses are gone, car manufacturing is gone, sugar is gone, everything’s gone for that little bit of money, they’ve sold it,” she says.

“They’re sending everything offshore where it’s cheaper, so it’s not Australians getting employed, the mining, they’re employing people on 457 visas, I think it’s the worst thing ever, that loophole.”

Shirley’s primary concern is foreign investment but while others want to ban all **immigration** as an extension of that, or loathe Muslims, she is more tepid. She tells a story of being glared at by a woman in a headscarf to illustrate her point about some of them not being trustworthy.

“Stop the people from coming at the moment, but they’re not all bad, I know some good ones, and they agree, because they say ‘we don’t know who’s coming in’, they consider themselves Australian. They don’t want sharia law, these are Muslims talking to me, the average Australian does not want it, they’re too scared to say anything,” she says.

“I’m not a politician, I’m not an accountant, I’m not anybody who knows anything but I see stuff and think ‘that doesn’t look right to me’, the average Joe Blow feels things more than they actually understand or know, they feel things, they know stuff.”

Hardship, hard yards and grievance unheeded Most of Hanson’s supporters do just “know stuff”. A lot of their news, like most people’s, comes from Facebook. But theirs is dissected by rightwing blogs and sites. Their world view is reinforced on pages such as Hanson’s and their own invitation-only private groups with more than 10,000 people congregating on one.

Related: Comprehending Pauline is not the challenge. Engaging constructively with Hansonism is | Katharine Murphy[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/14/comprehending-pauline-is-not-the-challenge-engaging-constructively-with-hansonism-is]

They are mostly older than 50, mostly live in regional areas, and have not had easy lives. Their grievances, real and imagined, make up the bedrock of their politics. For a long time they have not felt voiceless, but that they have been screaming and nobody is listening to them.

They are driven by their own circumstance, the greater good and other people do not really factor into it. It’s about what they have lost, what’s slipped through their fingers, what their children are going to miss out on. They don’t have the luxury of worrying about other people.

In Newcastle, Robyn McLaughlin is recovering from chemotherapy after being diagnosed with cancer while getting treatment related to her amputated right leg. She has long been faithful to the minor parties and voted for Hanson in the 1990s, for much the same reasons that she votes for her now.

“Bringing all these so-called **refugees** into the country there’s no infrastructure to support what we’ve got here, it’s already been drained. I’m a baby boomer, I’ve worked all my life, I’ve done the hard yards, I’ve paid taxes and yet because I’ve saved money and been taught to be sensible for a rainy day I can’t even get a disability pension, it’s quite unfair. Myself aside, there’s pensioners, veterans, kids on street and all this is being ignored and we’re bringing in all these people, they don’t want to integrate,” she says.

The 67-year-old is a dyed-in-the-wool Hanson supporter who she says she pays extra to go to a butcher that uses a halal free abattoir and that the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement “fits nicely into the global governance that the UN is pushing”.

Graham is another who, having taken body blow after body blow throughout his life, is easily convinced of the existence of villains and Hanson is happy to supply them. Graham suffered an acquired brain injury after being punched in 2001 and though he has recovered his speech and motor skills he is not allowed to work in the maritime industry. After, as he puts it, being followed by the black dog for a number of years, he is rebuilding his life in Western Australia. But he is worried. He is worried about how he is going to keep finding work, he is worried about his daughters on the other side of the country in Victoria, he is worried he could get hit again, he is worried about what could happen next, and he is worried about Muslims.

“Primary schools are going visiting mosques, that’s trying to encourage kids and speaking about their religion, and then when you see their side of Islam and what they do actually believe in is pretty disgusting. Such as against the females, they are not being able to wear a bikini, they see someone wearing a pair of shorts and they think they have the right to rape them,” he says.

It’s just so much easier to call her a racist bigot rather than actually think about something and do something

Kerrie Young

“It’s totally wrong. They turned their religion into a violent religion. It’s about time Australians stood ground for their own country, my grandfather and great uncles didn’t go to war to let other societies into our country to change our religion and the way we live our free life.

“I worry about my kids and their kids, putting all these mosques around Australia. All of a sudden they will be putting their votes in and they won’t allow our Anzacs to sell or pledge their poppies or raise concerns.”

Graham is strident in his political beliefs but does not want his full name printed like many other Hanson supporters. They say they don’t feel ashamed voting for Hanson but most have people very close to them who do not know how they vote.

They see the election of Hanson as a final stand, one of their very last chances to be heard, a slight possibility that maybe the future will be OK. They feel Hanson understands them, and to many Hanson voters, what they feel is crucial.

Back in the suburban shopping centre Young sighs and looks past the shoulder of the person sitting next to her when she talks about the reaction to her choice to vote for Hanson.

“People immediately, many people, the minute you mention Pauline Hanson roll their eyes and call her a racist or a yobbo, or that stupid woman … she’s xenophobic.

Related: Pauline Hanson's maiden speech to the Australian Senate – full text[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/pauline-hansons-maiden-speech-to-the-australian-senate-full-text]

“No, she’s someone who feels something [but] who wasn’t educated enough to know the big words, that’s all. I really believe her heart is in the right place and what she’s trying to say, is very, very pertinent to how we should be thinking bout the future but it’s just so much easier to call her a racist bigot rather than actually think about something and do something about something that is going to affect you and your children.”

Hanson’s views are inflammatory[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/politicians-and-muslim-leaders-condemn-hanson-she-doesnt-know-what-shes-talking-about], divisive and simplistic. But while her supporters’ views can be out of step with mainstream Australia, they constitute a growing minority that needs to be acknowledged. Labor and Liberal parties have had falling primary votes since the early 1990s and at the most recent election One Nation recorded a higher primary vote in Queensland than the Greens. Just condemning Hanson[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/politicians-and-muslim-leaders-condemn-hanson-she-doesnt-know-what-shes-talking-about] is not enough; there is an argument to be properly explained and won. The people who vote for Hanson, mostly from increasingly marginalised communities, are ignored at the country’s peril.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Diane James replaces Nigel Farage, as the anti-establishment party takes a gamble on turning more professional

All political parties contain contradictions, but few are as confused about their purpose as Ukip. The party was founded in opposition to European integration and evolved into a less coherent nationalistic protest movement. On that journey, hostility towards “Brussels” has served as a sanitising agent, lending mainstream propriety to an organisation in which anxiety about a loss of identity sometimes merges with outright racism. The adhesive quality of Euroscepticism is weaker now that Britain has a prime minister committed to Brexit. It is far from clear that Diane James, Ukip’s new leader[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/16/ukip-conference-nigel-farages-last-speech-as-leader-politics-live], is capable of restoring the insurgent energy that gave the party such momentum in the pre-referendum years.

Related: Ukip elects Diane James as new party leader[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/ukip-elects-diane-james-as-new-party-leader]

Ms James ran a cautious campaign[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/diane-james-profile-crumbling-ukip-safe-pair-of-hands], eschewing policy and avoiding debate. In presentational terms she was the slickest candidate; she appealed to members who want a more professional organisation. Nigel Farage shared but never achieved that objective, partly because of his narcissistic character and partly because of the nature of the movement he had built. Beyond the European question, there is a tension in Ukip between an ambition to be respectable and a wilful embrace of maverick identity that rejects “establishment” notions of respectability. This problem was encapsulated in Mr Farage’s problematic relationship with parliament, denouncing it as a den of corruption while desperately trying to win a seat there. The Faragist platform resonated widely enough to give Ukip a double-digit share[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/may/09/margate-ukip-greens-electoral-reform-farage] of the national vote without ever electing him an MP.

That is a technical obstacle of the Westminster voting system, but it expresses also Mr Farage’s failure to reassure mainstream voters that his claims to abhor racism were sincere. Ukip’s only MP, Douglas Carswell[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/oct/10/ukip-wins-clacton-first-parliamentary-seat-douglas-carswell], first won his seat when badged as a Tory, and he espouses an internationalist libertarianism that can share a tent with Ukip’s anti-**immigration**, nativist tendency only if both sides agree to pretend they are compatible. That pretence is breaking down. Mr Carswell would look more at home rejoining the Conservatives. He is not alone. Alexandra Phillips[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/nigel-farage-aide-says-ukip-supporters-have-flocked-to-tories], Ukip’s former head of media, told the Guardian today that she has joined the Tories and claimed that tens of thousands of Ukip members had done the same. Mrs May’s commitment to Brexit, grammar schools and **immigration** control appear to have made her party once again a natural home for those who defected to Ukip in horror at David Cameron’s dalliances with more liberal conservatism.

Even before the Brexit vote, Mr Farage said that his party had reached the limits of growth available by recruiting disgruntled Tories. He envisaged future advances being made in Labour seats in the Midlands, the north of England and Wales. Many Labour MPs, witnessing the receptivity of their core voters to anti-EU messages during the referendum campaign, fear a challenge from Ukip could trigger a collapse of their heartland support. Ms James inherits an organisational shambles where the leading figures hate one another. Her first move was to stop the party’s leader in Wales, the ex-Tory MP Neil Hamilton, from addressing conference. She has the notional support of Mr Farage, but only after his first-choice candidate, **immigration** spokesman Steven Woolfe, was excluded from the ballot[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/31/ukip-leadership-favourite-steven-woolfe-legal-action-excluded] on technical grounds that supporters believe were trumped up and motivated by factional spite. The outgoing leader may not relinquish the limelight to which he has become so obviously addicted.

Anyone who judges Ukip’s influence in British politics to have been pernicious – laundering xenophobia with the ideological detergent of Euroscepticism – may enjoy seeing it consumed by factional bickering. But institutional malaise must not be confused with abeyance of the force Ukip represented. Brexit cannot satisfy many of those who voted to leave the EU because EU membership was not the root of their dissatisfaction. The drivers of Faragism – economic insecurity and disorientation connected to the pace of globalisation – will remain. The capacity of Mrs May’s government to address them while bogged down in complex European negotiations, will be limited. A period of Ukip disarray still creates an opportunity for the Tories and Labour to reconnect with disillusioned supporters who have been lending protest votes to Ukip. That will not be easy, but the moment must be seized quickly. It may not last long.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Messing up the candidate’s hair might seem like friendly fun. But it humanizes a man whose hateful rhetoric has dehumanized millions of Americans

On Thursday, Jimmy Fallon had Donald Trump on the Tonight Show and ended the segment by saying[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u0BYqzdiuJc], “Donald I want to ask you, because the next time I see you you could be the President of the United States. I just want to know if there is something we could do that’s just not really presidential, really – can I mess your hair up?” Trump let him and the NBC audience roared with laughter. But, for many of us, this is very far from being a joke.

Giving comic cover to Trump just isn’t funny when he’s unleashed forces of anti-blackness and anti-**immigrant** sentiment. He’s labelled Mexicans rapists, raised the prospect of a ban on Muslims, patronized and insulted African Americans while pretending to be a potential new hope. As a result, Fallon managed to come over as one powerful white man protecting another.

Not only was it not funny. It didn’t do anything to take Trump down a notch (if it was even meant to). Instead, it humanized him, boosting him on that stupid metric so many Americans use when choosing a president: “Hey, he’s a guy I’d want to have a beer with! Look at him, letting Fallon have fun with him!”

Fallon had real power last night and squandered it. I can’t imagine Chelsea Handler, Trevor Noah or the recently departed Larry Wilmore building up Trump like that.

By smoothing over Trump’s hatefulness with comedy, he allowed the Republican candidate’s supporters to say “Hey, can’t you all take a joke?!” I have been highly critical of Hillary Clinton[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/11/hate-trump-still-hold-clinton-accountable], but the misogyny directed at her by his supporters, who sell “ Trump That Bitch![http://fortune.com/2016/04/25/trump-clinton-misogynistic-merch/] ” shirts and who scream “ lock her up![http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/29/politics/donald-trump-lock-her-up/] ” is terrifying and wrong.

Trump was handed chance to change the story on a day when his conspiracy-minded views on President Obama’s nationality were back on the agenda. The routine smoothed the way for Trump to say he now believes[https://twitter.com/BuzzFeedNews/status/776808050875371521] Obama was born in the US, dashing off before answering any questions about his long espousal of birtherism – which he now blames on Clinton.

Jimmy Fallon, you’ve given permission for all of this to be chalked up as one big joke.

The writer Sarah Schulman recently asked[https://www.facebook.com/sarah.schulman.56/posts/10157468767695188?pnref=story] whether it was “the TV entertainment class that has sold out this country to Donald Trump”. CBS president Les Moonves basically admitted as much when he said[http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/leslie-moonves-donald-trump-may-871464] Trumpism “may not be good for America, but it’s damn good for CBS”. Now, NBC seems to concur. In January of 2015, NBC admirably cut ties [http://www.nydailynews.com/entertainment/tv/nbc-cuts-ties-donald-trump-immigrant-remarks-article-1.2275244] with Trump on the Apprentice and Miss Universe when he called Mexicans rapists. But like most corporations, when they saw how much power he wielded – that he could wind up in the Oval Office – it wanted access. And so last fall they let Trump host Saturday Night Live[http://www.nbc.com/saturday-night-live/video/donald-trump-monologue/2933530], Fallon’s old stomping ground, before allowing him to engage in good humored chat with Fallon last night.

We see you, Jimmy Fallon. You are as “apolitical” as the wretched Jay Leno was, a champion of the status quo. You think the idea of Trump in the White House is as harmless as your face on a pint of Ben and Jerry’s.

Maybe it is to you, as a powerful white man on TV who doesn’t have to worry about life as a woman, Muslim, Black or Latin person, **immigrant**, or queer American living under Trumpism (an era which has already begun and will continue, regardless of whether Trump is elected). Your skit was nothing like Charlie Chaplin’s Great Dictator[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V1fMvLbE85E], which brilliantly skewered a rising leader of the right. In fact, you did the opposite, making Trump seem more palatable. When history looks back on this moment, we may well say: Jimmy Fallon, you helped build a monster.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Mohammed Syeedy was convicted of being the getaway driver for Rochdale killing of Jalal Uddin in Isis-inspired attack

A former Manchester United steward has been jailed for a minimum of 24 years for murdering a respected imam in an Islamic State-inspired attack in Rochdale.

Mohammed Syeedy, 21, was found guilty by a unanimous verdict of helping to kill Jalal Uddin because the 71-year-old practised a form of Islamic spiritual healing considered to be “black magic” by some extremists.

On hearing the jury’s verdict, Syeedy put his head in his hands and shook it in disbelief. In the public gallery, his family gasped and sobbed.

Related: Rochdale Muslims fear fervour of youth spilling into hate and violence[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/16/rochdale-muslims-fear-fervour-of-youth-spilling-into-hate-and-violence]

Uddin’s family, who travelled from Bangladesh to attend the three-week trial, hugged and sobbed after Syeedy was led away.

The murder has alarmed counter-terrorism experts, who fear that homegrown extremists are increasingly targeting fellow Muslims who they view as heretics.

Uddin was bludgeoned to death with a hammer[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/23/rochdale-muslim-leader-jalal-uddin-bludgeoned-isis-style-jury-hears] on his way home from a mosque in Rochdale on 18 February. He was attacked with repeated, forceful blows from behind after having been under surveillance by his killers for months, the trial at Manchester crown court heard.

Jurors were told that Syeedy and his accomplice, Mohammed Abdul Kadir, stalked Uddin around the streets of Rochdale before Kadir launched the attack on the older man in a children’s playground.

Syeedy, the getaway driver, denied knowing about the murder plot[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/alleged-killer-imam-court-islamic-state-rochdale].

Kadir, a former John Lewis call centre worker, was not on trial because he fled to Istanbul three days after the murder. Counter-terrorism detectives are hunting for the 24-year-old, but believe he may have crossed the border into Syria to join Isis.

Syeedy and Kadir, from Rochdale and Oldham respectively, developed a hatred of Uddin last summer after discovering he practised a form of Islamic healing called taweez , the court heard.

Uddin moved to Rochdale 15 years ago from Bangladesh. The former imam was well known in the area for his use of healing amulets to cure ill health and protect people from evil spirits.

Jurors were told that Syeedy and Kadir, who were not known to the police, believed Uddin’s use of taweez was black magic and he deserved to be killed.

Uddin, known as the Qari Saab by his followers for his deep understanding of the Qur’an, was mocked as a magician by Syeedy and his friends, who nicknamed him Voldemort after the evil wizard in the Harry Potter books.

Six months before the murder, Syeedy and his friends destroyed Uddin’s notes and books on taweez after stealing them from their mosque. They then started monitoring Uddin’s whereabouts, taking covert pictures of him in the street, as they plotted to have the community leader deported by **immigration** services.

But that plan was abandoned after a photograph emerged of Uddin with the Rochdale MP, Simon Danczuk, outside the Jalalia mosque in December last year. One of Syeedy’s friends shared the photograph and commented: “Oh crap... voldermort nvr gna b busted by **immigration** now.”

When detectives arrested Syeedy five days after the murder, they found gruesome footage on his phone of Uddin dying, along with reams of Isis propaganda.

Jurors were shown photographs of Syeedy holding an Isis-style flag outside the Jalalia mosque. In another image, he wore a stabproof vest outside the mosque.

Other photographs showed Syeedy and two people holding a jihadi flag over a road sign in Rochdale that had been altered to read: “War zone.”

Detectives also found a black, Isis-style baseball cap, arm patches and a flag in Syeedy’s home, where he lived with his mother, younger sister and younger brother.

Paul Greaney QC, prosecuting, told the court that Syeedy had been drawn in by Isis propaganda surrounding the Syrian war over a period of three years.

In 2013, he travelled to Syria on a medical aid convoy at around the same time that Alan Henning, the murdered Salford taxi driver, went on a similar “Rochdale to Syria” trip, the trial heard.

Syeedy told the court he was friendly with Henning and was “disgusted” when he heard that the 47-year-old had been beheaded by an Isis militant[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/04/alan-henning-failed-by-british-government-brother-in-law] who was revealed last year to be Londoner Mohammed Emwazi[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/nov/13/the-tall-quiet-kid-who-became-a-monster].

Giving evidence, Syeedy denied knowing anything about Uddin’s murder, but admitted he was with Kadir before and after the attack.

He said he never suspected that his friend, who he knew was an Isis sympathiser, had killed Uddin, even though the former imam was found dead moments after Kadir left the playground.

Syeedy, an electrical engineering student who dropped out of university, denied being an Isis supporter and described the group’s actions[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/alleged-killer-imam-court-islamic-state-rochdale] as “completely wrong”.

He told jurors he did not agree with Uddin’s use of taweez because it was dangerous to meddle with the supernatural world, but that it was up to God to deliver the punishment. “This is my country, I abide by the laws,” he told the jury.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Republicans are furious about Obama’s modest proposal. But Canada shows that our fears about resettling those fleeing war are overblown

President Obama’s announcement that the United States proposes to admit 110,000 **refugees** over the course of the next year has elicited a furious[http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2016/09/14/outgoing-obama-plans-to-increase-refugees-by-twenty-nine-percent-next-year/] reaction from some Republican leaders. This was predictable. A spirit of xenophobia has once again taken hold in the United States, as has happened on several previous occasions in American history.

As early as 1798, just a few years after the establishment of the Republic, Congress adopted a Naturalization law that was intended to keep out radicals who could promote sedition. The main targets were the French, who might spread the “Jacobin” ideology of the French Revolution. In the nineteenth century, a focus of exclusion was the Chinese who were explicitly kept out under the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. That law was not repealed until 1943, when it became embarrassing because China was an ally of the United States in the war against Japan. In the early part of the twentieth century, a number of measures were adopted to limit the admission of Southern Europeans, such as the Italians, ostensibly because they were thought to be more likely to spread the anarchist ideology than fairer skinned **immigrants** from Northern Europe. And so things have gone.

Today, of course, the main focus of those denouncing President Obama’s proposal is Syrian **refugees**. Up to now, the United States has admitted a few more than 10,000. So far, at least, their resettlement in the United States has seemed to go very well, though Governor Mike Pence of Indiana, Donald Trump’s running mate, has tried to keep them out of his state.

Additional **refugees** from Syria would constitute a minority of those that President Obama proposes to admit over the next year. The number projected for all countries in the Middle East and South Asia is 40,000. Yet in this election year, in which the Republican nominee for president swept aside his opponents for the nomination by saying he would deport 11 million undocumented **immigrants** from Mexico, and he would bar all Muslims from entering the United States, has made xenophobia look like a winning political strategy.

As should be apparent, a wealthy country of 320 million people can easily absorb 110,000 **refugees**. In the year that ends 30 September, America’s goal has been 85,000 **refugees**. The increase is modest given the scale of the global **refugee** crisis. It compares poorly to neighboring Canada, with a population just over ten percent of the United States.

In the brief period between 15 November, 2015 and 29 February, 2016, Canada admitted 25,000 Syrian **refugees**, as well as many **refugees** from other countries. As Canada’s highly popular Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, does not have political opponents trying to win office by exploiting xenophobia, the absorption of the Syrian **refugees** has been accepted not only approvingly but enthusiastically by the great majority of Canadians. A large number of the **refugees** have been sponsored by Canadian church groups, parent-teacher associations and other non-governmental organizations that have paid the initial costs of resettlement, and helped the **refugees** to find homes, learn English, get jobs and get their children into schools.

Canada carefully screens **refugees** accepted for resettlement. So does the United States. Typically, the American screening program for **refugees** lasts more than a year. That is possible when an orderly program is established. It is one of the reasons that a **refugee** program such as that conducted by Canada, and the one under which the United States admitted 10,000 Syrian **refugees** in the past year, tends to succeed.

I don’t think Americans are inherently more xenophobic than their Canadian neighbors. In such matters, as in much else, political opportunism plays a big role. It seems to bring out the worst in many people, including those denouncing the president’s modest proposal.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Its sense of optimism could only have come out of the 1960s – so why have Star Trek’s visions of heroism, sexual politics and surrogate family life endured?

Perhaps more than any other TV series, Star Trek[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/star-trek], which first aired 50 years ago this month, impacted on the real world, inspiring generations of scientists, physicians and fans. The first space shuttle was named “Enterprise”; in design terms, the “communicator” is the forebear of your smartphone; a curious linguist from Minnesota, one Dr d’Armond Speers, experimented with bringing up his son by speaking only Klingon to him. (His son resisted the experiment.) Yet in the end, the show’s appeal is that of being a world unto itself: it invited us into a self-contained community on a moving fortress, which brought us into touch with unfathomable strangeness beyond.

Related: To boldly binge: my continuing mission to watch all 700 episodes of Star Trek[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/sep/08/to-boldly-binge-my-continuing-mission-to-watch-all-700-episodes-of-star-trek]

The show’s creator, Gene Roddenberry, and his sometime collaborator, Gene L Coon, were both veterans of the US’s Pacific war. Members of the “greatest generation”, marked by conflict, they were strongly committed to a vision of social life framed in negotiation, mutual understanding and compromise. Happiness is Star Trek ’s secret. Unlike in Doctor Who[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/doctor-who], there is very little actual wickedness. Though in one episode we encounter the spirit of Jack the Ripper[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/jack-the-ripper], more usually there’s merely petulance or misunderstanding, hurt or fear. It’s a matter of survival, not evil; it’s rare to find someone who wishes to conquer the galaxy. Cold war politics stand some way back from the show, mainly there in order to be circumvented. Having a sympathetic Russian, Chekov (Walter Koenig), on the bridge, was in its own way as radical as casting a Japanese-American (George Takei) as Sulu and an African-American woman (Nichelle Nichols) as Uhura.

Each week, Kirk opened the show by declaring “Space, the final frontier”. The receding frontier was always central to an idea originally pitched by Roddenberry as “ Wagon Train in space”. Myths of the voyage are at the show’s heart, drawing on Odysseus heading home from Troy or Jason in the Argo, the Mediterranean Sea expanded to the vastness of the galaxies. Gulliver is there, too, cast each time into an insular world operating by entirely other rules.

Roddenberry and his scriptwriters grasped the essential fact of American network TV – that it must grab and then hold its audience against the lure of other channels, and so every episode begins in urgency. Though the series was strong on plot, the plots were ultimately not the point. TV is for company, and the surrogate family of the Enterprise crew are one of the earliest and best versions of telly’s consoling friendliness. In the end we return to the show for the people, because of our connection to Kirk and Spock and the rest of them, the genuine solace of involvement with fabricated others. Doctor Who endorsed a peculiarly British eccentricity, as a drama centred on an individual with passing companions, while being (in its long first run, at least) remarkably chaste, its hero above the claims of the flesh. Star Trek offered instead the Americanised democracy of personality, the fusion of opposites in the crew, and a fondness for passing romance.

Despite Roddenberry’s best efforts, the sexual politics of the show remain rooted in the era of James Bond[https://www.theguardian.com/film/jamesbond] and Alfie. NBC’s executives reputedly scuppered an initial desire to present women in roles of authority (so Roddenberry has said; the executives themselves deny it). As the saga repeatedly reworked that archetypal sci-fi text The Tempest, Kirk was always eager to play Ferdinand to a succession of Mirandas. His boyish alacrity implies that, as we spread out into infinite space, one of the defining qualities of the human being remains flirtation. Hence all those stories in which baffled extraterrestrial maidens frowningly query: “What is this word, ‘kiss’?” Even the apparently asexual Spock finds himself driven by the “Pon Farr”, a mating call that makes him moodier than a bedroom-sequestered teenager, the instinctive life’s revenge on a cultural commitment to logic and reason.

Star Trek ’s appeal depends, of course, on another intimacy altogether, the balance between Kirk and Spock, itself a union of opposites and diverse acting styles. In some ways, the two actors were counterparts – Jewish in origin, both with Ukrainian blood, lower middle-class (Shatner) and working class (Nimoy), exactly of an age (they were both born in 1931). On screen, however, everything depends on difference. Shatner does the charisma bit, larger than life, the gusto turned up to 11. Meanwhile Nimoy faces him with his urbane, reflective stillness, someone observantly in abeyance. They’re as mythic a pair as Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, as Jeeves and Wooster, the sense and the sensibility of one complete person separated out into two characters.

Supposedly modelled on Horatio Hornblower, Kirk was an all-American hero, the college sports star dispensing justice for the universe. In the years of the Tet offensive in Vietnam, and the killing of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King, he embodied a largely unproblematic heroism. Initially, NBC wanted Spock out, saying the audience would never identify with a pointy-eared **alien**. Worse, he would, they imagined, scare away advertisers. In fact, of course, Spock became the great success of the show, a strangely comforting presence. The third wheel in this pivotal relationship is DeForest Kelley as Dr McCoy. Kelley was 10 years older than Nimoy and Shatner, his role often to state as irascibly as possible the moral burden faced by Kirk, a choleric, spluttering figure of conscience.

In its later, mostly excellent versions, the series lost its central trio, but it never lost its fascination with the contiguous border between humanness and the **alien**, between the person and the beast or thing. In a show dedicated to the defining of the human, Spock engages us constantly with the other than human. Roddenberry envisaged him as a person at war with himself, torn by being both human and Vulcan. Spock occupies the border, both one and the other. Wonderfully, this boundary existence renders him the most empathetic person on the Enterprise. This creature of logic is also the man of the mind-meld, the one best able to inhabit and comprehend inconceivably different others – to enter into what is life, but not as we know it.

One of the very best stories, Devil in the Dark, features an encounter with a silicone-based creature dwelling in the tunnels of a far planet, and apparently an inexplicably murderous beast burning unsuspecting miners to a trace of smoke and ash. The story plays out as half hunt, half detective story, an exercise in the discovery of motive. Typically for the genre, the planet’s colonising miners miss the main clue (the silicone nodules down in the deep shafts that they have been carelessly destroying or discarding). Spock is the detective in the tale, ultimately discovering the reason for the beast’s killings by merging his consciousness with it. Elsewhere empathy works strangely. (Spock was always a descendant of Sherlock Holmes[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/sherlock] and in the 1970s, Nimoy would play the Baker Street detective in an RSC production.) In the excellent Balance of Terror, Kirk and the enemy captain of a Romulan ship read at a distance each other’s next moves, learning to understand the enemy; when they finally speak to each other, the Romulan tells Kirk that, given their similarities, in other circumstances they might have been friends.

It is one of the strengths of Star Trek that it can imagine a technological futurity where whatever it is that makes us human not only survives, but flourishes. In Space Seed, Khan, a eugenically-engineered superman cryogenically frozen since the 1990s, declares, “I am surprised how little improvement there has been in human evolution. Oh, there has been technical advancement, but how little Man himself has changed!” Well, good. In The Ultimate Computer, Kirk faces the prospect of being replaced as captain by artificial intelligence. The future’s automated world looks set to lose its last human element. Only, of course, it doesn’t: the new supercomputer turns murderous; the human touch remains indispensable. Out there, in eternity, the human version of living stands as one of the richest, valuable in its capacity for imagination and spontaneity, gentleness and courage.

The great enemy to this indomitable spirit is not immensity itself, but persons swollen up to the size of the limitlessness they inhabit. Some fans groan over Roddenberry’s penchant for a fight with some “god-like being”. For me, this repetitive struggle between the Übermensch and the little people is really the central message of the show, which in the decade where Bilbo Baggins was a hero to the hippies, celebrated the weak and small’s ability to outwit the mighty. In the show’s second pilot, Where No Man Has Gone Before, the silvered, shining eyes of the evolutionarily-altered superhumans helps to preclude sympathy with them; the eyes here are closed over, the windows of the soul shuttered.

Star Trek ’s brilliant optimism lay in imagining a future where the person still persisted. More than that, it established a vision of a universe full of possible variations in the concept of the person. The enormous interstellar spaces between the stars are not terrifyingly empty but vitally full; space means plenitude. Those endless distances contain myriad ways of being, creatures similarly capable of duties and responsibilities, engaged like us with others in a process of self-realisation.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Growing up in London, I saw child-rearing practices from all over. But our parents all had one focus: education was valued as a route out of poverty

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development announced on Thursday that you are more likely to go to university if you are the child of an **immigrant**[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/sep/15/children-immigrants-higher-education-england-oecd-study] living in England – news sure to lead to endless features on oh so successful “**immigrant** parenting”.

Having grown up in the most ethnically-diverse borough[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London\_Borough\_of\_Newham] in the UK and being the child of an **immigrant**, what went on outside the school gates of my Stratford school paid homage to many long-kept stereotypes. From seeing friends routinely dodge the slipper following a set of bad maths results; to the kids in my primary school who were sent on “holiday” after getting a detention, only to never return. These stories chime with Diane Abbott sentiments when she said[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/twitter/8994263/Diane-Abbott-no-stranger-to-controversy.html] : “West Indian mums will go to the wall for their children.”

The idea that **immigrant** families might be doing something well will no doubt be music to the ears of parents whose child-rearing practices are routinely berated for being not British enough. In the UK, you can drag your child around the park on a leash and you’re considered sensible; but ban your child from having boyfriends until they leave the house and you’re a monster.

Related: Children of **immigrants** more likely to go into higher education – study[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/sep/15/children-immigrants-higher-education-england-oecd-study]

But is the idea that our parents dictate how far we go in life anything new? I remember calling my dad – having done my A-levels while living in a hostel on my own for three years – to tell him that I had gotten my grades to go to Cambridge. “What percentages?” he demanded.

To him, the idea that the struggle had ended just because you had some marks on a piece of paper was akin to believing in space urchins. For every day that I did well in school, there would be an over-inflated story about having to swim to school and dodge a rickshaw along the way to remind me that my life was a blessing.

The fact that high standards set by **immigrant** parents may be part of the reason their kids do so well is borne out in the fact that this “**immigrant** effect” wears off after two generations[http://abcnews.go.com/Technology/immigrants-children-smarter-family-cultural-tools-succeed-study/story?id=17284688]. That doesn’t make us special; it makes us lucky.

Every congratulation I get for the supposed grit and hard work it took to go to school after washing in a bucket in my hostel makes me remember the years in my childhood home when I was forced to learn where my clavicle and sternum were while other kids were still singing “head, shoulders, knees and toes”. There is no denying that the desire my dad had for me to succeed made me value education as a route out of poverty.

That understanding was what enabled me to stay focused when I was in a bad situation, and to think about what I needed to do to get out of it. And I am proud. I find it hard not to hold up the stories of my youth with a sense of honour, at a time when the poor and the “foreign” are so frequently told that they aren’t good enough. I want to shove my history in the face of every Etonian-with-British-roots-so-deep-they-own-the-land-I-walk-on, shouting: “See? My parents are worthy too!”

But then I remember the point of my story. It is not one of the American Dream, in which every child can fulfil their potential, but one of what can be done with the right support and tools. If I don’t believe that, I am repeating the same old work-hard-and-you’ll-do-well rhetoric that traps so many people from disadvantaged backgrounds. Not everyone can have **immigrant** parents who will go to the wall for them and push them to achieve all they can – so let’s demand that the state does the same for everyone else.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Special European Union summit meets- without the UK - in attempt to steer a new course following Brexit vote

The European Union is in a critical situation, Angela Merkel has said, as she arrived in Bratislava for a special summit – without the UK – that hopes to set a new course for a project battered by Brexit.

“We have to show with our actions that we can get better,” the German chancellor said. The bloc had to improve “in the domain of security, internal and external security, the fight against terrorism, the cooperation in the field of defence”, as well as defence and jobs, she added.

Donald Tusk, the European council president who chairs EU leaders’ summits, hopes to cool tempers in Slovakia after Luxembourg’s foreign minister called for Hungary to be thrown out of the EU[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/expel-hungary-from-eu-for-hostility-to-refugees-says-luxembourg] for allegedly treating asylum seekers “worse than wild animals”. Hungary counterattacked with stinging criticism of the grand duchy’s record in helping big corporations avoid tax[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/nov/05/-sp-luxembourg-tax-files-tax-avoidance-industrial-scale].

On the eve of the summit, Tusk called on EU leaders to take a “brutally honest” look at the bloc’s problems, declaring: “We must not let this crisis go to waste.”

“We haven’t come to Bratislava to comfort each other or even worse to deny the real challenges we face in this particular moment in the history of our community after the vote in the UK,” he said.

“We can’t start our discussion... with this kind of blissful conviction that nothing is wrong, that everything was and is OK,” he added. “We have to assure... our citizens that we have learned the lesson from Brexit and we are able to bring back stability and a sense of security and effective protection.”

The Slovak prime minister, Robert Fico, who is hosting the summit, said the leaders “all want to show unity” but warned that it would not be easy.

“After Brexit and the risks connected with Brexit, it is absolutely necessary to me to be very honest,” he said.

Tusk hopes to focus on areas that the 27 leaders can agree on: border security, counter-terrorism and moves to “bring back control of globalisation”. Officials are playing down expectations of results from the meeting at Bratislava castle, in the capital of Slovakia, one of the four Visegrád countries along with Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

The Hungarian prime minister, Viktor Orbán, promised that the Visegrád group would present a plan to tackle the EU’s problems, which he said would “be an important moment in the life of these four countries”.

In a radio interview released on Friday morning, Orbán also said he expected migration pressure to increase in the Balkans again, once the weather worsens and sea routes to Italy become more difficult.

Officials close to Tusk hope for small but symbolic breakthroughs, most notably an agreement to send an extra 200 border guards and 50 vehicles to the EU’s external frontier in Bulgaria by next month.

Agreeing on stronger border defences may prove easier than sharing the cost of protecting **refugees**, which is likely to continue to strain unity. Visegrád group members are fiercely opposed to the EU executive’s attempts to fine them for not accepting **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/03/eu-refugee-crisis-closed-door-countries-pay-solidarity-contributions] in their countries. Hungary has flatly refused to take in **refugees** under an EU quota scheme, while many other countries are falling short.

Orbán has called a referendum for 2 October on the EU relocation plan, under which the country would accept 1,294 asylum seekers.

Before the vote, the European commission president, Jean-Claude Juncker, appeared to offer an olive branch to his opponents. In his annual state of the union address,[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/14/juncker-european-unity-brexit-vote-eu] he said solidarity “must come from the heart” and could not be forced. One EU source said it was too early to say what this meant for the policy, describing it as “a semi step back by the commission that might be a useful way out”. Another EU official said the dispute was “a cancer we have to cure”.

In the citadel that towers over the Danube, Tusk will brief leaders on his recent meeting with the British prime minister[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/08/donald-tusk-theresa-may-article-50-brexit-negotiations-eu], Theresa May, although officials say there is little to report. The EU refuses to negotiate with the UK until the government triggers article 50[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/19/government-awaits-first-legal-opposition-to-brexit-in-high-court], a position that is likely to be reaffirmed at the summit. EU leaders are also likely to repeat the mantra that Britain must accept freedom of movement[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/28/brussels-eu-summit-leaders-push-quick-divorce-cameron-germany-brexit] in order to gain access to the single market.

In a recent letter to EU leaders, Tusk said it would be “a fatal error” to assume that the UK vote was a specifically British issue, describing it as “a desperate attempt to answer the questions that millions of Europeans ask themselves daily” about security, cultural heritage and way of life.

This view is found across EU institutions. “Brexit is a symptom of broader issues,” one EU diplomat said. “It is not as such the decisive factor, it is a wakeup call.”

Many Brussels insiders see little chance of repairing the bloc while France and Germany are preoccupied with elections in 2017.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With world leaders to discuss the plight of the world’s **refugees**, we hear from three people who made it to safety and a new life

World leaders are guilty of a “shocking failure of leadership” over the global **refugee** crisis, Amnesty International[http://www.international-uk.org/charities/amnesty-international-uk/?gclid=CJniwe\_3kM8CFRYTGwodaHoOig] has said, in advance of a march[https://www.amnesty.org.uk/actions/join-refugees-welcome-march-demo-protest-2016] across London on Saturday expected to be attended by thousands of people.

Before the **Refugees** Welcome march, some have told their stories to the Guardian, including a young man who describes his journey from Afghanistan to the UK as more torturous than seeing his family and friends murdered at home, and a woman sentenced to 74 lashes and 91 days in prison in Iran for protesting at the death sentence given to a spiritual leader.

The march will take place two days before the UN Summit for **Refugees** and Migrants[http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/summit], after which Barack Obama will host a meeting[http://www.state.gov/p/io/c71574.htm] to appeal to leaders to agree to specific commitments on helping **refugees**.

But Kate Allen, the director of Amnesty International UK, said that instead of being ready to announce steps to end the crisis, “world leaders have been engaged in a race to the bottom, prioritising narrow self-interest over the rights of some of the most vulnerable people on the planet and trying to outdo each other in hostility and obstruction”.

The day before Obama’s meeting, the prime minister, Theresa May, will join leaders of UN member states in New York, where they are expected to adopt an agreement on responding to the global **refugee** crisis.

The UN secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, had put forward proposals[https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/09/world-leaders-have-shirked-responsibility-on-refugee-crisis/] on sharing responsibility, but in discussions before the summit, the EU and governments including Russia and China removed the requirement to take in specific numbers of people. This, said Allen, “renders it toothless”.

There are 21 million **refugees** in the world today[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/uk/figures-at-a-glance.html], according to the UN **Refugee**Agency (UNHCR)[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/uk/], of whom only 14% live in developed countries. Ethiopia, Kenya, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan and Turkey collectively host a third of the world’s **refugees**, though they account for just 1.6% of the world’s economy.

Sabir’s story Sabir Zazai was 23 when he finally made it to the UK in 1999. With few possessions and just the clothes he stood up in, he wasn’t sure exactly what had happened to him. “The way we were trafficked, we didn’t see much,” he says.

Zazai had no choice but to leave his home in Kabul. “Our neighbours were murdered, my family home was bombed and my beautiful city was reduced to rubble when the mujahideen came in 1979. The firing was indiscriminate and my family had no choice but to escape to Jalalabad.

“The journey was terrifying. Civil war has a domino effect. When you start dividing people over religion, the next step is to pick on those from a different tribe or who speak differently. On our journey out of Kabul, with bullets chaotically fired from outside, passing through our car, we were stopped at least 10 times and questioned. Each one of those times, a small mistake could have led to us all being killed. It was a nightmare.

“When we arrived in Jalalabad, we lived in a tent in a **refugee** camp. There were 15 of us. There was no water, sanitation and almost no food. It was appalling, but the situation has got worse since then. There are now 1.2 million people internally displaced in Afghanistan.

“But even under such dreadful conditions, we didn’t want to leave our country. We wanted to return to Kabul, but the violence there just kept getting worse. Then in 2001, after the September 11 attacks, the Americans attacked and the Taliban began forcing all the young men to fight.

“My family risked everything to smuggle me to Pakistan but even there, I risked being sent back so I flew to a central Asian country, possibly Uzbekistan – I’m not sure – then walked and hid in cars and lorries, for 12 months to get to Belgium, where I was smuggled into Dover.

“The whole journey was horrendous. The traffickers gave us drugs to keep us quiet. When children cried, their parents were beaten as punishment, and we were often left by the smugglers, hiding in boarded up houses, for weeks at a time.

“I had thought the conflict in Afghanistan was bad, but the escape from it was absolutely terrible. Then once I arrived in the UK, the treatment by the Home Office was torturous all over again, the disbelief, the stigmatising, the waiting.”

After he arrived in the UK, Zazai was sent to Coventry. He studied for a degree and in 2008 was given British citizenship. Now director of the city’s **Refugee** and Migrant centre[http://covrefugee.org/], he is also a key player in City of Sanctuary[https://coventry.cityofsanctuary.org/], a nationwide support network for **refugees**.

“The march is important because we need to put a human face on the **refugee** crisis,” he says. “People need to understand that **refugees** are just like them, that anyone living in torment and violence will strive to get their family and children to safety.”

Sara’s story The student of a spiritual leader in Iran who was imprisoned for his beliefs, Sara Saei, was arrested in 2015 during protests for his release. She was sent to Gharchak prison[https://adibmasumian.com/gharchak-prison/], where she was held alongside murderers and other dangerous prisoners.

In February this year, she was found guilty of disrupting public order and sentenced to 74 lashes and 91 days’ imprisonment[https://www.iranhumanrights.org/2016/01/sara-saei/]. “I was terrified. If you go into prison in Iran, you don’t necessarily come out alive,” she says. “I fled to the UK. I arrived illegally without a passport. It was very stressful, especially in Turkey where the government cooperates with Iran. It took one and a half months before I landed at Gatwick and could claim asylum.”

While Saei applies for **refugee** status, she volunteers at Amnesty and studies for her maths and English GCSEs. She shares an eight-bedroom flat with 10 people in east London. “It’s really hard not being allowed to work,” she says. “I want to do a masters at university and contribute to this country.

“This is a wonderful country. I’m still amazed by how freely people can express their religion and opinions. This is a dream for people where I come from.”

Alan’s story Alan Francis’s father, a journalist, had always been outspoken about the discrimination and violence faced by Pakistan’s tiny Christian population, and about government corruption. After years of ignoring death threats, he finally received one so credible he had to leave the country immediately. Francis was just a month old.

“After my father left, our house and most of our belongings were taken away from us. Life was very hard,” he says. “Then after a year, my mother was told she had to leave the country immediately too. She managed to get us on a plane to Spain, where my father was, and arrived with £6, no address for him and no phone number.

“With the help of a taxi driver, who also came from Pakistan, we eventually found my father. It was the most incredible stroke of luck.”

The family spent a year trying to make a life in Spain, but did not have a home. When Francis’s mother had a breakdown on the day his sister was born, his father decided they should move to the UK where they had contacts who could help them settle and start a new life.

“We were settled in Croydon, where my father set up a charity to help other **refugees**, and I finally went to school. It was a deeply traumatic and scary childhood, but we survived because of people’s amazing kindness, from the neighbours who taught us English, to the charities and churches who paid for vital things we needed just to live, to the friends who told us children that we could achieve whatever we wanted.”

Francis went on to study a BA in history and then an MA in human rights at University College London. He followed in his father’s footsteps by speaking out about injustices and now works as a government relations manager at Amnesty International.

“We got lucky but lots of **refugees** don’t, and yet **refugees** have so much to offer the country that gives them safety,” he says. “**Refugees** have lost everything and had terrible experiences, but they have hope and resilience and powerful determination to rebuild their lives. **Refugees** are a catalyst for social and economic regeneration. We don’t just need help. We can give valuable help to the countries who offer us new homes.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**GOP nominee described reverend who interrupted his Flint, Michigan, speech as a ‘nervous mess’ and defended how his supporters feel about minorities

Flint “The audience was fantastic but she was so nervous. She was like a nervous mess, and so I figured something – I figured something was up, really.” – 15 September, to Fox and Friends[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R9-Hc295dJ4]

There is no evidence that the Rev Faith Green Timmons planned to interrupt Donald Trump’s speech in Flint, Michigan, in which he veered off the city’s water crisis and into criticism of Hillary Clinton. About 50 people attended the event, and several told the Guardian the same version of events, which contradicted Trump’s.

Attendees said some people heckled or shouted questions and that Timmons actually intervened, asking them to be respectful. Only a few people applauded Trump, according to audience members. Video shows Timmons calm and composed throughout. She wrote on Facebook[https://www.facebook.com/faith.greentimmons/posts/1175792499125954?pnref=story] on Wednesday that Trump had not avoided politics as agreed. “Had he stuck to what his camp claimed he came to do,” she wrote, “we would not have had a problem.”

Deplorables “She said tens of millions of patriotic Americans are a basket of deplorables. How can you be president, how can you be president for so many people? She said half of our supporters are irredeemable and not American and describes the other half as having run out of options.” – 12 September, Asheville, North Carolina[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-7cjvhPDZH0]

At a fundraiser in New York last week[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/10/hillary-clinton-trump-supporters--bigoted-deplorables], Clinton said: “To just be grossly generalistic, you could put half of Trump’s supporters into what I call the basket of deplorables”. This group, she said, included “racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic” people. She later regretted[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/10/hillary-clinton-basket-of-deplorables-donald-trump] the generalization of “half”.

Polling suggests that Trump’s supporters are more likely than other voters to express negative sentiments about minorities. It also shows lower but significant such sentiment among supporters of Clinton.

Related: The lies Trump told this week: from military spending to his tax returns[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/09/donald-trump-fact-check-lies-military-tax-returns]

In an Economist/YouGov poll on racial resentment[http://www-economist-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/united-states/21706341-political-science-refashions-itself-deal-republican-nominee-trump-and], 59% of Trump’s primary supporters scored in the top quartile, compared to 46% of Republicans who supported other candidates. A Reuters poll that asked voters to rate character traits[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-race-idUSKCN0ZE2SW] found 40% of Trump supporters thought black people were more “lazy” than white people and 25% of Clinton supporters agreed. In the same poll, 44% of Trump supporters and 30% of Clinton supporters thought white people more “well-mannered” than black people. Almost half of Trump supporters and nearly a third of Clinton supporters thought black people more “violent” than white people.

In a Gallup poll from last year[http://www.gallup.com/poll/183713/socialist-presidential-candidates-least-appealing.aspx], 89% of Republicans overall said they would vote for a black person for president, 91% for a woman or a Hispanic person, and 45% for a Muslim or an atheist. In short, Clinton’s generalization pointed to real racial animus, ignored it among her own supporters and showed how difficult it is to attach a number to racism, even while separate polling[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/18/sharp-differences-over-who-is-hurt-helped-by-their-race/] shows racism[http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2016/06/27/on-views-of-race-and-inequality-blacks-and-whites-are-worlds-apart/] is affecting millions[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/27/blacks-with-college-experience-more-likely-to-say-they-faced-discrimination/] in widespread[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/29/roughly-half-of-hispanics-have-experienced-discrimination/] and systemic ways[http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/01/racial-gender-wage-gaps-persist-in-u-s-despite-some-progress/].

Separately, Trump also contradicted his own past remarks. In 2012, after Mitt Romney was lambasted for dismissing 47% of Americans[http://takingnote.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/09/18/the-47-percent/], Trump agreed, telling Fox News[http://news.yahoo.com/video/trump-romney-dont-apologize-47-025517267.html] : “You do have a large percentage of people that feel they’re entitled.”

In June 2015 Trump similarly dismissed half of all Americans, telling Fox[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2015/06/18/donald\_trump\_eventually\_50\_of\_americans\_are\_not\_going\_to\_be\_able\_to\_carry\_the\_other\_50.html] : “We have a society that sits back and says, ‘We don’t have to do anything.’ Eventually the 50% cannot carry, and it’s unfair to them, but cannot carry the other 50%.”

Without figures, the businessman has repeatedly described millions of people in derogatory terms. He has generalized Mexican migrants as “rapists” and “killers”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/02/donald-trump-racist-claims-mexico-rapes] ; asked “ How stupid are the people of Iowa?[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/nov/14/republicans-ben-carson-donald-trump-child-molester-stupid-voters-mitt-romney] ”; called journalists “disgusting” and “dishonest”; demeaned veterans[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/18/donald-trump-john-mccain-vietnam-iowa-republicans] who were prisoners of war; branded protesters “ thugs[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/735465352436408320] ”; mocked the disabled[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/nov/26/donald-trump-mock-new-york-times-reporter-disability] ; denigrated[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trumps-history-of-flippant-misogyny/2015/08/08/891f1bec-3de4-11e5-9c2d-ed991d848c48\_story.html] women[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/15/us/politics/donald-trump-women.html] ; and trafficked in stereotypes offensive to black people[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/25/us/politics/donald-trump-black-voters.html], Jewish people[http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/trump-comments-jewish-republican-event-stoke-outrage-article-1.2455973] and Muslim people[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/30/donald-trump-muslim-father-khizr-khan-democratic-convention-speech]. Trump has expressed regret for having said “ the wrong thing[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/19/donald-trump-tries-out-a-new-campaign-tactic-saying-sorry] ” but not said what that thing was or whom he had caused “personal pain”.

Details “ I’ve been going around the country offering very detailed plans for reform and change. ” – 12 September, Asheville[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-7cjvhPDZH0]

The plans[https://www.donaldjtrump.com/POSITIONS] Trump has presented are notable for how much detail they lack. In his foreign policy[https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/donald-j.-trump-foreign-policy-speech] plan, for instance, the foundation of his plan to defeat Isis is to not tell the public what his plan to defeat Isis is. He also demanded payment from Nato allies and bemoaned that “our friends are beginning to think they can’t depend on us”; called for heavy investment in the military but a reduction in intervention abroad, where the US has major military bases; and failed to explain how the US can work “creating stability” while also retreating from “the nation-building business”.

Trump’s economic plan[https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/an-america-first-economic-plan-winning-the-global-competition] is similarly light on details, though it includes vague promises to renegotiate trade deals and a simplified tax plan[https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/an-america-first-economic-plan-winning-the-global-competition] that would most benefit the wealthiest Americans[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/analysis-of-trumps-tax-plan-shows-big-cuts-in-taxes-federal-revenue-1450807194] and likely swell the US deficit[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/07/donald-trump-budget-deficit-225389]. The campaign has however presented a plan to coerce Mexico[https://www.donaldjtrump.com/positions/pay-for-the-wall] into paying for a wall through tariffs, visa fees and withdrawal of aid. It does not account for Mexican leaders refusing.

Related: The lies Trump told this week: who's paying for the wall to **immigration** costs[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/lyin-trump-fact-check-mexico-wall-immigration]

Religious speech “The Johnson amendment has blocked our pastors and ministers and others from speaking their minds from their own pulpits. If they want to talk about christianity, if they want to preach, if they want to talk about politics, they’re unable to do so. If they want to do it, they take a tremendous risk, that they lose their tax-exempt status. ” – 9 September, Washington[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=snKt8Uic52w]

In 1954, then senator Lyndon Johnson helped pass a law[https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/charitable-organizations/the-restriction-of-political-campaign-intervention-by-section-501-c-3-tax-exempt-organizations] that amended the tax code and prevented tax-exempt organizations, including churches and other not-for-profit groups, “directly or indirectly participating in, or intervening in, any political campaign on behalf of (or in opposition to) any candidate for elective public office”. Johnson argued that corporations that enjoy a tax subsidy should not take part in direct or indirect political speech.

The law is not often enforced: this year alone, evangelical leaders have spoken up[http://www.christiantoday.com/article/whos.backing.trump.and.whos.for.clinton.the.battle.for.evangelical.endorsements/91632.htm] for Trump and Clinton both. Trump is correct that preachers risk losing their tax exemption if they advocate for politicians, but the law has nothing to do with religious speech.

**Refugees** “It’s almost impossible to get a Christian in from Syria. They take others but they don’t take Christians. Very rarely, very rarely.” – 9 September, Washington[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=snKt8Uic52w]

There is no religious test for entry to the US, nor is it any more difficult for a Christian **refugee** from Syria to enter the US than for a Muslim or any other person. (The application and screening process is daunting[http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/11/20/us/why-it-takes-two-years-for-syrian-refugees-to-apply-to-enter-the-united-states.html] for any **refugee**, however.)

Trump has proposed a complete ban[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/27/donald-trump-muslim-ban-deny-changing-stance] on **refugees** from Syria, meaning he would make it impossible for any Christian from Syria to come to the US.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As its conference opens, signs of purposelessness are evident as Theresa May ploughs ahead with Brexit plans and cutting **immigration**

When Nigel Farage set up Ukip it was to campaign for an EU referendum. I asked him at the time what he would do if he got one: he said he would try to win it. And what would he do if he won, or if he lost? Either way, he said, my job will be done; I will go down to the pub.

So it has turned out. Ukip has lost its purpose, as well as the leader who gave it direction and personality. It should disband.

The party’s conference opens today with the pretence that it is a “proper party”, rather than a lobby. It is already displaying signs of purposelessness. Its leadership campaign[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/15/diane-james-favourite-ukip-leader-party-conference] is riven with faction and mass defection seems likely whichever candidate wins. There is no core group of loyalists to hold it together.

The prevailing narrative is that Ukip is still needed to hold the May government to the Brexit cause. But that government has not shown the slightest intention of retreating[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/nigel-farage-aide-says-ukip-supporters-have-flocked-to-tories] from Brexit, however hard progress is proving to be. The massed ranks of Tory Brexiteers stand ready should there be any back-sliding.

Related: Nigel Farage aide defects to Tories claiming a mass exodus from Ukip[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/16/nigel-farage-aide-says-ukip-supporters-have-flocked-to-tories]

May is clearly moving her party to the right. She is adamant on Ukip’s particular obsession of cutting **immigration**. She has astonished everyone by adopting Ukip’s eccentric wish to return to the 1950s and divide Britain’s teenage population[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/16/theresa-may-doctrine-grammar-schools] along lines of “ability”, income, social class and religion. It is a move so retrogressive that Ukip should cease to exist in her honour on this cause alone.

Ukip followed the short-lived Referendum party[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Referendum\_Party] as essentially a single-issue party. Farage has declared that issue over. The party’s fate is now to descend into the grimy fringes of British politics, characterised by petty rivalries and personal disputes. They are held in place only by a collective unpleasantness, and hatred for some perceived foe.

Last June the British people rebelled, peacefully but emphatically, against what it saw as its ruling class. It was a gesture of democratic defiance: to some an act of political suicide, to others of political genius. The nation is still reeling. That the rebellion pumped adrenalin into Ukip’s veins is understandable. But it has done its job. It should respect its victory and go.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It took a political newcomer’s stoicism in recounting a personal story to shame all the B-grade melodramas, which had their fair share of participants

Perhaps it’s because I’ve just finished the Netflix series Stranger Things that I’m preoccupied with different yet co-existent realities, playing out on different planes simultaneously.

There are several different ways we could characterise this past week in politics. If so inclined, we could cast the cartoonish LNP backbencher George Christensen as the most powerful man in Canberra[http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-opinion/i-give-malcolm-full-marks-george-christensen-humble-backbencher-seizes-the-limelight-20160915-grgskh.html], a characterisation he’d find both apt and delightful.

We could conclude that politics is a bitch by noting that one of the most publicly minded, genial and least artful people I’ve met in politics over the past 20 years, Ewen Jones – Christensen’s north Queensland Liberal neighbour – won’t be representing the voters of Herbert in the new 45th parliament, because he was taken out, in part at least, because of the swing to One Nation in Queensland. This week, the LNP decided there were no grounds to challenge the result[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/13/liberal-national-party-wont-challenge-herbert-election-loss]. A pity, this, because good souls in politics can be hard to find.

We could scratch our heads about the enigma wrapped up in a riddle that is Peter Dutton, who, this week, provided his most heart-starting insight since that time during the election campaign when he said asylum seekers would come to Australia to steal our jobs and go on welfare. Continuing this quaint trend of don’t sweat the obvious internal contradictions, Dutton in the space of one day appeared to say two contradictory things. He suggested asylum seekers on Nauru might be resettled in New Zealand[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/peter-dutton-open-to-refugees-on-nauru-being-resettled-in-new-zealand], something of a thunderbolt, given the government has been saying the exact opposite for years. On the same evening, he said he hadn’t said it, then said we’d be dealing with Nauru for decades[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/asylum-seeker-processing-at-nauru-will-continue-for-decades-says-dutton].

Related: Asylum-seeker processing at Nauru will 'continue for decades', says Dutton[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/asylum-seeker-processing-at-nauru-will-continue-for-decades-says-dutton]

But rather than getting hung up about the multiple parallel universes of politics – fun as it is – I think if we stand back a little we can identify a significant common thread in this parliamentary week. This week was about doses of reality, measured out in different contexts, with different results.

We can start with the political newcomer Liberal Julian Leeser, who achieved the rare feat of making Australian politics catch its collective breath when he shared a personal story[http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/julian-leesers-maiden-speech-prompts-the-sound-of-furious-compassion-from-the-house-20160914-grg1gh.html] about his father’s suicide in his first speech to parliament.

Leeser recounted the day his mother had woken him from sleep to say Dad had gone. “I got up from my bed to comfort my mum, trying to calm her. I went down the hall to my father’s office, where he worked late into the night for his clients. There I found his pyjamas in a pile and on the glass-topped table in the hall, was a note, like so many of the notes from my father, written in red pen on the back of a used envelope. It said, simply: I am sorry Sylvia. I just can’t cope, love, John.”

Leeser’s stoicism in recounting the tale, his simple desire to say something real, to make the personal the political, instantly shamed the B-grade melodramas of the sitting week. Truth and clarity rang out in the House of Representatives like a bell.

Politics also had to face up to the reality that Pauline Hanson had successfully clawed her way back into the subculture she was bundled out of in 1998.

Hanson is back with a new category of “others” to scapegoat[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban] as a ritualised salve for the **alienation** of white working-class blokes who believe they’ve been stiffed by globalisation, and can’t work out why the Australia they were born into in the last century appears almost unrecognisable to them in 2016.

Related: Pauline Hanson calls for **immigration** ban: 'Go back to where you came from'[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban]

But this time, Hanson delivered her speech with the Indigenous leader Pat Dodson sitting diagonally across from her, hat off, back straight, beard flowing down the front of his suit, watching on unflinchingly; and she was followed immediately by Malarndirri McCarthy, who opened her first speech in her Indigenous language, the words lilting up through the Senate chamber to the large group of assembled family and friends, who cheered, and bawled, and held the Indigenous flag aloft with a punch of pure triumph.

Politics had changed since 1996, there were now countervailing forces, possibly catalysed by the dogged persistence of her public ambitions. Hanson had moved on from the “Aboriginal industry” in any case. So 1996.

By Friday, the Labor senator Stephen Conroy articulated his own personal reality[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/16/stephen-conroy-resigns-from-the-senate]. After 20 years, it was time to move on to the corporate world. He departed with the pithy summation: “When you resent being in Canberra because you are missing your daughter’s soccer training it is time to retire from the federal parliament.”

Colleagues were wrong footed, because Conroy hadn’t told all of them. He hadn’t told the party leader, his sometime friend, sometime frenemy, Bill Shorten. Anyone who knows Conroy will know that this is how things generally are with him – stuff the talking points, snowboard downhill, at breakneck speed, minus crash helmet, never mind the concussion.

Sensibly, Turnbull ignored this posturing and set about constructing a verb

Conroy’s New South Wales colleague Anthony Albanese, who was looking very zen about this turn of events, thought he might shovel a bit of reality back in the direction of a press pack so revved it was in danger of hyperventilation. This Conroy resignation looked incredibly strange. Where was Conroy, why wouldn’t he front up and explain himself? Albanese was brutal[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/video/2016/sep/16/albanese-on-conroy-resignation-frankly-its-none-of-your-business-video]. “That is your problem. No one else’s. Stephen Conroy told the Senate last night.”

After the dog bit the man (called Sam) last week, various forces aligned to ensure the man then bit the dog. The Coalition was persuaded that if you make a big political fuss about one senator and his propensity to ask Chinese business people to kick in with contributions, you might need to be seen to be doing something more systemic about reform of the donations and disclosure regime. Actually doing it is, of course, another matter – and on the doing front, we’ll have to wait and see – but the joint standing committee on electoral matters was given a reference allowing it to take steps to improve a system desperately in need of substantial improvement.[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/turnbull-government-launches-sweeping-inquiry-into-donations] Who’d have thunk it? Almost grounds for hope.

Then there was the prime minister, making peace with his own complicated reality.

Malcolm Turnbull entered his anniversary week absolutely determined to turn around perceptions that he’d achieved two-fifths of bugger all[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/turnbulls-tipping-points-how-the-liberal-partys-saviour-failed-to-grab-malcolms-moment] since taking the leadership from Tony Abbott 12 months ago. This was partly a message for external consumption, to pacify the bobble heads who go on Sky News programs and ABC24 programs and talk incessantly about “optics”, or who write ponderously about seminal turning points; and partly a message for internal consumption, given Abbott was Around, being pacified by Alan Jones about the Terrible Injustice of one year ago[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/malcolm-turnbull-says-labor-preaching-hatred-in-marriage-equality-debate], burnishing some parallel reality where Abbott Could Have Done Better Than Malcolm. Never mind all those polls telling us the Coalition was heading for a stupendous rout. National affairs is no fun at all if you can’t choose your own facts.

Abbott has been saying recently the Turnbull government must be different to its opponents[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/26/tony-abbott-urges-turnbull-to-pursue-reform-to-counter-populist-politics], which is code for saying the Coalition must exist in a state of rigidly inflexible purity inside its own ideological bubble, and continue with the unproductive tub thumping that killed his own prime ministership. This is a dispatch from a strange, disconnected universe where talking incessantly about doing something in a righteous manner exciting the shock jocks and the base is somehow better than doing it.

Sensibly, Turnbull ignored this posturing and set about constructing a verb. The profound need for momentum in anniversary week drove the government to make peace with Labor on $6bn worth of budget savings[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/13/labor-under-fire-over-6bn-budget-savings-deal-with-coalition] by actually having a negotiation rather than pounding the gavel. The increase in the tobacco excise also cleared the parliament, another nice thing to pacify the ratings agencies.

Related: Stephen Conroy resigns from the Senate, taking colleagues by surprise[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/16/stephen-conroy-resigns-from-the-senate]

Not content with that, Turnbull decided this was the week to walk over and lift the club from Abbott’s hand – the superannuation club he’s been using to beat Turnbull and Scott Morrison and Kelly O’Dwyer with behind the scenes. A peace deal on the vexed super policy was settled and bowled up on the final sitting day[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/superannuation-backflip-on-500000-cap-wins-over-coalition-conservatives].

If the price of that deal was having Christensen out, crowing like a year nine prefect in the Mural Hall about being the man of the moment, then that was a price worth paying.

Then there was the plebiscite. The realities around the plebiscite are more vexed. Turnbull genuflected at the start of the week to the reality of the various demands conservatives were making – demands sufficient to kill the whole exercise[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/13/cabinet-approves-15m-public-funding-for-same-sex-marriage-plebiscite]. He appeared to execute this submission willingly enough, but on Friday, safely past the pressures of the parliamentary week, a loose construction. The prime minister told the radio host Neil Mitchell that he might look to compromise in order to salvage the plebiscite[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/16/malcolm-turnbull-willing-to-negotiate-on-marriage-equality-plebiscite].

It’s a flare. Turnbull is clearly saying to Shorten “I will negotiate”. You might ask on what? Well, a couple of things. It’s possible the government could look to strengthening the protections against government-funded advertising being used to say hateful things. It’s possible Shorten could get something approximating a joint platform on which to campaign. Perhaps there are other things that could be applied to the process to address some of the concerns about the plebiscite becoming some sort of sanctioned vilification exercise.

The signal is limited, but it’s also deliberate.

So where does it end?

Well that depends on how far both leaders can extend. Turnbull is completely ring-fenced by the plebiscite, his internal reality says it is that process or nothing. As for Shorten? It’s a threshold question.

Is the reality now that Labor does not want a plebiscite on any terms? Or is it more shaded? Is Shorten hesitating ever so slightly about locking Labor in, once and for all, behind killing the whole process, because he is prepared to deal?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Pop-up paper devotes its 11th issue to the way in which rightwing national newspapers have distorted the debate about migrants

The latest issue of The New European[http://www.theneweuropean.co.uk/home], the weekly newspaper dedicated to reversing the EU referendum result, carries an attack on national titles responsible for “brainwashing Britain over **immigration**.”

In what it calls “a special investigation into the real Project Fear”, the paper has devoted its front page and four inside pages to the subject.

It has reproduced scores of front pages, mostly from the Daily Express, which have promoted anti-migrant stories and, arguably, distorted the debate about **immigration** in the run-up to the 23 June vote.

The piece was written by Liz Gerard, the former Times and Sunday Times subeditor, who has carried out extensive research into the way in which the Express and Daily Mail, with occasional assistance from other titles, have created a climate of fear about **immigrants**.

In a series of articles on her sub-scribe blog[http://www.sub-scribe.co.uk/] she has chronicled the relentless catalogue of negative stories about migrants, many of which have been suspiciously short on facts.

The underlying message of her piece is that the referendum result was unduly influenced by the misinformation and disinformation about **immigration** published in several rightwing titles.

Editor Matt Kelly said: “When you see the front pages laid out together it is a stark image. It show just how insidious this campaign has been, working away inside people’s heads and make them fearful of migrants.

“I think a lot people now feel they were manipulated. And we are all reaping the consequences.”

Kelly, a former Trinity Mirror executive, had not expected his so-called “pop-up paper” to last beyond four issues after it was launched in early July by Archant following the Brexit vote.

But it appears to have caught the imagination of thousands of people drawn to its pro-remain agenda. Similarly, it has attracted a number of high-profile writers.

In the latest issue, there are also articles by Bonnie Greer, GQ editor Dylan Jones and the Observer’s columnist Barbara Ellen, who argues that Brexiteers do not own the monopoly on patriotism.

Although sales figures have not been made public, it is believed to be selling around 25,000 copies a week after an initial launch sale of 40,000[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/21/brexit-paper-new-european-new-day-profit].

It did poorly in August, but retailers report that sales of the title, with a cover price of £2, have begun to rise in recent weeks.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Alexandra Phillips says Theresa May has delivered on key elements of Ukip’s 2015 election manifesto

One of Nigel Farage’s closest aides, who headed Ukip’s media operation for three years, has said that the party has “disintegrated” with droves of members and supporters turning to the Conservatives.

Alexandra Phillips said Theresa May had delivered on all key elements of Ukip’s 2015 election manifesto “within a matter of months”, leaving her former party with few places to go in policy terms.

“I think ideologically the Tories are doing the Ukip dance now,” she said, pointing to policies on Brexit, **immigration**, grammar schools and fracking. Phillips said Farage had been “inspirational” to work with and would be remembered as “one of the most incredible politicians of our generation”.

Related: Ukip leadership race exposes ideological faultlines in party that has achieved its goal[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/30/ukip-leadership-race-exposes-ideological-faultlines-in-party-that-has-achieved-its-goal]

But in a warts and all interview, she lifted the lid on her seven years in Ukip, including three in the press office, saying the party had become more “aggressive and testosterone-fuelled” and racked with in-fighting in the latter period of his leadership.

Speaking before her former party’s annual conference at which a successor for Farage will be elected on Friday, Phillips said:

\* that Farage’s final months as leader were spent “trying to relive his days of the 1980s in the City”, surrounding himself with “lads” who became drinking partners

\* that Ukip’s only MP, Douglas Carswell, and its much-praised 2015 manifesto author, Suzanne Evans, were “isolated, decapitated and demonised” after a Farage adviser claimed, without evidence, that they were involved in a coup against the leader

\* that the party’s national executive committee had grown “significant teeth” and were now “executing” anyone linked to the old-guard, including leadership candidate Steven Woolfe, who was disqualified after submitting his application form 17 minutes late[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/03/ukip-leadership-steven-woolfe-excluded-from-ballot]

\* the former Tory cabinet minister Neil Hamilton, who is now a Ukip assembly member in Wales, was a “Machiavellian Rasputin character” who was always “lurking in the shadows” when crises erupted

Phillips said she believed that a surge in membership for the Tories, with 50,000 people joining over the summer, was coming largely from Ukip deserters, admitting that she was among them.

The former adviser, whose Conservative membership card arrived this week, said: “If you look at our 2015 manifesto, Theresa May has announced it all in the first months of being prime minister – grammar schools, fracking, Brexit means Brexit, controlling **immigration**.

“The things that made me resolutely Ukip are the things that Theresa May is doing now.”

Phillips credited Farage for being the “charismatic driving force” behind Ukip and suggested that without him the party that would “emerge like a phoenix from the flames” would not be one that anyone recognised.

She argued that the NEC had become deeply “anti-Farage” in a misguided move.

“In a party like Ukip you get very zealous and rather bizarre individuals who want to play Game of Thrones – people unlikely to be elected and want steerage of the party,” she said.

This had led to a determination to “get rid” of Woolfe by one means or another, she claimed. Following the decision to bar him, Phillips said she believed Diane James[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/15/diane-james-favourite-ukip-leader-party-conference] was now the “most credible” candidate for the leadership.

Looking back at her time as head of media, Phillips said she begged Farage not to talk about banning **immigrants** with HIV during last year’s general election, warning that it would be a “disaster”, but had been dismissed as a “pinko” by other aides.

She said Raheem Kassam, who became Farage’s closest adviser at that time, described the intervention as “shock and awe”.

“My thing was you don’t need to shock any more, in fact you need to bring it back in the other direction, you need to neutralise, you need to broaden your appeal if you are going to secure seats under first past the post,” she said.

But Phillips, who persuaded Farage to do “soft media” in an attempt to humanise him, said she was increasingly seen as “too light, too nice for Ukip”. She said Kassam was a “divisive” person who had shrouded the party leader.

She said that despite working alongside Carswell and Evans as well as the former director of communications, Patrick O’Flynn, in Ukip’s London office, she saw no evidence of a coup.

She described O’Flynn being pushed into “Siberia”, joking that he ended up “running a **refugee** centre of people maligned by Nigel and the people around him”. As tensions rose, Phillips said people were unfairly accused of leaking material, threatened with the sack, and faced nasty rumours circulating within the party.

In the end, she moved to Wales to run the party’s campaign for the assembly with the idea that she might stand herself, but said she was put off by what she found. She said she rated some individuals, such as Mark Reckless and Nathan Gill. Others were described as “nice and enthusiastic amateurs” or “downright bonkers”.

“There is one particular character – a former Conservative minister – who has the ability to always be circumstantially close to bombs going off. I can’t vouch for the fact that he causes those destructive occurrences... but whenever there is a crisis happening, something leaked or a disaster here or there he is always lurking around in the shadows like a Machiavellian Rasputin character,” she said of Hamilton.

But Hamilton hit back, claiming that Phillips was employed by Gill, who he said tried to block him as a candidate in the Welsh assembly elections, and then was upset when he was chosen as the leader of the group.

Related: Douglas Carswell: ‘I’m having far too much fun to leave Ukip’[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/09/douglas-carswell-im-having-far-too-much-fun-lo-leave-ukip]

“Gill employs a small army of people at public expense to say disobliging things about me,” he added. “Sour grapes make poor wine. This is a personal grudge match – there is no division of ideology.”

However, Hamilton admitted there was a split in Ukip over the role of the NEC, with James wanting to get rid of it. “The only real dispute at this minute – apart from those based on personality – is that there is a faction who want to abolish the democratically elected NEC and have all power residing with the leader.”

Kaseem responded to the idea that Carswell and Evans were “isolated, decapitated and demonised”, by insisting that there was a coup. “I take full credit for spotting this way in advance,” the former Ukip chief of staff said, but added that he had subsequently been willing to engage with them.

He said it was O’Flynn rather than him who came up with the HIV line, and argued that people might call him divisive but he called it “doing my job” in an office that was at times relaxed and dysfunctional.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Her push for grammar schools suggests a ruthless strategy to reflect the public mood, right or wrong

Only when the tide goes right out can you finally see what’s left on the beach. So perhaps that’s why, although the water started retreating for David Cameron some time ago, it was only with the unexpected announcement this week that he’s retiring from parliament[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/12/david-cameron-to-stand-down-as-mp-for-witney] that something about Theresa May clicked sharply into focus. If Cameron has spent the summer revising what he thought he knew about her, he’s not the only one.

May’s first two months have been a slap in the face for anyone expecting a dull continuity candidate, but it’s not the radical streak that will surprise anyone who followed her career at the Home Office; it’s more the reactionary one. The moderniser who made her name telling hard truths to her party has somehow ended up not just vowing to reduce **immigration** and severing ties to Europe – that much was inevitable after the referendum – but also bringing back grammars[https://www.theguardian.com/education/video/2016/sep/14/why-does-theresa-may-want-to-bring-back-grammar-schools-video-explainer] and bemoaning political correctness[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/sep/14/theresa-may-criticises-university-safe-spaces-for-shutting-down-debate] in universities. She won’t say what Brexit means for Britain, but the prime minister is inadvertently revealing quite a bit about what she thinks it means for the Conservative party.

Related: Theresa May has reset the Tory satnav. Watch out on the right | Anne McElvoy[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/11/theresa-may-tory-satnav-right-brexiteers-chaos-prime-ministers-grip]

It may be merely coincidence that Downing Street chose to come out for the 11-plus[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/speeches/britain-the-great-meritocracy-prime-ministers-speech] only days before Ukip, a longstanding champion of bringing back grammars, unveils its new leader but the message to Tory backbenchers is clear: May will defend their right flank more aggressively than her predecessor did.

The lesson she has clearly drawn from Brexit is that it wasn’t just about **immigration** or sovereignty but about what one ex-Downing Street staffer calls people who resent being told “it’s more complicated than that”; people sick of hearing that the evidence proves them wrong, that they can’t have what they want. (It’s a feeling some Corbyn supporters, furious at being told their heartfelt beliefs are naive or electorally unpopular, may recognise.) However inadvertently, by holding three referendums in five years, Cameron gave people who don’t normally get heard in general elections a voice and they’re not about to give it up.

And making the case for grammars, May explicitly tied the two things together. The referendum wasn’t just about Europe, she argued, but a more widespread feeling of people being “fed up with being ignored or told that their priorities were somehow invalid, based on ignorance and misunderstanding”. Which is undeniably true, but leaves hanging the awkward ethical question of what a democratically elected servant of the people should do if the people’s concerns ever did start to be based on ignorance or misunderstanding, or on evidence that crumbles to dust under cursory prodding. Point that out, and you’re an arrogant elitist. Surrender, and they’ll only blame you if it all goes wrong. If theirs turn out to be among the 90% of children rejected by shiny new grammars, will voters really instigate a backlash against themselves?

Jeremy Corbyn demolished May over grammars[https://www.theguardian.com/global/blog/2016/sep/14/pmqs-verdict-jeremy-corbyn-tests-theresa-may-on-grammar-schools] at prime minister’s question time this week precisely because she didn’t have a leg to stand on. She couldn’t name a convincing expert supporting the return of grammars, resorting instead to arguing that they’d worked for her and Corbyn.

At Westminster, that still looks like an intellectual admission of failure, the equivalent of arguing that cigarettes don’t really kill because your dad smoked and lived to be 100. But outside, where facts increasingly bounce off voters enraged by the very word “experts”, things can be very different. Personal experiences count. What May seems to be doing is responding to this changing mood as unsentimentally as she confronted the very different electoral challenges facing the Tories 15 years ago.

What’s often forgotten about her infamous “ nasty party[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2002/oct/08/uk.conservatives2002] ” speech is that she never told the party it was nasty; she merely observed that voters thought so, and therefore the party had to knuckle down and accept it. As the old saying goes, “The people have spoken, the bastards”; it doesn’t matter whether they’re right or wrong. She appears now to be applying the same brutally simple logic – call it populist or nobly democratic, depending on whether you like the results – to bigger and more dangerous questions.

What makes education a particularly interesting example of knuckling under and accepting the popular verdict, however, is the particular people whose verdict is being accepted. It’s a good indicator of how far the electoral ground is shifting quietly under all our feet, and not just because of this week’s threatened boundary changes.

The strongest advocates now of new grammars are not parents seeking good schools, but older people for whom school is a distant memory. Only 39% of people aged 35 to 44, the age group most likely to have children, support new grammars compared to 66% of over-65s, according to a recent ComRes poll[http://www.comresglobal.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Independent-Sunday-Mirror\_Political-Poll\_August-2016-3215.pdf]. What makes this significant is that by 2020, more than half of voters will be over 55, a demographic earthquake intensified by the fact that older people are also more likely to vote.

Related: So goodbye, David Cameron – Libya is not the only failed state you are responsible for | Suzanne Moore[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/14/so-goodbye-david-cameron-libya-is-not-the-only-failed-state-you-are-responsible-for]

That’s an existential crisis for Labour, which traditionally does badly with pensioners. But a referendum in which under-50s swung towards remain while older people – who were significantly more worried about **immigration** – swung decisively to leave makes it a problem for Tory modernisers too, a faction to which May belonged before Cameron was even elected.

Once their greatest headache was the party’s elderly membership, dismissed as horribly out of step with a younger country and a roadblock to the reforms necessary to win back power.

But in an ageing nation, that’s slowly changing. Now it’s Labour’s younger and more restless membership that looks culturally out of step with the places it needs to win, and Tory pensioners who look practically au courant all of a sudden. What’s making more thoughtful Tories twitchy is that this feels like the beginning of something new in politics, a gradual surrender to the demographically inevitable.

Two months on, of course it’s too early for lasting judgments on where May is headed. It’s arguably too early even for history to judge Cameron. But it’s not impossible that in a few years’ time he will be remembered not just as the man who accidentally left Europe[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/13/brexit-dominates-newspaper-editorials-to-david-cameron], screwed up Libya[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/14/libya-cameron-folly-foreign-affairs-committee-eu] and gambled on austerity[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/13/brexit-austerity-and-the-nhs-readers-on-david-camerons-legacy], but as the full stop marking the end of one era and the beginning of something different: the last leader to try – however unsuccessfully – to hold back the tide.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Human rights groups say plan out of step with global expectations and ignores asylum seekers’ suffering

The plans of Australia’s **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, for a decades-long offshore detention relationship with Nauru are “woefully ignorant” of the reality of life on the island for asylum seekers, according to Human Rights Watch.

On Thursday Dutton told a Canberra thinktank[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/asylum-seeker-processing-at-nauru-will-continue-for-decades-says-dutton] that Australia’s regional processing relationship with Nauru would continue for “decades”.

He described Australia as a “migration super power” that had secure borders and also provided for people “in a humane way”.

Related: Asylum-seeker processing at Nauru will 'continue for decades', says Dutton[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/asylum-seeker-processing-at-nauru-will-continue-for-decades-says-dutton]

The looming United Nations general assembly and a migration summit hosted by the US president, Barack Obama, had led to some speculation that Australia might soften its stance but those hopes were largely dashed on Thursday after Dutton’s address.

The Australia director of Human Rights Watch, Elaine Pearson, said Australia was known for its “cruel, selfish policies” to deter asylum seekers.

“Dutton’s claim that the relationship with Nauru on regional processing ‘will last for decades’ is woefully ignorant of the reality on the ground for **refugees** in Nauru,” she said. “People have been driven to the depths of despair as the high rates of self-harm and suicide attempts show, people have been attacked and assaulted by locals and many **refugees** on Nauru suffer serious health conditions that haven’t been properly treated.

“Nauru is no place for **refugees** short or long term. In any case, Nauru has not even agreed to allow people to stay longer than 10 years so it is hard to understand how the policy could last for decades.”

Amnesty International Australia’s **refugee** campaign co-ordinator Ming Yu Hah said the minister’s comments were “hugely misleading” of what the Australian people were increasingly demanding from the country’s asylum policies.

“He has framed it as activists that are opposing the detention regime on Nauru but, as we’ve seen in the last year alone, people across Australia... a wide cross section are no longer tolerating the Australian government’s abusive offshore detention regime,” she said.

“We know that the Australian people expect thorough security measures in place and Amnesty supports that. But the Australian people also expect people will provide a robust human rights framework.”

She also said his comments were also “out of step at the global level” and Obama’s summit showed the need for greater and more humane responses to the movement of people across the globe.

Related: Peter Dutton open to **refugees** on Nauru being resettled in New Zealand[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/peter-dutton-open-to-refugees-on-nauru-being-resettled-in-new-zealand]

The comments follow other remarks made by the president of the Australian Human Rights Commission on Thursday[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/australias-refugee-impasse-rights-commission-suggests-ways-forward], before Dutton’s address. The commission launched a new report canvassing regional alternatives to Australia’s detention regime, which said Australia had reached an “impasse” on asylum seeker policy.

In a separate interview with al-Jazeera Dutton appeared to leave open the door[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/peter-dutton-open-to-refugees-on-nauru-being-resettled-in-new-zealand] to asylum seekers held on Nauru to being resettled in New Zealand.

The New Zealand foreign affairs minister quashed this, stating that the country would not enter into any separate deals with Nauru’s government directly to take **refugees**.

Iain Lees- Galloway, **immigration** spokesman for New Zealand’s opposition Labour party, said Australia’s detention centres were an “inhumane way of dealing with **refugees**” and that the party would be open to working with Australia on taking some **refugees** from Nauru.

However, he dismissed as “completely inappropriate” Dutton’s apparent desire to “take Australia out of the equation entirely”.

“These **refugees** are Australia’s responsibility. The decision to put them on Nauru was Australia’s. Australia has a role in their future and their settlement. It is quite inappropriate for Minister Dutton to say Australia will step back and leave New Zealand and Nauru to work it out,” he said.

The Guardian’s publication of the Nauru files[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] has put the treatment and conditions of asylum seekers held on the Pacific island back into the spotlight. The 2,000 incident reports contained detailed allegations of the abuse of asylum seekers, particularly children held by Australia on Nauru.

A parliamentary inquiry has been launched into allegations of abuse of Manus Island and Nauru. The inquiry will also examine what steps Australia has taken to resettle **refugees** held in the offshore detention centres.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PM says tagging all Muslims with the crimes of a few is wrong and would play into the hands of extremists

Malcolm Turnbull has rejected George Christensen’s call for an end to **immigration** from countries experiencing violent extremism and Pauline Hanson’s anti-Muslim rhetoric, describing it has “fundamentally wrong”.

In a week when Hanson called for a halt to all **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban] and suggested every Muslim should prove they are not radical, the prime minister delivered a robust defence of the Australian Muslim community.

He warned of the danger of divisive anti-Muslim statements, including from his own backbencher Christensen.

After her first speech, the One Nation leader told Sky News she placed Muslims “all in the one basket” because it was impossible to define who was radicalised. Christensen said he was concerned at the rise of “Islamism” in Australia.

He told parliament on Thursday[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-09-16/christensen-against-immigrants-without-'australian-values'/7850426] : “Many **immigrants**entering this country in recent years do not share our Australian values.

Related: Politicians and Muslim leaders condemn Hanson: 'She doesn't know what she's talking about'[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/politicians-and-muslim-leaders-condemn-hanson-she-doesnt-know-what-shes-talking-about]

“There are other countries that they would find less offensive, countries where they could enjoy a similar level of oppression and violence of which they’re accustomed to what they want.

“It is not necessary to travel halfway around the world and come to Australia and demand that Australians change their culture, society and laws to match those of their former homeland.”

But, in an interview on 3AW on Friday, Turnbull said it was fundamentally wrong to tag all Muslims with the crimes of a few and it would be playing into the hands of extremists to **alienate** Australian Muslims.

“Tagging all Muslims with the crimes of a few is fundamentally wrong and it’s also counterproductive,” Turnbull said.

“The most valuable tool our security services have to keep us safe is intelligence. They need to know what is going on. The way they find out what is going on is talking to the community and in particular the Muslim community.

“Seeking to demonise or denigrate all Muslims or seeking to **alienate** all Muslims and suggest they are somehow not part of Australia or shouldn’t be in Australia, that is exactly what the extremists are saying to the community.

“All of us, in the nation’s interest, [need] to say we are the most successful multicultural society in the world. Australian Muslims are part of that successful multicultural society.

“You are born here, you are part of the country, you are included and what we need is their support, as we need support from all Australians to work together to defend ourselves against terrorism.”

Turnbull said he was not going to “run a commentary on George” but immediately contrasted Christensen’s opinion with the government’s decision[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/sep/09/australia-to-accept-an-extra-12000-syrian-refugees-and-will-join-us-led-air-strikes] – taken under Tony Abbott – to accept 12,000 **refugees** from Syria.

Related: George Christensen retracts 'radical Islamists' claim over Merrylands incident[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/21/george-christensen-retracts-radical-islamists-claim-over-merrylands-incident]

“There is no country in the world that is more racked by terrorism than Syria,” Turnbull said.

“We are taking a substantial number... 12,000 in due course, in one program alone from the Syrian conflict zone. These are people from oppressed minorities, these are people who have been victims of terrorism.”

Turnbull said while Australia’s **immigration** policy was non-discriminatory, he acknowledged there was community concern about terrorism and that there were people in Australia who “seek to do us harm”.

Turnbull said the government paid great attention to security issues and named Islamist terrorism in the region as Australia’s immediate challenge.

“Having said that we pay great attention to security considerations and obviously with Islamist terrorism, and that is a fact, there is no point being mealy-mouthed about it,” Turnbull said.

“Not all of the terrorism in the world is motivated by Islamist ideology but a great deal of it is – in fact most of the immediate challenge in our region is motivated by that, so we do pay very close attention to security.”

Christensen made the comments in the parliament’s adjournment debate late on Thursday.

“I am concerned about the rise of Islamism in this country and those who are willing to commit violence in the name of that ideology and I think we should consider some tighter controls on borders such as restricting **immigration** from countries where there is a high prevalence of violent extremism and radicalism,” Christensen said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Inquiry will examine moves to stop solicitor general providing independent legal advice without approval, and government bows to internal pressure on superannuation

block-time published-time 4.16am BST

The Greens wanted the $6.3bn budget omnibus bill to go to inquiry.

Richard Di Natale is cranky about forcing the Senate to consider the bill in a day.

Now, here we are, after this government has spent the first two days of the parliament filibustering, talking about God knows what, and we’re being asked to stay here to ram this bill through the parliament tonight.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.24am BST

block-time published-time 4.13am BST

Senate may sit late to pass budget omnibus bill We may be in for a late night. Labor and the Coalition have voted together to extend the Senate sitting hours tonight to get the omnibus bill through. We will not know until later how long it will take because anyone who wants to speak on the bill can speak. There is no cut-off rule in the Senate. It’s how they roll.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.24am BST

block-time published-time 4.06am BST

More in sorrow than in anger, Labor says maybe to the Coalition’s superannuation compromise.

The manager of opposition business in the Senate, Katy Gallagher, and the shadow treasurer, Chris Bowen, at a press conference on superannuation. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.25am BST

block-time published-time 4.04am BST

The member for Dawson, George Christensen, at a press conference. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.25am BST

block-time published-time 3.45am BST

From AAP:

Malcolm Turnbull has been given another gift for the anniversary of his first year as prime minister – the lowest jobless rate in three years.

The unemployment rate unexpectedly declined to 5.6% in August when economists had expected it to stay at 5.7%, as fewer people sought a job.

The fall came despite overall employment dropping by 3,900 in the month as 11,500 new full-time workers was more than offset by a decline in part-time positions.

block-time published-time 3.42am BST

Goodbye John.

enltrJohn Madigan's Manufacturing and Farming Party has been deregistered - https://t.co/OxOpHWtwUr [https://t.co/OxOpHWtwUr]

— AEC (@AusElectoralCom) September 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AusElectoralCom/status/776247979917266944]block-time published-time 3.42am BST

Senate inquiry into Brandis' moves to stop solicitor general providing independent advice Senate news. Labor has successfully forced a Senate inquiry into the moves by the attorney general, George Brandis [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/16/george-brandis-has-a-history-of-meddling-with-independent-agencies-hes-at-it-again], to stop the solicitor general providing independent legal advice without his prior approval.

The legal and constitutional affairs references committee will conduct the inquiry.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.56am BST

block-time published-time 3.29am BST

The employment minister, Michaelia Cash, the small business minister, Michael McCormack, and the transport minister, Darren Chester, have launched a report about the effect of the road safety remuneration tribunal.

That tribunal set minimum rates that truck owner-drivers had to charge to ensure they weren’t lowly paid and incentivised to skip breaks [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/apr/19/expert-rebuts-report-that-found-little-to-no-link-between-truck-driver-pay-and-safety]. It was abolished in April [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/apr/19/expert-rebuts-report-that-found-little-to-no-link-between-truck-driver-pay-and-safety] over concerns it would put the drivers out of work, because they could not compete with employees.

The report claims the order – which was only in effect for two weeks and was never enforced – caused “a devastating personal and economic” impact on owner-drivers.

Cash said the report included “evidence from the owner-drivers themselves that the work was drying up, there would literally be nothing left for them on the day the order came into force”.

This report now confirms in black and white that is exactly what occurred – lives were devastated.

Asked how the report could claim hardship was due to the order rather than conditions in the industry, including low pay before the order, Cash said that owner-drivers reported they were “already being told they would not have jobs”.

She denied that this constituted anecdotal evidence.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.01am BST

block-time published-time 3.20am BST

Bowen is asked about Labor banking the Coalition’s $3bn superannuation savings before the election and then revealing the full detail of their package, which was worth $4.5bn savings after the election.

[Before the election] I said, the government will drop the $500,000 cap after the election. We are prepared to find ways of making that money. I believe we’ve been proven right in this debate at every turn, every step of the way in the public discussion. The government has lurched from policy to policy, from crisis to crisis on this.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.33am BST

block-time published-time 3.16am BST

Chris Bowen has started his press conference criticising Scott Morrison. But he says he will take up the government’s offer of a briefing.

A few weeks ago Bill Shorten, Katy and I outlined a better plan for superannuation, a constructive plan to help the government through their mess, drop the retrospective cap, reduce the contributions for threshold tax for $200,000, the catch-up measure and harmonising contribution rules between 65 and74. The government said that we had it wrong. Scott Morrison, Kelly O’Dwyer said we didn’t understand superannuation by dropping those measures. Today, they have dropped one of the measures themselves.

Bowen and Katy Gallagher, the financial services minister, want to go through the fine detail, given the Coalition asked Labor to tick off the budget bill sight unseen, only to find errors and other unexpected measures.

Bowen :

The Labor party has led this debate. We have remained consistent all the way through. This is the latest backflip on superannuation from this treasurer who is simply not up to the job. If the treasurer is consistent with policy making, if he is consistent with his objectives, you will get consistent policy... The Labor party has shown consistently that we are bipartisan in the national interest where we can.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.35am BST

block-time published-time 3.00am BST

frltr @murpharoo [https://twitter.com/murpharoo] vegemite, avocado and hommus

— Emisto Enasel Istom (@tihrigby) September 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tihrigby/status/776230326251036672]block-time published-time 3.00am BST

enltr @murpharoo [https://twitter.com/murpharoo] Marriage equality, marriage equality, a fountain of wine or chocolate

— K?J (@propertyofKJ) September 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/propertyofKJ/status/776222300316114944]block-time published-time 2.59am BST

enltr @murpharoo [https://twitter.com/murpharoo] No more racism, heaps more tolerance and care and support for the disadvantaged....I'm under no illusions that it's even possible

— Brian Jones (@Darthspoog) September 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Darthspoog/status/776221174632067072]block-time published-time 2.58am BST

enltr @murpharoo [https://twitter.com/murpharoo] Equality in health and education for all children; an end to racism and bigotry; a Parliament House built out of lamingtons.

— Ashleigh Smith (@Smash\_Bash\_Ash) September 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Smash\_Bash\_Ash/status/776226201375387649]block-time published-time 2.57am BST

enltr @murpharoo [https://twitter.com/murpharoo] 1. A different national anthem. 2. A choir of liberated greyhounds barking it in unison. 3. That's basically it.

— David Smith (@dtsmith\_sydney) September 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/dtsmith\_sydney/status/776226770387251200]block-time published-time 2.57am BST

Further to Morrison’s trifecta of Australian dreams, we have had many entries from Twitter .

enltr1. Turning up to school naked. 2. Being chased by wolves. 3. I'm dating Rebecca Gibney and my teeth fall out. https://t.co/Qi0Ku7yv5g [https://t.co/Qi0Ku7yv5g]

— Ben Pobjie (@benpobjie) September 15, 2016 [https://twitter.com/benpobjie/status/776227379584770048]block-time published-time 2.48am BST

The Institute of Public Affairs is not happy about where the superannuation package landed. Brett Hogan, the director of research at the Institute of Public Affairs :

The Turnbull government should be congratulated for dumping its retrospective and unworkable $500,000 lifetime non-concessional contributions cap.

However, limits on what can be transferred into a retirement account remain, as does the proposed objective that superannuation exists only to ‘substitute or supplement the age pension’.

Overall, the Turnbull government’s superannuation policy remains ill thought-out and built on a platform of higher taxes.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.55am BST

block-time published-time 2.46am BST

The debate in Australia today. Is she:

Bad Pauline.

Pauline Hanson talks to the media in the press gallery of Parliament House. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian Good Pauline.

Hanson addresses journalists. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian Mike Bowers asks, you decide.

block-time published-time 2.37am BST

Knowing me, knowing you. Aha.

Treasurer Scott Morrison and minister for revenue and financial services Kelly O’Dwyer. Photograph: Mike Bowers for the Guardian block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.46am BST

block-time published-time 2.28am BST

Scott Morrison done good on superannuation. We are inundated with many suggestions for the trifecta of Australian dreams which I will bring you in a minute. But first a quick comment about superannuation.

The need to rein in the Howard governments overly generous superannuation concessions has been long and loudly noted by economists for many years. Scott Morrison and Malcolm Turnbull ’s willingness to grab this bull by the horns should be congratulated. Labor’s superannuation package, which was released by Chris Bowen a fair while before the Coalition’s package, should also be congratulated. Bowen essentially gave Morrison cover to work up superannuation reforms which could make a difference to the budget and get rid of a significant tax shelter. As Morrison said, people were stacking money into balances up to $100m paying no tax. Larf!

Now you could say, Morrison should have run it past his own backbench before the budget to make for a neater policy package. It certainly would have saved a bit of angst and removed a stick for Eric Abetz. But hey, the broader point remains. If the generous concessions for largely high-income earners are wound back for the good of the budget and the savings figures are correct, Morrison and Turnbull done good. (All nuclear explosions kept to the comments thread, please.)

Bowen will be out at midday. Morrison says he has spoken to him. We await with interest but could there be two policy reform handshakes in one week?

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.47am BST

block-time published-time 2.07am BST

Lastly – I promise – George Christensen gives the prime minister five stars for performance. Malcolm the Movie has exceeded all expectations. He has managed to juggle the party room and come to compromises.

He is doing a very good job. When we see decisions like this on superannuation, obviously as PM he has been able to steer that conversation to a landing point which both moderates and conservatives are happy with.

Has the PM exceeded your expectations?

I think he has. He has been willing to listen to both sides of the fence, not just Nationals and Liberals but conservatives and moderates or progressives within the Liberal-National Coalition and he is doing a very good job at that. I give him full marks.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.18am BST

block-time published-time 2.03am BST

George Christensen's vote on marriage will depend on his electoral vote Conservatives are continuing to issue fine print on the outcome of the plebiscite in preparation of a potential yes to marriage equality.

Q: If a plebiscite does take place and Australia votes to change the Marriage Act, will you yourself support that in parliament?

I will vote how my electorate votes. That is how I will vote. If my electorate votes for same-sex marriage I will cast my vote for it. If my electorate votes against it – and if every MP voted according to the will of the electorate – we would have the national mood reflected in this place.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.05am BST

block-time published-time 1.58am BST

Christensen: restrict **immigration** from countries with high levels of violent extremism George Christensen is also asked about Pauline Hanson’s views on banning Muslim **immigration**. He does not think Australia is being swamped by Muslims.

For instance, Pauline Hanson might say ban all Muslims from **immigrating** into – or migrating to Australia. I would say that it probably reflects the concerns of people regarding national security, but do I agree with that? No, I think a more nuanced policy would be to restrict **immigration** from countries where there is a high level of violent extremism. That would be putting the precautionary principle into place when it comes to national security and using our **immigration** policy to do that.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.04am BST

block-time published-time 1.54am BST

Christensen says he told the One Nation senator Malcolm Roberts to keep speaking the truth on climate change.

I told him keep speaking the truth to the climate mafia. Obviously he has views on the idea of catastrophic man-made climate change being bogus, just like I do. We were on the same page when it comes to that.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.03am BST

block-time published-time 1.52am BST

Christensen is asked about his views on same-sex marriage and polygamy. Will one lead to the other?

I will treat the same-sex marriage issue on its own. There are people out there that are almost pushing for polygamy.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.03am BST

block-time published-time 1.50am BST

George Christensen: superannuation changes seal the deal George Christensen, Liberal National party MP and agitator, is a happy man today.

The doing away of the $500,000 non-concessional lifetime cap goes even further that than I would have thought. I would have been happy with a $1m non-concessional cap. Doing away with it is one step better, I suppose that does away also with all the retrospectivity concerns that people had. These were issues that were raised by many, many people in my electorate and also many people in the Liberal and National party membership and base … This really does seal the deal and as such, I can say I am 100% supportive of the new superannuation reforms that we will take to parliament and I will no longer be crossing the floor, if indeed what has been announced today is what is going to be legislated.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.54am BST

block-time published-time 1.44am BST

Thank you, Matthew.

enltrMs Hansen presented an erudite & charitable maiden speech, commensurate with her role as a Party leader. #auspol [https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/XElfHBtEB3 [https://t.co/XElfHBtEB3]

— The Matt Hatter (@MattGlassDarkly) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MattGlassDarkly/status/776197574877327360]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.53am BST

block-time published-time 1.37am BST

The trifecta of Australian dreams, by Scott Morrison A question from Peter Martin of Fairfax draws out a soliloquy of sorts from the treasurer about the Australian dream.

Q: People concerned about the stability of the budget will be applauding this if you get it through, it looks like you will. Can you understand, though, why most people would think that $100,000 a year out of after-tax income, is an extraordinarily high amount to enable someone to contribute to super out of their own pocket. Almost no one could do that. Is the limit a little high?

I’m no enemy of aspiration by Australians and what we’ve said is that we have established a transfer balance cap of $1.6m in this package which we announced on budget night. You know, as well as I do, that only about 1% of people get to that, even under the generous concessions that have particularly been in place since 2007 …

And when you could have $180,000 a year with three-year bring forwards and you could keep rolling it in three years after three years after three years we had balances in this country on superannuation in excess of $5m, $10m, $50m, $100m. That is the product of a previous set of arrangements.

That will have a legacy to it, understandably. But at the same time what we’ve said here is you can make those after-tax contributions but once you hit $1.6m, that’s great. I think … there are many great achievements in life. Raising your children, paying off your home and providing for yourself in your retirement. They are a trifecta of Australian dreams that we believe in.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.52am BST

block-time published-time 1.27am BST

A question from the floor to Scott Morrison..

The PM described the changes outlined in the budget as ironclad. They have now been changed. Do you expect that ironclad promise was wrong?

What I accept is when you’re in government you have to solve problems, you have to work issues and you have to get to conclusions and that’s what we’ve done today.

block-time published-time 1.23am BST

This is more detail from the treasurer’s statement.

Individuals with a superannuation balance of more than $1.6m will no longer be eligible to make non-concessional (after tax) contributions from 1 July 2017. This limit will be tied and indexed to the transfer balance cap.

This ensures that we focus the entitlement for after tax contributions to those Australians who have an aspiration to maximise their superannuation balances and reach the transfer balance cap in the retirement phase, where a zero tax on earnings applies.

These measures mean that with their annual concessional contributions, Australians will be able to contribute $125,000 each year and, if taking advantage of the non-concessional ‘bring forward’, up to $325,000 in any one year until such time as they reach $1.6m.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.31am BST

block-time published-time 1.17am BST

The treasurer makes the point that Labor should support the package (given it has removed the backdating provision which they opposed). He has called Chris Bowen and offered a briefing. It’s the new caring, sharing Scott Morrison.

I commend Mr Bowen this week, I commend Chris on the work he did on the omnibus bill this week. I think it is clear that there are people in Labor, as Chris has demonstrated, we can work with, to come to arrangements like this. It’s really up to whether Mr Shorten is. That’s really what it’s about. He’s demonstrating a greater commitment to opposition than he is to progress but there are members in his own team who I think are trying to go a better way.

Naughty ScoMo. Push Bowen. Whack Shorten.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.31am BST

block-time published-time 1.12am BST

The measures were supported “acclamation” in the party room, says the treasurer.

Over the past few months, we have been engaging with our colleagues, our Coalition colleagues, on all of these measures. And we have been listening to them as they have been listening to their communities and to their constituents.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.31am BST

block-time published-time 1.10am BST

Superannuation reform package 2.0: lifetime cap is gone The new measures, by Scott Morrison, are:

\* Replace the lifetime non-concessional cap with an annual cap of $100,000 with a three-year bring forward, limited to those who have a balance of $1.6m. The cost of reversing the other measure and introducing the new measure is $400m to the budget.

\* In addition to pay for this, we will be reversing the abolition of the work test measures for those aged 65 to 74 and that means the existing arrangements for those who are aged over 65 will continue. That is a saving of $180m.

\* We will also defer commencement of the catch-up concessional contributions by one year to 1 July 2018, which provides a saving over the budget and forward estimates of $400m. That provides a net improvement to the budget of what we announced today of $180m over the forward estimates and some $670m over the medium term.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.32am BST

block-time published-time 1.04am BST

Morrison starts with the purpose of superannuation and a note to Peter Costello, who oversaw the current superannuation system.

The purpose of these tax concessions is as outlined by David Murray and that is to provide income in retirement to substitute or supplement the aged pension. That’s what they’re supposed to do.

block-time published-time 1.03am BST

Scott Morrison’s superannuation press conference begins.

block-time published-time 1.02am BST

Richard Di Natale on Sky this morning, defending the Greens’ decision to walk out on the Hanson speech.

enltrRichard Di Natale says Pauline Hanson's speech was 'racist, bigoted and divisive' #AMAgenda [https://twitter.com/hashtag/AMAgenda?src=hash] https://t.co/d3PXdOGDX5 [https://t.co/d3PXdOGDX5]

— Sky News Australia (@SkyNewsAust) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SkyNewsAust/status/776205842345439232]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.07am BST

block-time published-time 12.54am BST

Phil Coorey of the Fin has the super guff [http://www.afr.com/personal-finance/superannuation-and-smsfs/coalition-dumps-500000-lifetime-superannuation-cap-20160914-grgm7x#ixzz4KHG6McXH].

The federal government has made significant changes to its superannuation package, including dumping plans for a backdated, lifetime cap of $500,000 [http://www.afr.com/personal-finance/superannuation-and-smsfs/concern-rises-over-500000-super-contribution-cap-20160714-gq60pr] on non-concessional contributions, in order to win over the backbench and ultimately, the Senate.

In a compromise to be put to the party room for approval on Thursday, sources said the $500,000 cap backdated to 2007 had been removed and replaced by a mechanism in which people would be able to make both concessional and non-concessional contributions until the cap of $1.6m in a super retirement account was reached. There will be a yearly cap of $100,000 on non-concessional contributions until the $1.6m is reached.

Dumping the $500,000 lifetime cap [http://www.afr.com/business/banking-and-finance/financial-services/bt-says-lifetime-super-contribution-limit-should-be-doubled-to-1-million-20160901-gr6p7z] would cost the budget $550m in revenue over four years.

To recoup this, sources said the government had scrapped a proposal to remove restrictions such as minimum work requirements on people aged between 65 and 74 wishing to make voluntary contributions to their super.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.59am BST

block-time published-time 12.47am BST

Let’s just refresh memories about the government’s superannuation proposal that emerged from the 2016 budget.

The Coalition policy placed a $500,000 lifetime cap on after-tax superannuation contributions backdated to 2007, increases the concessional tax rate on asset earnings from 0% to 15% for people aged 56 to 65 in the “transition to retirement”, and taxes accounts over $1.6m at 15%.

A number of backbenchers were revolting [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jul/20/george-christensen-threatens-to-vote-against-coalitions-superannuation-changes], on the lifetime cap and the backdating. I am told the cap is gone in a major rejig.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.58am BST

block-time published-time 12.17am BST

Malcolm Turnbull appears to have given an interview to the Financial Review [http://www.afr.com/news/politics/govt-to-focus-on-budget-and-ir-and-prepared-to-compromise-on-all-malcolm-turnbull-20160913-grfqk0#ixzz4KH6kYB13] :

Prime minister Malcolm Turnbull believes the Senate will pass the two industrial relations bills that triggered the double-dissolution election without the need for a joint sitting of parliament as he indicated the government was prepared to compromise on these measures as well as all other budget bills to secure their passage.

In an interview with the Australian Financial Review to mark his first year in office, Mr Turnbull said the government’s singular focus from now until the next election would be on the budget and economic reform and that he would not be distracted by such issues as same-sex marriage.

And in Fairfax Media [http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/we-will-deliver-pm-malcolm-turnbulls-second-term-pledge-to-voters-20160914-grg13w.html] :

A defiant Malcolm Turnbull has claimed credit for stronger-than-expected economic growth in the first year of his prime ministership, declaring he deserves a “tick” for delivering economic leadership.

The prime minister has also cited his science and innovation agenda as one of the key reasons for higher growth and investment and stronger business confidence, saying it is “directly related” to the improvement.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.58am BST

block-time published-time 12.09am BST

Coalition superannuation deal just about done with the backbench Now that I have that off my chest, I can tell you that there is a party-room meeting going on now to tick off changes to the Coalition’s superannuation policy. Cabinet met last night, as did the economics committee. We are told the changes are revenue neutral. More details in a minute.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.43am BST

block-time published-time 12.07am BST

Those who have followed my work will know I have written extensively [https://www.theguardian.com/news/bush-mail/2014/may/08/coalition-has-budget-blind-spot-when-it-comes-to-the-rural-poor] about the disenfranchised in rural and regional areas. While some may call me a latte-sipping elite, I am no stranger to communities in the back blocks. I live in a small town and live among some people who for various reasons share some of the views of Pauline Hanson. Some vote for her.

I heard those views just prior to Hanson winning a seat in 1996. I had just moved out of the city and at that time, she was an anathema to me because I considered her and her supporters ignorant. Since coming to know the people in regional Australia, I don’t think of her supporters in that way. They have issues which they want to see ventilated and putting a lid on them will not make them go away. Conversations help.

But there is a difference between then and now, though the messages are similar. I covered that 1996 speech when she said Indigenous Australians were getting special benefits and we were being swamped by Asians. Now we are being swamped by Muslims, who are taking benefits, and the Asians, having done too well, are buying all our land. As Penny Wong said this morning, if she was around in the 50s it would have been the Greeks and Italians. I predict the Sudanese will come into focus in the future.

The difference as I see it is this. In 1996, Hanson was unformed, politically naive, channelling views she heard in her family and in her community. The political process and Svengalis got a hold of her, chucked her in jail for a bit and she has emerged out the other side a different person. Strategic. Polished. That speech last night was a result. Deliberately hitting the same notes but choosing different victims. Smirking as the Greens staged their ill-advised walkout. As Tony Burke said she is not dumb, this was a deliberate, damaging, illogical but incendiary intervention. As much as I railed in 1996, I prefer that version. Pauline Hanson 2.0, in this security environment, has much more capacity for damage.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.42am BST

block-time published-time 11.36pm BST

If you are looking around for powerful first speeches, check this one out.

Julian Leeser, new MP for Berowra, gives his first speech. Leeser won the safe Liberal seat after Philip Ruddock retired.

It’s the personal experiences I think which shape the best first speeches. Like Labor’s Anne Aly and Liberal’s Tim Wilson. More coming today. I hope to have a list shortly.

block-time published-time 11.25pm BST

A bit of housekeeping. Bills on the program today include:

\* Broadcasting legislation amendment (television and radio licence fees)

\* Higher education support legislation amendment (2016 measures No 1)

\* Offshore petroleum and greenhouse gas storage amendment (petroleum pools and other measures)

\* Treasury laws amendment (income tax relief)

\* Fair work amendment (respect for emergency services volunteers)

\* Building and construction industry (improving productivity) 2013

\* Building and construction industry (consequential and transitional provisions) 2013

Parliament starts at 9.30am.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.41am BST

block-time published-time 11.09pm BST

Good morning,

It was a long night after a long day. I had a dream that Malcolm Turnbull was delivering a speech in a yoga pose called firelog – a decent hip opener with much to recommend it. I think that the very long blog day was messing with my mind. The other thing I was considering was the Pauline Hanson speech [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban]. Of course, she went off like a firecracker. And then, so did everyone else. I will have something more to say in a moment but let’s get this baby up and running with a range of reactions.

The PM, via Rosie Lewis in the Oz [http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/immigration/turnbull-islamic-leaders-slam-hansons-attack-on-muslims/news-story/bbdb95e73513ce57540a2dbc0fa02364] :

Senator Hanson knows I do not agree with her views on ­migration. Australia is the world’s most successful multicultural ­society and the foundation of that success is mutual respect.

Labor’s Penny Wong told Radio National she chose not to attend because Hanson “peddles prejudice and fear”.

There is no community which has been made stronger by prejudice and fear … by targeting people based on their religion or ethnicity. Her comments don’t make Australia stronger or safer, or Australia a more cohesive society.

Wong made the point that if Hanson had been around in the 1950s or 60s she would have targeted Greeks and Italians, then eastern Europeans, then Asians in the 1990s, and today Muslims.

I think diversity is a strength.

Nick Xenophon said the way Hanson had “vilified” Islamic Australians was “heart-breaking”.

This is not what Australia is about – we are an open, inclusive country. Pauline Hanson is wrong.”

The Greens leader, Richard Di Natale, said Hanson’s was an “overtly racist, bigoted, divisive speech”.

He explained the Greens walked out because “we didn’t want to dignify it with an audience”.

She’s been elected as a member of parliament, she’s got a platform, doesn’t mean we have to stay in there and listen to that garbage. It just got worse and worse, then I think she tried to conflate **refugees** with terrorists – and at that point there, our team had had enough.

Mikey Bowers is chasing the pollies around the building so we will have more from in a moment. I am @gabriellechan and he is @mpbowers or you can join the conversation on my Facebook page [https://www.facebook.com/gabriellechanbushmail/]. Party like it’s 1996.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.20pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Report by World Bank and UN highlights the scale and economic impact of displacement caused by conflict worldwide

The World Bank [https://www.theguardian.com/business/worldbank] and the United Nations have highlighted the impact of conflicts on civilians in a report showing that the number of displaced people around the globe is equivalent to the UK’s population of 65 million.

A study launched jointly by the Bank and the UN **Refugee** Agency [https://www.theguardian.com/unhcr-refugee-stories] (UNHCR) shows that the root of the problem are 10 conflicts responsible for the majority of forced displacement every year for the past quarter of a century.

The report said the issue was emerging as an important development challenge that threatened a backlash against **refugees**.

“Extreme poverty is now increasingly concentrated among vulnerable groups, including people who had to flee in the face of conflict and violence, and their presence affects development prospects in the communities that are hosting them,” the report said.

“Large movements of people are also fuelling xenophobic reactions, even in high-income countries, and this could threaten the consensus that is underpinning global economic growth.”

The study singled out Afghanistan, Burundi, the Caucasus, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and the former Yugoslavia as responsible for a crisis that affects 1% of the world’s population.

Despite the controversy over **refugees** and often strong opposition to them in developed countries, the Bank and the UN said that neighbouring developing countries shouldered almost all of the responsibility for coping with the impact of the violent struggles.

The report said that 89% of **refugees** and 99% of internally displaced people were hosted by around 15 developing countries, a pattern unchanged since 1991.

At the end of 2015, Syria’s neighbours – Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey – hosted 27% of all **refugees** worldwide; Iran and Pakistan, Afghanistan’s neighbours, hosted 16%; and Ethiopia and Kenya, Somalia and South Sudan’s neighbours, hosted 7%.

“Forced displacement denies development opportunities to millions, creating a major obstacle to our efforts to end extreme poverty by 2030,” said the World Bank’s president, Jim Yong Kim.

“We’re committed to working with our partners to help the displaced overcome their ordeal and seize economic opportunities, while ensuring that host communities can also benefit and continue to pursue their own development.”

The report also highlighted that **refugees** account for less than 1% of the population in most host countries. In Turkey, Chad, Djibouti and South Sudan, **refugees**account for 2-3.5%. Only in Lebanon and Jordan does the ratio exceed 4%, by a large margin – 18% in Lebanon and 9% in Jordan.

The new report said it was important that development organisations intervene to help countries affected by displacement. It identified three phases of support: helping host nations prepare before large numbers of people arrived; providing support to tackle long-standing issues such as health and education; and helping to create jobs.

It added that unlike economic migrants moving to places where there were jobs, the forcibly displaced were fleeing conflict and violence, often suffering from a loss of assets, lack of legal rights and a lack of opportunity. “They need dedicated support to overcome these vulnerabilities and regain confidence in their future … so they can work, send their children to school and have access to services,” the report said.

Kim has made tackling the root causes of the **refugee** crisis a key priority for his tenure at the World Bank and is expected to build on this report with initiatives to boost the economic prospects of displaced people.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Human Rights Watch report says intimidation is driving many of the 300,000 residents of Kenya’s Dadaab camp back to war-torn Somalia

Residents of the world’s largest **refugee** camp are technically being returned by force to conflict zones in a major contravention of international law, a rights group has argued.

Since the Kenyan government announced in May that it will close the Dadaab camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/11/kenya-close-worlds-biggest-refugee-camp-dadaab] in eastern Kenya in November, many of the camp’s roughly 300,000 residents have begun to leave for their original homes in war-torn Somalia.

The Kenyan government and the management of the UN **refugee** agency, UNHCR, claim these returns are voluntary. But in a report released on Thursday[https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/09/14/kenya-involuntary-refugee-returns-somalia], the US-based rights group Human Rights Watch (HRW) said people are returning to Somalia because they feel intimidated[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/may/20/dadaab-refugee-camp-kenya-repatriation-somalia], and because they fear being expelled if they remain in the camp past November.

Related: Life in Dadaab: three generations of **refugees** isolated from Kenyan society[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/jan/27/life-dadaab-three-generations-of-refugees-isolated-from-kenyan-society]

Based on interviews with 100 Dadaab residents, the report adds that returnees are also not being given proper information about the situation in Somalia, and risk losing $400 (£300) in cash handouts if they stay in Kenya.

A 42-year-old Somalian woman, who has signed up to return home, told HRW[https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/09/14/kenya-involuntary-refugee-returns-somalia] : “We fled Somalia because of specific problems, and those problems are still there. It’s not the right time for us to go back. But every day the Kenyan government is telling us that we have to go, and UNHCR is not giving us any different information … I said I will go back as we have no other option.”

HRW argues that this dynamic is technically a breach of international law, since the 1951 **refugee** convention[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/07/un-refugee-convention-on-unlawful-entry-expulsion-and-refoulement-in-full] forbids the return or “refoulement” of **refugees** to countries where they may be at risk.

HRW states: “Refoulement occurs not only when a **refugee** is directly rejected or expelled, but also where indirect pressure on individuals is so intense that it leads them to believe that they have no practical option but to return to a country where they face serious risk of persecution or threats to their lives and safety.”

Bill Frelick, HRW’s **refugee** rights director, said: “The Kenyan authorities are not giving Somali **refugees** a real choice between staying and leaving, and the UN**refugee** agency isn’t giving people accurate information about security conditions in Somalia. There is no way these returns can be considered voluntary.”

In an interview with the Guardian[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/may/25/kenya-william-ruto-tells-uk-to-resettle-somali-refugees-living-in-dadaab] earlier this year, Kenya’s vice-president, William Ruto, denied that **refugees** were being coerced into leaving. “We believe very strongly that there is a lot of willingness by the **refugees** to go back home,” Ruto said. “We do not expect that it will get to a situation where anybody is forced to go back home, because that is not within our international obligations.”

The management of the UN **refugee** agency, which is meant to ensure the implementation of the 1951 **refugee** convention, says the returns are legal. “We have not seen [forced returns],” a UNHCR spokesman said last month[http://www.nation.co.ke.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/UN-defends-Kenya-over-claim-forceful-repatriation-Dadaab/1056-3359452-883l8e/index.html].

Related: Dadaab **refugee** camp closure would endanger 350,000 Somali lives, warns Amnesty[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/apr/17/dadaab-refugee-camp-closure-risk-350000-somali-lives-amnesty]

But in the field, UNHCR officials told a different story. “Families we have interviewed and many of those who filled the repatriation forms have shown that they are returning because of threatening rhetoric by Kenyan regional security officials who recently visited the camp,” a Dadaab-based UNHCR official, Mohamed Mahad Gurhan, told Voice of America[http://www.nation.co.ke.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/UN-defends-Kenya-over-claim-forceful-repatriation-Dadaab/1056-3359452-883l8e/index.html].

Kenyan officials say their actions are inspired by Europe’s attempts to keep Syrian **refugees** out of Europe by force. The initial decision to close Dadaab came just weeks after the announcement of the EU-Turkey deal[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/08/eu-turkey-refugee-deal-qa], which is meant to ensure the deportation of most asylum seekers arriving by boat to Greece.

At the time, Kenya’s cabinet secretary, Joseph Nkaissery, said[http://www.interior.go.ke/?p=3113] of the Dadaab closure: “This is the standard practice worldwide. For example in Europe, rich, prosperous and democratic countries are turning away **refugees** from Syria, one of the worst war zones since world war two.”

The pattern is also being repeated in Pakistan, where HRW says[http://www.hrw.org/news/2016/09/14/pakistan-coerced-refugee-return-endangers-thousands] the government is intimidating tens of thousands of Afghan **refugees** into returning home.

Around 3 million Afghans have sought **refuge** in Pakistan, and roughly 90,000 have returned home this year after what HRW calls coercion on the part of the government.

“Pakistani authorities are increasingly committing abuses against Afghan **refugees** that are triggering a mass **refugee** return,” said Patricia Gossman, senior Afghanistan researcher at Human Rights Watch. “The government should rein in its abusive security forces and ensure the **refugees**’ secure status and protection.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Trump skeptical of Clinton’s health while her doctor declares her ‘healthy and fit’; religion is worth $1.2tn in the US; why it’s easy to hate the tech industry

Trump on campaigning: ‘You think this is easy?’ The Republican nominee questioned[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/trump-clinton-health-medical-records-ohio-rally] Hillary Clinton’s health at a rally in Ohio, following her pneumonia diagnosis last week. Speaking about the harshness of campaigning, he said: “You think this is easy? In this beautiful room that’s 122 degrees. It is hot, and it is always hot when I perform because the crowds are so big. I don’t know, folks. You think Hillary Clinton would be able to stand up here and do this for an hour?” Trump, who at 69 would be the oldest president if elected, told Dr Oz during a special that will air today that he’d like to lose 15-20 pounds. He also said that he doesn’t exercise and takes statins. Separately, Trump doctor Harold Bornstein settled a malpractice lawsuit[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/15/donald-trump-doctor-malpractice-lawsuit-patient-death-harold-bornstein] in 2002 after being accused of ‘negligent and reckless’ prescribing of morphine and barbiturates.

Donald Trump questions Clinton’s health at Ohio rally: ‘You think this is easy?’[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/trump-clinton-health-medical-records-ohio-rally]

Candidate Clinton: ‘Healthy and fit’ Hillary Clinton’s doctor says she’s in “excellent mental condition” as she recuperates from pneumonia. “My overall impression is that Mrs Clinton has remained healthy and has not developed new medical conditions this year other than a sinus and ear infection and her recently diagnosed pneumonia,” physician Lisa Bardack wrote in her assessment. The Democratic candidate cancelled scheduled trips to California and Nevada this week. She is expected to attend a rally in Greensboro, North Carolina today.

Hillary Clinton ‘healthy and fit to serve as president’, doctor says[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/hillary-clinton-doctor-letter-pneumonia]

Religion: America’s biggest economy by far Religion in the United States is worth $1.2tn a year, making it equivalent to the 15th largest national economy in the world and worth more than the combined revenues of 10 biggest tech firms in America (including Apple and Google), according to new study. The report from Georgetown University estimated the value of religious institutions, including healthcare facilities, schools, daycare and charities; media; businesses with faith backgrounds; the kosher and halal food markets; social and philanthropic programs; and staff and overheads for congregations.

Religion in US ‘worth more than Google and Apple combined’[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/15/us-religion-worth-1-trillion-study-economy-apple-google]

Autopilot supplier disowns Tesla The company that supplied the autopilot system used by Tesla in a car that crashed in May, killing the driver, has accused the automaker of “pushing the envelope in terms of safety”. Mobileye broke ties with Tesla Motors over the company’s use of its Autopilot driver-assistance system. “It is not designed to cover all possible crash situations in a safe manner,” said Mobileye chairman Amnon Shashua. “No matter how you spin it, [Autopilot] is not designed for that. It is a driver assistance system and not a driverless system.”

Autopilot supplier disowns Tesla for ‘pushing the envelope on safety’[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/sep/15/autopilot-supplier-disowns-tesla-for-pushing-the-envelope-on-safety]

Guantánamo prisoners return to battlefield A total of nine people freed from Guantánamo have ended up on the battlefield since Barack Obama took office in 2009, according to a report issued by the Office of Director of National Intelligence (ODNI). In all, the Obama administration has released 161 prisoners from Guantánamo since 2009, nine of them had joined insurgencies, representing 5.6%. Under the Bush administration, 21%, or 113 of 532 released, rejoined the jihadist cause.

Guantánamo ex-prisoners continue to turn up on battlefield, says US[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/15/guantanamo-ex-prisoners-continue-to-turn-up-on-battlefield-says-us]

New dangers for Central American migrants A rising number of Central American migrants are heading out to sea in small open boats to evade the **immigration**officials and bandits who have proliferated along Mexico’s southern border. **Immigration** experts fear an increase in trafficking and drownings as a US-driven **immigration** crackdown on established land crossings through Mexico takes hold. Migrants, fishermen and local residents say the coyotes have established maritime networks linking isolated villages along the Pacific coast to transport people along routes previously favoured by drug traffickers.

Central American migrants desperate to reach US risk new dangers at sea[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/15/migrants-mexico-human-trafficking-us-immigration-crackdown]

Playing a terrorist, typecast as a terrorist UK actor Riz Ahmed[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/15/riz-ahmed-typecast-as-a-terrorist] started acting professionally during the post-9/11 terrorist-acting boom. His first film, Michael Winterbottom’s The Road to Guantánamo, told the story of a group of friends illegally imprisoned and tortured in the US detainment camp. Soon enough, security officials began to mistake him for a jihadist. “Returning to the glamour of Luton Airport after our festival win, ironically named British intelligence officers frogmarched me to an unmarked room where they insulted, threatened and then attacked me,” he recalls.

Typecast as a terrorist[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/15/riz-ahmed-typecast-as-a-terrorist]

The passage of climate disruption – from the Marshall Islands to Arkansas Few experience rising sea levels as acutely as the Marshall Islands, where the tides threaten the land itself. An attendant issue, a shortage of fresh water, is now so dire that President Hilda Heine declared a state of emergency when she took office in January. Coupled with that is a population exodus often headed, oddly, to Springdale, Arkansas. “The numbers are increasing, of people leaving,” Heine says. “We see that almost every day. It concerns us. I think to a certain extent there are people who are thinking about the sea level rise and they’re wanting to make sure they’re on secure land.”

Climate change and the Marshall Islands: lives in the balance[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/sep/15/marshall-islands-climate-change-springdale-arkansas]

Tech’s negative image issue Last week, Facebook’s Mark Zuckerberg took heat after the most iconic photograph of the Vietnam war was censored from the site. Spontaneously self-inflicted harm is common in Silicon Valley and hardly a week goes by without a powerful person upsetting a significant number of people[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/sep/15/silicon-valley-tech-industry-elitism-mark-zuckerberg]. Perhaps because they’re so often challenging the status quo, tech industry titans are the stuff that PR nightmares are made of, writes Ben Tarnoff. And besides, “tech executives seem to have a special talent for doing or saying infuriating things”.

Gaffes, ignorance and PR nightmares: why it’s so easy to hate the tech industry[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/sep/15/silicon-valley-tech-industry-elitism-mark-zuckerberg]

In case you missed it … It’s the size of turkey with distinctive beak and broom-like bristles that erupt from its tail. Considered a relatively intelligent dinosaur, with good eyesight, Psittacosaurus lived across Asia 100m years ago. Now, using a fossil discovery carried out by a team led by Dr Jakob Vinther, palaeoartist Robert Nicholls has created what researchers believe is a near-perfect recreation of a spectacular fossil preserved with skin and pigments intact.

Scientists reveal most accurate depiction of a dinosaur ever created[https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/sep/14/scientists-reveal-most-accurate-depiction-of-a-dinosaur-ever-created]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As US-driven **immigration** crackdown forces many to find alternative routes through Mexico, activists fear an increase in trafficking and drownings

The highway from Mexico’s southern state of Chiapas into the neighbouring region of Oaxaca hugs the Pacific coast, cutting through dusty towns and densely forested mountains. It only takes a few hours to drive, but for migrants trying to reach the United States, it is one of the most perilous sections of the overland route.

Related: Mexico's migration crackdown escalates dangers for Central Americans[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/13/mexico-central-american-migrants-journey-crackdown]

Undocumented travelers who take a bus or hop a freight train will almost certainly be detained by **immigration** agents. Those who choose to walk face a gruelling two-day journey through remote forests – and risk robbery, rape and even death at the hands of armed robbers who prey on the men, women and children heading north.

Yet, a rising number of Central American migrants are heading out to sea in small open boats to evade the **immigration** officials and bandits who have proliferated along Mexico’s southern border.

Coyotes – or people smugglers – have established maritime networks linking isolated villages along the Pacific coast to transport people along routes previously favoured by drug traffickers, according to migrants, fishermen and local residents.

It’s not the first time Mexico’s long shorelines have been used to smuggle people, but maritime routes have proliferated since a US-driven **immigration** crackdown forced migrants to find alternative routes through Mexico.

Mexico’s Southern Border Plan was launched after a surge in unaccompanied Central American children seeking **refuge** at the US border triggered a humanitarian crisis in June 2014.

American aid supported the deployment of thousands of troops to patrol alongside **immigration** agents[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/04/mexico-deports-record-numbers-women-children-central-america] along established migrant routes, forcing travellers to take even greater risks on their journey north. Many of the maritime routes are still controlled by drug-trafficking organisations: cocaine and chemicals used in the production of crystal meth have been discovered in navy operations against seaborne traffickers.

“The numbers of migrants travelling by sea has greatly increased since the launch of the Southern Border Plan. This migration policy has forced people to take more dangerous routes through drug trafficking corridors, increasing their vulnerability. The only ones benefiting from the policy are the traffickers,” said Rubén Figueroa, from the Meso-American Migrants Movement.

So far, there have been no mass drownings on the scale seen in the Mediterranean Sea, but the journey by open boat is fraught with risk. In July, three children drowned when a fishing boat carrying Honduran and Salvadoran migrants from Guatemala capsized in a storm off the coast of Chiapas.

This migration policy has forced people to take more dangerous routes through drug trafficking corridors

Rubén Figueroa, Meso-American Migrants Movement

Sergio Ramírez, 17, from Comayagua in central Honduras, left home in mid-May with seven others, hoping to find work in the US. Traveling by bus and taxi, they made it to the town of Arriaga in Chiapas, where before the clampdown, migrants would continue north on a freight train known as the Beast[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/23/migrants-mexico-train-the-beast-fleeing-poverty].

In the past two years, hundreds of migrants walking from Arriaga have been mugged at gunpoint, according to civil society groups running shelters along the route.

In Arriaga they joined up with another group from Honduras including five women and four children aged two to 10, who were travelling with a coyote.

“He told us about the boat, he said it was the safest option as the bus and walking from Arriaga are very dangerous. He knew the fishermen as he regularly works with them,” Ramírez said.

From Arriaga, they travelled 30km by bus to the tiny fishing village Pesquería de Gloria, from where you can see Bird Island – a spectacular reedy mass home to pink spoon-billed ibis and frigates.

On arrival in Gloria, they were taken to a house where they were given food and water. Each migrant paid £40 (1,000 pesos) for the ride, and late in the afternoon, they set out.

Three hours later, at dusk, the group arrived unscathed in the picturesque hamlet Rincón Juárez. They immediately set off by foot, walking all night to reach the town Unión Hidalgo.

“For us the boat was a good option, we were safe and saved a lot of time,” said Ramírez, who is currently in Mexico City awaiting money from relatives so he can continue his journey.

Only a handful of boat owners in Gloria transport migrants, said Javier, 22, a fisherman. “Not just anyone can do it, it’s their business, you can’t just get involved,” he said.

Those with double-engine boats take up to 30 passengers; smaller, single-engine vessels carry six to eight migrants.

Javier, who like other interviewees asked not to be named for fear of reprisals, added: “I don’t have my own boat, but sometimes I help, I’ve done it just a few times … I went last week, we took 20 people to Rincón Juárez. They have to lie down because the navy patrol this area.”

Two or three boats arrive daily in Rincón Juárez. From there, migrants continue on foot, avoiding the small naval base on the outskirts of the village.

This relatively short route is within a huge lagoon, known locally as the Dead Sea, where the water is relatively calm.

But the open sea is far riskier.

Paredón, Chiapas, is a fishing village of 6,000 habitants with stunning views on the southern tip of the Dead Sea lagoon. Local fishermen say that every day, several boatloads of migrants can be seen passing by on the open sea, where conditions can get very stormy, very quickly. In 2007, 15 migrants drowned near Aguachil[http://archivo.eluniversal.com.mx/primera/29792.html], Oaxaca, a few miles up the coast.

“They start in Central America, in Guatemala, and sometimes stop here for petrol. Some migrants also come here overland and leave by boat, but less at the moment as the navy carries out many operations,” said one elderly fisherman.

Related: Lost at sea: the man who vanished for 14 months[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/07/fisherman-lost-at-sea-436-days-book-extract]

It was very close to here that a Honduran fisherman lost control of his boat in 2012, drifting for 14 months, before miraculously turning up 6,500 miles away in the Marshall Islands. Scores of fishermen have died in these waters.

The boats carrying migrants are heading for beaches such as Bahía La Ventosa in Oaxaca, a small fishing village with a handful of seafront restaurants where migrants and drugs have been passing through for years, according to local resident Raúl Salinas.

“Around 10, 15 years ago, 200 to 300 Central Americans would disembark every few days, but that virtually stopped because of navy operations. Numbers have started to go up again in the last couple of years, and right now at least 80 to 100 land every week,” said Salinas, who has attempted to rescue drowning migrants on several occasions.

They arrive at night to avoid detection, and are met by local fishermen who take them home where they can rest, eat and bathe. Most leave the next day in taxis or buses arranged by their coyotes; others take to sea again, heading to the state of Guerrero.

According to Salinas, some local families have been persuaded to work with migrant smugglers and drug traffickers because of dwindling fish stocks caused by oil spills from the nearby refinery.

The involvement of organised crime groups means that migrants who travel by boat in an attempt to avoid danger, are instead at risk of falling prey to human traffickers. In this zone, Los Zetas, the Gulf and New Generation Jalisco cartels are currently battling for control over land and sea territory to transport drugs, arms and people. Reports of extortion by local police are common.

Amid ever-increasing violence in Central America, thousands of people continue to flee every month in search of safety and a better life. Activists and fishermen fear trafficking and drownings will rise as more migrants are persuaded to travel by sea.

Salinas said: “I’ve seen dead bodies, I’ve tried to rescue people. The open sea is dangerous, small boats can easily overturn, and most can’t swim. But people keep coming because they are desperate.”

\*Names have been changed to protect identities.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Republican nominee made his most direct reference to his rival’s recent diagnosis of pneumonia and often deviated from his teleprompters

Donald Trump publicly raised questions about Hillary Clinton’s health for the first time since the former secretary of state was forced on Sunday to leave a ceremony for the victims of 9/11[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/11/hillary-clinton-leaves-911-ceremony-after-feeling-overheated].

Speaking in an air-conditioned minor league basketball arena in Canton, Ohio, Trump made his most direct reference to Clinton’s recent diagnosis of pneumonia and her campaign saying she left the event in New York because she felt “overheated”.

“You think this is easy?” Trump asked. “In this beautiful room that’s 122 degrees. It is hot, and it is always hot when I perform because the crowds are so big. The rooms were not designed for this kind of crowd. I don’t know, folks. You think Hillary Clinton would be able to stand up here and do this for an hour? I don’t know.”

The Republican nominee later went on to add of his Democratic rival, “Now she’s lying in bed, getting better and we want her better, we want her back on the trail, right?”

Sounding like the classic unscripted Trump, the Republican presidential nominee often deviated from his teleprompters in a 40-minute speech that ranged from Clinton’s health to the water crisis in Flint, Michigan[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/donald-trump-flint-visit-water-plant-tour].

Related: Flint residents bristle at Donald Trump's visit to beleaguered city[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/donald-trump-flint-visit-water-plant-tour]

The issue of candidate health and medical records has come to the forefront after the Clinton campaign revealed that the former secretary of state was diagnosed with pneumonia on Sunday, eight hours after she abruptly left the ceremony at the National September 11 Memorial. The Democratic nominee had to be helped into a van while leaving. Afterward, Clinton cancelled all public events for three days.

Clinton has since released[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/hillary-clinton-doctor-letter-pneumonia] more detailed medical information from her doctor describing her as “healthy and fit to serve as president”. In contrast, Trump has yet to share further medical information to the public besides a brief letter written in December that said[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/14/donald-trump-health-doctor-letter-americas-healthiest-president] he would be “the healthiest individual ever elected to the presidency”. However, in an interview with controversial TV doctor Dr Oz, set to air on Thursday, the 70-year-old Trump reportedly said[http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/14/politics/donald-trump-dr-oz-weight/index.html] that he would like to lose 15 pounds, doesn’t exercise and is fond of fast food.

Trump also addressed the water crisis in Flint, a former car manufacturing hub that has seen tens of thousands of jobs disappear in recent decades. “It used to be cars were made in Flint and you couldn’t drink the water in Mexico,” the Republican nominee said. “Now the cars are made in Mexico and you can’t drink the water in Flint.” Ford said on Wednesday that it was moving all its small-car production to Mexico[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/14/ford-steep-decline-financial-performance-2017].

Earlier in the day, Trump had visited the city and ended up in a confrontation with a local pastor. Trump was visiting a church that serves as a water distribution center for residents when he started critiquing Clinton. The pastor, Faith Green Timmons, interrupted and made clear[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/donald-trump-flint-visit-water-plant-tour] : “Mr Trump, I invited you here to thank us for what we’ve done in Flint, not give a political speech.”

Later in Ohio, Trump, buoyed by recent polls[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/14/trump-ohio-poll-leads-hillary-clinton] that showed him taking the lead in that crucial swing state, was in high spirits in front of a cheering crowd. His supporters, many of them wearing Trump-themed apparel, ate up applause lines such as when Trump asked who would pay for his famous border wall. He received loud shouts in return of “Mexico”.

The crowd also booed and hissed when Trump told them, “President Obama just announced a 30% increase to **refugee** admissions coming into this country.” Trump added after the loud chorus of boos subsided that “that was hard to take”. The Republican nominee added of the proposal: “It’s bringing the total to 110,000 **refugees** in just a single year, and we have no idea where they come from, it’s a great Trojan horse.” Looking ahead to history’s judgment, Trump noted, “I don’t want be known in 200 years for having created a Trojan horse by a different name.”

The uncharacteristic return to his unscripted rally style comes the day before the Republican nominee is scheduled to make a major economic policy speech at the Waldorf Astoria in New York. There, the Republican nominee will introduce a tax reform proposal.

Trump has previously introduced two other tax reform plans. First, in 2015, where he emphasized that half of Americans[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/sep/28/donald-trump-unveils-tax-plan] in lieu of paying taxes would simply mail a card to the IRS saying “I win”, and more recently in August where he proposed to reduce the number of tax brackets[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/08/donald-trump-tax-plan-business-income-middle-class] to three while drastically cutting rates. The speech Thursday is expected to be a more expansive elaboration of the August proposal.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HEREImmigration** minister says ‘spectre of people smuggling remains ever present’ in speech interrupted by protesters calling for camps to be closed

The **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, has said Australia’s regional processing relationship with Nauru will continue for “decades”.

In a speech on Thursday night to a Canberra-based policy thinktank that was interrupted briefly by protesters shouting “close the camps”, Dutton said regional processing had been critical to removing any incentive for people smugglers to undertake dangerous voyages in an attempt to reach Australian soil.

Protesters take to the stage during @peterdutton\_MP[https://twitter.com/PeterDutton\_MP] 's address to ASPI in Canberra #auspol[https://twitter.com/hashtag/auspol?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/BIU902BJ12[https://t.co/BIU902BJ12] — Stephanie Anderson (@stephanieando) September 15, 2016[https://twitter.com/stephanieando/status/776325837050175488]

“In the face of sustained activist opposition, we have maintained regional processing centres on Manus Island and Nauru. Our relationship in this regard with Nauru will continue for decades,” Dutton said.

“While the boats may have stopped, the spectre of people smuggling remains ever present in our region. We know that there are 14,000 people in Indonesia who would board a boat to Australia today if our border protection policies were weakened. And it would be just the start.”

The minister referred to ongoing discussions with countries on resettlement options, but he suggested there would be no imminent breakthroughs. “Negotiations will be protracted,” he said.

The speech also foreshadowed future reforms to the permanent skilled and family streams of the migration program.

Dutton will travel to New York with the prime minister next week to attend a United Nations-led summit on **refugees**, and in an interview with the al-Jazeera network foreshadowing the trip, the **immigration** minister appeared to hold open the prospect that asylum seekers could be settled in New Zealand.[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/15/peter-dutton-open-to-refugees-on-nauru-being-resettled-in-new-zealand]

Dutton indicated he would have no objections if people were sent to New Zealand, arguing that any resettlement was an issue between Nauru and New Zealand.

“We have had people smugglers that have tried to send boats across the top of Australia to New Zealand before,” Dutton said.

“Let me make this very important point that people – if they’ve sought to come by boat – it doesn’t matter where they’re resettled, New Zealand or somewhere else, they will not be coming to Australia at any point.”

The observation was a significant departure from previous government statements on this question. Since 2013, New Zealand has put a standing offer to Australia that it would take 150 people a year, but the Turnbull government has consistently shut the offer down, arguing it would give a green light to people smugglers.

After Dutton’s comments to al-Jazeera were published in Australia, the New Zealand **immigration** minister issued a two-line statement saying New Zealand was not contemplating any separate discussion with Nauru over the resettlement offer.

In questions after his speech on Thursday night, Dutton said there was absolutely no change in the government’s position on resettlement in New Zealand.

He said the question put to him on al-Jazeera referenced a deal that could be struck between Nauru and New Zealand, not an Australia-led negotiation. “There has been no change. Our position remains unchanged.”

Dutton told the Australian Strategic Policy Institute the government had to hold the line on deterrence measures because people smugglers “will not go quietly into the night; they are ruthless and sophisticated criminals”.

“They diligently follow the asylum seeker debate in this country, looking intently for any opportunity to restart what was a half-billion-dollar industry. Whatever decisions we make, we must always cast an eye to potential pull factors and the consequences that may follow.”

Dutton acknowledged there had been what he termed “issues in our strained detention and processing networks” – but he repeated his regular criticism of **refugee** advocates.

“Our detractors do no service to anyone by trading in false hope and speaking in disingenuous terms. Their entreaties to a different approach offer nothing but a holiday from history and ignore the fundamental reality that secure borders require policies that are tough and fair.”

“If they are not tough they will not be fair to those desperate people waiting in camps. And they will not be morally fair to those who will again be lured to the murky depths by the siren call of people smugglers.”

He also told his audience terrorist groups such as Daesh were “exploiting the mass movements of the international migrant crisis to move materials and personnel to support terrorism.”

“They are using chaos and volume as cover. Just two days ago three Syrian nationals who travelled through Turkey and Greece using fake passports were arrested in a series of pre-dawn terror raids in northern Germany,” Dutton said.

“The men were allegedly assisted by the same smuggler organisation behind the Paris attacks.”

During the period of questions Dutton was asked why John Howard could soften the “Pacific Solution” and bring people held offshore back to Australia in the mid 2000s – but the Turnbull government was resisting current entreaties to bring people out of what is proving to be indefinite detention.

The **immigration** minister suggested criminal syndicates lacked the capacity during the Howard years to communicate quickly with one another about political statements being made in Australia. “We have to learn the lessons of history but we have to have a contemporary view,” Dutton said.

The minister said the government was working “very very intensely with a number of partners” on third country resettlement – but complex resolutions to complex problems can’t be announced overnight.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**These essays suggest Labour, the Lib Dems and Greens should make common cause. But how progressive is the electorate?

The morning after the EU referendum[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum] was not, for progressives, like the morning after any other defeat. It wasn’t just depressing, but disorienting. For Remainers used to thinking of themselves as the sensible mainstream the result was a rude shock. They hadn’t just lost, they were lost in a country they no longer recognised. People clearly weren’t thinking what they were thinking, after all.

And so, many will be drawn to the upbeat title of this book, with its can-do suggestion that actually there’s still a huge market for progressive parties if only they can get their act together.

The idea for a cross-party collection of essays stems from election night 2015[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/general-election-2015], when the Green MP Caroline Lucas [https://www.theguardian.com/profile/carolinelucas] and her Liberal Democrat opponent Chris Bowers were chatting at their Brighton count about the futility of fighting each other when they actually agreed on so much.

A few months later they joined forces with the rising Labour star Lisa Nandy[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/lisa-nandy] to produce this book, arguing not for a merger of their three parties, or even a formal electoral pact, but more cautiously for making common cause wherever possible. Why split the anti-Tory vote between them when, they suggest, the differences between many Labour, Lib Dem and Green candidates “are far smaller than the differences between figures who are at home in the Conservative party?”

That would be easier to swallow, perhaps, if Labour weren’t currently tearing itself in two over some of these supposedly small differences. Ironically, Nandy quit the front bench rather than work with Jeremy Corbyn[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/jeremy-corbyn] in the very month this book was written.

But the prospect of a Labour split does, in a sense, add fresh urgency to the argument. Some Corbynites would clearly rather work with Greens, nationalists and fringe socialist parties than with the dreaded Blairites; some on the Labour right wonder if they now have more in common with centrists in other parties. Could there be an earthquake coming – a grand redrawing of the political map?

There are some highly readable essays here. Skim readers should skip straight to Duncan Brack[https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/duncan-brack] ’s practical account of lessons learned from Tony Blair and Paddy Ashdown’s efforts to forge a Lib-Lab pact in the 90s. The SNP MPs Mhairi Black[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/mhairi-black] and Chris Law[http://www.snp.org/chris\_law] shed interesting light on sticky relations with Labour at Westminster.

Yasmin Alibhai-Brown[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/yasminalibhaibrown] ’s argument that the left has for the best of reasons failed to call out unacceptable beliefs and practices in ethnic minority communities is the best-written polemic in the book, whether you agree with it or not. True progressives, she argues, should operate without fear and favour – which means demanding that white liberals integrate better, too: “ David Cameron[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/davidcameron] talked about racial integration, but how many Asians get invited to his house?”

And while there’s no set progressive manifesto, some common themes do emerge: electoral reform to help smaller progressive parties, a basic universal income that might compensate for technology destroying low-skilled jobs, a shorter working week and a shift towards prioritising happiness over economic growth. An essay from the New Weather Institute[http://www.newweather.org/] ’s David Boyle[http://www.newweather.org/about-us/david-boyle/], arguing that the left should be proposing new ways of creating prosperity rather than just demonstrating that it “knows how to share it around”, meanwhile provides a necessary counterpoint to some more utopian contributions.

But the most important chapter here is probably the one many readers won’t like, in which the pollster John Curtice[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/john-curtice] runs briskly through the electoral maths. As he writes, almost half the nation voted for broadly progressive parties in 2015 (49% backed Labour, the LibDems, Greens, SNP or Plaid Cymru, while 51% chose the Tories or Ukip). But it’s not as simple as concluding that first-past-the-post has cheated half the nation out of the liberal-left government it secretly wanted. Drill deeper and there’s worryingly little support for many of the assumptions made elsewhere in the book – for example, spending more on benefits even if it means higher taxes. Almost two-thirds of voters think ordinary people don’t enjoy a fair share of national wealth, yet only 40% favour redistribution from richer to poorer. Most think people should use their cars less for the sake of the planet – but when asked if they personally are willing to drive less, a majority aren’t. People like “what we might call the ‘sentiment’ of progressivism”, Curtice writes, but balk at what it means in practice. As for electoral reform to make every vote count, voters rejected that idea in a referendum just five years ago.

This barely addresses the gap between what voters are thinking and what progressives would like them to be thinking

And the yawning hole in this book is that it barely addresses this awkward gap between what voters are thinking and what progressives would like them to be thinking. Brexit may have come too late for the authors to reflect on, but progressive ideas took a pasting in May 2015 too, and the book doesn’t seem very interested in asking why.

The awkward reality hinted at in Curtice’s essay is that in Britain, progressives often struggle to get into government unless they hitch themselves to larger movements and identities. Labour has prospered by uniting progressive liberals, often middle class and urban, with a more socially conservative working-class movement. Tory modernisers thrived only by convincing traditional Conservatives to play along. The SNP blends progressive policies with identity politics. There are endless ways to make up the numbers, but growing big enough to govern usually involves compromises between those impatient for progress and those lagging behind; yet this book largely ignores the challenge posed by the latter.

Labour could add votes – although analysis suggests not enough to win a general election – by wooing Green voters, but the positions they’d strike to do so risk **alienating** others. Does anyone really imagine Labour voters who want to keep Trident, cut **immigration**, and who aren’t much interested in civil liberties have nowhere else to go? It’s not as simple as mentally shifting Green voters in marginal seats from one box to another, and assuming nothing else changes – and even if it were, scope for tactical voting is always limited by voters’ often deep attachments to their original tribes.

The authors are right to point out the madness of people who fundamentally agree on so much yet are scrapping over what looks like nothing. But if progressives aren’t careful, dreams of reuniting the left can become a place to hide from reality; a means of wishing away awkward truths about what voters think, and ducking the need to compromise with your own party. The trouble with collections of essays is that while each can be individually stimulating, they are often too contradictory to cohere into one clear story. What’s true of the literary project may prove true of the political one, too.

• The Alternative: Towards a New Progressive Politics is published by Biteback. To order a copy for £10.65 (RRP £12.99) go to bookshop.theguardian.com[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/alternative-418194.html?utm\_source=editoriallink&utm\_medium=merch&utm\_campaign=article] or call 0330 333 6846. Free UK p&p over £10, online orders only. Phone orders min p&p of £1.99.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HEREImmigration** minister says any resettlement is up to Nauru and New Zealand, which contrasts with PM’s claim such a move would encourage people smugglers

Australia’s **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, appears to have left the door open to resettling **refugees** detained on Nauru in New Zealand.

In an interview with the al-Jazeera network, an excerpt of which has been broadcast by the ABC[http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-09-15/dutton-leaves-door-open-for-refugee-resettlement-on-nz/7848088], Dutton referenced the potential for detainees to be sent to New Zealand as part of arguing that people currently in offshore **immigration** detention will not be allowed to come to Australia.

Dutton indicated he would have no objections if people were sent to New Zealand, arguing that any resettlement was an issue between Nauru and New Zealand.

Related: After the Nauru files, how can Australia go about ending offshore detention?[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/16/after-the-nauru-files-how-can-australia-go-about-ending-offshore-detention]

“We have had people smugglers that have tried to send boats across the top of Australia to New Zealand before,” Dutton says.

“Let me make this very important point that people – if they’ve sought to come by boat – it doesn’t matter where they’re resettled, New Zealand or somewhere else, they will not be coming to Australia at any point.”

Since 2013, New Zealand has put a standing offer to Australia that it would take 150 people per year, but the Turnbull government has consistently shut the offer down, arguing it would give a green light to the people smugglers.

After Dutton’s comments were published in Australia, the New Zealand **immigration** minister, Michael Woodhouse, appeared to distance himself from Dutton’s remarks. A statement from his office said New Zealand was not contemplating any separate discussion with Nauru.

“Our offer was made to Australia to take 150 offshore detainees, who have been approved as convention **refugees**. We are not considering entering into a separate arrangement directly with Nauru,” said Woodhouse in a statement issued by his spokeswoman.

The comments from Dutton come before a speech he will make on Thursday night at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute in Canberra – and before his participation next week with the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, in a special summit on **refugees** that will be held in New York.

While the majority of the Coalition is perfectly comfortable with the situation on Nauru, the veteran Victorian backbencher Russell Broadbent recently broke ranks[https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/10/liberal-mp-russell-broadbent-appeals-to-people-of-conscience-after-release-of-nauru-files].

Related: The Nauru files are raw evidence of torture. Can we look away? | David Marr[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-are-raw-evidence-of-torture-can-we-look-away]

Broadbent said the government needed to consider whether there are adequate checks and balances to ensure the safety of people in **immigration** detention after the release of new records by Guardian Australia revealing the scale of abuse of children in offshore detention.[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention]

He said the incident reports published by Guardian Australia are “the sort of thing that brought John Howard to a place where he had to do something about it” – a reference to Howard softening the policy late in his term in government.

Broadbent is not alone in the government in having concerns about conditions that amount to indefinite detention in offshore **immigration**, but thus far he is the only MP to break ranks publicly.

With Turnbull and Dutton preparing to attend the United Nations-sponsored **refugee** summit next week, the prime minister made a studied tribute to his predecessor Tony Abbott in question time on Thursday – the final parliamentary sitting day in the week where Turnbull marked his first anniversary in the top job.

Turnbull noted Abbott, while prime minister, had galvanised “the strongest possible international response to the evolving threat of Daesh” – and had brought a strength of purpose “to the task of restoring the integrity of our borders.”

The prime minister said his predecessor had ended the “disastrous” border policies of the Rudd and Gillard governments, that had “weakened our national security dramatically.”

“Mr Speaker, under the policies of our government, and I acknowledge here the extraordinary contributions of leadership and determination of the members for Cook [Scott Morrison] and ably succeeded by the member for Dickson [Peter Dutton], we stopped the boats and we stopped the deaths at sea and that would never have happened had it not been for the election of the Abbott government in 2013,” Turnbull said.

“Mr Speaker, regaining control of our borders enables us to have one of the most generous humanitarian programs in the world. We were only able to do that and maintain public support for it, because we control our borders.”

In the interview with al-Jazeera Dutton emphatically rejects comparisons between the centres on Nauru and Manus Island, and Guantanamo Bay.

“I think it is an outrageous suggestion to be perfectly frank and I’d ask people to look at the facts as opposed to the emotion and some of the misinformation,” the **immigration** minister says.

He also dismissed the concerns from **refugee** advocates and from whistleblowers about restrictions on information that can be disclosed from the centres.

Dutton said there was no “chilling effect” from government regulations. He said critics were trying to undo the government’s policy.

“I think the agenda for many is to try to disrupt the program that we’ve got and to try to bring an end to the way in which we have enacted a very strong border protection policy. Now we’re not going to distracted by this misinformation,” Dutton says.

“The point that I would make is that if somebody sees something that should be reported they’ve got an obligation to report it.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Our lack of commitment to educating the world’s children is a timebomb. And its consequences will haunt us

We live in a world where critics talk of “bloated” international aid budgets[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/14/priti-patel-plans-foreign-aid-overhaul-based-on-core-tory-values], and yet our generosity barely reaches a growing inequality problem, one that is rapidly coming home to haunt us.

Half of all children born this year will leave school without even the most basic of qualifications. Even by 2030, the UN deadline for delivering universal primary and secondary education, more than 800 million of the world’s 1.6 billion school-age children will not attain the literary, numeracy and computational skills they will need to get jobs.

Related: Priti Patel plans foreign aid overhaul based on 'core Tory values'[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/14/priti-patel-plans-foreign-aid-overhaul-based-on-core-tory-values]

Among them are **refugee** children who will never enter a classroom, child labourers denied the chance to go to school, young girls forced into early marriage and yet more girls denied an education simply because of their gender. To their number is added the millions more in classrooms today who are failing to learn because education standards are so pitifully low and teachers are undervalued.

A global education timebomb is ticking. The civil rights struggle of our times is not defined by marches on Washington, by anti-apartheid boycotts or by a looming wall to tear down. Today’s struggle is defined by the betrayal of the opportunities of half an entire generation – and their growing anger and discontent at their fate.

While western countries spend at least $100,000 (£75,000) over a child’s education life cycle from three to 16, the typical low-income country spends a hundred times less – just $1,000. In Somalia and the Central African Republic, this figure is a meagre $320 per student.

And when all the world’s aid spent on education is brought together, – from individual country donors like DFID, USAID and the EU and from the World Bank and international institutions – its cumulative worth is just $18 per pupil in low-income countries and even less – just $14 per pupil – in sub-Saharan Africa. Some of the poorest countries committed to modernising their schools are still receiving woefully low levels of aid. Togo, a much improved performer, receives just $7 per pupil. Even the harshest critic of aid must acknowledge the impossibility of building a meaningful transformation in education on a fiscal foundation barely able to cover the cost of one textbook per child.

We talk of creating a world defined by equality of opportunity with no cap on ambition, no ceiling on talent and no barrier to potential. But while around 80% of today’s Korean, Japanese, Taiwanese and Singaporean primary school children will go on to attend university, less than 5% of their counterparts in African countries such as Niger and the Democratic Republic of Congo will do so at any time in the foreseeable future. The dividing line could not be more clear. More than your ability or effort, where you were born – and who you were born to – determines the inequalities you suffer.

Our failure to act will mean more Arab springs, more Occupy movements, more “We are the 99%” protests as, through social media, young people in Asia Africa and the Middle East become increasingly aware of the yawning gap between the opportunities the world promised and what has been delivered. And our inaction will encourage extremists who stand ready to exploit children’s discontent and use our failure as a pulpit from which they can allege coexistence is impossible.

No country that invests and is prepared to modernise and reform should be allowed to fail to deliver universal rights to education for a lack of funds. So on 18 September, the International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity[http://educationenvoy.org/commission/] – which has brought together presidents, prime ministers, chief executives and education leaders with the support of the Norwegian PM – will set out the first global education budget, detailing the benefits and the costs of delivering the largest expansion of educational opportunity in modern history and outlining the reforms in international architecture needed to achieve this vision.

Around the turn of the century education was 13% of all international development aid. Today it is just 10%, while global health has seen its share rise from 15% to 18%. And so we need to mobilise the same visionary zeal that inspired a concerted global effort to eradicate polio, tuberculosis and malaria to make ours the first generation where every child goes to school.

Related: UK NGOs raise concerns about Priti Patel's new approach to foreign aid[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/sep/14/uk-ngos-raise-concerns-about-priti-patels-new-approach-to-foreign-aid]

Delivering on this is of urgent concern to those children in greatest need – the global cohort of 30 million displaced children (among them an ever-growing segment, 2m, made **refugees** by the Syrian civil war). For the out-of-school children among their ranks, the great barrier to an education is not so much a lack of teachers or schools but, as to its credit the UK government has recognised, a lack of funding.

So as two **refugee** summits convene at the UN general assembly, we propose that by the end of 2017, every Syrian child **refugee** should have a place in school as a first step to ensuring schooling for every displaced child. To fund this, a begging bowl circulated years into the crisis must now be replaced by guaranteed provision available at the outset.

The dividends will be profound. Education is the greatest anti-poverty investment we can make and with infant mortality among educated mothers half the rate of the uneducated, one of the most impactful health interventions. Our estimate is that, if our recommendations are accepted, GDP per capita in low-income countries will be 70% higher in 2050, and poverty 20% lower.

Seventy years ago, international cooperation and statesmanship brought forth the Marshall plan to rebuild broken-down countries, the World Bank and the IMF to finance their reconstruction and the United Nations to secure the rights of their citizens. This was a time of enlightened self-interest, a time when the world saw a positive-sum pathway to improving the human condition. In 2016, when what is at stake is not just the security of millions but also the sacred belief in equality of opportunity, we are challenged to do even more. In the past we developed only some of the talents of all the world’s children. It is now urgent that we develop all of the talents of all of them.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**One Nation senator’s maiden speech ‘peddles prejudice and fear’ and will make harassment of Muslims more likely, critics warn

Pauline Hanson’s comments about the impact of Islam and migration on Australia have received condemnation from Muslim leaders and politicians across the spectrum.

Keysar Trad, the president of the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils, said the speech displayed ignorance about Islam and that Hanson needed to conform to Australian values like a “fair go for all”.

In her inaugural Senate speech on Wednesday Hanson warned [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban] Australia was “at risk of being swamped by Muslims” and claimed, without evidence, organised crime rates were higher among Muslim populations.

Related: Pauline Hanson calls for **immigration** ban: 'Go back to where you came from'[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/pauline-hanson-first-speech-senate-calls-for-immigration-ban]

She called for a “halt to further migration” and told people who did not assimilate to “go back where you came from”.

Trad said Hanson “doesn’t know what she’s talking about – she doesn’t seem to have anything but the most basic rhetoric about Islam, she doesn’t know about Islam itself”.

He warned the comments would justify the “ill-informed views” of those who have Islamophobic opinions, making harassment of Muslims more likely. They would also “give credence” to people that were unreasonably afraid of Muslims.

“Hanson should be the first to conform to Australian values – she should conform to a fair go for all.

“I’d like her to conform to the Australian values of honesty and integrity towards your neighbours and fellow citizens. Clearly she has betrayed her lack of understanding of what Australian values really are.”

Ali Kadri, spokesman for the Islamic Council of Queensland, told ABC’s AM that Hanson was “so ignorant about my culture and my faith that it is shocking”.

“Unfortunately this will make discrimination and racism mainstream,” he said.

Kadri said Hanson’s comments were “wrong and illegal”, because the constitution guaranteed freedom of religion.

He said her comments could lead to violence and Muslim women were afraid to go out.

“We’ve already seen the rise of rightwing hate crimes in Europe and America. But what will define our country is not Pauline Hanson but what the rest of us do.”

In comments to the Australian[http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/immigration/turnbull-islamic-leaders-slam-hansons-attack-on-muslims/news-story/bbdb95e73513ce57540a2dbc0fa02364] newspaper, the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, said: “Senator Hanson knows I do not agree with her views on ­migration. Australia is the world’s most successful multicultural ­society and the foundation of that success is mutual respect.”

Labor’s Penny Wong told Radio National she chose not to attend the speech because Hanson “peddles prejudice and fear”.

Related: Comprehending Pauline is not the challenge. Engaging constructively with Hansonism is | Katharine Murphy[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/14/comprehending-pauline-is-not-the-challenge-engaging-constructively-with-hansonism-is]

“There is no community which has been made stronger by prejudice and fear... by targeting people based on their religion or ethnicity. Her comments don’t make Australia stronger or safer, or Australia a more cohesive society.”

Wong argued if Hanson had been around in the 1950s or 60s she would have targeted Greeks and Italians, then in later decades eastern Europeans, then Asians in the 1990s, and today Muslims.

“I think diversity is a strength,” she said.

Wong argued Hanson’s policy prescriptions were “no answer” to economic ills and would make Australians poorer, citing a Productivity Commission that migration will boost Australia’s GDP per capita by $7,000 by 2060.

On ABC’s 7:30 on Wednesday, the foreign minister, Julie Bishop, said some issues Hanson had raised including the risk of terrorism and access to services were “matters of concern”.

“I don’t agree with her views about Muslims and an attack on multiculturalism,” she said. “I think that’s been the basis of our success as a nation, we’ve welcomed migrants from every corner of the globe for generations and I hope we continue to do so.”

Senator Nick Xenophon told Sky News the way Hanson had “vilified” Islamic Australians was “heartbreaking”.

“This is not what Australia is about – we are an open, inclusive country. Pauline Hanson is wrong.”

Richard Di Natale, the leader of the Greens, said Hanson’s was an “overtly racist, bigoted, divisive speech”. He explained Greens senators had walked out of her speech because “we didn’t want to dignify it with an audience”.

“She’s been elected as a member of parliament, she’s got a platform, it doesn’t mean we have to stay in there and listen to that garbage.

“It just got worse and worse, then I think she tried to conflate **refugees** with terrorists – and at that point there, our team had had enough.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happen, including Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn at PMQsPMQs - Snap verdictMy full PMQs verdictPMQs - Verdict from the Twitter commentariatLunchtime summary

block-time published-time 3.14pm BST

Cabinet secretary gives evidence to MPs on Chilcot inquiry Sir Jeremy Heywood , the cabinet secretary, has been giving evidence to the Commons public administration committee about the Chilcot inquiry. According to the Sun’s Tom Newton Dunn, it has been a waste of time.

enltrAlways wonder why committees bother calling Sir Jeremy Heywood . #PACAC [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PACAC?src=hash] also getting zilch from him. Tighter than proverbial gnat's chuff.

— Tom Newton Dunn (@tnewtondunn) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tnewtondunn/status/776058091062394880]But the Telegraph’s Christopher Hope and the Mirror’s Jack Blanchard have found some lines worth tweeting.

enltrCabinet Secretary Sir Jeremy Heywood says the Chilcot Inquiry was "an outstanding piece of work." He has met Chilcot and told him so

— Jack Blanchard (@Jack\_Blanchard\_) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jack\_Blanchard\_/status/776053705191948289]enltrSir Jeremy Heywood : Inquiry took more than six years because of the scope of the investigation from the beginning #Chilcot [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Chilcot?src=hash]enltrSir Jeremy Heywood : Inquiry took more than six years because of the scope of the investigation from the beginning

— Christopher Hope (@christopherhope) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/christopherhope/status/776054118154665984]enltrHeywood says the problem was not how long it took to conduct the Chilcot inquiry, but the claims at the outset that it could be done quickly

— Jack Blanchard (@Jack\_Blanchard\_) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jack\_Blanchard\_/status/776054340561801216]enltrHeywood cannot think of any way Chilcot could have been speeded up. "If you want a thorough inquiry, it's going to take that length of time"

— Jack Blanchard (@Jack\_Blanchard\_) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jack\_Blanchard\_/status/776056000310829058]enltrBernard Jenkin to Jeremy Heywood : The #Chilcot [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Chilcot?src=hash] report "was delayed so the grass was as long as possible." Heywood denies this.

— Christopher Hope (@christopherhope) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/christopherhope/status/776056742144770048]enltrJeremy Heywood: #Chilcot [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Chilcot?src=hash] £10.3million was "considerably cheaper" than other inquiries - "if that is what it cost, that is what cost"

— Christopher Hope (@christopherhope) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/christopherhope/status/776059761666252800] Sir Jeremy Heywood . Photograph: Parliament TV block-time published-time 2.59pm BST

At PMQs Theresa May also criticised the concept of “safe spaces” designed to ensure debate does not cause offence to students in universities. My colleague Rowena Mason has filed a story on what she said.

Related: Theresa May criticises university 'safe spaces' for shutting down debate [https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/sep/14/theresa-may-criticises-university-safe-spaces-for-shutting-down-debate]

block-time published-time 2.18pm BST

Lunchtime summary

\* Theresa May has united the educational establishment in opposition to her plans for new grammar schools, Jeremy Corbyn has told the prime minister in a boisterous prime minister’s questions, saying the system would lead to “segregation for the few”. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/14/corbyn-lambasts-may-on-grammar-schools-in-boisterous-pmqs]

\* May has refused to rule out Britons having to pay for visas to visit Europe after Brexit.Angus Robertson, the SNP leader as Westminster, asked for an assurances that May would protect visa-free travel in the Brexit negotiations with the EU , but she refused to give this assurance.

\* May has said that an international competition will be launched to design Britain’s new national memorial to the Holocaust. It will be built in the Victoria Tower Gardens, next to the Houses of Parliament in Westminster.

\* Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the European commission, has condemned attacks on Polish people in the UK in the aftermath of the Brexit vote. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/14/juncker-european-unity-brexit-vote-eu] Later, on the World at One, the Ukip leader Nigel Farage accused Juncker of being selective. Referring to the killing of Arkadiusz Jozwik, Farage said:

[Juncker] did refer to that awful incident, but equally he could have referred to many other dreadful things being done all over Europe. Not to mention 14 recognised terrorist attacks in the space of this year. I don’t actually think that it’s ever very wise to pick any one incident against an individual and to use it for political ends.

\* The government has said it did not renew the contract of an American firm accused of wrongly withdrawing tax credits from claimants because its work was not up to scratch - but has ruled out an inquiry. As the Press Association reports,

Concentrix’s contract to reduce fraud and error in the tax credits system will not be extended when it comes up for renewal in May 2017. Responding to an urgent question on the matter in the House of Commons, Treasury minister Jane Ellison said the firm has “not been providing the high levels of customer service that the public expect and which are required in their contract”. But she said there is no need “to go into inquiries etc etc” as the contract is not being renewed.

\* A slide in wages growth in the month after the Brexit vote appeared to give the first warning sign that the uncertainty surrounding the outcome of the referendum could harm the UK labour market. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/14/wages-growth-slows-after-brexit-vote-eu-referendum-uk-labour-market-employment] As Phillip Inman reports, the Office for National Statistics [https://www.theguardian.com/uk/office-for-national-statistics] said wages growth slipped to 2.1% in the three months to July, from a revised 2.4% a month ago. When bonuses are added to the wage total, earnings rose by 2.3% during the quarter, down from 2.5%.Employment rose by 174,000 in the period, while the unemployment rate remained at 4.9%. The claimant count, which is calculated for August, found there were 771,000 people claiming unemployment related benefits, up from 763,600 in July [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/aug/17/uk-unemployment-claimant-count-falls-after-brexit].

\* The former vice-chairman of the BBC Trust has expressed alarm about the “brutal” way Theresa May effectively reversed David Cameron’s decision to reappoint Rona Fairhead as chair of the corporation. [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/sep/14/theresa-may-role-bbc-chief-exit-brutal-extraordinary-rona-fairhead]

\* Britain should have taken far more extensive and decisive action in Libya to prevent the country sliding into chaos after the fall of Muammar Gaddafi, the former chief of the defence staff has said, following the release of a damning report into the UK’s intervention. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/14/britain-should-have-been-more-decisive-in-libya-says-ex-army-chief]

\* A parliamentary committee has found the former News of the World editor Colin Myler and legal manager Tom Crone in contempt of the House of Commons over evidence they gave about the phone-hacking scandal. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/14/news-of-the-world-executives-in-contempt-of-commons-phone-hacking-colin-myler-tom-crone]

\* Theresa May is poised to give the conditional go-ahead to the £18bn Hinkley Point C nuclear plant. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/14/theresa-may-conditional-approval-hinkley-point-c-nuclear-power-station]

block-time published-time 1.36pm BST

PMQs - Verdict from the Twitter commentariat This is what political journalists and commentators are saying about PMQs on Twitter .

In summary, they are almost unanimous in thinking that Jeremy Corbyn was very effective, and Theresa May poor.

From the Daily Mirror’s Kevin Maguire

enltrCorbyn beat May at #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]. She was floundering, didn't have answers. And Cameron will be laughing his little socks off

— Kevin Maguire (@Kevin\_Maguire) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Kevin\_Maguire/status/776018089729200128]enltrThat sound is scales falling from Tory eyes after May's #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]. Hammy jibes only emphasised her startling lack of answers. Honeymoon over

— Kevin Maguire (@Kevin\_Maguire) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Kevin\_Maguire/status/776021522343428096]From the Independent’s John Rentoul

enltrConservative side of the House not happy for the first time since about 2012. #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]

— John Rentoul (@JohnRentoul) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JohnRentoul/status/776017810669596672]From the Guardian ’s Patrick Wintour

enltrAfter a year Corbyn stops trying to reinvent PMQs. He was focussed, on right issue, stuck to theme, found relevant Cameron quote. Momentum.

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/776020189842444288]From the BBC ’s Vicki Young

enltrStrong performance from Corbyn on education policy, a real dividing line for many #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]

— Vicki Young (@BBCVickiYoung) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/BBCVickiYoung/status/776017996867313664]From Sky ’s Adam Boulton

enltrGood wk for JC poor for TM. She'll be glad of the party conference break. Political landscape will be totally different by next #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] in Oct

— Adam Boulton (@adamboultonSKY) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/adamboultonSKY/status/776023580803039232]From the Financial Times ’ Robert Shrimsley

enltrCorbyn on target today. Still think his questions could be sharper but his grammar school lines are uncomfortable for Tories #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash]

— robert shrimsley (@robertshrimsley) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/robertshrimsley/status/776017935638884352]From the Times’ Matt Chorley

enltrTurns out that if Corbyn chooses topical issue, which his MPs agree with him on & puts pointed questions to the PM, he can have a win #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]

— Matt Chorley (@MattChorley) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MattChorley/status/776018656492974080]From Sky ’s From

enltrCorbyn's best outing at #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] since he went for Tory divisions on forced academisation of schools in April. An issue party can unite around

— Tamara Cohen (@tamcohen) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tamcohen/status/776019300289216516]From the Telegraph’s Michael Wilkinson

enltrThat was a genuinely terrible #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] for Theresa May . Her pre-prepared stock answers sounded crass in contrast to Corbyn's questioning.

— Michael Wilkinson (@ThatMichaelW) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ThatMichaelW/status/776023294227218432]From Politics Home’s John Ashmore

enltrNot often I say this, but Jeremy Corbyn has smashed it so far at this PMQs - May keeps giving the same answer to every question

— John Ashmore (@smashmorePH) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/smashmorePH/status/776017433417089025]From Huffington Post’s Paul Waugh

enltrMay really needs new PMQs scriptwriter. That finale didn't work, and inexpertly delivered.

Maybe time to 'Let May Be May', not ape Cameron?

— Paul Waugh (@paulwaugh) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh/status/776018505275760640]enltrMay's line in grammars is succeeding in uniting Labour better than either Corbyn or Smith have in recent months.

Some achievement #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]

— Paul Waugh (@paulwaugh) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh/status/776016765679697920]From Huffington Post’s Owen Bennett

enltrTory MPs looking glum. Theresa May trying to read out a list of corbyn's greatest gaffes. It didn't go well. #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash] trying to read out a list of corbyn's greatest gaffes. It didn't go well.

— Owen Bennett (@owenjbennett) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/owenjbennett/status/776017990789763072]From the Guardian ’s Rafael Behr

enltrMay is beatable on grammar schools. And was indeed just beaten in #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash] on grammar schools. By Jeremy Corbyn .

— Rafael Behr (@rafaelbehr) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rafaelbehr/status/776017753056612352]enltrScripted material, shoe-horned in off topic, mediocre delivery. That was not a good performance by May. And possibly JC's best. #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash]enltrScripted material, shoe-horned in off topic, mediocre delivery. That was not a good performance by May. And possibly JC's best.

— Rafael Behr (@rafaelbehr) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rafaelbehr/status/776018250228494336]From ITV ’s Chris Ship

enltrAm I actually watching a #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] where Labour MPs are supporting their leader as he questions the PM? Whatever next?

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/776017465977561088]From the New Statesman’s George Eaton

enltrCorbyn's performance will have made some Labour MPs feel better about his coming victory. #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash]

— George Eaton (@georgeeaton) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/georgeeaton/status/776018437642547200]From the i’s Nigel Morris

enltrBest performance by Corbyn at #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] for a long time...shows passion on a topical subject...

— Nigel Morris (@NigelpMorris) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NigelpMorris/status/776017509380136960]From the Telegraph’s Peter Dominiczak

enltrJeremy Corbyn may have just won PMQs. Pause and think about that for a second.

— Peter Dominiczak (@peterdominiczak) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/peterdominiczak/status/776018446890991616]From the Financial Times ’ Sebastian Payne

enltrDare I whisper it...is Jeremy Corbyn actually holding the government to account for once? Almost like a proper opposition leader #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] actually holding the government to account for once? Almost like a proper opposition leader

— Sebastian Payne (@SebastianEPayne) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/SebastianEPayne/status/776017389783744512]From politics.co.uk’s Adam Bienkov

enltrMuch better from Jeremy Corbyn today. Chose a topical subject, stuck to it and won the argument #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] today. Chose a topical subject, stuck to it and won the argument

— Adam Bienkov (@AdamBienkov) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/AdamBienkov/status/776017629169475584]From Total Politics’ David Singleton

enltrCorbyn socked it to May on grammar schools. Fired up and thinking on his feet, not just sticking to scripted lines. His best #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] for ages.

— David Singleton (@singersz) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/singersz/status/776017957872889856]block-time published-time 1.11pm BST

PMQs - Verdict PMQs - Verdict: People often think PMQs is a pointless, archaic ritual but, for all the shouting and sloganising, it is remains an arena where ideas and policy gets scrutinised and no amount of wit or mudslinging can disguise a seriously weak argument. That is why Jeremy Corbyn won today, handsomely. Theresa May may be entirely sincere in her desire to create more good schools, and her point about “selection by house price” is a good one, but Corbyn successfully highlighted some of the multiple flaws with her grammar policy. Where are the experts who back it? Why do FSM (free school meal) pupils in grammar-school Kent do so much worse than those in non-grammar London? Will pupils at grammar school feeder schools be guaranteed a place? How can segregation at 11 be justified? On all these questions, May couldn’t provide an answer. It was easily her worst PMQs so far.

And that’s what I thought watching it in TV from my desk. Many of the journalists who tweet and report on PMQs watch it from press gallery in the chamber and they often get a different impression because they hear the actual noise levels (which can be much louder, and much more one-sided, than you would realise from just following it on TV). And they tell me what was striking was how little support May was getting from her own side. That’s not because Tory MPs have suddenly gone all Corbynite; it’s because many of them have serious reservations about grammar schools. On the basis of today’s PMQs, and judging by what happened the last time Corbyn won a PMQs so clearly on an education matter (see 12.26pm) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/14/pmqs-corbyn-may-brexit-cannot-have-a-la-carte-access-to-single-market-eu-chief-says-politics-live?page=with:block-57d932e7e4b0e813b694cea5#block-57d932e7e4b0e813b694cea5], the chances of May’s plans being ditched, or having to be substantially amended, must be quite high.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.13pm BST

block-time published-time 12.49pm BST

My PMQs coverage normally leaves out Angus Robertson , the SNP leader, because he asks his questions as I’m writing my snap verdict. So here is what he asked.

He started by asking if May would protect visa-free travel to the EU .

She dodged the question.

There was a very clear message from the British people that they wanted to see an end to free movement as it operated, they want to see control of the movement of people from the EU into the UK and that’s what we will deliver.

Robertson then quoted Guy Verhofstadt , the European parliament’s chief Brexit negotiator. He asked May:

Does she agree with Mr Verhofstadt, the EU negotiator, and the Scottish government who want to protect Scotland’s place in Europe?

May responded by saying the Scots voted to stay in the UK two years ago.

It’s all very well him asking that question but only two years ago he didn’t want to protect Scotland’s place in the EU because he wanted Scotland to leave the Uk and on all of these questions - whether it’s the q of the EU referendum, the referendum on independence on Scotland, the right honourable gentleman seems to think if he asks the same question all the time he’ll get a different answer. Well, it won’t work for me and it won’t work for the Scottish people.

block-time published-time 12.44pm BST

Labour’s George Howarth says the police are being asked to do more and more in difficult circumstances.

May praises the police for what they do, on duty and off duty. But she says police budgets have been protected. Labour wanted to cut them by 5 to 10%, she says.

And that’s it.

block-time published-time 12.43pm BST

David Tredinnick , a Conservative, asks about the cooperation between the US and Russia and Syria. If we can improve relations with Russia, we may be able to solve more problems in the region.

May says she hopes this agreement will lead to progress. But we should have no doubt that the relationship with Russia is not a business as usual one, she says. She said that after the report into the murder of Alexander Litvinenko, and still thinks that.

block-time published-time 12.40pm BST

Shailesh Vara, the Conservative, asks about a forthcoming report from Louise Casey about political correctness threatening traditions like Christmas [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/10/traditions-such-as-christmas-celebrations-will-die-out-unless-pe/]. He says minority communities should respect mainstream traditions.

May says she will not comment on the report. But mainstream traditions, as well as minority ones, need to be respected, she says.

block-time published-time 12.38pm BST

Diana Johnson , the Labour MP, asks for an inquiry into the contaminated blood scandal.

May says she will consider this.

block-time published-time 12.38pm BST

Lucy Allan , a Conservative, asks if May will agree to an independent review of child sexual abuse in Telford.

May says the overall inquiry will consider some of these isssue. It is for the authorities in Telford to consider what happens there. But the home secretary will look at this.

block-time published-time 12.37pm BST

Labour’s Lisa Nandy says May should insist Dame Lowell Goddard turns up to give evidence to the Commons home affairs committee about about the child abuse inquiry.

May says she cannot force Goddard to attend.

block-time published-time 12.36pm BST

Theresa Villiers , a Conservative, asks about the negotiations for a permanent settlement in Cyprus.

May says she hopes the talks succeed.

block-time published-time 12.35pm BST

Tom Elliott, the UUP MP, asks about a case of alleged fraud in Northern Ireland.

May says she will write to Elliott about this.

block-time published-time 12.34pm BST

Mary Robinson , a Conservative, says schools should be considered as community assets in terms of water charges.

May says the government is looking at the guidance issued to water companies in terms of how they bill schools.

block-time published-time 12.33pm BST

Labour’s Alex Cunningham asks about carbon capture and storage (CCS).

May says this has been looked at carefully in the past. And it will continue to look at the role CCS can play.

block-time published-time 12.32pm BST

Fiona Bruce , a Conservative, says the life chances of children are limited through living in chaotic households. An all-party group has proposed family hubs as a solution.

May says Bruce has been a champion on this issue. She says the government will look at the all-party group’s report.

block-time published-time 12.31pm BST

Richard Burden , the Labour MP, asks about cuts of between 30% and 50% in apprenticeship funding.

May says she does not recognise the situation Burden describes.

block-time published-time 12.30pm BST

Lucy Frazer , a Conservative, asks about a hospital in Ely.

May says she understands there is due to be a meeting about this.

block-time published-time 12.29pm BST

John Baron , a Conservative, asks for an assurance that the post-Brexit **immigration** system will not give preferential treatment to EU migrants.

May says Brexit will allow the UK to control **immigration**. The details of the plans are being worked on. But the government will have the ability to control **immigration**. So there will be a greater element of fairness.

\* May refuses to confirm that EU citizens and non-EU citizens will be treated in the same way under post-Brexit **immigration** rules.

block-time published-time 12.26pm BST

PMQs - Snap verdict PMQs - Snap verdict: Jeremy Corbyn ’s best PMQs was the one where he attacked David Cameron over the plans to force all schools to become academies, and this one may well have been his second best. Again, he challenged the PM over the lack of support for the plan and, again, he won the exchange because he had the best arguments. He was not flash (he never is), but his fourth question, where he spoke passionately about how wrong it was to separate children at 11, was powerful, and it was telling that towards the end Theresa May resorted to having to change the subject. Unlike last week May restricted her jokes to her final answer, but even her pay-off soundbite did not quite work. It was premised on the idea that this might be Corbyn’s last PMQs. But, of course, no one believes that...

block-time published-time 12.22pm BST

Corbyn says his policy is not about pulling up ladders. It is about offering ladders to everyone. He quotes someone saying there is something hopeless about grammar schools, and the idea only some pupils can benefit. It was Cameron, he says, who said this.

May says she wants a diversity of good provision. Good school places are important. Corbyn has still not welcomed the employment figures, she say. Labour would offer more taxation for working families.

Corbyn welcomes anyone who can get a job. But there are now almost 1m people on zero-hours contracts. She quotes Michael Wilshaw, the chief inspector of schools. He said the idea the poor will benefit from grammar schools is “tosh and nonsense”. The Tory green paper addresses none of the problems in education, he says. Isn’t this the case of a government heading backwards, to segregated schooling and second-class schooling for the many.

May says some of Corbyn’s facts were wrong. There are more teachers in schools. Corbyn has opposed all measures to improve schools, such as those on parent choice, and free schools. This may be Corbyn’s last PMQs, she says. So she will recap some of the things Corbyn has introduced. He wants coal mines without mining them, submarines without weapons, and to be a leader without leading.

John Bercow intervenes. Progress has been absurdly slow, he says.

But he will get down the list. (That means PMQs will last till 12.40 at least.)

block-time published-time 12.16pm BST

Corbyn quotes the IFS saying those in selective areas who don’t pass the 11-plus do worse than in non-selective areas. May wants grammar schools to set up feeder schools. Will their pupils get admitted to the grammars?

May says we have selection at the moment, but it is selection by house price. She says Corbyn went to a grammar school. She went to one to. That is what got them to where they are.

Corbyn says she and May can both remember the 1950s and going to a grammar school. We don’t need to and never should divide children at the age of 11. Can May confirm whether existing grammar schools will have to widen their existing admission?

May says she wants all grammar schools to educate a wide range of pupils. She wants a good education for every child. There are 1.25m children who are in schools that are not good or outstanding. She believes in the education that is right for every child. Labour has stifled opportunity. Members of the Labour party will take the advantages of a good education for themselves, but pull up the ladder for others.

block-time published-time 12.12pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn starts paying tribute to a police officer stabbed in Liverpool arresting a suspect. We wish him well, he says. He wishes David Cameron well too, and says he hopes the byelection will focus on selective education.

May has brought about a consensus on education thinking, he says. Can she name any educational experts that back her grammar school plans?

May also pays tribute to the police constable stabbed. As home secretary she looked forward to going to the policy bravery awards, she says.

On education she says 1.4m more children are in good and outstanding schools. That is because of the government’s reforms, which Corbyn opposes. She wants more good school places, she says.

Corbyn says he asked if May could name any experts who backed the policy. She could not. He quotes John, a teacher, asking why all schools cannot be funded properly. In Kent 27% of pupils on free school meals get five good GCSEs. In London it is 45%.

May says Corbyn should stop casting his mind back to the 1950s. She will be ensuring that the government provides good school places for the 1.25m pupils in schools that are failing or that need improvement.

In grammar schools the attainment gap is virtually zero, she says. In other schools it is not. Corbyn believes in equality of outcome, she says. She believes in equality of opportunity. He wants to level down; she wants to level up.

block-time published-time 12.07pm BST

Marcus Fysh , a Conservative, says unemployment in his Yeovil constituency has halved since 2010. Will she promote technical education?

May welcomes the unemployment figures. The government has had an economic plan. But in the future we need to consider those for whom a technical education is the right route.

block-time published-time 12.06pm BST

Deidre Brock , the SNP MP, says May could not say last week if she favoured staying in the single market. Will passporting continue for financial services?

May says she will give the same answer as last week: the government will work for the right deal. The best thing for the financial sector in Edinburgh is to be part of the UK, she says.

block-time published-time 12.04pm BST

Theresa May starts by paying tribute to David Cameron . He has been a tremendous public servant, she says. The economy has stabilised and more people have been taken out of paying tax under his leadership.

block-time published-time 12.03pm BST

enltrNo sign of Corbyn press team in usual places in press gallery. Strange..

— Paul Waugh (@paulwaugh) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paulwaugh/status/776013253054959616]block-time published-time 12.02pm BST

enltrOct 20: by elections for Labour MP Jo Cox in Batley & Spen and for David Cameron in Witney will be held on the same day

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/776012629613678593]block-time published-time 12.02pm BST

enltrTory cheers for Jeremy Corbyn as he enters Commons for #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] as loud as they were for Theresa May as loud as they were for

— Ben Glaze (@benglaze) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/benglaze/status/776012460272807936]block-time published-time 12.02pm BST

enltrPMQs set to start. May, Hammond, Rudd, Fallon, Greening, Johnson on the frontbench.

— Jack Maidment (@jrmaidment) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jrmaidment/status/776012251287412736]block-time published-time 11.59am BST

PMQs PMQs is about to start.

Here is the list of MPs due to ask a question.

enltrHere's the MPs due to quiz Theresa May at #pmqs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/pmqs?src=hash] at https://t.co/CUec7X6nIu [https://t.co/CUec7X6nIu] at pic.twitter.com/fUq3RbTSRW [https://t.co/fUq3RbTSRW] at

— PoliticsHome (@politicshome) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/politicshome/status/776007960938029056]block-time published-time 11.59am BST

Greening abandons plans to scrap the requirement to have parent governors on school boards Justine Greening, the education secretary, has been giving evidence to the Commons education committee. Here are some of the key lines. The tweets are from the Guardian ’s Richard Adams and Schools Week’s Freddie Whittaker.

\* Greening said she was abandoning plans to scrap the requirement to have parent governors on school boards.

enltrJustine Greening drops the plan to remove parent governors from school boards - that's big.

— Richard Adams (@RichardA) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RichardA/status/775992987323170817]

\* She insisted the new government remained committed to the apprenticeship levy.

enltrAsked about her commitment to the apprenticeship levy, Greening says she's pushing ahead with it. "It is being introduced" #edselctte [https://twitter.com/hashtag/edselctte?src=hash]

— Freddie Whittaker (@FCDWhittaker) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/FCDWhittaker/status/776000706671239169]

\* She said she wanted to do more to tackle the problem of teachers leaving the profession.

enltrGreening says she'd like the government to do a better job of keeping teachers in profession and getting them back in #edselctte [https://twitter.com/hashtag/edselctte?src=hash]

— Freddie Whittaker (@FCDWhittaker) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/FCDWhittaker/status/775998328140103680]enltrOnto teacher shortages. Greening says it's something she's "started to dig into" since arriving at the DfE #edselctte [https://twitter.com/hashtag/edselctte?src=hash]enltrOnto teacher shortages. Greening says it's something she's "started to dig into" since arriving at the DfE

— Freddie Whittaker (@FCDWhittaker) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/FCDWhittaker/status/775997920449617920]

\* She said she would set out plans soon to address the issue of summer-born children (who often suffer academically because they are the youngest in their school year).

enltrOn summer-born children, Greening says she'll set out next steps "shortly" and she wants to make progress on it #edselctte [https://twitter.com/hashtag/edselctte?src=hash]

— Freddie Whittaker (@FCDWhittaker) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/FCDWhittaker/status/776006196692131840]

\* She said she was looking at whether Ofsted should inspect multi-academy trusts.

enltrGreening says she's looking at whether Ofsted should directly inspect multi-academy trusts #edselctte [https://twitter.com/hashtag/edselctte?src=hash] should directly inspect multi-academy trusts

— Freddie Whittaker (@FCDWhittaker) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/FCDWhittaker/status/775991953796259841]

\* She said she was considering the case for making PSHE education statutory.

enltr. @William\_Wragg [https://twitter.com/William\_Wragg] asks when govt will make PSHE a statutory requirement. Greening says this is one of the things in her in-tray #edselctte [https://twitter.com/hashtag/edselctte?src=hash] asks when govt will make PSHE a statutory requirement. Greening says this is one of the things in her in-tray

— Freddie Whittaker (@FCDWhittaker) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/FCDWhittaker/status/775983063008440320]Schools Week has published its own summary of what we have learnt from the hearing. [http://schoolsweek.co.uk/justine-greenings-first-education-select-committee-4-things-we-learned/?]Schools Week has published its own summary of

Justine Greening. Photograph: Parliament TV block-time published-time 11.45am BST

Downing Street has released a picture of the new cabinet.

The highlight, of course, is Boris Johnson is giving a demonstration of his Olympic-grade manspreading talents.

Theresa May ’s cabinet Photograph: Zoe Norfolk/EPA block-time published-time 11.11am BST

My colleague Lisa O’Carroll says today’s report may not be the end of the story.

enltrPhone hacking scandal still has some way to run. MP Paul Farrelly says he wants to revisit Rebekah Brooks and Andy Coulson evidence to comm

— lisa o'carroll (@lisaocarroll) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/lisaocarroll/status/775993531890593793]block-time published-time 11.10am BST

Tom Crone has rejected the privileges committee’s findings. This is from my colleague Lisa O’Carroll.

enltrTom Crone, former NoTW lawyer has hit out at parliamentary report accusing him of misleading House on hacking. He does not accept findings

— lisa o'carroll (@lisaocarroll) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/lisaocarroll/status/775999584141279232]block-time published-time 11.06am BST

Les Hinton says today's report clearing him is 'too little too late' Here is a statement from Les Hinton , the former News International executive chairman, about the privileges committee’s findings. (See 10.14am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/14/pmqs-corbyn-may-brexit-cannot-have-a-la-carte-access-to-single-market-eu-chief-says-politics-live?page=with:block-57d912b4e4b0e813b694cdde#block-57d912b4e4b0e813b694cdde], the former News International executive chairman, about the privileges committee’s findings. (See

Parliament ’s committee of privileges has this morning published the results of its investigation into the 2012 findings of John Whittingdale ’s culture media and sport select committee.

At that time, the CMS select committee accused me of being in contempt of parliament by lying to it about my knowledge of phone hacking at the News of the World and of being “complicit” in a “cover up”.

The report from the committee of privileges has today found that John Whittingdale ’s select committee got it wrong - the evidence does not support the CMS Committee’s claims that I lied to it. The committee of privileges has found that I am not guilty of contempt of parliament.

After more than four years, the committee of privileges has thrown out the charges that I was guilty of contempt of parliament and a cover-up of phone hacking. Its findings are too little and too late, coming so long after I was vilified by MPs in a 125-page report, a televised press conference and a 90-minute House of Commons debate.

The culture media and sport select committee reached its false findings in 2012. It posed as a quasi-judicial body with the right to impose criminal punishments, yet followed none of the usual rules of law and fair process. It carried out an amateur investigation, missed vital evidence, and some members displayed no pretence at impartiality. Even before its report was released, the committee’s most vocal member, Tom Watson MP, published a book accusing me of misleading the committee.

Today’s report by the committee of privileges speaks proudly of its concern to “meet modern standards of fairness” in deciding whether the culture committee had been “correct” in its findings.

Parliament has a back-to-front idea of justice and fairness when it claims these standards after allowing the sham trial and free-for-all character assassination I experienced in 2012.

Les Hinton giving evidence to the Commons culture committee in 2007. Photograph: PA/PA Archive/Press Association Ima block-time published-time 10.58am BST

Here is my colleague Lisa Carroll’ s report on the privileges committee’s findings.

Related: NoW executives found in contempt of Commons over phone-hacking [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/14/news-of-the-world-executives-in-contempt-of-commons-phone-hacking-colin-myler-tom-crone]

block-time published-time 10.54am BST

Why 'admonishment' is the only penalty Myler and Crone face - and what it means The privileges committee says that the House of Commons as a whole should pass a motion admonishing Colin Myler and Tom Crone because that is the only punishment available to MPs for contempt of parliament. “Admonishment” is the term used by the committee. It means censure or, to put it colloquially, a severe bollocking.

If MPs are found to have broken parliament’s rules, they can be suspended. Back in the eighteenth century parliament also had the power to imprison members of the public found to be in contempt (often reporters publishing reports that offended MPs). But that power is deemed to have lapsed.

MPs could in theory summon someone to attend the Bar of the House of Commons (the bit marking the formal entrance to the chamber, not the place where they serve drinks) to be reprimanded in person. This happened to John Junor in 1957 when he was editor of the Sunday Express. Junor had written an article criticising MPs for their use of petrol allowances [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\_Junor] (rationing still applied) and, although he apologised for the contempt, he did so without retracting his comment.

In today’s report the privileges committee said it considered summoning Myler and Crone to the Bar of the House. But it has not recommended that step - probably because the 1957 episode was seen at the time as a bit of a farce, and something that did not reflect well on MPs. It is also not clear what would happen if someone were summoned but refused to turn up.

Instead what will happen is that MPs will debate the motion proposed by the privileges committee. (See 10.14m.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/14/pmqs-corbyn-may-brexit-cannot-have-a-la-carte-access-to-single-market-eu-chief-says-politics-live?page=with:block-57d912b4e4b0e813b694cdde#block-57d912b4e4b0e813b694cdde] It is almost certain to be passed unanimously, probably after a relatively short debate.

block-time published-time 10.38am BST

MPs say truth about phone hacking would have emerged 'far earlier' if executives had not misled committee The privileges committee says that, if Colin Myler and Tom Crone had not given misleading evidence to the Commons culture committee, the conclusions of the culture committee’s inquiry into phone hacking would have been different.

As a result, the misleading evidence resulted in “substantial interference” with the committee’s work, the privileges committee says.

If truthful evidence had been given, the scale of the wrongdoing would have emerged far earlier, and we consider that it is likely that the Committee’s conclusions and recommendations would have been drafted differently, in particular as to the involvement in and extent of phone hacking. The CMS Committee reported to the House; had it been provided with truthful evidence from which to draw its conclusions, the House may have decided to have debated the Report and the Government’s response. We conclude that the threshold of substantial interference has been reached.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.38am BST

block-time published-time 10.32am BST

The full text of the privileges committee’s report is here (pdf). It runs to 150 pages.

Further written evidence submitted to the inquiry is on the committee’s website. [http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/privileges/publications/]

block-time published-time 10.14am BST

2 former Murdoch executives face censure from Commons for 'misleading' MPs in phone-hacking inquiry The Commons committee on privileges has just published a report about its investigation into allegations that three former News International executives lied to MPs when they were giving evidence to the phone hacking inquiry. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-18151789]

Here is its press statement about its findings in full.

The Committee of Privileges today releases its report on Conduct of witnesses before a select committee: Mr Colin Myler, Mr Tom Crone, Mr Les Hinton , and News International . Associated correspondence and evidence is published on the internet.

The report follows the referral to the Committee by the House of the Eleventh Report of the Culture, Media and Sport Committee (Session 2010-12) which concluded that it has been misled by witnesses during its inquiries into phone-hacking. Based on the evidence and applying the standard of proof that the allegations must be significantly more likely than not to be true, the Committee of Privileges has found that:

a) Mr Colin Myler misled the CMS Committee by “answering questions falsely about [his] knowledge of evidence that other News of the World employees had been involved in phone-hacking and other wrongdoing”.

b) Mr Tom Crone misled the CMS Committee in 2009 by giving a counter impression of the significance of confidentiality in the Gordon Taylor settlement.

c) Tom Crone misled the CMS Committee by “answering questions falsely about [his] knowledge of evidence that other News of the World employees had been involved in phone-hacking and other wrongdoing”.

The Committee therefore finds Mr Myler (former editor of the News of the World) and Mr Crone (former legal manager at News International) to have been in contempt of the House.

The Committee also found that:

d) There is insufficient evidence to find that Tom Crone sought to mislead the CMS Committee about the commissioning of surveillance.

e) The allegation that Les Hinton sought to mislead the CMS Committee as to the extent of the pay-off to Clive Goodman and his own role in authorising the payments is not significantly more likely than not to be true.

f) The evidence that Les Hinton misled the CMS Committee about the extent of his knowledge of allegations that phone-hacking extended beyond Clive Goodman and Glenn Mulcaire to others at the News of the World does not meet the standard of proof set for a finding of contempt.

g) While the Culture, Media and Sport Committee was sceptical about Mr Hinton’s memory, there is no evidence that he misled the Committee in relation to his role in the payment of legal fees or the fact that he authorised the payments to Mr Goodman to settle his Employment Tribunal claim.

h) There is insufficient evidence of a breach of Parliamentary privilege on the part of NI (now News UK). NOTW was not a corporate body. As such, the Committee does not consider NI to have committed a contempt.

The Committee recommends that the House be invited to agree a motion in the following terms:

That this House—

i) approves the First Report from the Committee of Privileges;

ii) having regard to the conclusions of the Committee in respect of Mr Colin Myler, considers that Mr Myler misled the Culture, Media and Sport Committee by answering questions falsely about his knowledge of evidence that other News of the World employees had been involved in phone-hacking and other wrongdoing, and therefore formally admonishes him for his conduct; and

iii) having regard to the conclusions of the Committee in respect of Mr Tom Crone, considers that Mr Crone misled the Culture, Media and Sport Committee by giving a counter-impression of the significance of confidentiality in the Gordon Taylor settlement and by answering questions falsely about his knowledge of evidence that other News of the World employees had been involved in phone-hacking and other wrongdoing, and therefore formally admonishes him for his conduct.

The Committee also recommends that the Leader of the House take steps as soon as possible to address the issues identified by the Joint Committee on Parliamentary Privilege in 2013, particularly in respect of the penal powers of the House and select committees and contempt.

The Government is expected to find an early date for debate on the Committee’s report.

And this is what it means.

\* Two very senior former News International executives, the former News of the World editor Colin Myler and the former News International legal manager Tom Crone, have been censured for misleading MPs when they gave evidence to the phone-hacking inquiry.

\* A third executive, Les Hinton , the former News International chairman, has been cleared of misleading MPs - but only because the evidence did not meet a relatively high burden of proof.

\* MPs are set to pass a motion censuring Myler and Crone.

\* News International “as a corporate body” has not been found guilty of lying.

\* The privileges committee is calling for an investigation into what can be done to punish witnesses who lie to select committees. At the moment parliament does not have effective powers to punish people for this.

block-time published-time 9.58am BST

Farage tells MEPs their stance on single market access for UK after Brexit self-defeating In a message on Twitter yesterday Guy Verhofstadt , the Belgian MEP who is the European parliament’s lead negotiator on Brexit, insisted that the UK had to accept free movement for EU citizens if it wanted to retain access to the single market. It is the same point Jean-Claude Juncker made in his speech this morning. (See 9.17am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/14/pmqs-corbyn-may-brexit-cannot-have-a-la-carte-access-to-single-market-eu-chief-says-politics-live?page=with:block-57d8fee4e4b0e813b694cd84#block-57d8fee4e4b0e813b694cd84] made in his speech this morning. (See

enltrIf UK wants access to #SingleMarket [https://twitter.com/hashtag/SingleMarket?src=hash], it must also accept the free movement of citizens. Our four freedoms are inseparable.

— Guy Verhofstadt (@GuyVerhofstadt) September 13, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuyVerhofstadt/status/775633697336942592]In his speech to the European parliament this morning Nigel Farage, the Ukip leader, said that for the EU to adopt this approach would be self-defeating.

He also said the parliament should ditch Verhofstadt and replace him with a more pro-UK negotiator.

enltrFarage describes Verhofstadt appointment as "a declaration of war on any sensible negotiation process".

— Jennifer Rankin (@JenniferMerode) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JenniferMerode/status/775978017176875008]Farage told MEPs:

If you adopt the dogma of saying that for reciprocal tariff-free access to the single market we must retain the free movement of people, then you will inevitably drive us towards no deal: no deal, and trading under WTO rules. For the United Kingdom that actually isn’t too bad, because it’s very much better and cheaper than the current deal we’ve got. But for hundreds of thousands of German car workers and French wine producers, potentially it’s very bad news because we are their biggest market, who we trade with most profitably in the world.

I would argue what we really need is to have a sensible, common sense approach and for this parliament to recognise that it has made a mistake and to find somebody who actually likes the United Kingdom to lead these talks.

Farage also started with a joke about José Manuel Barroso, the former European commission president, taking a job with Goldman Sachs. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/13/jose-manuel-barroso-brussels-ec-european-commission-inquiry-ethics-goldman-sachs]

enltrNigel Farage takes the floor: begins with congrats to Barroso on Goldman Sachs job, proving the point that it was a gift to eurosceptics.

— Jennifer Rankin (@JenniferMerode) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JenniferMerode/status/775977513260580864] Nigel Farage addressing the European parliament. Photograph: BBC News block-time published-time 9.41am BST

Unemployment down, but claimant count up The unemployment figures are out.

\* Unemployment fell by 39,000 to 1.63m (4.9%) between May and July.

\* The number of people on the claimant count in August increased by 2,400 to

771,000.

\* Average earnings increased by 2.3% in the year to July, 0.2% down on the

previous month.

And here is the Office for National Statistics bulletin with the full details. [https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/bulletins/uklabourmarket/september2016]

block-time published-time 9.37am BST

Here is the full text of Juncker’s speech. [http://europa.eu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/rapid/press-release\_SPEECH-16-3043\_en.htm]

block-time published-time 9.23am BST

Here is my colleague Jennifer Rankin’s preview story on the Juncker speech.

Related: EU is facing existential crisis, says Jean-Claude Juncker [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/jean-claude-juncker-eu-is-facing-existential-crisis]

block-time published-time 9.17am BST

Jean-Claude Juncker , the president of the European commission, has been giving his annual state of the union address to the European parliament and he has reaffirmed his insistence that the UK will not be able to get “unlimited access to the single market” unless it accepts the free movement of EU citizens.

There can be no a la carte access to the single market.

It is not the first time he has said this, of course. And other EU leaders have said the same thing. But every time it gets said, it illustrates how hard it will be for Theresa May to achieve her aim of getting a Brexit deal that will allow the government to control EU **immigration** while also giving British firms full access to the single market.

Only yesterday David Davis, the Brexit secretary, implied that the government thought Britain might be able to remain a full member of the single market. Replying to an MP on the Commons foreign affairs committee, [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/13/david-davis-admits-possibility-of-uk-exiting-eu-without-trade-deal] he said:

Whilst I won’t get drawn into what our [negotiating] position on it is, you are right in one respect that the language used about the single market, access to the single market and membership of the single market does get very confused. What we want to see is the best trading capacity for British manufacturing and service industry. That could be any of those things.

Juncker: UK cannot have ‘à la carte’ access to single market [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/sep/14/jean-claude-juncker-uk-a-la-carte-access-single-market-video]In his speech Juncker also condemned the way Polish people have been attacked in the UK since the Brexit vote.

enltrJuncker: "Europeans can never, never, accept polish workers being harassed, beaten up or even murdered in the streets of Essex”

— steve hawkes (@steve\_hawkes) September 14, 2016 [https://twitter.com/steve\_hawkes/status/775962274561335297]I will post more from the speech when I see the full text.

Here is the agenda for the day.

9.30am: Justine Greening, the education secretary, gives evidence to the education committee.

10am: The Commons privileges committee publishes a report on the conduct of Colin Myler, Tom Crone and Les Hinton when they gave evidence to the culture committee about phone hacking.

12pm: Theresa May faces Jeremy Corbyn at PMQs.

2pm: Priti Patel , the international development secretary, gives evidence to the Commons international development committee.

2.30pm: Sir Jeremy Heywood , the cabinet secretary, gives evidence to the Commons public administration committee on the Chilcot report and the EUreferendum.

2.30pm: Simon Stevens , the NHS England chief executive, gives evidence to the Commons public accounts committee.

Later Corbyn and Owen Smith will take part in the final hustings of the Labour leadership campaign, on Sky at 9pm. I will be covering that live on a separate blog.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary after PMQs and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.34am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**First legal challenge of its kind in the US says Michigan has disinvested in education in Detroit to the point that children lack fundamental tools to learn

Jamarria Hall can’t stomach walking into his high school on Detroit’s east side some days. The classrooms are hot, water fountains don’t work and only 2.2% of students last year achieved college-ready scores in reading and English.

“It doesn’t even feel like school,” said Hall, a senior at Osborn Evergreen Academy of Design and Alternative Energy. “It makes my stomach hurt just walking into the facility, knowing we’re basically getting cheated – really, getting robbed – of education.”

Related: New report is 'huge warning sign' that desegregation has failed in US schools [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/20/detroit-schools-desegregation-congress-report-civil-rights]

A federal civil rights lawsuit filed on Tuesday aims to challenge Hall’s educational system by asserting a constitutional right to literacy, in what attorneys say is the first legal challenge of its kind in the US. The 133-page complaint says the state of Michigan has disinvested in education in Detroit so much that children lack fundamental access to literacy.

Hall, 16, said he has friends who can’t read “but it’s not because they aren’t smart, it’s because the state has failed them”.

Proficiency rates in core subject areas are near-zero at the schools where the seven students named in the complaint attend, the complaint says.

“Absent literacy, a child has no way to obtain knowledge, communicate with the world, or participate in the institutions and activities of citizenship,” said Mark Rosenbaum, director of the opportunity under law project of Public Counsel, which is filing the lawsuit.

Harvard constitutional law professor Laurence Tribe, who is not involved in the litigation, said he expects the lawsuit will make history, “much as Brown v Board of Education did”.

“The legal theory underlying the suit is both creative and rock-solid,” he said, “and Mark Rosenbaum’s legal team is nothing short of extraordinary.”

“If you think of Brown v Board as one shoe that dropped, this is the other shoe,” he said, “because though it eliminated, technically, inferior schools for blacks, and eliminated de jure segregation, it didn’t achieve one of its basic goals. And that is a decent educational opportunity for all kids, regardless of race, regardless of class, regardless of geography. That’s become a more elusive goal.”

The plaintiffs include students from five of the lowest-performing schools in the city’s system, which recently was overhauled before the start of the new year, after state lawmakers passed a $617m plan to restructure the district [http://bigstory.ap.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/cac6a5b4764540c49282c66bb7c26782/qa-michigan-passes-617-million-revamp-detroit-schools] and shed its long-term debt. Teachers this year have waged large-scale protests over the prospect of working without pay and in subpar working conditions, though officials have recently touted improvements in building repairs [http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/detroit-city/2016/08/29/district-school-buildings/89532882/].

The governor’s office said it doesn’t comment on pending lawsuits. A spokesperson for Detroit’s school system said the district’s legal team hasn’t had time to review the case.

The lawsuit describes a public school system in Detroit that has experienced a precipitous decline under state oversight. Since 1999, Michigan has implemented various measures to restructure the governance of the system, including a string of appointed emergency managers tasked with overseeing the district’s finances. But in that timeframe, the lawsuit says, the state has “not addressed the root causes of its failures [with literacy] in any systematic or meaningful way”.

The lawsuit cites a list of complaints that have fostered the current environment in Detroit: the proliferation of charter schools, vast schools closures, and – as part of the overhaul this summer of the district – a new provision that authorizes the hiring of non-credentialed teachers. Insufficient staff poses additional challenges, too, the suit states.

At one school, co-counsel Kathryn Eidmann said an eighth0grade student handled teaching a seventh- and eighth-grade math class for a month because no teacher was available – a situation reported to the legal team by “numerous” teachers. And this week, Eidmann said she spoke with a student who started his school year with two classes that don’t have a teacher.

“During that period, he sits with a substitute in the ROTC classroom,” she said.

Eidmann said the case is the first in federal court to argue there is a right to access literacy under the US constitution’s 14th amendment. In 2012, the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan filed a class-action lawsuit [http://www.aclumich.org/article/right-read] in state court on behalf of students in the city of Highland Park’s school system. That suit asserted Michigan had a constitutional obligation to educate students in Highland Park, which borders Detroit. A Michigan court of appeals panel, in 2014, rejected the claims in a 2-1 vote, and the state’s high court refused to hear the case [http://michiganradio.org/post/michigan-supreme-court-won-t-take-right-read-case-against-state-highland-park-schools].

While the federal case over Detroit’s public schools is the first to argue literacy is constitutionally protected, Eidmann said it’s “very well grounded” in US supreme court precedent. In the 1982 decision of Plyler v Doe, the justices struck down a Texas statute that excluded undocumented **immigrant** children from public education, and said a state may not “deny a discrete group of innocent children the free public education that it offers to other children residing within its borders”.

Detroit students, predominately low-income and children of color, meet the criteria of a “discrete class”, the lawsuit claims, and “have been excluded from the access to literacy that public education provides to other students in the state of Michigan”.

“These are schools in name only,” Eidmann said, “where students are sitting in the classrooms often with no books, often where there’s no teachers, often where there’s no pretense of literacy taking place. In that sense, they’re being denied a basic education.”

Though Rosenbaum’s other case in Highland Park failed at the state level, Tribe said the federal court system is a more appropriate vehicle to address the litany of issues cited in the lawsuit.

Related: How Detroit's teacher 'sickout' cast a spotlight on unsafe school conditions [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/07/detroit-public-schools-sickout-lawmakers-plan]

“It’s something that a life-tenured federal judge is likely to be much more comfortable with and willing to think through in great detail,” Tribe said.

Tribe also believed the lawsuit makes a sound use of the Plyler decision.

“Whether it is kids who through no fault of their own were brought to Texas as undocumented **aliens** at the age of two, or kids through no fault of their own were born and are growing up in Detroit,” he said, “the idea that saying, by the luck of the draw, you will never be equipped by society with the tools you need to achieve something that resembles the American Dream of upward mobility, that’s a fundamental departure from constitutional principle.”

The suit asks the federal court to provide relief that includes evidence-based literacy instruction in every grade level, along with addressing physical school conditions.

The five-count complaint names Michigan’s governor, Rick Snyder, as well as several state education officials, as defendants. The state department of education did not respond to a request for comment. The governor’s office and a spokesperson for Detroit’s school system both declined to comment.

Hall, the student at Osborn Evergreen Academy, said he has witnessed classmates act out to avoid reading in class, if a teacher calls on them. “They don’t want to get embarrassed,” he said. “They don’t want to feel dumb.”

“I don’t believe I’m as smart as I could have been, or I have enough knowledge or as much knowledge that I could’ve got … because we’ve missed out on so much opportunity,” he said. “Because of simple facts: that we don’t have enough books, or it’s hot in the classroom. Instead of worrying about learning we’re worried about the heat.” Indeed, Osborn was closed last week for a day due to extreme temperatures – and a lack of air conditioning in the building [http://www.fox2detroit.com/news/local-news/203064545-story].

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Juncker offers a positive narrative for the EU, at a time when it is under attack from populist forces that have been buoyed by Brexit

Balancing symbolism and substance has long accompanied the European project. The EU’s star-studded flag as well as its choice of anthem (Beethoven’s Ode to Joy) point to an era when federalist views once held sway. That era is gone. This week’s informal summit in Bratislava – preceded, today, by European commission president Jean-Claude Juncker’s state of the union speech [http://europa.eu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/rapid/press-release\_SPEECH-16-3043\_en.htm] before MEPs – is likely to be remembered for realism rather than idealism. Europe is struggling with so many crises that it is hard to dispute the need to get back to some basics – which means restoring public confidence in the EU’s ability to deliver for citizens.

Today’s symbolism is crude enough: on Friday, just six months away from the ceremonies due to mark the 60th anniversary of the treaty of Rome, all but one of the EU’s leaders will gather in Bratislava to take a long, hard look into the future. Not invited is the UK. The message, with regret, is that Europe is going one way, Britain is going another.

For the EU 27 there are many unknowns – not least because losing Britain is a big blow. So it is no surprise Mr Juncker tried to boost morale by saying “the EU is not at risk since Brexit”. But if the message is that Europe must not be written off, there is still the challenge of making sure it gets heard outside the offices of EUinstitutions and in the average citizen’s home.

Mr Juncker’s proposals are wide-ranging, from a near doubling of an EU-wide investment plan, to deploying more border guards and enhancing anti-terrorism cooperation, as well as efforts towards common EU defence policies (which UK membership of the club has long impeded). It is unlikely any of this will lead to any significant announcements in Bratislava – if only because forging consensus takes time.

Mr Juncker and others want to frame a more positive narrative for the EU, at a time when it is under severe attack from populist forces that have been buoyed by Brexit. It was striking that he insisted that nothing Europe does is meant to erode the nation state, nor is it meant to blend separate identities into a single homogeneous bloc.

This may read like an overture to Poland’s nationalist government, which had been criticised for backsliding on democratic norms. But it is not. Mr Juncker’s point was about trying to bridge the differences that emerged last year over the vexed issue of **refugee** quotas. Next month Hungary is set to vote in a referendum on the quota scheme. A resounding nem is expected. That Luxembourg’s foreign minister has just suggested Hungary should be kicked out of the EU for its **refugee**policies will have done nothing to help restore a sense of unity.

Some simplistically see Europe’s dividing lines reduced to an east-west clash. The wider picture is that populist forces are on the upsurge almost everywhere, exerting significant pressure in the Netherlands, France and Germany, where key elections will be held next year. With this backdrop, there are now increasing calls for a more social Europe to emerge.

Mr Juncker made that case, reminding Poland and other new member states along the way how much they benefit from EU funds sent to poorer regions. Increased investment plans are meant to favour growth and jobs. This is a welcome development and recognition that European economics are not just about deficits and austerity. There is backing from EU civil society, parts of which want to go further. A group of 177 European NGOs and trade unions [http://www.youthforum.org/assets/2016/09/Common-statement-A-new-Europe-for-people-planet-and-Prosperity-for-all.pdf] wants more “social and sustainable” policies aimed at defusing far-right politics. Adopting a degree of flexibility in interpreting eurozone deficit rules for Portugal and Spain helps cast Europe as pro-growth. Similar leniency should be considered to deal with looming problems in Greece and Italy.

What Europe’s annus horribilis – which ran from the **refugee** crisis to Brexit – has shown is the need for citizens to see the benefits they can draw from the EU. The question must be asked why political leaders do not highlight Europe’s fight on behalf of ordinary citizens – for example, as when the commission forced Apple to repay a record-breaking €13bn (£11bn) in back taxes. Instead, as Mr Juncker put it, all too often “success is national, and failure European”. Social and economic factors, along with security and a better sense of collective control in the face of globalisation, must surely be a key part of the EU’s survival strategy.

While Europe stares ahead, Britain remains entangled in our own uncertainties; outside but looking in.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**President’s anti-Muslim rhetoric and criticism of EU has won him plaudits at home and in neighbouring countries, but raises questions for rest of Europe

In Prague’s magnificent ninth-century castle, once the seat of power to Holy Roman emperors, Miloš Zeman has a mundane preoccupation sharply at odds with the grandeur of his surroundings.

“Do you smoke?” asks the Czech Republic’s president, lighting the first of several cigarettes during an interview with the Guardian at his sumptuous official residence overlooking the city.

“Unfortunately the smokers are a discriminated minority and we are persecuted in all hotels, all restaurants, everywhere,” he continues indignantly, defending a habit he once dismissed as harmless if not started before the age of 27. “It is like in the case of the [American] prohibition. Whiskey as a consequence was more expensive and very low quality. And now smoking is also nearly prohibited.”

The contradiction of modern scientific orthodoxy seems a far cry from the moral authority exuded by one of his predecessors, the late Václav Havel, a former anti-communist dissident who was the Czech Republic’s first president following the 1992 breakup of Czechoslovakia.

Yet it is typical of the unabashed advocacy of traditional mores and popular pastimes that Zeman has made his trademark since becoming his country’s first directly elected head of state in 2013.

Related: The Observer view on Britain’s lack of voice in Europe | Observer editorial [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/10/observer-view-on-eu-bratislava-summit-britain-no-voice]

Last year, the president – whose drinking exploits, including occasionally appearing to be inebriated in public, have become legendary – stirred controversy by wishing “death to abstainers and vegetarians” during a meeting with winemakers.

His spokesman insisted he was referring to Adolf Hitler, a renowned teetotaller who did not eat meat. Whatever the truth, it was undoubtedly popular with Zeman’s working-class supporters, predominantly based in the provinces far removed from cultured, cosmopolitan Prague.

Such earthy folksiness resonates even further, however – beyond the borders of the Czech Republic and with potentially important consequences for Europe’s future. It strikes a powerful chord in neighbouring Slovakia, Hungary and Poland which, together with the Czech Republic, make up the Visegrád group of countries [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/23/poland-czech-republic-hungary-slovakia-brussels-brexit]. This potent eastern European populism is likely to be on full display when the European Union’s members gather in Bratislava, the Slovak capital, on Friday for the first summit since Britain’s Brexit vote.

For Zeman is most in his element when talking about his opposition to accepting Muslim **refugees** from Syria and elsewhere to ease Europe’s migration crisis.

The Czech president has unleashed a rhetorical fusillade against Muslim incomers of such intensity that it makes the anti-Islamic sentiments of Robert Fico [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/06/slovakia-election-anti-immigration-pm-wins-but-loses-majority], the Slovakian prime minister, and even Viktor Orbán [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/26/hungarian-prime-minister-viktor-orban-praises-donald-trump], Hungary’s prime minister – who is holding a referendum next month aimed at establishing public opposition to accepting migrants – seem mild in comparison.

Zeman has warned that the Czech Republic – home to only 3,500 Muslims out of a population of 10.5 million, according to official figures – could be targeted in a jihadi attack and urged Czechs to arm themselves against what he referred to as a possible “super-Holocaust”. The concern is believed to have prompted the unprecedented introduction of metal detectors to screen the crowds of foreign tourists that visit Prague castle each day.

Related: The eastern countries standing up to Brussels in the wake of Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/23/poland-czech-republic-hungary-slovakia-brussels-brexit]

The alarmist message is particularly striking because unlike most anti-**immigrant** politicians in western Europe, Zeman, 71, is a social democrat (and former communist) rather than a rightwinger, and the Czech Republic has been largely spared the waves of **refugees** that have swept into neighbouring Austria and Hungary en route to Germany.

The stridency has been lent greater urgency – and popularity – by Zeman’s hostility to proposed quotas that would disperse **refugees** across EU countries, a position he voiced forcefully to the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, when she visited Prague last month.

“My first sentence in the meeting with Madam Chancellor was: ‘If you invite somebody to your homeland, you do not send them for a lunch to your neighbours.’ Very polite sentence, isn’t it?” says Zeman, speaking English in disarmingly avuncular tones belying his uncompromising opinions. The German leader merely smiled in response, he says.

There is little to smile about, however, when Zeman sets out what he sees as the threat being posed by radical Islamists [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/18/integrating-muslims-into-europe-is-impossible-says-czech-president] – and even “moderate” Muslims, who he says could be radicalised to commit terror attacks as ordinary Germans were once inspired to fanatically back Hitler.

“In the 30s, the overwhelming majority of Germans were decent people, the nation of Goethe and Schiller and so on,” he says. “In a few years, they became Nazis, even fanatic Nazis. And the radicalisation of the – till these times – moderate Muslim population might be like the case of the German population. It might be easier than the German population, [because] you have a very radical ideology based on a religion.”

Related: Czech politicians angry after president suggests removing PM with 'a Kalashnikov' [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/27/czech-politicians-angry-after-president-suggests-removing-pm-with-a-kalashnikov]

Challenged to justify applying this to secular, non-practising Muslims, Zeman invokes a former Czech education minister in calling Islam “a religion of death” and points to what he says are the teachings of the Qur’an.

“You might say that Islamic migration is composed of peaceful people. Let me give you one example. The attitude of Islam – I do not speak about jihadists, I speak about Islam – towards women, half of the population. As you know, in the Qur’an, women is something like the inferior part of mankind.”

Zeman’s intemperate and, to many, downright offensive language has drawn accusations of populism and inevitable comparisons with the US Republican presidential candidate, Donald Trump. He counters by citing Winston Churchill.

“Winston Churchill has been always a populist and he was right. And all who criticised him were wrong,” says Zeman. “What does it mean, a populist? It is a slogan, a label, nothing more.”

Criticism is also levelled at the president’s Euroscepticism, manifested in his denunciation of EU sanctions [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/05/czech-president-bans-us-ambassador-prague-castle] against Russia over its annexation of Crimea. Zeman has demanded referendums on the Czech Republic’s membership of the EU and Nato, while insisting he would advocate staying in each.

The country’s need to remain in the EU, which it joined in 2004, is justified by “money, money, money”, he says, before launching into a brief and unmelodic rendition of Abba’s famous hit. “My cynical explanation is that we are not the net payer in the European Union. We get a huge amount of subsidies from European funds,” he says. “This is not the situation of British people, of course.”

Related: Expel Hungary from EU for hostility to **refugees**, says Luxembourg [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/expel-hungary-from-eu-for-hostility-to-refugees-says-luxembourg]

Still, he says, the EU is unlikely to survive Brexit without triggering further exits unless there is a change of leadership and radical reform to stem “nonsense directives”.

The union, he says, is like a broken-down train described in an old Soviet joke about the collapse of communism. “The third part of the joke has the train with Brezhnev [https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2009/oct/09/dictator-lit-leonid-brezhnev-malaya-zemlya] on board,” he explains. “He says, ‘comrades, if the train stops, we shall close the curtain and imitate that the train is still going on’. The European Union is the third part of this joke. They simply close the curtains and simulate that without any change of strategy, the European Union is going on.”

Then the president seeks to conclude the interview, only to have second thoughts on realising he has not finished his last cigarette, giving him time to contemplate the impact of Brexit on Britain.

“Long live Great Britain. But I wonder whether Scotland will stay in Great Britain,” he muses.

Does Czechoslovakia’s “velvet divorce” – producing the Czech Republic and Slovakia – hold any lessons for the UK and a possible independent Scotland? “I do not wish you your splendid isolation. Isolation is splendid in the long term but you know what Keynes said – in the long term we are all dead. Bye-bye.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Most Brexit supporters want migrants to stay in the UK – so whatever our stance on leaving the EU, the surge in attacks since June is a matter of national shame

‘We voted for you to go home.” Those were the words flung at 34-year-old Tinni Guha Roy – a former member of the GB rowing team – on a London train in the aftermath of Britain’s EU referendum. “I now feel sad at how naive I was to feel so proud to represent GB,” she tells me.

A 20-year-old Essex University student tells me about his father, who owns a minimarket in Basildon. “After the referendum one of his usual customers came kicking things down at the front of the shop, yelling, ‘This place is ours now. Go back to your country.’”

Towards the end of August, in central London, 21-year-old Kyam was called “a terrorist, al-Qaida scum, a Paki and …to go back where I came from”. No one intervened. “A whole line of white male black-cab drivers were watching from across the road, and found it amusing.”

Related: Lasting rise in hate crime after EU referendum, figures show[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/07/hate-surged-after-eu-referendum-police-figures-show]

A week after the referendum, the mother of 17-year-old JJ Fadaka was told by a colleague that it was time for her “to get back to Africa”. Twenty-two-year-old Lewis – a Yorkshireman of Jamaican heritage – was abused by two white men on the streets of Leeds. “They repeatedly shouted: ‘We voted out and we get this? People like you should be out of here. We don’t need you n\*\*\*\*\* around.’”

An Iraqi-born writer and performer, Amrou Al-Kadhi[https://twitter.com/Glamrou?ref\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor], was on London’s underground system a few days after the referendum. He says: “A drunk elderly white man on the tube was looking in my direction throughout the entire journey, and as I was getting off the tube, he shouted ‘Brexit, Brexit, Brexit. Get out, get out, get out!’”

These are just a handful of the stories I’ve been sent. These crimes are a matter of national shame. Figures released last week by the National Police Chiefs’ Council revealed that hate crime reports, after a jump of 58% in the week following the nation’s endorsement of Brexit, are still 14% higher[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/07/hate-surged-after-eu-referendum-police-figures-show] than a year ago. But note: these are reported incidents. Almost none of the people who got in touch with me reported their abuse to the police. One said the process takes too long; another said the police were “actively unhelpful” when they had previously reported mugging and homophobic abuse; another: “It was late, and I just wanted to get home and forget it had happened, to be honest.”

Nineteen-year-old Fatima – whose attacker tried to rip off her hijab, yelling “You’re in Britain! Fucking take that shit off, here we get naked” – said she just felt ashamed, and that it would be wasting police time. We can only guess at the true scale of hatred on our streets.

Some allegations have been far worse than those described here. In August Arkadiusz Józwik[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/30/five-teenage-boys-arrested-after-man-dies-following-attack-in-essex] was allegedly beaten to death in Harlow, Essex, by a gang of teenagers after being heard speaking Polish in the street. In Milton Keynes a 34-year-old pregnant woman was said to have been racially abused[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/13/pregnant-woman-loses-baby-kicked-racist-attack-milton-keynes] and then kicked in the stomach, losing her unborn child. Last Friday night a Polish man was violently attacked[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/14/four-teenagers-arrested-attack-polish-man-leeds] in Leeds.

Discussing the post-referendum wave of racist and xenophobic abuse can provoke a rather dispiritingly defensive reaction. The issue is being politicised – so the retort goes – in order to undermine the referendum result. So let this column be clear: it is nothing of the sort. The British people voted to leave the EU, their verdict must be respected and accepted, and the debate now focuses on ensuring a just Brexit.

Another objection is that, by discussing this tidal wave of hatred, the motive of people like me is to smear leave voters as racists. This is completely untrue. Our quarrel is with those who led the leave campaign. They made a strategic decision: to transform a referendum on the EU into a vote on **immigration**.

To win such a vote, they opted to use inflammatory rhetoric[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/14/brexit-farage-racist-backlash-immigration-eu-debate-racism-threat-minorities] : portraying **immigrants** as potential rapists, murderers and terrorists; unveiling posters showing a line of dark-skinned **refugees**, and warning we were at “ breaking point[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/16/nigel-farage-defends-ukip-breaking-point-poster-queue-of-migrants] ”; claiming leave was necessary to stop millions entering Britain after Turkey joined the EU[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/21/vote-leave-prejudice-turkey-eu-security-threat] (a lie), and that we would be consequently left at the mercy of Turkish criminals[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/21/vote-leave-prejudice-turkey-eu-security-threat].

Our new foreign secretary, Boris Johnson – a joke now lacking a punchline – suggested that Barack Obama’s opposition to Brexit was motivated by his Kenyan heritage[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/22/boris-johnson-barack-obama-kenyan-eu-referendum].

And here is what happened. The small minority of people in this country who believe it is acceptable to yell racist abuse at strangers getting on with their lives felt emboldened. Their intolerance now seemed to have official sanction. They believed that, given the politicians’ rhetoric, the British people had voted to drive foreigners out of the country: that, for the first time, they had a democratic mandate.

Related: The killing of a Polish man exposes the reality of post-referendum racism | Jakub Krupa[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/05/death-arkadiusz-jozwik-post-referendum-racism-xenophobes-brexit-vote]

This perceived mandate now has to be destroyed. Polling shows, for example, that 77% of leave voters[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/21/migration-poll-eu-workers-brexit] believe EU migrants already living here should remain. We need a coalition of remain and leave figures to come together to confront this tide of racism and xenophobia.

They need to make it clear that every shout of racist abuse, let alone act of violence, is a disgrace to this country. They need to appeal to the great traditions of British activists – led by minority ethnic people – who confronted racism in all its forms. They need to show their solidarity with minority Britons and EU migrants, who now feel besieged.

Of course, racism is not simply about sickening random attacks. From the disproportionate stop-and-search of black people to the increased poverty and unemployment rates among ethnic minority Britons, racism is systemic, with a heritage that goes back centuries.

Defeating it is a struggle that still has so far to go. But in the here and now, the security and safety – the lives, even – of our fellow Britons are imperilled. Pointing that out is not an attempt to subvert the democratic will of the British people. We all have a responsibility to speak out, however we voted in June. If we remain silent, the racists will treat this as tacit endorsement – and history will damn us for it.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As millions of hajj pilgrims return home, Mecca’s two million locals are left struggling with the impacts of their changing city. Much of old Mecca has been razed and rebuilt to make room for growing tourism, forcing out residents• A prayer for Mecca: the city many hajj pilgrims don’t see – video

Millions of hajj pilgrims are heading home, after five days performing ancient rites, revering a God omnipresent in the city of Mecca.

They have stoned figurative devils, they have slept in the world’s largest tent city, they have drunk water from the Zamzam well together; a heaving throng of nearly two million people from all over the world.

Circling the Kaaba, the black cubic epicentre of this sanctuary city, pilgrims would have looked up to see one of the minarets of the Grand Mosque, dwarfed by Abraj al-Bait clocktower, a much-maligned luxury hotel[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2012/oct/23/mecca-architecture-hajj1] and commercial complex and the second-tallest building in the world.

Next year, they will see the Abraj Kudai[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2015/may/22/worlds-biggest-hotel-to-open-in-mecca], the largest hotel on Earth.

Though rebuilt throughout the centuries, the minarets, like much of the city, are now relics of a pre-modern Mecca. Cranes and scaffolding now dominate the central skyline, reminders that the city is undergoing a massive state-run expansion[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-haj-construction-exclusive-idUSKCN11F29S] to be able to handle ever-increasing numbers of annual pilgrims in the future.

But as much as these pilgrims – as much as any Muslim – belongs to Mecca for those five days, they are but spiritually home. When it comes to the city they visit out of religious obligation and devotion to God, most are transient figures, who will leave no indelible mark on the city. They leave behind two million locals, who are struggling with the impacts of the changing nature of their city.

In the 1960s, before travel became more affordable, hajj pilgrims numbered roughly 200,000. According to Mecca’s mayor[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-haj-construction-exclusive-idUSKCN11F29S], today there are two to three million of them, with an additional 12 million performing the lesser pilgrimage of umrah, which can be done at any point throughout the year. Faced with a dip in oil prices, revenue from Meccan tourism is expected to become a greater source of revenue for the Saudi Kingdom’s economy. Under its current plans, the city expects to add several million more pilgrims a year by 2020.

Estimates vary[http://time.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/3584585/saudi-arabia-bulldozes-over-its-heritage/], but only a handful of Mecca’s millenium-old buildings remain. Ottoman fortresses and hills have made room for the royal clocktower; while the prophet’s first wife Khadijah’s home is now the site of public lavatories. But very little is said about the thousands of homes and neighbourhoods destroyed to make way for the city’s expansion. Thirteen[http://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2015/man\_who\_dreams\_of\_old\_mecca/] of Mecca’s 15 old neighbourhoods have been razed and rebuilt to make room for hotels and commercial spaces.

No one knows this better than Sami Angawi.

They are turning the holy sanctuary into a machine, a city which has no identity

Sami Angawi

An architect who now lives in Jeddah, Angawi spent his childhood in his family’s ancestral home of Mecca. Like many Meccans, then as now, his father was a local guide to pilgrims there for umrah or hajj. As a boy, Angawi has said[http://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2015/man\_who\_dreams\_of\_old\_mecca/] he would help his father carry around pilgrims’ shoes while they prayed.

The Angawis lived in Shab Ali, the neighbourhood said to have been the place of the prophet Muhammad’s birth. But their home was demolished as part of the first organised expansion of the Grand Mosque in the 1950s. Angawi told Al Jazeera last year[http://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2015/man\_who\_dreams\_of\_old\_mecca/] that his family was forced to move two more times as the city continued its forced expansion.

The 65-year-old architect is also the founder of the Hajj Research Centre[http://www.amarcenter.net/hajj-research-center.html], who has spent the last three decades researching and documenting Mecca and Medina’s historic sites. “They are turning the holy sanctuary into a machine, a city which has no identity, no heritage, no culture and no natural environment,” Angawi told the Guardian in 2012[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2012/oct/23/mecca-architecture-hajj1].

His story is typical of many Meccan families: people whose livelihoods have long depended on the hajj economy but who, subjected to the new era of Mecca’s expansion, are growing increasingly resentful.

According to Jawaher al-Sudairy, a Saudi academic at Harvard’s Kennedy School , Mecca’s residents have had to continually “adjust their income, employment and way of life” to adapt to a city that is increasingly trying to erase them.

“And this attempt to [change] the city … is creating hostility,” Jawaher says. As neighbourhoods are razed, informal economies that kept entire communities alive – be they vegetable sellers, cobblers or informal tour guides – are being jeopardised.

More and more residents are facing challenges to participate in the hajj economy, and having to compete with corporations: hotels replacing private homes, fast-food chains replacing food stalls in once-bustling street markets.

“Some [Meccans] are upset that they’ve lost what some would call their ‘monopoly’ to another” corporate monopoly, says al-Sudairy, who has interviewed dozens of residents in recent years and researches the socioeconomic impacts of development on Mecca’s communities.

The only guaranteed high income source is for those families who own property. Meccan families who now live outside the city have long rented out their homes to migrant pilgrims.

“When they rent during hajj season, the income they get can then sustain them for the rest of the year,” says al-Sudairy. “This is not an exaggeration.”

But with one square metre of land in the area surrounding the Grand Mosque now valued at at $130,000[http://www.newyorker.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/magazine/2012/04/16/modern-mecca] – many have sold property either to the government[http://www-economist-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/saudi\_interview], or to real estate developers – thus severing their historic ties with the city.

This has meant the greater proportion of the city is now owned by commercial real estate developers, and driven by private sector interests.

It is an inherent tension, accentuated by the country’s increased financial woes[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/25/saudi-arabia-approves-ambitious-plan-to-move-economy-beyond-oil], that Mecca must prioritise its migrant pilgrims over its residents, even though both populations are inextricably intertwined.

And perhaps most vulnerable of all, are the city’s **immigrant** communities.

Mecca has historically been a beacon for Muslim **immigrants**. According to al-Sudairy, 45% of Mecca’s current population are non-Saudi **immigrants** – this includes second- and third-generation **immigrants** who are not entitled to Saudi citizenship.

Some are older and more established communities, like the Burmese who number 250,000; while others, like the Nigerian and south Asian communities, are newer and comprise of seasonal workers employed in the construction and service sectors.

“In many ways the Burmese are the success story in Mecca,” al-Sudairy says. Though insular, Mecca’s Burmese are also highly organised. Unlike other **immigrant** groups, the Burmese have come to Saudi Arabia in waves since 1948 to claim political asylum. As such, many were granted the right to permanent residency in 2015[http://www.arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/news/718891] a first for the Saudi Kingdom.

But other migrant groups aren’t usually as lucky.

Related: Behind the hajj: Ahmed Mater's photographs of a Mecca in flux[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/gallery/2016/sep/14/behind-hajj-photographs-mecca-flux-ahmed-mater]

Many undocumented migrants live in Mecca[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-immigrants-slum-idUSBRE92Q0MA20130327], many of whom have overstayed their hajj visas. Some are inspired by the sanctity of the city, others come to earn a living and yet others, elderly Muslims, go there to die.

There is no official data, but by and large, “the government allows them to persist” and turns a blind eye, according to al-Sudairy.

“Politically, to force Muslims to leave Mecca just doesn’t look right,” she says. “Every Muslim feels Mecca is a second home.”

But they are still left vulnerable.

With the city deliberately turning the city centre over to commercial enterprise, residents are being pushed to the physical margins. According to the 2011 city master plan, residents were all to be relegated to an area called “Mecca gate”, a 16 sq km neighbourhood, with plans for affordable housing.

But in practice, once their homes are torn down and they receive meagre compensation if any at all[http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/22588/the-property-regime\_mecca-and-the-politics-of-reden], Meccans have been moving to neighbouring villages an hour away from their city, where they have gone on to build new slums.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Jean-Claude Juncker says incidents are unacceptable as he sets out policies aimed at alleviating fragmentation across Europe

The president of the European commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, has condemned attacks on Polish people in the UK in the aftermath of the Brexit vote.

“We Europeans can never accept Polish workers being beaten up, harassed or even murdered in the streets of Essex,” Juncker said in his annual state of the union address[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/jean-claude-juncker-eu-is-facing-existential-crisis] to MEPs in Strasbourg. Five Polish people have been attacked in the Essex town of Harlow since the EU referendum, including one man who died from his injuries.

As he set out a series of security and economic measures aimed at uniting Europe following the Brexit vote, Juncker urged EU member states to take greater responsibility for explaining the value of the European project[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/11/francois-hollande-renewal-european-project-trip-brexit-france].

Declaring that the next 12 months would be crucial[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/22/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-struggling-with-the-vision-thing] for the EU, Juncker said a united Europe could only be built if it were better explained and better understood. He highlighted the referendum as a warning that the EU faces a battle for survival against nationalism[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/24/european-far-right-hails-britains-brexit-vote-marine-le-pen].

“The European Union doesn’t have enough union,” he said. “There are splits out there and often fragmentation exists … That is leaving scope for galloping populism.”

Arkadiusz Józwik, 40, died after he was beaten up by teenagers in Harlow last month. Essex police said Józwik and a second Polish man, who survived, were apparently the victims of an unprovoked attack. The motive is unknown, but one line of inquiry is the possibility of it being a hate crime.

Three other Poles have been attacked in the town and there have been reports of further incidents across Britain. Following the attack on Józwik, the president of Poland, Andrzej Duda, wrote to church leaders in Britain[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/06/polish-communities-in-uk-to-get-more-protection] asking them to help prevent attacks on Poles living in the UK and combat a climate of “aversion and animosity”.

Eric Hind, a Harlow-based Pole who organised a protest march in the town after Józwik’s killing, welcomed Juncker’s remarks, but said hate crimes had continued since the referendum.

“I am glad people don’t accept this and have reaffirmed that hate crime has no place in UK society, but it is still happening,” he said.

“We respect Britain’s decision to leave the EU, but we would like to see respect for people that have moved here, that have built their lives here, that contribute.

“Many feel let down by the British government. We made the UK our home, but we don’t feel welcome here anymore. People are scared and worried.”

Juncker’s speech in Strasbourg did not dwell on the Brexit vote, though he repeated that Britain could not have “à la carte access”[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/14/pmqs-corbyn-may-brexit-cannot-have-a-la-carte-access-to-single-market-eu-chief-says-politics-live] to the single market.

The European commission president has previously criticised the former prime minister David Cameron for failing to prepare the ground for the EU referendum and launching the four-month campaign for Britain to remain after years of sniping directed at Brussels.

Juncker said he would ask his team of 27 EU commissioners to increase the number of visits made to national parliaments to discuss EU policies. “[Europe] can only be built with the member states, not against the member states,” he said. “We do listen to our citizens and we would like to do that more intensely.”

The 55-minute speech amounted to a laundry list of subjects, ranging from Europe’s contribution to 70 years’ of peace to roaming charges and the price of milk. “I will not accept that milk is cheaper than water,” he said, in a nod to Europe’s farmers. Just as telling were the subjects that went unmentioned, from the EU’s controversial migration pact with Turkey[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/25/eu-and-turkey-restart-talks-over-migrant-pact] to low-level fighting in eastern Ukraine[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/28/east-ukraine-frontline-europe-forgotten-war] and tensions with Russia. Juncker, however, called for the EU’s foreign policy chief, Federica Mogherini, to have a seat at the table in Syrian peace talks.

In a widely-trailed part of the speech, Juncker called for an EU military headquarters and common EU military hardware to stop wasting money in overlapping projects. Juncker is a well-known supporter of an EU army, but aides insist his vision – set out in a policy paper by Mogherini in late June – stops far short of a common fighting force.

The EU has run 30 military and civilian missions in Africa and the Middle East in the last decade, but Juncker said a permanent EU headquarters was needed to make operations more effective.

The speech comes two days before EU leaders meet in Bratislava, without the UK, to chart a way forward for a post-Brexit EU.

The European commission hopes to smooth the path by increasing the EU infrastructure fund to €500bn (£425bn) by 2020. Juncker promised a €44bn investment fund for Africa in an attempt to create jobs and deter people from undertaking the perilous sea crossing[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/29/dramatic-photos-show-refugees-fleeing-libya-being-rescued-at-sea] to Europe.

Also on the cards are plans to create a European travel information system, which could mean that British travellers would have to pay about £10 to visit the continent[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/09/britons-may-have-to-apply-to-visit-europe-under-eu-visa-scheme] after Brexit. Juncker promised to publish a draft law in November.

In a move aimed at alleviating the migration crisis and Europe’s chronic youth unemployment[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/10/calabria-bavaria-eurozone-youth-unemployment-job-opportunities], Juncker vowed to create a 100,000-strong youth volunteer corps by 2020.

The other strand of the EU migration strategy that Juncker chose to highlight was a plea for the speedy implementation of a law to create an EU border and coastguard, to ensure better control of migrants and **refugees** arriving from the Middle East and Africa.

Related: Miloš Zeman: the hardline Czech leader fanning hostility to **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/14/milos-zeman-czech-leader-refugees]

In a tacit acknowledgement that European commission plans for **refugee** quotas were in trouble, he said solidarity could not be forced, but “must come from the heart”. Hungary, Poland and other central and eastern European countries have accused the commission of blackmail over proposals that would oblige them to pay for not giving **refuge** to people fleeing war.

Juncker’s speech received a short standing ovation from two-thirds of the MEPs present in Strasbourg. Nigel Farage and the other Ukip MEPs, as well as Marine Le Pen and her rightwing group, remained in their seats. In his response, Farage chose to avoid a direct attack on Juncker, but saved his ire for the MEP and former Belgian prime minister Guy Verhofstadt, who has been chosen to lead Brexit negotiations[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/08/guy-verhofstadt-diehard-european-to-lead-brexit-talks-for-european-parliament] for the European parliament. Farage described Verhofstadt as a “fanatic” and said his appointment marked “a declaration of war on any sensible negotiation process”.

Farage objects to Verhofstadt’s statement that the UK must accept free movement of people if it wants access to the single market, a view echoed by the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, and the European council president, Donald Tusk. Farage said this approach would inevitably mean no deal and leave the UK trading under World Trade Organisation rules. The former Ukip leader claimed this “actually isn’t too bad” for the UK, but argued that it would be very bad news for German carmakers and French winemakers.

Le Pen shares the view that the Brexit vote has not been “an apocalypse”. “Brexit has broken a taboo,” she said. “The Brits have shown us that you can leave the EU and come out better.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**On stage in Strasbourg, the favourite to become rightwing presidential candidate calls for optimism in troubled times

France’s most popular politician looked out from the stage at a vast rally and proudly uttered a word that seemed taboo in a country rocked by terrorist attacks, mass unemployment, social division and economic gloom: “Happiness”. There was wild applause.

“People say I’m a prophet of happiness, well I’m happy about that!” said Alain Juppé[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/01/alain-juppe-from-cold-grey-automaton-to-saviour-of-france], arms outstretched. The audience waved French flags and cheered.

Despite France’s reputation for being the most pessimistic nation on earth[http://www.connexionfrance.com/French-pessimism-Pew-research-centre-spring-survey-17165-view-article.html], Juppé, 71, a former centre-right prime minister and mayor of Bordeaux, who styles himself as an experienced elder statesman[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/01/alain-juppe-from-cold-grey-automaton-to-saviour-of-france], is topping the polls with a promise of “happy” national identity.

His bold promise to lead a diverse France that can live together in harmony is a personal crusade against what he sees as dangerous Donald Trump-style politics of fear and demagoguery. It is also an attack on the former French president Nicolas Sarkozy[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/07/how-nicolas-sarkozys-presidential-days-came-back-to-haunt-him] ’s hardline brand of national identity politics, which have dominated the headlines, amid a recent row over banning burkinis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/26/nice-france-burkini-ban-response-after-bastille-day-truck-attack] and talk that France’s divided society could descend into civil war.

Related: Sarkozy and Juppé in crowded field to be next French president[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/10/sarkozy-juppe-france-presidential-election-republicans-primaries-eight-candidates]

Juppé’s mission to promote a harmonious idea of “happy identity” in France has not been an easy ride. He has been attacked by Sarkozy’s camp as a naïve idealist, foolish to preach happiness in a country where more than 230 people have been killed in terrorist attacks[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/17/francois-hollande-pleads-for-unity-amid-anger-over-nice-attack] in little more than 18 months, as the political class questions Islam’s place in French society and more than 3 million people are unemployed.

And yet, so far, the polls show that Juppé’s ambition for France’s “happy identity” is winning out.

He remains France’s best-liked politician and – in a close-run battle with Sarkozy – is still favourite to win the nomination of the Les Républicains party and become the rightwing candidate in next spring’s presidential election.

In Strasbourg on Tuesday night, at his first big regional rally of the primary campaign, Juppé defended his vision for what he calls France’s “happy identity”. He coined the phrase in 2014 in an attack against the French intellectual Alain Finkielkraut[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/09/right-wing-new-reactionaries-stir-up-trouble-among-french-intellectuals], who had written a bestseller called The Unhappy Identity that warned of the supposed dangers to French national identity from mass **immigration** and multiculturalism. Juppé rejected the idea that a diverse, mixed society was a threat to France.

On stage in Strasbourg, he slammed the idea that France was inherently divided and pessimistic, brushing aside decades of intellectual treaties on national decline. “France and the French aren’t condemned to be unhappy,” Juppé said. For him, “happy” national French identity was clearly not a current reality but an ideal and “collective aim” that could become possible if the country reformed.

He has criticised politicians for surfing on a fear of Islam and cultural difference, rejecting Sarkozy’s calls for a nationwide ban on burkinis as needlessly “throwing oil on the fire”. He vowed in Strasbourg: “I won’t turn people in France against each other.”

Related: Could Nicolas Sarkozy's legal woes scupper his presidential ambitions?[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/07/how-nicolas-sarkozys-presidential-days-came-back-to-haunt-him]

Juppé nonetheless stayed true to his traditions on the Gaullist French right, setting out firm rules for how this harmonious French identity could be achieved. He is against Sarkozy’s recent calls for “assimilation”, in which everyone must lose any trace of their roots to be French, and prefers the concept of “integration”.

For Juppé, integration must carry fixed rules – he wants a charter of secularism, a reorganisation of Islam in France to ensure French funding and preaching, and a firm line on **immigration** control, with yearly quotas set by parliament. He said the key to everyone in France living happily together would be the state honouring its responsibility to make France secure, to fight terrorism and to overhaul the economy, aiming for full employment in a country that has been racked by unemployment for decades.

Speaking to journalists before his rally, Juppé said there had been a “frenzy” and “mania” over more and more outlandish ideas of French national identity, including one intellectual’s call for all children in France to be made to have French names such as Marie or Jacques. He warned: “The role of a political leader is not to add to the unhappiness of the times, or darken the situation even more.”

Online, some far-right sympathisers mock his perceived soft stance on Islam, calling him “Ali Juppé”.

Despite Sarkozy pushing a much harder line on security – including suggesting locking up people suspected of being radicalised – a recent poll[http://www.lesechos.fr/elections/presidentielle-2017/0211276578036-terrorisme-juppe-devance-sarkozy-selon-un-sondage-2026359.php] showed French people trusted Juppé more on guaranteeing national security against terrorism.

At the rally, Jean-Claude Sylvestre, who runs a renewable energy firm in Epinal, said he had voted twice for Sarkozy in the past but would now choose Juppé as his party’s candidate. “There has to be calm, not confrontation. We have to stop this constant running after news, rushing in on the burkini, seeking provocation,” he said. “It’s about calm and experience. Personalities more than manifestos will determine the presidential campaign.”

Marguerite Zabern, a retired nurse from Strasbourg, said: “I don’t know if Juppé will succeed but I trust him as a person. I trust him to find the right path to a kind of peace in France. The attacks will continue and it’s difficult to live with that kind of threat.”

Related: The Guardian view on France’s ‘burkini bans’: ugly politics on the beach | Editorial[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/24/the-guardian-view-on-frances-burkini-bans-ugly-politics-on-the-beach]

The primary race to choose the right’s candidate, with a final vote in November, nevertheless remains entirely open, with Sarkozy gaining ground.

“There is a psychological dimension to Alain Juppé’s standing in the polls,” said François Miquet-Marty of pollsters ViaVoice. “He has a capacity to reassure French people who are worried about their future and the future of France. The concept of “happy identity” is seen as reassuring, contrary to Nicolas Sarkozy, who can be seen as divisive and conflictual. The notion of “happy identity” is liked, and it’s one of the reasons for Juppé’s success.”

One young party member, who supported one of the smaller, secondary candidates in the right’s primary race, shrugged off the “happy identity” concept. “Juppé says ‘identity’ in order to win over rightwingers who are interested in national identity, and then he adds ‘happy’ in order to include everyone else. He’s trying too hard for consensus.”

Juppé, who has been in politics since the 70s and is working to soften his cold, aloof image, told supporters in Strasbourg that he would fight “a joyous campaign, full of hope”. He said he had fought and won scores of campaigns in the past, “but I’ve never known a campaign to be victorious in sadness or gloominess”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**German chancellor is keen to show CEOs that newcomers will benefit Germany in the long term

Angela Merkel is to challenge the bosses of some of Germany’s largest companies to explain why they have not employed more **refugees**.

At a meeting in her chancellery in Berlin this evening the German chancellor will confront the CEOs over hiring and ask them what she can do to encourage them to take on more asylum seekers. The biggest recruiter is Deutsche Post DHL, which employs just over 100.

Merkel, under pressure over her open-door policy which has seen more than a million **refugees** arrive in Germany over the past 12 months, is keen to show there is substance to her promise that newcomers will benefit Germany in the long term.

Related: Angela Merkel defends Germany's **refugee** policy after attacks[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/28/merkel-rejects-calls-to-change-germanys-refugee-policy-after-attacks]

Europe’s biggest economy is suffering from a growing skills shortage with a working-age population due to decrease by six million people within the next 15 years.

Merkel has told bosses that “everyone will benefit” the more **refugees** are integrated through the workplace. She will also appeal to their sense of social responsibility at a time when the economy is flourishing.

But they are expected to tell her they are hampered by obstacles such as **refugees**’ struggle to learn German, and a lack of certainty over the status of those **refugees** waiting to hear when and whether their asylum applications will be accepted or not. Other hurdles are complicated bureaucratic procedures, the inability of some **refugees** to be able to prove their qualifications and sometimes even their identities.

The bosses of some of the top DAX-listed companies, including Siemens, Daimler and Bosch, will exchange ideas with Merkel as to how they can recruit more newcomers.

Deutsche Post DHL, the German postal service, is employing over 100 **refugees** mostly in their sorting and delivering departments, and is expected to take on a further 75 as apprentices this year.

“Right now we have 102 **refugees** including people from Rwanda, Eritrea, Togo and Syria,” Deutsch Post’s CEO, Frank Appel, said before the meeting. More than half of those had completed a period of work experience before being taken on by the company, he said. Deutsche Post started its **refugee** initiative a year ago. “As a company which is at home in Germany and the rest of the world, we wanted to do our bit towards helping the **refugees** to integrate,” Appel said.

The company has said it had tried to adapt itself to the needs of the asylum seekers, offering them jobs that did not involve a high knowledge of German and were not too technical.

Airline and financial industries have voiced their concerns that with many asylum seekers unable to prove their identities, it made it difficult to take them on because they could not carry out extensive enough security checks on them.

Around 80% of asylum seekers are not qualified beyond primary or secondary school level. Many cannot read or write, let alone speak German.

Most German companies want to take a longer-term approach to future employees, ensuring that if they take someone onto their highly-structured apprenticeship programmes which can last for up to four years, they have a long-term perspective of staying in Germany.

Some companies – such as Mercedes, Siemens and Daimler - have offered **refugees** pre-training programmes which would prepare them for entry at the apprenticeship level.

The anti-**refugee** Alternative für Deutschland party has been making considerable gains in elections over voters’ fears that Merkel’s **refugee** policy is a threat to German stability. Merkel’s government is keen to show that not only does the German economy have room for **refugees**, but that **refugees** are also willing to work.

The Employment Office, which began gathering statistics on asylum seekers who are looking for work in June, has so far shown a month-on-month increase in the numbers. In June 297,000 were looking for work, and in August the figure had jumped to 346,000 with signs of an increasing trend.

Merkel’s spokesman, Steffen Seibert, said she had called the summit so that concerns and ideas could be shared. “She wants to find out where the everyday problems are occurring and where there are bureaucratic hindrances, how they can be alleviated,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Letter from Oxfam and others calls on Britain to take leading role in developing humane response to millions fleeing crisis

A group of 50 leading **refugee** charities and aid agencies has condemned the government’s record on the **refugee** crisis, describing the support offered by the UK as “not enough – not even close”.

In a letter to the prime minister before two crucial international **refugee** summits, which Theresa May is due to attend, the charities state that the global response so far has been inadequate.

“Of course, the commitment by David Cameron to resettle 23,000 **refugees** by 2020 is a welcome step in the right direction. But it is not enough – not even close – as hundreds of thousands of **refugees** remain in desperate need,” the letter, signed by Oxfam, the Children’s Society and Christian Aid, among others, states.

The charities call on the UK government to adopt three commitments during next week’s talks in the US, requesting that the UK should take a leading role in “developing a humane, coordinated international response to the millions fleeing crisis”, offer safe passage to more **refugees**, in part by removing obstacles to family reunification, and commit to providing better support for those **refugees** who reach the UK so they can rebuild their lives here.

May is due to to attend the UN Summit for **Refugees** and Migrants[http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/summit] next Monday and the US Leaders’ Summit on **Refugees**[http://www.state.gov/p/io/c71574.htm] on Tuesday.

The letter is designed to showcase the strength and unanimity of feeling among relevant organisations before a **refugee** solidarity march[http://swruk.org/refugees-welcome-here-2016/#details] scheduled to take place in central London on Saturday.

Kate Allen, the director of Amnesty International, one of the letter’s signatories, said: “History will judge us for our failure to deal with the global **refugee** crisis. Instead of focusing on putting up more barriers to keep people out, the UK must urgently provide the safe and legal routes **refugees** fleeing violence and persecution desperately need.”

The chief executive of the **Refugee** Council, Maurice Wren, said: “The prime minister has the chance to lead by example – by offering more **refugees** safe passage and encouraging other countries to do the same. The time for prevarication and evasion is over; world leaders must make sharing responsibility for protecting **refugees** their number one priority.”

World leaders attending Monday’s **refugee** summit will consider how best to respond to “an unprecedented level of human mobility”, with an estimated 65 million people forcibly displaced in 2015, including 21 million **refugees**. They will discuss signing up to a draft declaration that acknowledges that **refugees** are facing a “desperate ordeal” and pledges that the international community’s challenge is “above all moral and humanitarian”.

“We are determined to save lives” and “combat with all the means at our disposal the abuses and exploitation suffered by countless **refugees** and migrants in vulnerable situations”, the draft document states.

The letter to the prime minister[http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/latest/news/4764\_britain\_must\_act\_on\_refugee\_crisis\_or\_be\_party\_to\_failure] reminds her that a year ago 100,000 people marched through London to register their dismay at the death of Alan Kurdi, the three-year-old Syrian boy who drowned as his family fled to safety, “sending a clear message that this country must not stand by while children drown in Europe’s seas”.

The continuation of the crisis, a year later, reflects “the inadequacy of the international community’s response until now, and its failure to address the root causes”, the letter states, adding that unless constructive action is taken by the government “we too will be party to that failure”.

A government spokesperson defended the government’s record, stating: “This government has been at the forefront of the international response to the humanitarian crisis in Syria. We have pledged £2.3bn in humanitarian aid to Syria and neighbouring countries and providing nearly £70m in response to the Mediterranean migration crisis.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The chair of the LGA’s asylum, **refugee** and migration task group says councils need more funding if they are to house unaccompanied children

Persuading councils to accommodate more **refugees** is a delicate art, but it is one that David Simmonds – who has overseen a successful drive to get councils to find homes for 20,000 vulnerable Syrian **refugees** – has begun to master.

Earlier this month the government announced that homes had been found for all the Syrian **refugees** the UK had committed to house[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/first-anniversary-of-government-commitment-to-resettle-20000-syrian-refugees], and about 2,800 had arrived. Simmonds, who chairs the Local Government Association’s asylum, **refugee** and migration task group, describes this (with understated satisfaction) as a “good achievement” and “one of the success stories”.

Related: Child **refugees**: Theresa May should be ashamed, says Yvette Cooper[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/03/child-refugees-theresa-may-yvette-cooper]

But he is doubtful about whether a parallel commitment to give sanctuary to an unspecified number of unaccompanied **refugee** children can be achieved with the same speed, unless the government allocates more money to help councils across the UK to meet the “stonkingly huge” cost of caring for them.

As deputy leader of Hillingdon council, in west London, since 2002, the 40-year-old Conservative councillor has had plenty of experience of accommodating lone **refugee** children, who, even before the start of the **refugee** crisis last year, often arrived at Heathrow, in his area. In his job with the LGA’s asylum taskforce, he has watched the numbers of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children double to 4,000 last year, and seen some councils (particularly Kent, with its port at Dover) struggle to cope.

He believes that councils have the capacity to help many more children, and is sympathetic to the argument that Britain has a responsibility to help other European nations to share the burden of finding homes for the estimated 85,000 asylum-seeking children travelling alone[http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-minors-idUKKCN0XT15M]. This was the argument made by the Kindertransport **refugee** and Labour peer Alf Dubs[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/may/03/alf-dubs-antisemitism-islamophobia-racism], as he successfully pushed the government into a U-turn on its child migrant policy. The Dubs amendment to the **Immigration** Act committed the UK to taking a share of these children. Yet, since the legislation was passed, no child has been brought to the UK[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp]. Simmonds says that “the government has got to turn the sentimental commitment into a practical one”.

‘It’s no good saying ‘yes, we want to help’ unless you are also willing to say what that means in practice’

The success with which homes were found for the 20,000 vulnerable Syrian **refugees** to whom the then prime minister, David Cameron promised to give sanctuary[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/07/uk-will-accept-up-to-20000-syrian-refugees-david-cameron-confirms] a year ago provides a template for how even the most cash-strapped council can be persuaded to cooperate, he argues.

“No one has argued that we shouldn’t be doing this. There are no protests saying they shouldn’t be here. Even Ukip has been quite balanced about it,” he says, during an interview at the LGA’s Westminster headquarters. “**Immigration** is a hugely polarising debate. Opinion polls show the country is pretty divided, but I’ve been struck by the willingness of councils to help.”

This was partly because the call for council cooperation came in the wake of the death of Alan Kurdi[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees], the Syrian three-year-old who drowned as he fled the war a year ago, at a time when public opinion had firmly accepted the moral need to give sanctuary to more **refugees** from Syria.

More crucially, it was because the government allocated clear funding to councils, to help meet the cost of housing **refugee** families, so that services for local residents would not be affected. About £8,000 per individual for the first year, dropping to a smaller sum by 2020, has been put aside by the government to help subsidise the considerable costs involved in setting families up in the UK. Until there is similar clarity, indicating that the “government is genuinely committed to funding and supporting the children”, councils will remain cautious about agreeing to accommodate more **refugee** children who have travelled across Europe alone, says Simmonds. “It is no good saying sentimentally: ‘Yes, we want to help,’ unless you are also willing to say what this means in practice.”

At present, councils get central government funding for the first year the child is with them, but after that the funding arrangements are still unclear. Given that a foster care placement can cost up to £140,000, this is a difficult cost to meet without help.

“Councils are saying, ‘If you want us to start taking on large numbers of children, there has to be evidence that it will be properly resourced.’ If children are in the care of a council, that council will be responsible until they are 25; there could be university costs. There is a very big bill potentially attached to that. No council wants to be in a position where, having taken people in, they are then having to say we can’t afford to support them… Our concern for the Dubs amendment was that it didn’t envisage what was the long-term plan for all these children.”

Related: Kindertransport survivors on today's child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2016/may/19/kindertransport-survivors-todays-child-refugees-nicholas-winton]

The success of the Syrian **refugee** commitment was in part due to the fact that a dedicated minister for settling Syrian **refugees** was appointed – Richard Harrington – [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/home-office-minister-with-responsibility-for-syrian-refugees-appointed] who set up a team to implement the pledge, and worked closely with councils to establish how best to help. Even with this funding, the National Audit Office this week raised concerns about whether enough school places have been found[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/lack-uk-homes-schools-threatens-syrian-refugee-resettlement-2020]. Harrington’s job no longer exists, and there has been no team created for child **refugees**. “If we want to bring in significant numbers of children, then you need a similar team focused on that task, which we don’t have,” says Simmonds.

But he is broadly optimistic about the capacity for **refugees** to be a force for good for local communities, if the process of finding them the right homes is sensitively handled. He understands why some councils have offered to take many families, while others, particularly in London and the south-east, have not committed themselves to housing any. This geographical division has been described as “asylum apartheid”, but Simmonds says it is only logical that areas with available housing will be more ready to help.

“In London, the south-east and Bristol, councils have been struggling to keep up with a massive expansion in the population, so understandably they are not rushing to be at the front of the queue. But there are other parts of the country, including some of the rural areas, where the population has been declining, and actually that has put different pressures on services – how do you run a school if all your classrooms are half empty?” In many of these areas, he argues that the arrival of **refugees** will help the local economy.

“It may be that for the first couple of years, they may need councils to find them somewhere to live and they may be claiming benefits, but once they are settled they can be an important part of the UK economy. These people are not always going to be a burden,” he says. “It is not a simple cost equation.”These are not views always shared by fellow Conservative party members, but he says that at a local government level the “political differences you see played out on a parliamentary stage are a lot less relevant. Local government tends to be quite practical.”

“The moral consensus is very finely balanced and it depends where you go in the country,” he points out. “My job is to walk that line, because if those [local] communities feel they have been fairly treated, they will probably be supportive.”

He firmly believes, however, that if local people say: ‘“All these **refugees** are coming and now the library has closed,’ that doesn’t feel fair. That’s not about racism: it’s about balance.”

Curriculum vitae Age 40.

Lives Uxbridge, west London.

Family Married, one child.

Education Cardinal Newman Comprehensive School, Rhydyfelin, Pontypridd; Durham University, politics, economics and management degree; Birkbeck College, University of London; postgraduate certificate in elected member development; Chartered Institute of Insurers financial planning certificate; De Montfort University, working towards a PhD in international relations.

Career 2002-present: Conservative deputy leader, Hillingdon council, west London; 1997-2002; a number of jobs as a financial adviser starting as a graduate trainee at Eagle Star, then moving on to roles at LloydsTSB then HSBC.

Public life deputy chairman, Local Government Association; deputy leader, LGA’s Conservative group; chairman, LGA’s asylum, **refugee** and migration task group; chairman, LGA children’s board; magistrate; chair, National Employers Organisation for Schoolteachers; trustee, The Early Intervention Foundation; board member, Teachers’ Pension Scheme.

Interests Family, two cats, travel, collections of tennis shoes and 20th Century British prints.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HEREImmigration** adviser says asylum seekers’ uncertain futures are contributing to the risk of self-harm and suicide

A leading government **immigration** adviser has said all claims of assault experienced by asylum seekers in Australian-run detention centres should be investigated thoroughly and has no doubts many of the allegations are valid.

Paris Aristotle’s comments follow an article in the Australian on Wednesday[http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/immigration/top-adviser-wary-on-nauru-asylum-assault-claims/news-story/c4dafe1353119765136a735e4d0dfd83] that claimed Aristotle had warned people to be wary about believing asylum seeker claims of assault.

The article was based on an interview with Aristotle led by the Sky News political commentator Chris Kenny on Monday, in which Aristotle was questioned about Guardian Australia’s publishing of the Nauru files.

Related: Australia's **refugee** impasse: rights commission suggests ways forward[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/australias-refugee-impasse-rights-commission-suggests-ways-forward]

The Nauru files are the largest set of leaked documents published from inside Australia’s **immigration** detention system[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] written by guards, caseworkers and teachers on Nauru, many of which contain reports of self-harm, sexual assaults, child abuse, hunger strikes, assaults and injuries.

The Australian reported that Aristotle warned during the Sky interview “that claims that were invalid, embellished or misunderstood risked insulting the people of Nauru and inflaming tensions among **refugees** on the island”.

While Aristotle also told Sky he did not believe abuse was occurring every day, he also said: “The sort of trenched warfare that takes place [around the issue] can sometimes distort the information that is presented from all sides. My plea around this is that we climb out of our trenches and appreciate there are no straightforward answers to this.”

He added that “I think people would have coped much better if, one, they weren’t in detention and, two, they knew always that there was a process once having been found to be a **refugee** that was going to lead to them being able to get on with their lives in a country that is safe and secure”.

Aristotle said that, in absence of hope for their futures, “what we’re seeing now is spiralling rates of depression and, in my view, serious risks of people self-harming, permanent psychological harm and greater risk of suicide”.

Aristotle told Guardian Australia on Wednesday that “I wouldn’t want to dispute that many claims of assault are serious and valid”.

Related: Two-thirds of Australians want Nauru and Manus **refugees** to be resettled, poll shows[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/14/two-thirds-believe-australia-should-resettle-refugees-in-detention-by-2017-poll]

“Even if some claims have been embellished, I am sure that enough of them are true and serious enough to give cause for concern, and the seriousness of those claims should not be diminished,” he said.

He said the assault claims brought to light through the reporting of the Nauru files were “serious and with enough validity to warrant deep and through investigation”.

But he added: “This debate has become so adversarial and conflict-based that it’s unsurprising some claims are embellished or exaggerated as a part of that.

“Regardless of whatever position people hold at present, the urgent reality is people need to be resettled as a matter of priority to safe places where they can get on with their lives.”

Aristotle has also called for greater access to offshore detention centres for the media, which he said would assist in accurate reporting and allow journalists to more easily verify claims.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The problem we have in facing up to the more toxic and corrosive elements of Hansonism in 2016 – as opposed to the more orderly times in 1998 – is that facts just don’t seem to matter as much as they once did

At her first press conference in the week following that July Saturday night where Malcolm Turnbull stood before the voters ashen faced at the Sofitel, briefly contemplating his own political mortality, enraged at the very prospect of something so divergent from the life plan, Hanson was, reassuringly, the Hanson of old.

It was like we’d all peeled back the lid of the tin at the back of the cupboard marked 1998 and there she was, perfectly preserved in aspic. Those piercing eyes, cornflower blue. The flaming hair. The quaver in the voice. The righteous jut of the jaw. The stupendous scale of the feelings. The manifest disdain for facts and evidence.

Pauline Hanson strode across the grass in Brisbane, spotlight trained on her, rugged up in a brightly coloured winter coat against a Queensland winter little more vengeful than a gentle breeze, ready to be disdained by the working press, a familiar ritual which that only endears the One Nation leader to her rusted-on supporters: plucky Pauline, giving those pricks of journos a good kicking. Go Pauline. You show ’em love. The Kimbos and the Himbos deserve everything they get.

The Brisbane journalists didn’t hesitate before getting stuck in, ripping her xenophobic, incoherent, noxious manifesto apart, question after question. Pauline Hanson just raised her jaw an inch or two higher and sailed on, a battleship of righteousness, with the flotsam holding on gamely, flapping against the hull. Watching the show back at my desk in Canberra, I had the clear view of the disconnected spectator. Here was Pauline, being pecked relentlessly by a mob of magpies. Like Donald Trump in America, attacks –and that’s what that press conference would look like to a person only glancing up periodically to peruse the show – are likely to make her stronger.

Related: Pauline Hanson is back, and it's still just as hard to counter her rhetoric with facts[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/10/pauline-hanson-is-back-and-its-still-just-as-hard-to-counter-her-rhetoric-with-facts]

Why is this? Understanding that requires referencing the various reasons why she’s back. Hanson’s and One Nation’s success in 2016 is are in part about a double dissolution election (although Pauline’s Hanson’s personal support eclipses that), in part because the popular media has done a superb job of keeping Pauline Hanson in the spotlight as a quasi-political celebrity, partly because she appealed to voters Malcolm Turnbull spent zero time in the campaign talking to – the people stuck in the old economy with zero prospects of finding themselves recruited by Microsoft.

I also think the strength of her showing is also about registering a gesture. She is a totem of the disdain many voters feel for politics as usual. Pauline Hanson is a raised middle digit on the floor of the Australian Senate. If the political class in Canberra rounds collectively on the stranger in its midst, deploys the blunt instruments of gotcha and when did you stop beating your wife, this will only confirm the worst fears of some deeply **alienated** voters that the system is rigged permanently against the interests of the people, that politics is about elites protecting their own patches.

As John Howard noted in early July, treating Hanson as a “scorned species” is a monumental mistake. It expresses disdain for her supporters, who have as much right as anyone else to have their interests represented in parliament, and it ultimately plays into her studied depiction of herself as put-upon outsider, which is the dynamic on which she trades.

Understanding Hanson’s context is simple enough. But we face another challenge. The problem is not so much comprehending Pauline. Her shtick is now reasonably familiar. The contemporary problem is how we engage constructively with Hansonism, and by constructively I actually mean deconstructively, which is our core business as journalists: calling out the snake oil, attempting to protect people from being manipulated.

Just as strategists have had to evolve their core methodologies as voters have evolved, journalists have to understand that the rules of our game are being rewritten as well. We have to understand that we now practise professionally in a post-truth environment, where increasingly, our audiences can increasingly choose to exist comfortably inside bubbles, selecting only the information and commentary that reinforces their views, rejecting other material.

The problem we have in facing up to the more toxic and corrosive elements of Hansonism in 2016 (as opposed to the more orderly times in 1998) is that facts just don’t seem to matter as much as they once did. My innate respect for facts and reason and evidence remained largely intact until I watched the dynamic around Donald Trump play out during America’s gruelling primary season.

I watched in horrified fascination from another hemisphere as the collective might of America’s greatest newspapers turned their guns on the nativist king, not with random take-downs, or savage hit jobs, but just with forensic journalism: countering Trump’s inflammatory nonsense with facts, and logic, and careful interrogation—all with no visible impact on Trump’s approval ratings.

I know enough of my own eco-system, the world of national affairs that intersects between includes news publications, comments, threads and social media, to know that political conversation increasingly feels like a giant exercise in confirmation bias. A great many people still consume their politics passively and genially, with a healthy dose of scepticism and a genuinely open and enquiring mind, but there is also an increasingly rancorous cohort of political consumers who reject vehemently any information that does not reinforce their existing belief structure.

This cohort feels the whole media-political superstructure is lying to them and manipulating them, and countering this belief with exhaustive explanation sometimes only escalates the feelings of rage. More lies. More manipulations.

We can’t ignore these cultural trends, and we can’t ignore the gap between how we see ourselves and how some of our readers see us. Journalists see ourselves as honest brokers, professional nit-pickers, pursuing the business of fact-checking and accountability, standing as an institutional check on executive overreach.

We work ferociously hard, harder than we have ever worked, and for leisure we go to films like Spotlight and feel good about ourselves and our truth-to-power mission. A great chunk of our audience still respects what we do, bless them. But another chunk sees us quite differently. They view the media as being the tame house pets of a busted political system; part of the jig, which that is now well and truly up.

Katharine Viner, the editor in chief of the Guardian, captured these developments wonderfully well in a recent essay about how technology has disrupted the truth[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/12/how-technology-disrupted-the-truth] :

Now, we are caught in a series of confusing battles between opposing forces: between truth and falsehood, fact and rumour, kindness and cruelty; between the few and the many, the connected and the **alienated**; between the open platform of the web as its architects envisioned it and the gated enclosures of Facebook and other social networks; between an informed public and a misguided mob. What is common to these struggles—and what makes their resolution an urgent matter—is that they all involve the diminishing status of truth. This does not mean that there are no truths. It simply means, as this year has made very clear, that we cannot agree on what those truths are, and when there is no consensus about the truth and no way to achieve it, chaos soon follows.

Practising journalism in a post-fact environment is, in a way, more of an existential threat for journalism than technological change. Our whole function in a democracy does rest on an assumption that facts have broad-based currency, that there are shared principles around which societies can coalesce and public interest can be served. To discover that the power of agreed facts is on the wane is, professionally, like losing your moorings.

Intuiting the seeming inevitability of the post-fact, post-truth world, is a bit like enduring a head-on collision with the certainty of your own redundancy: what if, structurally, societally, journalism can no longer speak truth to power because no-one cares about us speaking truth to power any more, because no-one trusts us either?

For the working journalist (as opposed to the working cypher for an undisclosed agenda, or working propagandist for their employer or their latest political paramour, or the non-working non-caring non-functioning hack), there really is no greater horror, because we know that journalism still matters. We know this, not as some statement of narcissism, as some abstract claim of entitlement, as some crotchety articulation of Paradise Lost, as some undignified foot stamp about our lost influence – we know it because the working journalist inhabits the same universe that powerful people inhabit.

We are not of that universe, but we enjoy privileged sightlines on it, enough to know that lies get told, sometimes monstrous ones, that corruption happens, that self-interest can often trump the greater good and the national interest. We know that the public does needs us to stand vigilant, sometimes as more threat than promise, as a structural check on bad behaviour, not because we deserve that honour, but because we have been conditioned our whole careers to serve the public, and most of us are intent on doing that for as long as someone will fund journalism.

I know, for example, that the following statement from Pauline Hanson’s manifesto is a statement unsupported by evidence: “Multiculturalism has failed everywhere. It is negative and divisive, a weight that is drowning our once safe and cohesive society.” I know the proposed prescription for the problem is first, impossible and second, inflammatory, exhibiting the sort of sentiments that have in the grand sweep of history led great powers into destructive conflicts.

“One Nation will abolish multiculturalism and the Racial Discrimination Act and promote assimilation, nationalism, loyalty and pride in being an Australian.” This statement resonates with some people, particularly the losers of globalisation, but if you interrogate it it’s about as meaningful as placing a drive-through order at McDonald’s: could I have the McHappy Meal with a side of jingoism? Could I scapegoat someone else to feel better about myself and my prospects? Could we just send all the foreigners back home?

But in order to call out the falsehoods and dissembles and false comforts, we have to be trusted by our audiences, and we have to be self-aware enough to understand that at least some of our audiences now think that most of us are no better than the people we purport to keep honest: that we are all part of the same stinking, creaking, self-referential system that is increasingly cloaked in odium.

I’ve reported every federal election since 1996. I’ve never lived through an election cycle where media commentary mattered less than in the 2016 campaign. Neither major-party leader felt any great pressure to subject themselves to rigorous interviews. News Corporation’s Daily Telegraph whipped itself into a frenzy about the evils of Labor day after day, loyally putting down progressivism in all its forms – and the result of all the histrionics and all the dire predictions of Armageddon from Ray Hadley and his ilk was a positive swing to Labor in the Telegraph heartland in Australia’s most populous state. Take that, Rupert, said the good voters of New South Wales.

Part of the declining cultural relevance of the mainstream media is due to forces entirely beyond our control. It’s predominantly technological change, which has allowed consumers to access their own information without the pesky middle-people – and again, technology, allowing public figures to communicate with voters directly without the media filter. But if we think that’s all it is we are deluding ourselves. We have to look in the mirror. Our intemperate excesses have also discounted our moral value. Our own behaviour has helped fuel a lack of trust, which leads inevitably to an erosion of our core mandate.

Related: The most troubling thing about Pauline Hanson's view of Muslims? The facts no longer matter | Susan Carland[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/19/the-most-depressing-thing-about-pauline-hansons-view-of-muslims-the-facts-no-longer-matter]

And when we have discounted our own currency, how then can we help ensure that voters aren’t manipulated by a new mob of charlatans: the nostalgia merchants and the new protectionists, and the xenophobes, and the reflexive nationalists, and the populists who proliferate and prosper in truthiness, and the people who lied to the voters in Britain to help generate the Brexit vote, to faux everymen like such as Donald Trump, who thinks politics is not about service but about publicity and about trolling the world?

I don’t see an easy solution to the current impasse. But I suspect the way back is through understanding rather than glib judgment, and through resisting the temptation to style a genuine crisis of civic integrity as an abstract culture war between elites and people too foolish to understand their own interests – as if that binary, reductionist view of the problem was anything other than a cheap framing device to structure yet another hot take on a complex phenomenon in time for deadline.

From a journalist’s perspective it does involve understanding Pauline Hanson and the context sitting behind her resurgence. That doesn’t mean white-washing her manifestly intolerable positions. It doesn’t mean excusing her, or launching apologias, or finding reasons why she’s terribly misunderstood: “some of my best friends are Pauline’s”.

It means looking her directly in the eye. It means comprehending her and the voters she represents. It means acknowledging that there are people who vote for Pauline Hanson because they are afraid of the future for entirely rational reasons, because governments have failed to give them hope for the future, and we need to acknowledge that perhaps part of the reason politicians have been insufficiently attentive to the losers is because journalists – under pressure, battling shrinking newsrooms, unable to get out into the field – haven’t done enough to tell their stories.

This is an edited extract of an essay that appears in the spring issue of Meanjin[https://www.mup.com.au/items/190003], out 15 September. RRP $24.99, eBook $9.99

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Punk anthem (I’m) Stranded, with its central theme of **alienation**, was released at a time when Australia didn’t even have its own national anthem

The ABC news radio announcer’s incredulous tone said it all: “An unknown band from Brisbane, by the name of the Saints, has earned rave reviews in England for a record it made itself.”

It was September 1976 and the words, complete with plummy delivery, were loaded with cultural cringe – all the more so for the fact that the band hailed from the backwoods of Brisbane.

That record, (I’m) Stranded, dubbed the “single of this and every week” in a hyperventilating review in the UK’s Sounds magazine, turns 40 years old this month and it is no exaggeration to say that it changed Brisbane forever, both from within and in terms of its external perception.

And the ABC announcer was right: outside of a small clique, the band was all but unknown in its home town at the time of the song’s release.

The Go-Betweens’ Robert Forster once wrote that punk hit Brisbane like no other city in Australia for two reasons: we had Joh-Bjelke Petersen, “the kind of crypto-fascist, bird-brained conservative that every punk lead singer in the world could only dream of railing against”, and we had the Saints, the “musical revolutionaries in the city’s evil heart” that gave a city that usually chased music history its own place in it.

Australia didn’t even have its own national anthem in 1976. (I’m) Stranded was more like an anti-anthem[https://www.theguardian.com/music/australia-culture-blog/2014/may/13/australian-anthems-the-saints-im-stranded], with its central theme of **alienation**. The singer, Chris Bailey, with the gritty sneer of a young Van Morrison, is marooned “far from home”. The literal meaning was actually more prosaic, the song’s music coming to guitarist Ed Kuepper on a midnight train home to the Brisbane’s far-flung suburbs.

Then there was the video, which begins with the unintended metaphor of drummer Ivor Hay kicking open a door. The band are playing in an abandoned building on inner city Petrie Terrace, Bailey singing in front of a fireplace with the words “(I’m) Stranded” daubed above in red letters, which would form the backdrop for the cover of the Saints’ debut album of the same name, released in February 1977.

The cover is as much a harbinger of the Blank Generation as the first Ramones album. But there are no uniforms in sight, much less leather jackets. The band stares sullenly back at the camera, a large hole in the floorboards beneath their feet in front of them.

In the ensuing years, countless fans and bands – including Brad Shepherd (then of the Fun Things, later of the Hoodoo Gurus) and Mark Callaghan (the Riptides, then Gang Gajang) – had their own photographs taken in front of that fireplace, until the building’s eventual redevelopment.

The Saints were seers. They’d formed in mid 1973, the same year as the release of the first New York Dolls album and Iggy and the Stooges’ Raw Power, and, while they hadn’t beaten the Ramones on to record – the New Yorkers had released their first album four months earlier – they were ahead of all the UK punks (the Damned’s New Rose was released a month later, in October 1976) and Sydney’s Radio Birdman.

But arguably more important than chronology and the Saints’ place in the bigger scheme of things was their determined independence. There were no venues to play in Brisbane, so the band hired out suburban halls. No local record company was interested in what they were doing, so they hired out a local studio, paid for the recording themselves and put out the song on their own label, Fatal Records.

This fact was noted in Jonh (John) Ingham’s review in Sounds: “This Queensland combo had to record and release on their own label; for some reason Australian record companies think the band lack commercial potential. What a bunch of idiots.” EMI in London – partially in an attempt to claw back lost credibility after sacking the Sex Pistols – duly instructed its baffled representatives in Sydney to sign the band.

Related: Grant & I review – Robert Forster writes moving, definitive portrait the Go-Betweens deserve[https://www.theguardian.com/music/australia-books-blog/2016/aug/29/grant-i-review-the-go-betweens-robert-forster-grant-mclennan-moving-definitive-portrait]

After the Saints’ inevitable decampment to England in early 1977, a local scene began to take root in Brisbane. There were archetypal punk bands such as the Leftovers and Razar, whose song Task Force[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dtuU5CnKRBs] was the first in a long line of singles to take aim at the local police state. Then there were the more cerebral Riptides[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jFW7cQLGWL4], the Apartments and the Go-Betweens, soon to leave for England themselves.

All had been inspired by the Saints’ willingness to “seize the sea of possibilities” spoken of by another seer, Patti Smith, a couple of years earlier. Brisbane now has a Go Between Bridge, as well as Bee Gees Way on Redcliffe Peninsula, where the Gibb brothers began their performing career. (I’m) Stranded was a foundation stone in Brisbane’s cultural history, for which the Saints deserve similar recognition.

• The Saints play three sold-out shows exclusive to Melbourne in October

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Poll released by Save the Children shows 75% of Liberal voters think Malcolm Turnbull should accept New Zealand’s resettlement offer

Pressure is mounting on Malcolm Turnbull to end detention of **refugees** on Nauru and Manus Island, ahead of two summits at which world leaders will discuss the global crisis.

Save the Children released the results of a poll on Wednesday that show that two-thirds (66%) of Australians believe the prime minister should act urgently to resettle **refugees** held in offshore detention by the end of the year.

Three-quarters (75%) said Turnbull and Bill Shorten, the leader of the opposition, should work together to find a solution.

Related: **Immigration** detention cost blowout blamed on procurement failures[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/13/immigration-detention-cost-blowout-blamed-on-procurement-failures]

In the poll 77% of respondents, including 75% of Liberal party voters, said Turnbull should accept New Zealand’s offer to resettle **refugees**, which he rejected in late April[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/apr/29/turnbull-rejects-new-zealand-offer-to-take-150-refugees-from-detention].

The poll of 1,010 voters nationwide was conducted by Galaxy Research on 6 and 7 September. Data from the survey was weighted by age, gender and region to reflect the latest population estimates.

Turnbull is under increasing pressure to end the stalemate over offshore detention amid criticism over the policy from within Australia and overseas.

Analysis by Save The Children with Unicef, released separately on Tuesday, found that offshore processing cost taxpayers at least $3.6bn between 2013 and 2016. The total cost of Australia’s policies was put in excess of $9.6bn.

Tim Norton, head of campaigns at Save the Children, said Australia had to play its part in addressing the world’s **refugee** crisis.

“The most urgent matter facing the government in this space is the fate of **refugees** and asylum seekers stuck in limbo on Nauru and Manus Island,” he said. “The government continues to justify its treatment of these **refugees** by declaring they have the support of the Australian people. But these results show that just isn’t true and Australians are demanding a better way.”

Norton said two summits on the global **refugee** crisis that Turnbull will attend in New York later this month presented an opportunity for him to announce a way forward on the world stage.

Related: UN to question Nauru over abuse of children in Australian-run detention[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/united-nations-to-grill-nauru-over-abuse-of-children-in-australian-run-detention]

The prime minister will attend the United Nations general assembly’s summit on the movements of **refugees** and migrants on 19 September, billed by the UN as “an historic opportunity to come up with a blueprint for a better international response”.

Turnbull will also be present at the Leaders’ Summit on **Refugees** hosted by Barack Obama the following day, at which the US president will urge nations to **refugee** intake and humanitarian funding.

The prime minister has come under sustained criticism for Australia’s detention facilities following the Guardian’s publication of the Nauru files, more than 2,000 leaked incident reports[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] that laid bare the devastating abuse and trauma inflicted on children held there.

Protests were held across Australia[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/15/hundreds-of-protesters-target-turnbull-and-other-mps-over-nauru-files] after their publication last month, with ongoing action planned. Love Makes a Way[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/14/nauru-files-manus-island-protests-vigil-malcolm-turnbull-asylum-seekers-immigration], a Christian advocacy group, is holding public readings of the Nauru files this week.

On Monday it was confirmed that Australia’s parliament would launch an investigation[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/12/senate-to-investigate-allegations-of-child-abuse-on-nauru-and-manus-island] into allegations of abuse, self-harm and neglect of asylum seekers on Manus and Nauru.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The billionaire inventor believes Britain can now reach trade agreements with countries outside Europe more easily

Sir James Dyson, the billionaire inventor, has said there is no reason for businesses in Britain to be uncertain as a result of the EU referendum and that they would be mad to withhold investment on the back of the vote.

Speaking as his company, Dyson, unveiled a £250m expansion of its research and development centre in the Cotswolds, the engineer said Britain could now reach trade agreements with countries outside Europe “much more easily and flexibly” and reconsider its approach to **immigration** from around the world so it can attract more engineers and scientists from India, China and the far east.

Dyson was one of the most prominent business leaders to publicly support Brexit before the referendum in June[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/11/sir-james-dyson-dismisses-brexit-trade-fears-as-cobblers]. His company has developed from a firm specialising in bagless vacuum cleaners into a fast-growing multinational technology company selling bladeless fans, air purifiers, hand-dryers, hairdryers and robotic vacuum cleaners.

In the past four years the company’s sales have doubled. Dyson reported revenues of £1.7bn in 2015, up 26% year on year, with profits of £448m. It is investing £5m a week in research and development.

Dyson said he could not understand why businesses would stop investing because of the prospect of import duties being introduced on trade between the UK and Europe.[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum]

Asked whether the economic uncertainty in the UK could hold Dyson back from investing, he said: “I don’t want to be arrogant about this, but I don’t understand why people are uncertain. I think it is something put around. If you are a business, do you actually say, ‘I am not going to make a decision to invest in that factory or I am not going to make a decision to set up in Europe because of this potential 3% [tax].’ As a business, are you actually stopping and not investing because of that? If you were, you would be mad because currency can move 10% in a couple of days. A 3% import duty is not something to worry about.

“It is highly unlikely it will come in anyway. The imbalance of trade is £100bn a year. Are you seriously saying that Germany wants to be putting an import duty on British goods going into Germany when we can punish them much greater on their goods?

“The trend is towards free trade. The failure of Europe to negotiate a free trade agreement with America, the TTIP, is really worrying. That is uncertainty. If you are waiting for Europe to negotiate free trade agreements China, North America and so on, that is a far greater uncertainty then whether or not you pay 3% to go into Europe.”

Dyson’s latest investment involves the opening of a new research building at its campus in Malmesbury, Wiltshire. The building, nicknamed D9, will house up to 450 engineers working on top-secret projects. These projects involve work on robotics and battery technology, two key new areas for the company. There are now 2,500 people working at the site out of 7,000 Dyson employees globally.

Europe accounts for around 16% of Dyson sales and is still an “attractive” market for the company, its founder and chairman said. However, the business is growing faster in China, South Korea and Japan and Dyson said that Europe was not a single market for his company anyway.

“It is not a single market as far as we are concerned,” he said. “There are different plugs, different languages, different boxes, different instructions, different laws, different national characteristics, different psychology, different marketing and different companies.”

Dyson insisted that leaving the EU is positive for the UK despite warnings of a slow down in the economy. “It is a positive because we can now negotiate trade agreements with countries much more easily and flexibly on our own then we ever could with 29 countries in Europe,” he said. “We don’t have those problems, we are on our own, we can negotiated a very rapid trade agreement with other countries.”

The 69-year-old also said it was opportunity for Britain to address a shortage of engineers in the country by making its **immigration** system global.

Dyson said: “It has been very much a Europe-focused **immigration** system, not a global **immigration** system. A lot of people who want to be engineers come from India, China, and the far east. In Pune [India] there are 40,000 engineers that come out of Pune University every year, which is twice as many as the British [engineers] that come out of the whole of British universities.”

“We just don’t have the scale. China produces something like 2 million engineers a year, we produce 20,000. We are just not going to compete globally unless we seriously ramp up the number of people.”

The entrepreneur played down criticism from Liam Fox, the international trade secretary[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/09/fat-and-lazy-britain-is-ill-prepared-to-secure-future-outside-eu-says-fox], that business executives would rather be playing golf on a Friday afternoon than negotiating export deals.

“I don’t think many businesses survive nowadays if you spend your time playing golf,” he said. “What I have been saying is that to compete globally and to export now it is a technology race. If companies aren’t developing technology and this country doesn’t produce enough engineers to take advantage of all the wonderful universities and commercialise their technology we will lag behind economically and be outstripped by our competitors all over the world.”

An experimental approach Dyson has become the UK’s nearest equivalent to Apple. It develops cutting-edge technology, is renowned for sleek design and has even opened its own shop on Oxford Street in London.

The new £250m extension at its 56-acre campus in Malmesbury, Wiltshire, which is unveiled today, could even help Dyson take on Apple directly. Government documents revealed earlier this year Dyson is working on a battery-powered electric vehicle[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/may/11/dysons-electric-car-development-could-become-the-next-tesla], although the company refuses to confirm the project. Apple is also rumoured to be working on an electric car.

Founded in 1993, Dyson is a young company in more ways than one. The average age of its staff is just 26, a deliberate attempt by founder and chairman Sir James Dyson to try to keep the company on its toes. Dyson’s headquarters is designed to feel like a university campus and even has a sports centre nicknamed “the hangar”.

“This is going to sound wrong , but we don’t like experience,” he explains in a rare interview at Dyson’s headquarters. “Experience can be inhibiting. I would rather have a naive, flexible, experimental, pioneering approach, because we want to do everything differently. It is a lot easier if people don’t come along – and this is going to sound slightly nasty – with baggage, and experience with how things are done. We want to find a new and better way of doing things. Graduates are very good at doing that.”

Max Conze, the chief executive of Dyson, who joined in 2010 from Procter & Gamble, said the company’s growth is built on a “bet on young people, young graduates” and a “belief in technology and innovation as the engine for growth”. He added: “You have to be willing to listen to people who have just come in and the people who have done this for many years.”

Dyson’s headquarters are shrouded in mystique and secrecy. From the road, the only evidence of the cutting-edge work that is taking place is a lonely blue airsock bearing its logo. The campus is hidden behind lines of trees.

The new D9 research building is a futuristic two-storey structure with reflective glass that offers no sign of what the engineers inside are up to. The company has 129 laboratories for its research and development team, who are working on more than 200 projects.

Dyson appears to be on the cusp of major expansion. Its revenues have doubled in the past four years and it wants to double its team of 3,000 engineers by 2021, wit h £1bn committed to developing new battery technology.[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/mar/21/dyson-to-invest-1bn-in-battery-technology-thanks-to-profit-surge]

The company’s new robotic vacuum cleaner – the Dyson 360 Eye – is a new avenue. After initially specialising in the movement of air, Dyson has broadened its technology into robotics, electric motors and 360-degree cameras. These technologies would clearly be helpful for an electric vehicle. “I don’t think we could deny that,” Dyson says. “But we don’t talk about what we are doing.”

The inventor still owns 100% of the company and is estimated to be worth £5bn[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/apr/24/sunday-times-rich-list-simon-david-reuben-lewis-hamilton-adele] – more than Sir Richard Branson.

Dyson says he has no plans to sell a stake in the business and that its private ownership has been key to its success. “Our CEO can think long term, he doesn’t have to satisfy the newspapers or investorsevery quarter he is raising the profits. We can afford to invest more in research and development, invest in long-term stuff.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In opening arguments for the high-profile case, prosecutors say they will outline how a peaceful protest became an illegal armed occupation of government land

US prosecutors accused brothers Ammon and Ryan Bundy of leading a coordinated armed takeover and “dangerous” invasion of government land in their opening arguments in the high-profile Oregon militia standoff case.

In opening arguments, the US attorney’s office told a packed federal courtroom that the Bundy brothers and five other defendants engaged in a carefully planned conspiracy to seize public land and block government workers from doing their jobs at the Malheur national wildlife **refuge**, the site of the major armed demonstration in January.

“What started as a peaceful protest... evolved into an illegal armed occupation led by Ammon and Ryan Bundy,” prosecutor Geoff Barrow said.

Ammon’s lawyer, Marcus Mumford, argued that the protest leader was a peaceful “activist” fighting for the “survival and rebirth of rural America, especially in western states”.

The Bundy family first received national attention in 2014 when the patriarch, Cliven, led an armed standoff[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-family] with government agents at his desert ranch in Nevada over grazing taxes.

Related: Rebel cowboys: how the Bundy family sparked a new battle for the American west[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-family]

After avoiding consequences for the standoff, the Bundys picked another fight with the BLM in January 2016.

Ammon and Ryan – along with some who had backed them in 2014 – staged an armed occupation of the Malheur **refuge**[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/03/oregon-militia-threatens-showdown-with-us-agents-at-wildlife-refuge], a remote bird sanctuary in Eastern Oregon, to protest the imprisonment of two Harney County ranchers prosecuted for arson[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/17/oregon-militia-standoff-occupation-dwight-steven-hammond]. Ammon and other occupation leaders[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/07/oregon-standoff-militia-leader-ammon-bundy-sheriff-meeting] said they wouldn’t leave until the ranchers were freed and the **refuge** land was given to locals to control.

After several weeks, federal officers arrested a group of protesters[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/26/oregon-militia-standoff-ammon-bundy-arrested-and-one-confirmed-dead-after-shootout] and killed one of their leaders[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/28/oregon-militia-standoff-lavoy-finicum-shooting-dead-police-malehur-national-wildlife-refuge], LaVoy Finicum[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/05/lavoy-finicum-hailed-as-one-of-the-biggest-patriots-before-funeral], before closing in on the remaining holdouts. The standoff officially ended after 41 days[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/11/oregon-militia-standoff-final-surrender-met-with-shouts-of-hallelujah], and Ammon, Ryan and 24 other defendants[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/15/oregon-militia-standoff-felony-charges] were charged in a massive conspiracy case.

The defendants are accused of impeding federal officers through the use of force, intimidation or threats – a charge that could result in a six-year sentence[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/29/oregon-militia-standoff-leaders-prison-time-malheur-national-wildlife-refuge]. Some are facing additional charges related to firearm possession[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/09/oregon-militia-prison-charges-government-bundy-standoff] and theft of public property.

Eleven defendants have signed plea deals to avoid trial, and prosecutors recently dismissed charges[http://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-standoff/2016/09/pete\_santilli\_talks\_about\_dism.html] against Pete Santilli, a conservative radio host who live-streamed the occupation and has argued that his actions were protected by the first amendment[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/10/oregon-civil-liberties-union-defends-jailed-shock-jocks-free-speech-rights].

In his opening remarks, Barrow said the government would present its case in four “chapters” – the buildup, the takeover, the arrests and the aftermath.

The prosecutor described how Ammon and others had threatened the local sheriff Dave Ward last fall, showing up to his office armed and telling him that if he failed to protect the prosecuted ranchers, father and son Dwight and Steve Hammond, “they would bring thousands to Harney County to do their job for him”.

Barrow said Jason Blomgren, one of the defendants who had signed a plea deal, would testify against the Bundys and offer the jury a description of the inner workings of the occupation.

Officers found dozens of firearms and 15,000 rounds of ammunition at the end of the takeover, he added.

Barrow said: “This was much more than a protest.”

Mumford laid out the longstanding claim of the Bundys in his opening arguments – that federal ownership of public land is unconstitutional (an argument that legal scholars and courts have rejected).

“Since when is it extreme to ask the federal government to obey the law?... The federal government should never own that land in the first place.”

US district judge Anna Brown twice interrupted Mumford, saying the case was not about the Bundys’ legal theories and that he should only discuss them in the context of the defendants’ “state of mind”.

“We are not going to have a legal determination of that issue... Do not declare what the law is from your client’s perspective.”

Ryan, wearing a plaid button-down shirt and black vest, testified as his own attorney, showing the jury a photo of his family and citing his Mormon faith.

“To judge me, you need to know me,” said Ryan, 43. “We raise cattle, melon and children.”

Ryan argued that he had a duty to defend the Hammonds: “We were there not to break the law, but to enforce the law.”

Shawna Cox, a Utah woman, made headlines when she filed a lawsuit against the government[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/18/shawna-cox-oregon-militia-standoff-666-billion] in February, saying she’d “suffered damages from the works of the devil” and wanted $666bn. She also chose to represent herself and talked at length about her family and religion, prompting repeated objections from the prosecution and judge, who asked her to stick to the case.

At one point, the exacerbated judge said, “If you don’t get to the Malheur issues, you’re going to have to sit down.”

Cox, one of two women charged by the government, claimed she was not armed at the **refuge**: “We were in the kitchen making soup for the cold and hungry.”

David Fry, another defendant, was also in the spotlight during the standoff when he refused to surrender in the final hours of the occupation, telling live listeners on YouTube that he was ready to die[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/11/oregon-militia-standoff-final-surrender-met-with-shouts-of-hallelujah].

His attorney, Per Olson, told the jury that the 28-year-old from Ohio has a mental illness that makes him “deeply suspicious” of the government.

“He believes that the federal government is fundamentally violent... It’s something that is with him all the time.” The attorney said Fry played no role in organizing the occupation: “He was a little bit of an oddball amongst the group.”

A separate trial is planned in Nevada[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/10/oregon-militia-standoff-cliven-bundy-las-vegas-nevada-court-hearing] next year on charges stemming from the 2014 Bunkerville conflict, and the 19 defendants[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/17/nevada-cliven-bundy-donald-trump-gerald-delemus-guilty] in that case include Cliven, Ammon, Ryan and two other Bundy men.

The Tuesday hearing was a reunion of sorts for some Oregon defendants, whose cases will be heard in a separate trial. They joyfully hugged each other outside the courtroom and greeted the Bundy wives in attendance.

Even Sean Anderson and his wife Sandy, two of the final occupiers who are part of a later trial, couldn’t get seats in the courtroom on Tuesday.

“Are you on the list?” an officer asked them.

“Oh, the judge knows me,” Sean replied with a laugh.

The hearing attracted a group of Bundy supporters, some who carried pocket constitutions and wore shirts honoring Finicum, along with curious observers who said they had closely followed the news.

There was tight security to get into the courthouse, and outside, pro-Bundy activists marched and prayed, waving American flags and signs that read “Every life matters” and “In God we trust”. One protester brought a horse.

Before opening arguments began on Tuesday, Angie Bundy, Ryan’s wife, told the Guardian that the Bundys were confident heading into the trial though have struggled to prepare while stuck behind bars[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/29/oregon-militia-standoff-ammon-bundy-jail-bail-malheur-national-wildlife-refuge].

The stakes are high for the jailed Bundy men, who have a total of 25 young children[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/oregon-militia-standoff-bundy-family].

“My kids are broken without their daddy,” said Angie. “We’re very eager to get them home. This has gone on long enough.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The ex-analyst hid her **immigration** status and embodied the American dream – but now as a US citizen she’s fighting for others and angry at the rise of Trump

Twenty-two floors high in a Manhattan skyscraper, Julissa Arce[http://julissaarce.com/] catches her breath at the sight of the Freedom Tower[https://www.wtc.com/about/buildings/1-world-trade-center] shimmering in the afternoon sun. It is 11 September and the ground below is still a radioactive historical site, teeming with tourists, cameras and flowers around the footprints of the fallen towers.

“It’s surreal being across the street from where the twin towers used to be,” she says in awe. “That day completely changed the world and completely changed the way this country approached **immigration**. So much more than what was lost that day was lost. From 9/11 on, our **immigration** policies have all come from a place of fear.”

From 9/11 on, our **immigration** policies have all come from a place of fear

Julissa Arce

Arce was an 18-year-old student on 11 September 2001. She would go on to secure a coveted job at Wall Street giant Goldman Sachs and, at only 27, climb the ranks to vice-president, earning more than $340,000 a year. Despite working furious 80-hour weeks she was, she says, living the dream. Yet the young master of the universe was also harbouring a secret that could destroy her life at any moment. She was an undocumented **immigrant**.

Hiding in plain sight, the constant dread of being unmasked, fired and deported to Mexico took its toll. Arce begins her memoir, My (Underground) American Dream[https://www.amazon.com/Underground-American-Dream-Undocumented-Immigrant/dp/1455540242], published on Tuesday, describing a panic attack that felt like a heart attack that could kill her. There were migraines and debilitating back pains. An ex-boyfriend threatened to report her to the authorities and she felt powerless to fly home to see her dying father. The book is a vivid reminder that beyond monolithic terms and sweeping categories such as “illegal **aliens**” there are inner lives as richly textured as any other.

Finally, in 2009, Arce married a US citizen and secured a green card, and went on to become a naturalised US citizen. She quit Wall Street and is now an author, speaker and social justice advocate based in Los Angeles, the centre of the undocumented **immigrant** population. She has watched the ascent of Donald Trump, who has made anti-Mexican rhetoric a centrepiece of his presidential campaign, with horror. Yet in March last year, when Arce went public with her story[http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-02-25/how-an-undocumented-immigrant-from-mexico-became-a-star-at-goldman-sachs], Trump’s daughter Ivanka tweeted[https://twitter.com/IvankaTrump/status/574698652939255809] : “We love this story about an undocumented **immigrant** who worked her way up on Wall Street.”

“Trump is a racist and a bigot and a sexist. He is everything bad of humanity in my book,” Arce, who is now 33, says. “But not just that, he’s also incredibly unqualified to be president of this country.”

The third of four siblings, she grew up in Taxco, about a hundred miles south-west of Mexico City. Her parents travelled frequently to sell jewelry in Texas and eventually settled in San Antonio. Arce joined them on a tourist visa when she was 11, learning English from scratch. The visa expired when she was 14, rendering her undocumented.

When she graduated high school in 2001, a new law made it possible for undocumented Texas students to attend public universities and she was accepted at the University of Texas at Austin.

Arce’s parents moved back to Mexico in 2001. She took over their food cart business, which meant that every Friday she took a Greyhound bus 80 miles to San Antonio to sell funnel cakes with strawberries, whipped cream and cinnamon. But when the cart lost its place in a market square, Arce needed a new job to make ends meet. At 19, she bought a fake green card and social security number in “a mundane transaction” in a stranger’s apartment for a few hundred dollars.

At 19, she bought a fake green card and social security number in a stranger’s apartment for a few hundred dollars

She says: “I was really nervous about it because you never know those papers are going to work. That literally was the only choice I had. I didn’t give up on myself and I didn’t give up on my aspirations and I didn’t give up on the sacrifice my parents had already made and the sacrifice I had made. So to me, as difficult as the choice was, the choice was clear. I had to take the next step.”

With the help of Sponsors for Educational Opportunity, which recruits and trains outstanding minority students for summer internships, Arce got her foot in the door at Goldman Sachs. She impressed and was soon offered a full-time job as an analyst. But when the euphoria subsided, she realised she would have to show forms of government-issued ID to start on payroll. She writes: “In less than two weeks there was more than a good chance my secret would finally be exposed – that secret that could ruin my life, that could send me to jail, that could end my career before it ever began. The secret I’d been forced to keep since I was 14 years old.”

One night in the summer of 2005 she felt a sharp pain in her chest, unable to breathe and a tingling that crept down her left arm. She recalls: “You literally feel like you’re going to die …like your next breath is going to be your last.”

She was taken to hospital and told she had suffered a major panic or anxiety attack. And yet, when the moment came, she submitted her fake documents to Goldman Sachs and the alarm never sounded. Facing one of the most wealthy and ruthless companies in the world, she had got away with it. She believes that, perversely, her background worked to her advantage.

“One of the biggest reasons I learned I slipped through the cracks at Goldman Sachs and why I never got caught or deported is because we have this very narrow-minded view of who an undocumented **immigrant** is and what they do, and I didn’t fit that stereotype, so when people were looking at my papers they were never questioning are these papers real or not?[…]”

“But the truth is there are millions of us who do not fit that stereotype and we’re breaking down that stereotype all the time. So we do those jobs because we have to, those are the jobs that are available, we take them, we do them well, we work really hard at them because we want the next generation to do better and we aspire to bigger things than that.”

With a workaholic boss who was on the treadmill at 5.30am and at his desk by 7am, there was little respite. Just as Gordon Gekko in the movie Wall Street declared, “Lunch is for wimps,”[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0WsOzrnBTHA] so meals were usually eaten at desks, with sandwiches delivered by cart so no one had to get up. Even the toilet was for wimps. “If you had to go pee, you literally were like running to the bathroom to pee and come back to your desk,” Arce recalls.

We have this very narrow-minded view of who an undocumented **immigrant** is and what they do

Julissa Arce

And yet she did not want to be anywhere else. Arce had the wide-eyed wonder that often eludes jaded locals. “I used to walk around New York City and think, ‘I can’t believe this is my life. I can’t believe I live here.’ People dream of one day seeing New York City … This is a place out of movies and here I am, I live here. I lived at 45 Wall Street, I lived on one of the most famous streets in the world, and I couldn’t believe that sometimes.”

And yet, corroding from within was the knowledge that it could all be shattered in a moment by some misstep. “There were periods of time when I couldn’t get it out of my mind. There were like two or three weeks where every single day I was in a panic about it, but in some ways having the kind of job that I had almost shielded me from it being consciously in my mind. I had to worry about my next promotion, my next trade, my next job assignment, my next raise. But it never really left me.”

Arce blames this stress for severe back pains that left her lying on the floor for hours as well as terrible migraines and stomach problems, all at the age of 24. The book also details a series of heart-in-the-mouth near misses. Arce had to find excuses not to travel to London for Goldman Sachs because she knew leaving the country would expose her **immigration** status. She confided in a boyfriend but then discovered he was cheating on her and vowed to phone the woman concerned; he threatened: “If you call her, I’ll call INS [**Immigration** and Naturalization Service].”

She recalls: “It’s a very painful moment because here was this person that I trusted with my life, that I thought had my back, that I thought loved me. The thing about that day that hurt me even more than him saying what he said is that I felt like I didn’t have the ability to express full human emotion.

“The way a normal human being reacts in a situation like that, rightfully so, when you’re brokenhearted more than you ever thought you’d be in your life, you scream and you yell and you act out. I didn’t have that privilege. I had to swallow it all and just say OK, you win.”

In 2007, word came that Arce’s father was dying. Her instinct was to fly straight home, but she realised that as soon as she crossed the border into Mexico, she would be giving herself a 10-year penalty. Her mother begged her not to come. She spoke to her father by phone two hours before he died. “You just feel so helpless because there’s absolutely nothing you can do and there’s no way you can ever change what happened. You can never go back in time.”

Something had changed, however. Arce grew tired of Goldman Sachs and longed to return to Mexico to see her family, permanently ending her gilded cage existence in America. By now she had a much healthier relationship with a different boyfriend. He proposed marriage and she accepted. This enabled her to finally get a green card in 2009. The years of hiding were finally over, but not in the way she wanted.

Arce muses: “The irony of my situation was so upsetting. The fact that my mum wanted to come to this country because she wanted to make sure her daughters never had to depend on a man. She would always tell me you’ve got to be independent, you’ve got to make your own money, be able to take care of yourself..”

And the marriage, buried in bureaucratic paperwork with no honeymoon, did not last, though the couple remain on friendly terms. “We were young and we never asked ourselves what does it really mean to be married. We had a problem and being married provided a solution to that problem. I read some of the reviews [of my book] that people have written on Goodreads and some people allude to me having got married only for the purpose of getting a green card. And that’s not how it was.

It was the first time since I was 14 years old I was really able to ask myself: what is it I want to do with my life?

Julissa Arce

Although Arce now has US citizenship, her mother’s visa was revoked and she is banned for 10 years, while her sister is living undocumented in San Antonio with four American-born children. Her mother and sister have not seen each other for more than a decade. “Finally I can have a passport that says I’m American and I can vote and when people tell me I’m a criminal, I can say no, I’m an American citizen actually. It’s a great feeling. But my family is still separated and we’re not able to be all together.”

Paradoxically, the green card that would once have conferred the legitimacy she craved at Goldman Sachs now liberated her to walk away. “It was the first time since I was 14 years old I was really able to ask myself: what is it I want to do with my life? I never had that choice before. And so when I asked myself that question, I wasn’t sure that Wall Street was the answer for that. There were so many other things I wanted to explore.”

Arce became the co-founder and chairperson of the Ascend Educational Fund, a scholarship programme that assists **immigrant** students, a board member for the National **Immigration** Law Center. She is “very critical” of Barack Obama for deporting more **immigrants** than any US president in history but nothing prepared her for the day in June last year when a brash businessman descended an escalator at Trump Tower and said of Mexicans: “They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.”

She says: “I was really angry. I was like, I cannot believe that someone would say this, but I also erroneously didn’t take him seriously. I thought because he said that, he had no chance, there’s just no way that someone who comes out and says that … Like, this is going to be over in a week. He’ll be one of the first people to drop out before even the first Republican debate. He won’t be on stage. And I think that because enough of us didn’t take him seriously, that’s why he is in the position that he is today, and I wish myself and everyone else had taken him so much more seriously that we did.”

I think that because enough of us didn’t take Donald Trump seriously, that’s why he is in the position that he is today

Julissa Arce

Arce was even angrier when Saturday Night Live invited Trump to guest star on the TV show. “That was the biggest slap in the face because there were so many people who did cut ties with Trump – the Miss Universe organisation, The Apprentice, so many brands – but I cannot believe Saturday Night Live would have him on, because if he had said that about any other group of people, he would have been crucified. If he said that about black people, about gay people, about Jewish people, about anybody else, he would not have ever been on that stage.”

Win or lose, Trump has torn the social fabric. “It’s not just what he said that angers me, it’s the reaction of our country that angers me even more, and scares me frankly because the reason he is where he is is because the sentiment he’s expressing already exists in our country. He’s just said it loud and made it OK for everyone else to say it out loud. He has made it OK to be a racist. He has given people a platform to stand on and be bigots and be racists and be sexists and be xenophobic. He has set us back so many years in terms of civil rights.”

Trump is using **immigrants** as a scapegoat for everything from unemployment to terrorism, she adds. Arce rails against the cliche that Mexicans do the jobs that other people won’t.

“We don’t come here to clean houses and to pick strawberries and to mow lawns for the rest of our lives and because we want our children to do that. That’s not why we come here. We come here and we do those jobs in the hope that the next generation can get an education and go to college, and the next generation after that can run companies and become president of this country. That’s what the American dream is about.

“People want to mock us for doing those jobs but at the same time those are not jobs they want to go do. So they mock us and tell us we’re stealing their jobs. What jobs are we stealing if those aren’t jobs you want to fill? And by the way, that’s not all we aspire to, and also people who do those jobs deserve the same amount of dignity as anybody else because those are honest jobs and they’re earning an honest living.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Men held on suspicion of planning terrorist attacks may have had links to perpetrators of November’s Paris attacks

Three Syrian men arrested at **refugee** shelters in Germany on Tuesday were Islamic State members who appear to have been brought into the country by the same network that smuggled militants into France to carry out deadly attacks last November[https://www.theguardian.com/world/paris-attacks], German authorities have said.

The specialist GSG 9 anti-terrorism unit raided three addresses in the states of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, where they seized phones, computer hard drives and files used by the alleged sleeper cell. There were no indications of any concrete plans for an attack.

The suspects – identified as Syrian asylum seekers – had been under surveillance for several months following a tipoff received by Germany’s domestic intelligence unit, the BKA, a spokesman for the federal prosecutor in Karlsruhe said.

Prosecutors said investigations so far suggested the men, aged between 17 and 26, had arrived in the country in mid-November 2015 on the orders of Isis[http://isis/], rather than having been recruited in Germany. They were either served with an order to carry out a specific attack or were waiting for further instructions, prosecutors said.

The suspects are believed to have sworn allegiance to Isis at the end of September 2015 at the latest, in the Syrian city of Raqqa[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/29/raqqa-exiles-bashar-al-assad-isis-bombing]. They are alleged to have received brief training in weaponry and explosives before pledging to carry out operations and attacks in Europe on behalf of Isis.

The terrorist organisation allegedly arranged passports for them, and gave them four-figure sum bundles of US dollars as well as mobile phones with pre-installed communication programmes.

The men are said to have travelled from Turkey to Greece on the same **refugee** boat that allegedly carried other known Isis terrorists, including two men who blew themselves up in front of the Stade de France[https://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2015/nov/13/people-evacuated-paris-stade-de-france-after-explosions-video] during the November Paris attacks.

Related: Woman charged over failed terror attack on Notre Dame in Paris[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/11/woman-charged-over-failed-terror-attack-on-notre-dame-in-paris-gare-de-lyon]

The men who were arrested on Tuesday made their way to Germany from Greece via the so-called Balkans route[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/09/balkans-refugee-route-closed-say-european-leaders], investigators said, adding that the known terrorists who arrived on the **refugee** boat were carrying passports made in the same workshop.

“Everything points to the fact that the same smuggler organisation behind the Paris attacks also brought the three men to Germany,” the German interior minister, Thomas de Maizière, told a press conference.

Security services have been on high alert since three attacks in July were carried out by asylum seekers. Two of the attacks were believed to have been politically motivated.

“Some operatives are working on their own; others are spontaneously inspired by other attacks, then there are returnees from crisis zones,” De Maizière said, adding there were also “hit teams” who travelled from the Middle East to Europe with a view to carrying out attacks.

He warned against regarding all **refugees** as suspected terrorists, saying: “It is wrong to put **refugees** under general suspicion. But the fact is we do have **refugees** who come here as potential terrorists or sympathisers.” He said the police welcomed any information about any suspected terrorists.

The arrests follow a similar raid on asylum seeker homes in June, when three Syrians were arrested on suspicion of planning a suicide attack in Düsseldorf.

Police say they have received about 400 tipoffs from people voicing suspicions that **refugees** were planning terrorist attacks. Most have been unfounded, they say, but they are continuing to investigate about 60 cases.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**I saw Radiohead play in Berlin on the day the World Trade Center was attacked. On Sunday they were back in the city – and so was I

Fifteen years ago I made the fateful decision to travel from my home in New York to Berlin to see Radiohead[https://www.theguardian.com/music/radiohead] perform. At the time, I worked as a radio producer at the BBC’s New York bureau, and the date on my ticket had yet to acquire its tragic significance: 11 September 2001. Like many other people, that day is seared into my brain: a day of horror, disbelief, anger and sadness, and all of it – for me – forever associated with the sublime music of Radiohead.

Last Sunday, Radiohead were back in Berlin, performing as the headlining act of the Lollapalooza Berlin[http://www.lollapaloozade.com/] festival, the date of their show falling on the 15th anniversary of 9/11. I made the trip back to see a band that had provided a significant soundtrack to my life so far, believing this moment would be among other things a point of reflection on that dark day. It seemed unlikely that the band’s famously taciturn lead singer, Thom Yorke, would say anything about that historic anniversary, and yet there always seems to be a heartbreaking line in his elliptical lyrics that says it all. “And it’s too late / The damage is done,” Yorke sings in the recent song Daydreaming. That feels about right to me.

On that late summer’s evening at Treptower Park, the events of 15 years ago perhaps seemed far away, even as the worldcommemorated. Certainly the mood among the estimated 60,000 people who attended this concert was mellow and positive – a far cry from the heightened, edgy state of alert that defined the 9/11 concert, which took place in an outdoor amphitheatre in Wuhlheide Park. The coincidence of the dates wasn’t missed by the German newspapers, which recalled the 2001 event as a “spooky and rainy night”.

If anyone needed reminding that the repercussions of 9/11 were still being felt, the very location of Lollapalooza Berlin was testimony to that. The festival was supposed to take place on the grounds of the now-defunct Tempelhof Airport, where its debut was held in 2015. But in the year since, Germany has welcomed more than a million **refugees** and, as of two weeks ago, is currently housing nearly 1,500 **refugees** at Tempelhof, according to several German newspapers[http://%20http//www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/fluechtlinge-im-berliner-flughafen-tempelhof-notunterkunft-bedeutet-das-aus-fuer-event-ort/12882334.html]. It’s not difficult to make the connection between the legacy of 9/11 and the present **refugee** crisis resulting from war in Syria and violence in the Middle East.

Related: Radiohead: A Moon Shaped Pool review – something they've never achieved before[https://www.theguardian.com/global/2016/may/08/radiohead-a-moon-shaped-pool-review]

Radiohead started their set on Sunday with the first five tracks from their newest album, A Moon Shaped Pool[https://www.theguardian.com/global/2016/may/08/radiohead-a-moon-shaped-pool-review]. The stage was drenched in red light as the band opened up with Burn the Witch, Jonny Greenwood using a bow on his electric guitar to approximate the nervy col legno strings that open the track[https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/may/04/johnny-greenwood-radiohead-burn-the-witch-strings]. Yorke sings, “This is a low-flying panic attack.” That urgency gave way to the drifting beauty of Daydreaming, and soon we were inside that melancholy ambience – the mystery of music able to change the nature of the air – that is specific to Radiohead.

The atmosphere on 11 September 2001 was of a different order, an extraordinary sensory event in my life. I remember a series of impressions: the walk from the S-Bahn through the dark forest of the park; the rain starting to pour; my awareness of being deep within the former East Berlin, a novelty for me that seemed to add historical darkness to my sense of place; the banks of fluorescent white lights on the stage (my friend commenting that this was a homage to David Bowie’s 1976 White Light Tour[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XAj2iX9xqCo] ); a state of vulnerability and anxiety and, perhaps, guilt over going to a musical event after the horror of the day. If apocalypse was upon us – as many felt – then all we needed was a soundtrack, and who better to supply it than Radiohead, a band whose music charted fear, **alienation**, and paranoia, but also made it OK to feel those things. And here we were, the band kicking off with sampled German talk radio before the raspy fuzz of the bass loop that defines The National Anthem: “Everyone is so near. / Everyone has got the fear.”

Thirty-eight minutes passed before Yorke said: “I’m trying not to say anything. Well, what the fuck are you going to say after today? You know. There’s absolutely nothing to say.” After that, the band launched into a ferocious version of Airbag, from OK Computer , Greenwood ripping the opening/closing guitar riff with a vengeance. Was there a sense that the band was out of sorts? Why wouldn’t they be? Then, after the disorienting affect of Pyramid Song[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3M\_Gg1xAHE4], something happened. Yorke said: “So who here doesn’t know about it? Everybody knows what I’m talking about?” Clearly some people did not. “You don’t know what I’m talking about? You don’t know about the aeroplanes in America?

“Somebody tell them,” said Yorke. “I’ll tell you.”

Yorke explained what had happened in New York and Washington DC. There was still a degree of uncertainty about the facts (and in 2001, it wasn’t as if people had iPhones togive them updates). I was already aware of the news, having been glued to BBC World television all day long in a friend’s flat, watching the pictures from New York with disbelief – and here was Yorke talking about it. It was surreal and unsettling. “So … that’s why, you know, things are a little mute tonight,” Yorke says. “I’m sorry about that. This is called Paranoid Android.”

If the crowd was looking for some kind of communion in its fear and anxiety, in its grief and empathy, Paranoid Android was the song that opened the floodgates. By the time the song broke into its hymn-like invocation, with Yorke singing, “Rain down / Come on rain down on me / From a great height,” it was both a lament and a glorious catharsis.

Toward the climax of the concert, Yorke returned to the news, dedicating the song You and Whose Army (albeit in a hesitant manner) to the Bush administration. The playground posturing of the lyrics with their “Come on if you think / You can take us on” line is undercut by the defeated air of the music. There’s nothing triumphant here, but it was a song that perfectly captured the mood of weary defiance. And so to the final encore, Street Spirit, with Yorke’s introduction articulating an unspoken fear: “This is hoping … George W Bush doesn’t declare world war three.”

And fade out again. Fifteen years later, I still recall all the coiled anxiety of that moment. We didn’t know there would be wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as a direct consequence of the September 11 attacks. But we knew there would be something. Of course we couldn’t go home after the adrenaline surge of this epic concert. We walked to a bar, not quite knowing what to make of this strange mixture of uplift and dread, a combination that Radiohead have mastered. As my friend and I walked through the streets of Berlin, it was still raining, but we had already submitted to this. It felt only appropriate after such an invocation. And it afforded us one advantage: the concert posters advertising the Radiohead concert plastered on billboards and walls around the city were soaked through. The glue was wet. This allowed us to peel them off cleanly and roll them up like treasure maps. The black posters bore the image of a weeping devil, with the date – in European format – printed beneath, in bold white lettering: “11.09.2001 BERLIN”. Eventually I framed the poster, which now adorns my living room wall in New York – a prized possession.

Of course Yorke didn’t mention the 9/11 show at the Lollapalooza Berlin concert on Sunday. He was never going to. But it was all there in the songs, which, despite the balmy weather this time around, took me right back to the scene of the most important, emotionally charged gig I’ve ever experienced. At the end of the set, I joined in with the crowd and we sang, “For a minute there / I lost myself.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The news that it could cost the UK £1.7bn to welcome 20,000 Syrian **refugees** raises questions about why Canada, Germany and the US spend less. Here’s why it varies...

Shocking. That’s how one tabloid has described the news that the resettlement of 20,000 Syrian **refugees** over the next four years may cost the UK as much as £1.7bn[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/lack-uk-homes-schools-threatens-syrian-refugee-resettlement-2020].

More sympathetic voices might use another word: surprising.

It’s surprising that this resettlement programme should cost 425% more than the roughly £400m the Canadian government spent on the resettlement of more people[http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/syrian-refugees-by-the-numbers-1.3469080] – 25,000 – within a much shorter timeframe (six months). What accounts for this difference in cost?

The main thing is the method, says Stephen Hale, the head of **Refugee** Action, one of the main charities involved in the UK’s resettlement scheme. Of the 25,000 people resettled in Canada last winter, 43% of them were welcomed by private individuals, groups or churches[https://niskanencenter.org/blog/canada-reaches-its-goal-resettles-25000-syrian-refugees-in-just-four-months/]. This meant that, although the Canadian government still covers the cost of the **refugees**’ education, welfare and healthcare, private individuals pay for their accommodation.

Related: ‘Would he disapprove of my single heathen lifestyle?’: me and my Syrian **refugee** lodger[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/09/my-syrian-refugee-lodger-helen-pidd]

Whereas, says Hale, everyone resettled in the UK is being housed by the government. Well, almost everyone: two families are being hosted by private sponsors, one of them the Archbishop of Canterbury[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/19/archbishop-of-canterbury-syrian-family-refugee-sponsorship-scheme].

But is this the whole story? Canada is still covering all the costs of 14,000 **refugees**. For those people, Canada is getting better value for money than Britain, who will pay roughly £1.2bn for welcoming the same number of people. That’s the same amount as the US paid to resettle 70,000 people[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2015/11/30/heres-how-much-the-united-states-spends-on-refugees/] last year. Germany, meanwhile, is likely to spend around £17bn[http://www.thelocal.de/20160908/germany-to-spend-20-billion-on-refugees-in-2016-report-asylum-cost] on the 800,000 asylum seekers who arrived last year.

No two countries’ circumstances are the same, and comparing them is not always fair or useful. But if we examine the cost of an individual **refugee** for each of these countries, we find that a **refugee** in Germany costs the state about £21,000, while in the US the figure is £17,000 and in Canada it’s £16,000. In Britain, it is expected to be £85,000.

However, as Hale argues, this is also the wrong way of discussing the resettlement of human beings. “There’s two ways to approach it – you either look at it as a burden and try to minimise costs, or you look at it as an investment, and the more you invest, the more they can contribute to the country.”

Research by dozens of academics appears to bear this out: in the short term, resettled **refugees** cost the state money. But in the long term, they create jobs, pay taxes and generally contribute to the economy of their new homes. In the clearest summary of this research, Philippe Legrain, a former adviser to the president of the European commission, found that **refugees** who arrived in Europe last year could repay spending on them almost twice over within just five years[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/18/refugees-will-repay-eu-spending-almost-twice-over-in-five-years-report]. While the absorption of so many **refugees** may increase public debt by almost €69bn (£58bn) by 2020, during the same period **refugees** will help GDP grow by €126.6bn.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**When our city was asked to help resettle Syrian **refugees** our response was how to do it well, not whether we should we do it.

Coventry has been one of the lead cities in welcoming Syrian **refugees**. At first, the city planned to accept 50 of the most vulnerable, but is now home to around 250 **refugees** – living in around 60 properties.

Coventry is an International City of Peace and Reconciliation, with the ruins of the bombed cathedral a constant reminder of the horrors of war. So when the city was asked to provide shelter for **refugees** from one of the most savage conflicts of our times the response was how do we do this well? not should we do this?

But resettling Syrian **refugees** is not without its challenges. Whitehall’s spending watchdog has warned[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/13/lack-uk-homes-schools-threatens-syrian-refugee-resettlement-2020] that the future of the programme to resettle 20,000 Syrian **refugees** in Britain could be put at risk by a lack of 10,600 school places and nearly 5,000 suitable homes by 2020.

The greatest challenges The availability of sustainable housing is our greatest challenge. We generally place **refugees** in private rented accommodation, but it is a constant struggle to find properties within local housing allowance; which is a calculation of how much housing benefit you can get to help pay the rent if you have a private landlord, and has different rules and restrictions to renting from a council or housing association. Furthermore, the benefits system applies to **refugees** just as it does other residents and the benefits cap will make life very difficult for some tenants.

Related: The **refugees** being sent to Coventry are welcome | Lizzie Presser[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/oct/13/refugees-coventry-welcome-councils-syrians]

We have had only one complaint to the council about **refugees** coming to the city and this related primarily to access to NHS services. We have also had one incident of anti-social behaviour (graffiti), and the issue has attracted some negative comments online when the local media has reported on **refugee** resettlement. But these incidents have been massively outnumbered by the large numbers of local people who have gone out of their way to make their new neighbours feel welcome.

This week we are talking to landlords and faith organisations about how we can work together to support new arrivals and increase the level of available housing now funding from the Home Office is more assured and sustained.

Helping **refugee** children integrate Many **refugee** children have had long breaks in their schooling or none at all. Coventry schools have been the quiet success of our resettlement programme; they are used to admitting children who have little or no English. After a full term, primary aged pupils are usually integrating well and picking up English, after a full year the change is remarkable.

Older children are more of a challenge. Colleges generally only admit **refugee** young people to study English and they have to be a certain standard to get accepted. We have placed approximately 70 children in school up to the end of the last school year and we are now working with the Positive Youth Foundation to provide more secondary spaces so more can be accepted into further education.

**Refugees** have been through experiences which are hard for us to imagine, with some having been shot or involved in explosions and many having suffered imprisonment or torture. Almost all of our families have been forced to flee at short notice often with only the possessions they could carry.

And most families are mums with children where the father is dead or missing and many have medical problems that need specialist care or routine treatment. Another frustration for many **refugees** is trying to be reunited with loved ones, such as older siblings who have been left behind.

Access to language skills and employment The whole programme relies on interpreters provided by social enterprise Lingo Links. Very few of the adult Syrians in Coventry speak English on arrival and we have increased the amount of tuition available to help them become independent.

Many Syrian people want to work as soon as possible and support their families and we are also working hard to help this. We are very pleased that some of our early arrivals are now in work.

The overwhelming sense we have in the city is about how we have pulled together – voluntary sector agencies, schools, the police and NHS. Our faith communities have also been incredibly generous and supportive with the Bishop of Coventry and the Muslim community in particular making sure there is a warm welcome for **refugees**.

Councillor Abdul Khan is deputy leader of Coventry city council.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Sicario actor is in talks to face the invisible **alien** in a reboot of the 1987 sci-fi horror, directed by Iron Man 3’s Shane Black

Sicario star Benicio del Toro[https://www.theguardian.com/film/beniciodeltoro] is set to take the lead in the latest Predator film, according to Deadline[http://deadline.com/2016/09/benicio-del-toro-predator-movie-reboot-fox-1201818077/].

Currently titled The Predator, this will be the fourth in the series featuring the invisible, bloodthirsty **alien**, which was put on the map by the 1987 original starring Arnold Schwarzenegger. (There are also two crossover **Alien** vs Predator films, released in 2004 and 2007.)

Related: Arnold Schwarzenegger: they 'screwed up' Predator franchise[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/jul/09/arnold-schwarzenegger-slams-screwed-up-predator-sequels-online-forum]

This latest version will be directed by Shane Black, currently riding high after the success of Iron Man 3 and The Nice Guys. Black also had a small role in the first Predator film, as part of Schwarzenegger’s special forces crew (and the first one to be killed by the **alien**).

No plot details have yet emerged, but Schwarzenegger criticised the franchise in a Reddit interview[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/jul/09/arnold-schwarzenegger-slams-screwed-up-predator-sequels-online-forum], saying the films following his original hit were “not satisfactory”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The usual excuses don’t work in an EU country. With funding, infrastructure, and a stable government, why are we failing **refugees** in Greece?

The aid community has over many years developed a habit of finding reasons for why the school was not built in the Afghan village, why the women’s agricultural businesses never made any profits, why the toilets took three months to set up in the **refugee** camp.

When it comes to our shortcomings, we have become very comfortable with, and rely upon the shopping list of excuses that we find ourselves using in Haiti, Afghanistan, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the other contexts we’re flown into.

The humanitarian excuses list includes, but is not limited to: a fragile context, ongoing war and conflict, poor infrastructure, a corrupt government, dictatorship (current or past), insufficient funding, and values that are not akin to our own. Or if all else fails, that other favourite go-to, the overwhelming scale and number of people, such as the 1,033,513 registered Syrian **refugees** in Lebanon[http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122], 655,990 Syrian **refugees** in Jordan[http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=107] or 3.9 million internally displaced people in Iraq[https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/02/syrias-refugee-crisis-in-numbers/].

Related: Secret aid worker: People are hungry and I have food that can't be delivered[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/aug/23/secret-aid-worker-food-aid-unhcr-bureaucracy]

But in Greece we are without the humanitarian excuse list to fall back on. The aid community has already received €83m[http://europa.eu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/rapid/press-release\_IP-16-1447\_en.htm] (£70m) to improve conditions for **refugees** in Greece with €214m[https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0ahUKEwjKqLSeu4nPAhVFCMAKHYTSBh4QFggkMAE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fec.europa.eu%2Fecho%2Fsites%2Fecho-site%2Ffiles%2Fesop.pdf&usg=AFQjCNHfa7pZ46G84lja7OrOIJ4UKRFD4A&sig2=2MgAKOnCAYsF4gGbcj8XCw] (£181m) to come from the European Commission alone in the next few months. This makes it hard to suggest we are underfunded, especially when you look at the scale of the crisis.

At the time of writing, the number of **refugees**[http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/country.php?id=83] in Greece is approximately 60,000. The problem is not overwhelming. This time we are in an EU country. I feel safe wherever I am – this means I can conduct a visit to monitor the impact of a programme or ensure I am consulting **refugees** about what they want. But I don’t, because it is something we have talked about but not done for many years, and there is little pressure to change.

The disconnect between the sector’s standards and the reality on the ground is more stark here than in any other mission I’ve been involved in. We have historically been unaccountable, failing to sufficiently consult and engage affected communities. In Greece we are continuing to operate in the same ways as before, but without the traditional excuses to rely on. When we have enabling infrastructure, a socio-political context that is easy to operate in, access to Wi-Fi, technology andadequate funds, and yet are failing to meet the **refugees**’ basic needs (even for something as simple as safe accommodation), reduce serious threats (such as the prevalence of sexual violence), or to be accountable or innovative, it suggests we are disinterested or incompetent. Perhaps both.

Related: Secret aid worker: I hate calling **refugees** to tell them they're not getting resettled[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/feb/16/secret-aid-worker-i-hate-calling-refugees-to-tell-them-theyre-not-getting-resettled]

In Greece the aid community is being exposed. Our exposure is further compounded when we are unfavourably compared to organised and efficient groups of volunteers who work with less and achieve more. In comparison INGOs and the UNHCR seem money-orientated, bloated, bureaucratic and inefficient.

Across Greece there are volunteers working both independently and as organised groups, meeting needs and filling gaps. They take over abandoned buildings to ensure **refugees** have somewhere to sleep, provide additional nutrition to pregnant and breastfeeding women, organise and manage informal education programmes, including setting up schools inside camps.

All of this while INGO staff sip their cappuccinos in countless coordination meetings – for cash distribution, protection, water, sanitation and hygiene, food distribution and child-protection. Often to avoid engaging meaningfully in the discussions, we furiously take notes.

If any response has called into question whether the humanitarian sector is still fit for purpose, it’s the response to the **refugee** crisis in Greece.

Do you have a secret aid worker story you’d like to tell? You can contact us confidentially at globaldevpros@theguardian.com[mailto:globaldevpros@theguardian.com] – please put “Secret aid worker” in the subject line. If you’d like to encrypt your email to us, here’s instructions[https://www.mailvelope.com/help] on how to set up a PGP mail client and our public PGP key[https://pgp.theguardian.com/PublicKeys/Global%20Devpros.pub.txt].

Join our community[https://register.theguardian.com/global-development] of development professionals and humanitarians. Follow @GuardianGDP [https://twitter.com/GuardianGDP] on Twitter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Report finds ‘serious and persistent deficiencies’ in **immigration** department’s management of contracts

The cost to taxpayers of running Australia’s offshore detention centres was higher than necessary because the Department of Border Protection and **Immigration**failed to comply with the commonwealth procurement standards, a report by the Australian National Audit Office has found.

The report into the procurement of garrison support and welfare services for the offshore processing centres on Manus Island and Nauru, released on Tuesday[https://www.anao.gov.au/sites/g/files/net1661/f/ANAO\_Report\_2016-17\_16.pdf], found the department had “fallen well short of effective procurement practice” in negotiating more than $3bn worth of contracts for both centres since they were reopened in 2012.

It identified “serious and persistent deficiencies” in the department’s management of the contracts, including “significant skill and capability gaps” among staff and “persistent shortcomings” in areas ranging from record keeping to the ability to assess value for money.

Related: Australia has spent $9.6bn on asylum seeker policy in four years, says report[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/13/australia-has-spent-96bn-on-asylum-seeker-policy-in-four-years-says-report]

The **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, said the report was “an independent expose of the absolute chaos and dysfunction at the heart of the Rudd-Gillard Labor governments in their handling of border security” and that “total responsibility for the problems and processes outlined in the report falls upon Labor”.

However, the report reserved its strongest criticism for the handling of an open tender process that began under the Abbott government.

Asylum seekers began arriving at the reopened offshore processing centre in Nauru on 14 September 2012, three weeks after the Gillard government passed legislation to reopen camps on both Nauru and Manus Island under a deal that saw the Australian government bear the cost of establishing and running the centres.

Manus Island received its first arrivals on 21 November 2012.

The report said the contracts for garrison support – security, cleaning, and catering – and welfare services, which included education and recreation, were awarded under a limited tender process in August 2012 and again in 2013, when the department consolidated the contracts by making Transfield the principal contractor across both centres.

The initial contract with Transfield for garrison support at Nauru, which ran from September 2012 to March 2014, was worth $351m. The current contract, for garrison support and welfare services at both Manus and Nauru until February 2017, is worth almost $2.2bn.

The report said the department failed to demonstrate value for money in either of the initial limited tender processes or in the subsequent open tender process, which began in 2015 and was abandoned on 29 July 2016, after the department failed to assure a steering committee its renegotiated agreement with Transfield represented value for money.

“Procurement is core business for commonwealth entities and the deficiencies have resulted in higher than necessary expense for taxpayers and significant reputational risks for the Australian government and [the department],” it said.

The audit said the failures in the open tender process, conducted under the Abbott-Turnbull government, were of “most concern,” finding the department allowed Transfield to negotiate a $1.1bn increase in the value of the contract without checking whether it had the authority to agree to that increase or whether other tenderers could best that price.

It said that was of particular concern because the department had been explicitly ordered to reduce the cost per head of running the centres.

According to figures provided by the department, the average cost per head declined from $698,000 in 2012-13 to $529,000 in 2015-2016 but, when you exclude capital expenditure from that calculation, the cost had actually gone up from $427,000 to $464,000.

In a statement on Tuesday[http://newsroom.border.gov.au/releases/79a3be7b-0b3c-4aab-9e3a-a5c6aecf15fe], the department said its conduct “must be considered in the context of the unique operational environment [it] faced at the time”.

“The department met the requirement of the government of the day in an environment that was high-tempo and complicated by logistics and procurement activities in foreign countries,” it said.

“Delegates were required to make decisions on complex matters within very short timeframes. It remains the department’s position that decisions taken in this period were reasonable under the circumstances.”

The department said Australia’s **immigration** detention network was under “considerable strain” from the arrival of almost 7,000 asylum seekers by boat in the first seven months of 2012 and said it acknowledged that “decision-making processes in this complex and rapidly evolving environment were not adequately documented”.

The department said it accepted the audit office’s recommendations and had already begun to update its computer systems to allow for better record-keeping.

Dutton said the Coalition was “working steadfastly to clean up Labor’s monumental mess” and called on Labor to “acknowledge that its incompetent performance placed an impossible burden on the public service”, saying department and Australian Border Force staff deserved an apology from the opposition leader, Bill Shorten.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Island nation to be asked to clarify what has been done to to protect child asylum seeker victims and child witnesses of sexual abuse

Nauru will come under fresh scrutiny in a United Nations hearing over the treatment of child asylum seekers sent there by the Australian government.

On Tuesday the 73rd committee on the rights of the child[http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/\_layouts/treatybodyexternal/SessionDetails1.aspx?SessionID=1041&Lang=en] will be held in Geneva, where Nauru will be thrust into the international spotlight once again for its central role in Australia’s hardline offshore detention regime.

Related: The Nauru files: cache of 2,000 leaked reports reveal scale of abuse of children in Australian offshore detention[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention]

Australia’s detention facilities have drawn heavy domestic and international criticism following the Guardian’s publication of the Nauru files, more than 2,000 leaked incident reports[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] that laid bare the devastating abuse and trauma inflicted on children held there.

The United Nations committee has asked Nauru to attend the hearings, in part to provide an update on the frameworks in place to protect child asylum seekers on the island.

A working document[https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G16/042/24/PDF/G1604224.pdf] for the upcoming UN hearing indicates the committee will focus some attention on the Australian-run detention centre.

It states: “A large number of girls below the age of 15 are subjected to sexual abuse, as well as reports that asylum-seeking and **refugee** children in the regional processing centres are targeted for sexual abuse, including rape.

“Please clarify what measures, including legal measures, have been taken by the state party to prevent such incidents, and to investigate reports and prosecute and sanction perpetrators.”

The document also asks Nauru to clarify what has been done to protect child victims and child witnesses of sexual abuse, “including among asylum-seeking and **refugee** children, and to provide medical and psychological assistance”.

Related: Senate to investigate allegations of child abuse on Nauru and Manus Island[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/12/senate-to-investigate-allegations-of-child-abuse-on-nauru-and-manus-island]

The UN committee will also question Nauru’s representatives on what is being done in the judicial and administrative systems to take into account “the best interests of the child” and “what the legal guarantees are for upholding the best interests of the child, especially in respect of its regional arrangements with Australia regarding asylum-seeking and **refugee** children”.

Nauru’s foreign minister, Charmaine Scotty, is listed as the head of the delegation to appear before the committee.

The hearing will begin on Wednesday and conclude on Thursday.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Local authorities are struggling to meet pledges putting target of 20,000 **refugees** by 2020 at risk, says audit office

The future of the programme to resettle 20,000 Syrian **refugees** in Britain could be put at risk by a lack of 10,600 school places and nearly 5,000 suitable homes by 2020, Whitehall’s spending watchdog has warned.

The National Audit Office said that the Home Office has enough indicative pledges from 118 local authorities to meet the 20,000 target but that it was essential the pledges materialise into firm offers of support.

The NAO said the programme was successfully expanded at speed to reach its initial target of resettling 1,000 Syrian **refugees** by last Christmas and is underpinned by strong working relationships between central and local government.

But an investigation into the resettlement programme by the watchdog found no official figures existed for its total projected costs, and estimated they could reach £1.1bn by March 2020 and up to £1.7bn over its lifetime.

David Cameron made the commitment[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/07/uk-will-accept-up-to-20000-syrian-refugees-david-cameron-confirms] last September to resettle 20,000 vulnerable Syrian **refugees** by 2020. The programme is only open to registered **refugees** in Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Eqypt and Turkey and has been an alternative to participating in the European Union’s emergency relocation scheme for **refugees** who have reached Europe.

Related: UK unlikely to reach target of resettling 20,000 Syrian **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/03/uk-unlikely-to-reach-target-of-resettling-20000-syrian-refugees-by-2020]

By June 2016, 2,659 **refugees** had arrived in Britain under the scheme – 13% of the overall target. By comparison Germany had resettled more than 19,000 people by May 2016 under its humanitarian assistance programme. In Canada more than 26,000 Syrian **refugees** were resettled between November 2015 and March 2016, exceeding its 25,000 target.

**Refugees** who have come to Britain on the resettlement programme told the NAO that their experience had been largely positive and they had been warmly welcomed by local communities but uncertainty about their status had caused them some anxiety.

Meg Hillier, the chair of the Commons public accounts committee, said that local authorities in the UK should be applauded for stepping up to help Syrian **refugees** in desperate need.

“But already under-pressure local authorities will have to find over 10,600 childcare and school places and nearly 5,000 homes over the course of the programme as well as social and community support services.

“We need to be convinced that the government is committed to supporting local authorities in their efforts and is clear about its expectations and funding beyond the first year of a **refugee**’s stay in the UK,” she said.

The NAO report confirms that most of the costs of each **refugee**’s first year in Britain is paid for out of the overseas aid budget. A total of £20,530 for each **refugee** over their five years on the programme is being made available to local authorities.

Local authorities told the NAO that the main reason they may not be able to take part in the programme in the future was a possible lack of suitable flats and houses or childcare and school places. An estimated 4,930 extra homes and 10,664 school places for **refugees** are needed on the programme. The Whitehall spending watchdog said tthat remains a risk to meeting the target.

David Simmonds, the chairman of the Local Government Association’s asylum, **refugee** and migration task group, said: “The focus must now be on ensuring families are well supported. Councils are and will be helping some of the most vulnerable families fleeing Syria who will need access to ongoing support from local services to cope with injuries, disabilities and to recover from the severe trauma they have experienced.”

A government spokesperson said work would continue to turn the pledges of 20,000 places into resettled people: “This is a humanitarian programme and the level of funding enables local authorities to provide vulnerable **refugees** with a safe environment and the chance to rebuild their lives.

“We ask local authorities to consider carefully whether they have the necessary infrastructure and support networks before a resettlement occurs and we will only resettle individuals to a particular area once we’ve ensured these arrangements, including school places and housing are in place,” they added.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happenNumber 10 lobby briefing - SummaryLunchtime summaryGuardian/ICM poll gives Tories 13-point lead over Labour

block-time published-time 5.38pm BST

This is from the Guardian ’s Patrick Wintour on David Cameron ’s resignation.

enltrCameron's resignation comes ahead of very critical report into West's Libyan intervention. Brexit will not be his only foreign policy legacy

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/775346109724127232]And this is from the BBC ’s Laura Kuenssberg.

enltrCameron said he wouldn't resign if he lost the #euref [https://twitter.com/hashtag/euref?src=hash], then resigned, and said in March he would stay on as MP for Witney, then isn't

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/775338731402301440]block-time published-time 5.35pm BST

Here is George Osborne , the former chancellor and David Cameron ’s close friend, on Cameron’s decision to leave the Commons.

enltrSorry to see my great friend @David\_Cameron [https://twitter.com/David\_Cameron] stepping down - he loved being Witney's MP; I know how difficult this decision has been for him

— George Osborne (@George\_Osborne) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/George\_Osborne/status/775352617174204417]enltrWe came into Parliament together, had a great partnership + I will miss him alongside me on the green benches over the coming years. Sad day

— George Osborne (@George\_Osborne) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/George\_Osborne/status/775353024843767808]And this is from William Hague , the former foreign secretary and former Tory leader.

enltrRight decision by David Cameron to leave Commons - former Prime Ministers are either accused of doing too little or being a distraction.

— William Hague (@WilliamJHague) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/WilliamJHague/status/775340910716526592]block-time published-time 5.31pm BST

This is from my colleague Anushka Asthana.

enltrDays ago a Cameron ally said- "insufficient attention being paid to fact that TM has no mandate to impose regressive schools policy"

— Anushka Asthana (@GuardianAnushka) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka/status/775349366324420608]block-time published-time 5.30pm BST

Here is Sir Craig Oliver, David Cameron ’s former communications director, on Cameron’s decision to leave the Commons.

[Cameron] doesn’t want to be the person that people go to cause disagreement or have disagreements with the government. For him duty and loyalty and wanting the Conservative Party to succeed, wanting the Conservative prime minister to succeed, wanting Britain to succeed is very important to him and he doesn’t want any sense in which he is standing in the way of that or appears to have a gripe or a problem about that.

block-time published-time 5.21pm BST

Here is the full statement from Theresa May on David Cameron ’s decision to stand down as an MP.

I was proud to serve in David Cameron ’s government – and under his leadership we achieved great things. Not just stabilising the economy, but also making great strides in delivering serious social reform.

His commitment to lead a one nation government is one that I will continue. I thank him for everything he has done for the Conservative party and the country and I wish him and his family well for the future.

block-time published-time 5.04pm BST

David Cameron 's resignation - Analysis David Cameron always used to say that politics is a team sport. Loyalty, to the party and its leader, counts a great deal for him, more perhaps than it does for some of his predecessors. (Sir John Major has been broadly loyal to his successors, but Major’s two Tory PM predecessors, Margaret Thatcher and Edward Heath, were notorious for their unwelcome backseat driving.) And today Cameron has been quite explicit about why he is leaving the Commons; while stressing that he generally supported Theresa May , he also said that he had his “own views about different issues” and that he did not want to be a “distraction”.

By distraction he meant “rebel”. He is not going to be able to honestly support May on everything, and so he would rather leave the Commons than stay on and turn into Ted Heath. (As a former prime minister it will still be interesting to know what he thinks about government policy, but his views will be less relevant if he is no longer an MP and, crucially, he will not be expected to vote for measures he does not back.)

Cameron insisted that this was not just about grammar schools and that his decision had nothing to do with “any one individual issue”. (See 4.25pm.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/12/tuc-leader-says-labour-must-start-focusing-on-what-voters-want-politics-live?page=with:block-57d6c532e4b08465d44ffe08#block-57d6c532e4b08465d44ffe08] This is almost certainly true. Here are five issues that probably helped Cameron come to the view that he was best off no longer serving as an MP with May as prime minister.

1 - Grammar schools. Cameron says there are “very many good things” in May’s grammar school policy, but his comments (see 4.25pm) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/12/tuc-leader-says-labour-must-start-focusing-on-what-voters-want-politics-live?page=with:block-57d6c532e4b08465d44ffe08#block-57d6c532e4b08465d44ffe08] also make it clear that he has strong reservations too. That’s not surprising. “In 18 years of Conservative government, we didn’t create a whole big number of grammar schools because parents fundamentally don’t want their children divided into sheep and goats at the age of 11,” he said in 2007. [http://news.bbc.co.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/1/hi/uk\_politics/6658613.stm] There is nothing to suggest he has changed his mind.

2 - Faith school expansion. The grammar school aspect of May’s policy is the one that has received the most attention, but the faith school proposals are very contentious too. Today’s Times carries an article by Clare Foges, a former Cameron speechwriter, saying that allowing faith schools to expand without having to mix their intake would produce “more mono-cultural, mono-faith, mono-racial schools. More bubbles. More parallel lives”. (See 10.39am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/12/tuc-leader-says-labour-must-start-focusing-on-what-voters-want-politics-live?page=with:block-57d67696e4b07ac3d446b52c#block-57d67696e4b07ac3d446b52c] Foges was publishing her own views, not Cameron’s, but he resisted the proposal that May is adopting when he was prime minister and so he may well agree with his former aide.

3 - Europe. After Britain voted for Brexit Cameron told MPs that it would be up to his successor to decide what relationship the UK formed with the EU but that he thought “it is in all our interests, whatever the eventual decision, to make sure we are as close as possible economically to our friends and partners in the European Union ”. Put more bluntly, “the closer, the better”, he said. [https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2016-06-27/debates/1606275000001/OutcomeOfTheEUReferendum#contribution-16062713000091] With David Davis, the Brexit minister, virtually saying the UK will have to leave the single market [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/05/david-davis-brexit-commons-statement-leaving-uk-since-brexit-vote-poll-suggests-politics-live?page=with:block-57cda570e4b0c2a396c06e89#block-57cda570e4b0c2a396c06e89], and Boris Johnson, the foreign secretary, backing what is seen as a “hard” Brexit campaign [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/11/boris-johnson-backs-brexit-pressure-campaign-change-britain], Cameron may have already concluded his advice will be ignored.

4 - China. Cameron’s government made forging a strong partnership with China a key priority. May’s decision to postpone the decision to give the new Hinkley Point power station project the go-ahead shows she takes a very different view.

5 - Reshuffle. May was always going to appoint her own cabinet and ministerial team, but the extent to which she was willing to purge the Notting Hill Cameroons took many MPs by surprise. It would be surprising if Cameron was not at least a little disappointed about the way figures like George Osborne and Oliver Letwin were treated.

One other point: not for the first time, Cameron is living up to his “heir to Blair” reputation. Former prime ministers always used to stay on in the Commons at least until the subsequent election because triggering a byelection just to avoid the fate of having to be a backbencher seemed indulgent. But Tony Blair set a new trend when he decided to resign from the Commons on the day he left Downing Street.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.18pm BST

block-time published-time 4.25pm BST

Cameron hints he does not fully support May's plans for new grammar schools Here is a lightly edited account of the rest of Chris Ship’s interview with David Cameron . I posted a transcript of the first half of it a t 3.50pm. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/12/tuc-leader-says-labour-must-start-focusing-on-what-voters-want-politics-live?page=with:block-57d6be05e4b013613fffc7f9#block-57d6be05e4b013613fffc7f9]. I posted a transcript of the first half of it a

(I have paraphrased some of the questions, but not the answers, obviously.)

Q: You were opposed to a return to grammar schools. Resigning so soon after Theresa May ’s speech suggests you could not support that policy.

DC: This decision has got nothing to do with any one individual issue and the timing in that way is, I promise, is coincidental. But it goes to a bigger picture, really, which is whatever the issue, as a former prime minister being a backbench MP, I think, it is difficult just not to be a distraction, a diversion and therefore build a sort of reputation for yourself in politics that I don’t really want to have. I wish her well, I wish the government well.

In a way there’s a link to the decision to resign as prime minister. The country made a decision, a decision I advised against but nonetheless the decision has been made. I want the government to successfully pursue that decision and to get it right. And as a result I think not being a backbencher but leaving parliament is the right thing to do.

Q: Do you or do you not support the expansion of grammar schools?

DC: There’s very many good things in the policy. We actually when I was prime minister agreed to the expansion of grammar schools in areas where they already where. We set up sixth forms that were selective in our big cities as free schools, so lots of merit in the policy. But frankly I don’t want to get into the whys and wherefores of this individual policy...

Q: This suggests you simply do not support the expansion of grammar schools.

DC: I think there’s some merit in the policy that is being put forward. My announcement today is not about grammar schools. There’s no connection with grammar schools, it’s purely one of timing. My view is, as I’ve said, I don’t want to be the distraction and diversion that the former prime minister inevitably is on the backbenches.

So it’s with a heavy heart because I love this part of the world, I’ve loved being an MP, I’m going to go on living here. Being a constituency MP is a great and fulfilling job but I’ve come to the conclusion that the best thing is to stand down.

\* Cameron hints he does not fully support Theresa May ’s plans to open new grammar schools.

Q : You will be remembered mostly for taking this country out of the EU , won’t you?

DC : I’m sure I will be remembered for keeping that pledge to hold areferendum when many people thought that promise would never be kept but I hope that people will look back at the 11 years I was leader of the Conservative party and six years as prime minister of our country as a time when we did create a stronger economy – 1,000 people found work for every day I was prime minister – and we did make some important social reforms... and the Conservative party went from being in the doldrums and getting beaten to being a modernising winning force in British politics. But the historians will have to work all that out. I obviously now am going to be looking at a new life, but I’m only 49 – I hope I can still contribute in terms of public service and contribute to our country.

Q: What will your new life outside the Commons involve?

DC : I haven’t made firm decisions, I need to look at all of that. The only firm decision I’ve made is to leave the House of Commons and stop being an MP – as I say, with a heavy heart because I’ve loved the jobs but I don’t think it works for a former prime minister who resigned in my circumstances and with all the new government needs to do.

Issues for the future. I’ll decide them in the future and, hopefully, as I say, continue to make some service and some public service contribution to this country. I want to continue campaigning on the local, national and indeed international issues that were part of my prime ministership where I think we made some good progress. There’s still a lot more to be done.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.41pm BST

block-time published-time 4.07pm BST

The BBC is now broadcasting further extracts from the David Cameron interview with ITV ’s Chris Ship.

Cameron claims that his resignation announcement has not been prompted by opposition to the government’s grammar school plans, but he falls short of endorsing them in full.

I will post the quotes shortly.

block-time published-time 4.00pm BST

My colleague Rowena Mason has posted this from Twitter following the Number 10 lobby briefing.

enltrTheresa May says she was proud to serve under Cameron, thanks for work on economy, social reform. Says will continue to lead one nation govt

— Rowena Mason (@rowenamason) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rowenamason/status/775348174533734400]block-time published-time 3.54pm BST

And here is Anushka Ashana ’s story about David Cameron ’s resignation.

Related: David Cameron to stand down as MP for Witney [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/12/david-cameron-to-stand-down-as-mp-for-witney]

block-time published-time 3.52pm BST

This is from my colleague Anushka Asthana.

enltrAllies to Cameron say he wants to push ahead with agendas close to his heart - anti-corruption/dementia/schooling/life chances.

— Anushka Asthana (@GuardianAnushka) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuardianAnushka/status/775341892187762688]block-time published-time 3.50pm BST

David Cameron 's statement in full Here is the statement that David Cameron gave to ITV ’s Chris Ship announcing his resignation as an MP.

I have thought about this long and hard over the summer and I have decided the right thing to do is to stand down as the member of parliament for Witney. There will be a byelection. I will give the Conservative candidate my full support.

But in my view, with modern politics, with the circumstances of my resignation, it isn’t really possible to be a proper backbench MP as a former prime minister. I think everything you do will become a big distraction and a big diversion from what the government needs to do for our country. And I support Theresa May . I think she’s got off to a great start. I think she can be a strong prime minister for our country. And I don’t want to be that distraction. I want Witney to have a new MP who can play a full part in parliamentary and political life without being a distraction.

I want to thank everybody here in west Oxfordshire who has been so supportive. It has been a great honour and privilege to serve this area and to serve these brilliant people. I’m going to go on living locally. I will go on supporting the local causes and charities that make this such a great place in our country. But obviously I’m going to have to start to build a life outside Westminster. I hope I’ll continue to contribute in terms of public service and of course contribute to this country that I love so much.

And this is what Cameron said when it was put to him that he could be accused of snubbing Theresa May .

I spoke to Theresa May and she was very understanding about this decision. I support her. I support what she’s doing. She’s got off to a cracking start. Obviously, I’m going to have my own views about different issues; people would know that. And that’s really the point. As a former prime minister it is very difficult, I think, to sit as a backbencher and not be an enormous diversion and distraction from what the government is doing. I don’t want to be that distraction. I want Witney to have an MP that can play a full role in parliamentary and political life in a way that I think I would find very difficult, if not impossible.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.56pm BST

block-time published-time 3.38pm BST

In his final PMQs as prime minister [http://would%20https//www.theguardian.com/global/blog/2016/jul/13/cameron-v-corbyn-final-pmqs-verdict-i-was-the-future-once], David Cameron said he would continue to “watch these exchanges from the backbenches”.

Obviously, not for long...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.48pm BST

block-time published-time 3.31pm BST

Here is more from the David Cameron statement.

I have thought about this long and hard over the summer and I have decided the right thing to do is to stand down as the member of parliament for Witney. There will be a byelection. I will give the Conservative candidate my full support.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.39pm BST

block-time published-time 3.27pm BST

Cameron explains why he is resigning as an MP ITV has released a clip of its interview with David Cameron on its website [http://www.itv.com/news/2016-09-12/david-cameron-resigns-his-seat-as-an-mp/].

Cameron says:

In my view, with modern politics, with the circumstances of my resignation, it isn’t really possible to be a proper backbench MP as a former prime minister.

I think everything you do will become a big distraction and a big diversion from what the government needs to do for our country.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.47pm BST

block-time published-time 3.24pm BST

Here is our story from the 2015 general election campaign about David Cameron saying he intended to remain as an MP [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/mar/10/david-cameron-intends-stand-re-election-mp-in-2020] for the next five years.

Speaking on BBC Radio Oxford on Thursday, Cameron replied when pressed on whether he would fight another election to be the MP for Witney in 2020 that he was “very keen to continue”.

When asked if that meant he would seek re-election in 2020, he replied: “That is very much my intention.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.48pm BST

block-time published-time 3.21pm BST

David Cameron said during the 2015 general election that he would remain as an MP for the duration of this parliament.

So why is he going? These are from ITV ’s Chris Ship.

enltrFormer Prime Minister David Cameron to step down as MP for Witney in Oxfordshire. A seat he's held since 2001

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/775337161788891136]enltrDavid Cameron told Theresa May of his decision to stand down as a Tory MP this afternoon

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/775337448431837184]enltrDavid Cameron says he has no current plans for his future but, as former Prime Minister, can't be full constituency MP for people of Witney

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/775337625842552832]enltrOn #grammar [https://twitter.com/hashtag/grammar?src=hash] schools: David Cameron says he supports Theresa May 's reform package but stops short of saying he backs expansion of selection

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/775338150872875008]block-time published-time 3.18pm BST

David Cameron is resigning as an MP with immediate effect, ITV is reporting.

enltrBREAKING: Just interviewed David Cameron . He is RESIGNING as an MP with immediate effect

— Chris Ship (@chrisshipitv) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/chrisshipitv/status/775336940342214656]block-time published-time 3.05pm BST

The Telegraph has more on the proposed boundary changes. George Osborne ’s Tatton constituency is going to disappear [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/12/labour-polls-jeremy-corbyn-one-year-leadership-live/], it reports.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.49pm BST

block-time published-time 2.40pm BST

On the subject of Jeremy Corbyn ’s first anniversary as Labour leader [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/12/one-year-on-jeremy-corbyn-has-transformed-british-politics], Theo Bertram, a former aide to Tony Blair and Gordon Brown , has had the following to say.

enltrOne year on:

1. Corbyn more determined than expected

2. Achieved bigger membership change than expected

3. Policy is thinner than expected

— Theo Bertram (@theobertram) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theobertram/status/775264799374598144]enltrOne year on:

4. Rallies are now a thing - impressively so

5. His media strategy is to denounce the media

6. These two things reinforce

— Theo Bertram (@theobertram) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theobertram/status/775267855709433856]enltrOne year on:

7. de-Blair-ification of party HQ completed

8. authority is remarkably clear: Corbyn, McDonnell & Milne rule

— Theo Bertram (@theobertram) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theobertram/status/775269371258212352]enltrOne year on:

9. for moderates, little has changed - still reeling, rudderless

10. the Sibthorpe Doctrine looks more & more like the way out

— Theo Bertram (@theobertram) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theobertram/status/775270844864032768]And Bertram explains the Sibthorpe doctrine [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert\_Sibthorpe] with another tweet.

enltrThe Sibthorpe Doctrine: "If they want to get rid of him best thing would be to wait & let Jeremy fail on his own" pic.twitter.com/6uLRLTFIs6 [https://t.co/6uLRLTFIs6]

— Theo Bertram (@theobertram) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/theobertram/status/775271718122291200]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.49pm BST

block-time published-time 2.11pm BST

The Labour MP Mary Creagh says a brick has been thrown through her constituency office window.

enltrStaff distressed to discover brick through office window in Wakefield this morning. No excuse for violence & intimidation in our democracy.

— Mary Creagh (@MaryCreaghMP) September 12, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MaryCreaghMP/status/775299900863053825]block-time published-time 2.05pm BST

Guardian/ICM poll gives Tories 13-point lead over Labour It’s a year to the day since Jeremy Corbyn became Labour leader but the party’s polling ratings haven’t been great since he’s been in charge and since Brexit, which triggered a bitter Labour leadership contest and the emergence of new Tory leader/prime minister, they’ve been particularly poor.

The latest Guardian/ICM polling is out today. The good news for Labour is that the Tory lead is down one compared to when ICM last polled for the Guardian two weeks ago. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/aug/31/corbyn-labour-leadership-yougov-poll-leadership-with-increased-majority-poll-suggests-politics-live?page=with:block-57c6c6c2e4b0df5f040dbf89#block-57c6c6c2e4b0df5f040dbf89] The bad news; the Tories are still 13 points ahead.

Here are the figures.

Conservatives: 41% (no change)

Labour: 28% (up 1)

Ukip: 13% (no change)

Lib Dems: 9% (no change)

Greens: 4% (no change)

ICM interviewed 2,013 people online between 9 and 11 September.

block-time published-time 1.51pm BST

Lunchtime summary

\* Frances O’Grady, the TUC general secretary, has said the union movement will strongly fight any attempt to give the UK a trade deal with the EU like Canada’s after Brexit. The government has said that it will negotiate a bespoke trade agreement with the EU once the UK leaves, instead of copying some of the other models available (eg, Norway, Switzerland, Canada). But there have been reports that it is most interested in a Canada-plus option [https://www.facebook.com/pestonitv/posts/1675210406137031] - a trade deal loosely based on the Canada/EU free trade deal which is also known as CETA (Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement). In her speech O’Grady said this would be unacceptable.

Now, in some corners of Whitehall there is talk about Canada and the CETA model.

Well, let me give the government fair warning.

Britain didn’t vote for new trade agreements that: destroy jobs, set up secret courts and open the way to privatisation.

If they go for the son of CETA, we will make opposition to TTIP look like a tea party.

O’Grady said the union movement had to accept the results of the Brexit vote. But she also said there should be a cross-party Brexit negotiating team, featuring the unions, and that the government had to say what it wanted. And she said the government had to get a mandate for its negotiating position.

How can her government know what to negotiate for if it doesn’t know what the country thinks?

In her speech O’Grady also criticised the decision not to give EU nationals living in the UK a firm promise that they can stay as “immoral and inhuman” and she took a swipe at Liam Fox , saying “you won’t catch me talking down industry”. And, describing the unions as “the UK’s only democratic mass movement for change”, she said they would campaign to stop workers being treated intolerably in the modern working environment.

Run a big brand with a dirty little secret?

A warehouse of people paid less than the minimum wage?

A fleet of couriers who are slaves to an app?

Let me put you on notice.

A hundred years ago, this movement campaigned to abolish piece work and day labour.

We innovated, we organised, and we won.

And we will do it again.

It might look different.

We might organise on WhatsApp or Facebook .

We might use the courts.

Persuade customers.

Win over shareholders.

As well as recruiting workers.

But there will be no hiding place.

TUC chief: Theresa May must not make workers pay price of Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/sep/12/tuc-chief-theresa-may-must-not-make-workers-pay-price-of-brexit-video]

\* Sadiq Khan, the mayor of London, has introduced a new bus fare in London allowing passengers to make a second journey for free within one hour of beginning their first. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/12/sadiq-khan-launches-hopper-fares-for-london-buses]

\* Rowan Williams, the former archbishop of Canterbury, has said the government has been “very slow” in its response to the **refugee** crisis and has “little to show” after pledging to reunite families separated by conflict.

\* The Centre for Social Justice has announced that Iain Duncan Smith, the former work and pensions secretary, will return to the thinktank to run it as chair. Duncan Smith launched it when the Tories were in opposition and its work on the causes of poverty influenced his approach to policy when he was in government. According to the CSJ, Duncan Smith is planning to work on “Breakthrough Brexit,” described as “a bold new programme of research and policy-making designed to boost living standards and employment opportunities for the kind of blue collar workers whose dissatisfaction with today’s Britain proved pivotal in the vote to leave the European Union .” Duncan Smith said:

I want the CSJ to focus on improving the lives of blue collar workers. Many of them were among the 52 per cent of people who voted to quit the EU partly, at least, because they did not believe they were gaining any benefit from our current political and economic system. I want the CSJ to come up with proposals for raising skill levels and productivity among this group of workers and so improve their wages and living standards.

\* Proposals for boundary changes being released tomorrow will show Jeremy Corbyn’s Islington North seat disappearing, the Evening Standard reports. [http://www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/jeremy-corbyns-islington-north-seat-to-vanish-from-map-under-tories-planned-boundary-changes-a3342936.html]

block-time published-time 12.20pm BST

Number 10 lobby briefing - Summary The Number 10 lobby briefing was relatively low-key. Here are the main points.

\* Downing Street disowned Liam Fox’s claim about British business being “too lazy and too fat” to succeed at exporting. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/10/business-leaders-politicians-attack-fox-over-lazy-accusations] Asked if Theresa May agreed with Fox, the prime minister’s spokeswoman said her view was that the government needed to make sure “that British businesses are seizing the opportunities available”.

\* The spokeswoman suggested that the creation of a new cross-party, pro-Brexit pressure group, Change Britain, was unnecessary. Boris Johnson, the foreign secretary, is backing the group [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/11/boris-johnson-backs-brexit-pressure-campaign-change-britain], which is seen as campaigning for a “hard” Brexit and against any backsliding by the government. Asked if May welcomed this, the spokeswoman said:

The government is absolutely committed to delivering on the decision of the British people to leave the EU ... The government and the cabinet are already getting on with it.

\* Number 10 brushed aside the TUC general secretary Frances O’Grady’s claim that not guaranteeing EU citizens resident in the UK the right to stay after Brexit was “immoral”. Asked about this, the spokeswoman said that May hoped to be in a position to let them stay and that the only circumstances in which they would not be allowed to stay would be “if European countries were not able to make commitments with regard to the position of British nationals”.

\* The spokeswoman claimed the government was “making progress” in terms of its commitment to take in Syrian **refugees**, including vulnerable children. More than 120 unaccompanied child **refugees** have come to the UK since the start of the year, she said, and more than 30 children have been admitted since the **Immigration** Act became law in May under the provisions of that legislation. The UK had already committed to resettle 20,000 vulnerable **refugees** from camps near to Syria over a five-year period and to take 3,000 children and their families from the region under the Children at Risk scheme. The **Immigration** Act set out measures to take in unaccompanied **refugee** children who were already in Europe before March 20 this year, “where it is in their best interests”, but set no figure on the numbers who might be allowed into the UK.

\* Downing Street said the Ministry of Justice was now investigating today’s Daily Mail allegations about thousands of country court judgments being issued against people without their knowledge and without full court hearings. [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3784457/Huge-rise-debt-judgements-against-families.html] “We have a strong legal system in this country and it’s important that it cannot be abused,” the spokeswoman said. “The Ministry of Justice is now taking forward work looking into this specific issue.”

\* Aung San Suu Kyi , the Myanmar leader, is in London for talks and is meeting Boris Johnson, the foreign secretary, this afternoon.

\* Philip Hammond, the chancellor, is meeting British exporters this afternoon as part of a series of meetings he is holding ahead of the autumn statement.

Number 10. Photograph: Steve Back / Barcroft Images block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.23pm BST

block-time published-time 10.57am BST

Here is the full text of Frances O’Grady’s speech to the TUC conference. [https://www.tuc.org.uk/about-tuc/congress/congress-2016/tuc-general-secretary-frances-o%E2%80%99grady%E2%80%99s-address-congress-2016] I will post a summary in due course, but first I’m off to the Number 10 lobby briefing. I will post again after 11.30am.

block-time published-time 10.48am BST

You can read all today’s Guardian politics stories here. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/all]

As for the other papers, here is the Politics Home list of top 10 must reads, [https://www.politicshome.com/must-reads] and here is the ConservativeHome round-up of today’s politics stories. [http://www.conservativehome.com/frontpage/2016/09/newslinks-for-monday-12th-september-2016.html] and here is

And here are three articles I found interesting.

\* Oliver Wright in the Times (paywall) says Michael Gove, the former Tory education secretary, will not oppose Theresa May’s plans to open new grammar schools. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/gove-will-back-plan-for-new-grammar-schools-pm3kq6d5s]

Mr Gove is expected to give a cautious welcome to the proposals when they are announced by Justine Greening, the education secretary, in the House of Commons today.

When he was education secretary, Mr Gove allowed sixth form colleges to admit pupils selectively but ruled out any attempt to create new grammar schools. Mr Gove’s decision not to join other Tory rebels, including the previous education secretary, Nicky Morgan, in opposing Mrs May will be met with relief in Downing Street.

\* John Murray Brown in the Financial Times (subscription) says Wales is today introducing the first Welsh tax in 800 years. [http://www.ft.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/cms/s/0/70676bf8-7692-11e6-b60a-de4532d5ea35.html#axzz4K24HMGRd]

Wales will introduce the first Welsh tax in 800 years on Monday, using powers handed down from Westminster to introduce its own version of stamp duty.

The Land Transaction Tax will be the first locally administered tax since Wales was conquered by the English King Edward I in the late 13th century.

Mark Drakeford, Wales’ finance secretary, described it as “a historic milestone” in the devolution of tax powers [http://www.ft.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/cms/s/0/f13f7278-0db8-11e5-9a65-00144feabdc0.html#axzz4JSmG4EDW] to Wales creating “taxes which are more suited to the needs of Wales and Welsh public services”.

The Wales Bill, which gives tax powers to the Welsh Assembly , passed its last legislative hurdle in the Commons on Wednesday.

\* Frances Gibb and Oliver Wright in the Times say the government plans to pass a law saying “company boards could face prosecution for failing to prevent their staff from committing fraud”. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/crackdown-on-white-collar-crime-hwrqmc36j]

Ministers are to push ahead with legislation that would make boards criminally liable for a range of offences perpetrated by employees.

The move is among measures to tackle “boardroom excess” that will be announced by Theresa May . These include placing workers’ representatives on boards and imposing checks on corporate pay. The prime minister has said that addressing corporate behaviour will be a key part of her domestic legislative agenda.

(This is a roll-out of a proposal set out by David Cameron in a Guardian article in May.) [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/11/fight-against-corruption-begins-with-political-will]

block-time published-time 10.39am BST

Ahead of the grammar schools announcement later today, here are two articles on the subject worth reading.

\* Clare Foges, a former speechwriter to David Cameron, says in an article in the Times (paywall) that she was “dismayed” by Theresa May’s plan to to relax the rules forcing faith schools to mix their intake if they expand. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/comment/may-risks-entrenching-the-ethnic-divide-mlbbdvkwd]

It was dismaying to hear the prime minister’s announcement last week on faith schools. Previously, over-subscribed new schools could only select 50 per cent of pupils on the basis of religion. Now it is to be 100 per cent. More mono-cultural, mono-faith, mono-racial schools. More bubbles. More parallel lives.

It would seem the government has been backed into a corner on this. The Conservative manifesto promise is to create 500 new free schools. The hope was that a significant chunk would come from Catholic schools, but the church resisted. It takes issue with the 50 per cent cap on religious selection. Apparently, it is against canon law “for a Catholic bishop not to prioritise the admission of Catholic pupils”. The chief rabbi also resisted the 50 per cent cap.

I find secularist harrumphing about the pernicious influence of religion pretty ridiculous on the whole, but isn’t there something rather ugly about this demand that “we take care of our own” to the exclusion of others? Doesn’t it stick in the craw that the state will pay for this discrimination? Government guidance says it is unacceptable for schools to “promote discrimination against people or groups on the basis of their belief”. So, not OK to promote it, OK to practise it.

\* Tim Farron, the Lib Dem leader, uses an article for ConservativeHome to urge Tory MPs to block the proposals. [http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/09/tim-farron-a-plea-to-conservative-mps-its-neither-in-britains-interest-nor-yours-to-back-mays-grammar-school-plan.html]

Here is the killer stat: the Sutton Trust found that less than three per cent of grammar kids were on free lunches, compared with 20 per cent across the country.

Theresa May addresses this by talking of “inclusive grammar schools”. But this is a contradiction: grammars exclude. Some complicated two-tier entry taking into account socio-economic background will have MPs post-bags brimming with constituents complaining that their child was denied a place despite gaining a higher mark than another child.

And however “fairly” you try to select, you won’t escape the fundamental unfairness of deciding ability at the age of 11. Streaming within schools works because it allows flexibility as children flourish at different stages and in different subjects. Grammars stream people for entire school careers, and beyond.

block-time published-time 10.06am BST

Frances O’Grady, the TUC general secretary, is addressing the TUC conference now.

You can watch a live feed here. [https://www.tuc.org.uk/about-tuc/congress/congress-2016/congress-2016-watch-live]

I will post a summary of the speech when I’ve seen the text.

block-time published-time 10.02am BST

It is one year to the day since Jeremy Corbyn was elected Labour leader.

Obviously the fact that 75% of Labour MPs backed a motion expressing no confidence in him suggests that Corbyn’s first year as leader has not been an unalloyed triumph. But the Times’s Matt Chorley, who writes its Red Box briefing, [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/redbox/signup/] asked Corbyn’s office to supply a list of his achievements over the last 12 months and he has published it on the Times’s Red Box website.

A U-turn on cuts to Personal Independence Payment.

A majority female shadow cabinet, and now the most diverse shadow cabinet ever

Tax credits U-turn

Iain Duncan Smith was made unable to remove income from the definition of child poverty.

Growing Labour membership to 540,000 – the largest political party in Europe.

Winning back London for the first time since 2008

Winning Bristol for the first time ever

Holding Salford and Liverpool

Increasing or retaining majorities in every parliamentary by-election

A 7% increase in majority in Oldham West & Royton

U-turn on Saudi prisons contracts

A U-turn on police cuts

Introducing public questions at PMQs, and facilitating a more mature approach to PMQs

Forcing a partial U-turn on support for the steel industry

Attracting tens of thousands to rallies and public events, including during Conservative Party conference

Helping change the consensus on austerity

Holding the Tories to account over Panama papers revelations

Deploying digital campaigning effectively, such as the 100,000 signatures gathered in support of the steel industry within hours

A defeat on Sunday trading hours

block-time published-time 9.14am BST

The conference season is now well underway. The Greens have already had their autumn conference and this week the TUC is meeting in Brighton. Frances O’Grady, the TUC general secretary, will speak later this morning and my colleague Rajeev Syal has filed a preview. Here is his story.

Related: Don't make ordinary workers pay for Brexit, TUC urges government [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/12/brexit-dont-make-ordinary-workers-pay-tuc-urges-government]

And here is how it starts.

Senior figures in the trade union movement are urging the government to ensure that ordinary working people are not made to pay the price of Brexit.

On the first full day of 2016’s TUC conference, the general secretary, Frances O’Grady, will tell delegates she is concerned workers’ rights and jobs could be sacrificed by ministers in negotiations with the European Union [https://www.theguardian.com/world/eu].

Her words will be delivered as Theresa May ’s government struggles to deal with criticisms from business leaders after Liam Fox was secretly recorded calling UK business “fat and lazy” [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/09/fat-and-lazy-britain-is-ill-prepared-to-secure-future-outside-eu-says-fox].

Union leaders are concerned that in the government’s rush to appease the City and large corporations, the interests of manufacturing and industry will be put at risk.

O’Grady will tell delegates in Brighton on Monday: “We’ve had the votes, the vote was close but clear and now our job is to get on with representing working people, whichever way they cast their vote, and make sure that they don’t pay the price of a Brexit.”

I will post more from the speech later.

O’Grady was on the Today programme earlier. Asked about the Labour leadership contest, she said that after the leadership contest was over the party needed to unite and “start focusing on what voters want”.

As soon as the contest is over, we are saying get behind whoever the leader is, get united. But start focusing on people out in the country. Voters want to get a bit more attention, it can’t just be about the rights of MPs, or the rights of members, I think Labour needs to start focusing on what voters want.

Here is the agenda for the day.

Around 9.45am: Frances O’Grady, the TUC general secretary, gives a keynote speech at the TUC conference in Brighton.

10am: Rowan Williams, the former archbishop of Canterbury, speaks at an event to mark the joint call by 200 faith leaders urging the government to be more generous to **refugees**. [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/12/rowan-williams-200-faith-leaders-open-letter-revise-refugee-policy]

11am: Number 10 lobby briefing.

12.25pm: Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Conservative leader, gives a speech to the European Council on Foreign Relations thinktank in London.

3.30pm: Justine Greening, the education secretary, is due to make a statement to MPs following the publication of the government’s plans to expand grammar schools.

4.30pm: Owen Smith, the Labour leadership challenger, holds a Q&A on Twitter .

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.16am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Unicef and Save the Children say Australia’s policy of deterrence is expensive, diplomatically damaging and simply pushes displaced people to other countries

Australia has spent $9.6bn in just four years on its asylum seeker policy – the majority on its offshore and mainland detention centres – according to a new report from Unicef and Save the Children.

The organisations found the current policy was expensive and unsustainable in its financial, human, and diplomatic costs. It noted Australia’s expensive policies of deterrence simply pushed the growing number of displaced persons elsewhere, and caused damage to its international reputation and strategic ability to hold influence with other countries.

Analysing government data and expenditure, the report At What Cost? found taxpayers would likely spend a further $5.7bn over the next four years if nothing changed, and children transferred to Manus and Nauru would continue to suffer mental health problems, abuse and neglect.

Related: Senate to investigate allegations of child abuse on Nauru and Manus Island[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/12/senate-to-investigate-allegations-of-child-abuse-on-nauru-and-manus-island]

The Papua New Guinea supreme court in April found the Manus Island centre illegal and unconstitutional[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/apr/26/papua-new-guinea-court-rules-detention-asylum-seekers-manus-unconstitutional] and ordered its closure but hundreds of men remain inside.

Last month the Guardian published more than 2,000 leaked documents[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] detailing widespread mental trauma and abuse in the Nauru facility.

In the report released on Tuesday, Unicef and Save the Children called for the government to urgently reinvest the money to create a strong regional framework to support asylum seekers, which incentivised “orderly migration” and undermined the business model of people smugglers.

Nicole Breeze, Unicef’s director of policy and advocacy, said the $9.6bn included at least $3.6bn on offshore processing, at least $5.6bn on onshore mandatory detention, and at least $295m on naval interceptions and boat turnbacks. The remaining $112m was spent on other programs including the widely criticised Cambodia agreement and other efforts to find a third-party resettlement option.

The costs were based on the estimated 32,000 men, women and children in the asylum seeker processing system.

“The current system is unsustainable,” Breeze told Guardian Australia. “It’s extremely expensive, it’s causing grave harm, it’s complicated and it’s opaque and difficult to assess its efficacy, cost and value for money.”

Breeze said it was difficult to identify expenditures and attribute them because the total suite of “policies of deterrence” was spread across multiple agencies and lacked full transparency.

“I think we do have a particular issue here, and it’s one of the areas that organisations such as ourselves have been really encouraging government to increase their disclosure of information,” she said.

The report said the true cost was likely to be much greater than the $9.6bn, once the costs of the government maintaining and defending its policy in courts and parliamentary inquiries and of workplace compensation incidents were factored in.

“In combination, the opacity of the true human and economic costs of Australia’s policies mean that Australia’s taxpayers and voters are being asked to judge the merits of a policy response, without having all the facts on the table,” it said.

The human cost of Australia’s **immigration** policy, particularly the mental and physical harm to those held in detention, had been widely reported[https://www.theguardian.com/news/series/nauru-files] and subject to at least 10 inquiries, but there was very little known about what happened to people who were turned back, the report found.

The head of Operation Sovereign Borders, Major General Andrew Bottrell, argued in court last month[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/09/sovereign-borders-chief-argues-hiding-asylum-seeker-boat-turnbacks-essential-for-security] that Australia’s policy of turning back boats at sea must be kept secret to protect the security of the commonwealth, because the information otherwise helped “educate … potentially illegal **immigrants**”.

Tuesday’s report cited estimates of as many as 7,000 children “trapped in transit” in Indonesia alone, “unable to access safe pathways to protection”.

“These children face the risk ongoing danger, persecution, discrimination and other serious harms and challenges while remaining in their home countries or countries of first asylum or transit,” said the report.

“The narrative in Australia often ends with that three-word- slogan around stopping the boats,” Breeze said. “But we’ve found there is very little information about what people are in fact being turned back to.

“We have growing concern around the situation and the safety of people who have been returned back to their place of origin or where their journeys commenced.”

Unicef and Save the Children called for the government to “pivot its policy framework away from bilateralism and towards the establishment of a durable regional solution”.

The report made nine recommendations for the Australian government.

It said the government should immediately:

\* Publicly affirm its commitment to the UN **refugee** convention

\* Publicly commit to a timeline of resettlement for those on Nauru and Manus Island in an “appropriate” third country

\* Legislate against detaining children and find alternatives

\* Normalise resettlement processes with Indonesia, including revoking the ban on resettling **refugees** who arrived there after July 2014

\* Commit to fiscal transparency on the policy costs and hold a full audit

Related: Liberal MP says Australia's **refugee** program one of the world's best[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/10/liberal-mp-says-australias-refugee-program-one-of-the-worlds-best]

And within three years:

\* Increase the humanitarian intake to a flexible 30,000

\* Support the establishment of a regional **refugee** protection framework in south-east Asia

\* Phase out boat turnbacks and reinvest offshore detention funding the search and rescue operations

\* Improve access to non-humanitarian migration options for asylum seekers

“This report is building a case for serious investment in a regional **refugee** protection framework as a much more proactive policy measure than what we’ve got,” Breeze said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The launch of Shane Warne’s app that will allow users to communicate using ‘Warnie-inspired expressions’ takes self-promotion to a shocking new low

“Coming soon: my own emojis. Mostly pretty nice, but some...” – Shane “Warnie” Warne pauses and leans into the camera. His eyes become visible for the first time; his brows reach for his hairline. His tone – jocular, even sing-song – drops to a conspiratorial whisper.

“...ARE VERY NAUGHTY.”

With a wheezing, almost noiseless bray of a laugh, he reels back from the camera, all the while maintaining eye contact as the “catalogue” of his coming wares ascends to cover his face.

Excited to say #WarnieMojis[https://twitter.com/hashtag/WarnieMojis?src=hash] will launch in the next few weeks. Head to https://t.co/SdVOXdrsrB[https://t.co/SdVOXdrsrB] #naughtyandnice[https://twitter.com/hashtag/naughtyandnice?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/hgpqViTIG1[https://t.co/hgpqViTIG1] — Shane Warne (@ShaneWarne) September 11, 2016[https://twitter.com/ShaneWarne/status/774886965338443777]

The clip, posted to the Australian former international cricketer’s social media presences on Sunday evening, is remarkable for the sense of impending dread it manages to evoke in just nine seconds.

WarnieMojis – enabled by Starmojis[http://starmojis.com.au/], which describes itself as a key merchant of the “emoji revolution” by way of its “best valued Apps” – “allows” users to communicate “using Warnie-inspired expressions”.

Related: David Squires on... Shane Warne and the ball of the century[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/picture/2016/jun/02/david-squires-on-shane-warne-and-the-ball-of-the-century]

With the app due to launch in the coming weeks, we have yet to see the full range of “hundreds of unique and exclusive emoji, which have been personally overseen by Warnie himself”.

But from the rubbery rendition of his face put forward to promote them, it’s clear that with WarnieMojis will come a hundred different ways to say “I’m afraid I’m becoming irrelevant”. (And hopefully one for “We started from **aliens**”[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/feb/15/im-saying-we-started-from-aliens-shane-warne-casts-doubt-on-evolution].)

It’s not strictly true that, as his Wikipedia page claims, Warnie “officially retired from all formats in July 2013”. These days, he’s traded pitches for platforms, and seems to be just as present in collective consciousness as he ever was during his cricketing career.

A stint on I’m a Celebrity... Get Me Out Of Here drew the desired headlines when he cast doubt on Darwin’s theory[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/feb/15/im-saying-we-started-from-aliens-shane-warne-casts-doubt-on-evolution] of natural selection, then stuck his head into a Perspex tank of snakes[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/feb/19/shane-warne-bitten-on-head-by-anaconda-during-im-a-celebrity-get-me-out-of-here].

And now the Sydney Daily Telegraph reports[http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/entertainment/television/shane-warnes-soap-opera-life--and-many-many-loves--poised-to-get-tv-treatment-on-channel-7/news-story/e0038b0d87f90f10be36dcb1133f6140] that Channel 7 is close to finalising a deal for a mini-series about his love life, pending a Screen Australia funding decision this week, presumably dependant on how Tinder and excessive reliance on text messages might translate to the small screen.

Now, with WarnieMojis, Warne has thrown himself wholeheartedly into a game that only Kim Kardashian is winning. The influence of her bespoke Kimoji app is obvious in Starmojis’ “vision”, but its enormous success is unlikely to translate.

At its peak, Kimoji – available for iPhone and Android for US $1.99 – was reportedly downloaded 9,000 times a millisecond after its launch on 21 December 2015, crashing Apple’s App Store. A range of inspired merchandise, including wrapping paper and phone cases, was released in June.

Sadder than the promise of “the official Shane Warne Meme Maker” was the lacklustre response it raised: a measly 40 retweets out of nearly 2.8m Twitterfollowers, 494 likes from more than 779,00 Facebook fans.

Though the two have similar approaches, like posting old, more flattering photos to Instagram as though they’re recent[https://www.buzzfeed.com/markdistefano/full-toss-middle-stump-shaneo], there’s a marked difference in demand for what they’re selling.

With Kimoji, Kardashian monetised the pre-existing impulse of the internet to use images of her face and family to communicate online. A search for “Kardashian” gifs yields close to 14,000 results, one for every occasion – even “Stop taking pictures of yourself, your sister’s going to jail”[http://giphy.com/gifs/kim-kardashian-keeping-up-with-the-kardashians-wECeBgPV2hpe].

By contrast, there seems to be little interest in WarnieMojis, even among people who care enough about the former cricketer to keep up with his thirst-follows on social media.

Related: Dear celebrities – think the Earth is flat? **Aliens** made us? Help is at hand | Jules Howard[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/feb/16/celebrities-earth-flat-aliens-shane-warne-dan-walker-rapper-bob]

But these are the implicit demands placed on celebrities today – be active, be available, be present on every platform – even of the man who has taken more Test wickets than any other Australian. Doubtless that’s why he’s on Instagram liking selfies[http://www.news.com.au/sport/sports-life/emily-ratajkowski-apparently-attracts-the-attention-shane-warne-with-her-latest-sexy-selfie/news-story/903987ac8f4f7ed1632b2e20e3dce517] of 25-year-old models.

As Donald Trump’s “Make America Great Again” baseball cap has become symbolic of the broken state of democracy and race relations in the United States, WarnieMojis could become the smallest unit of a culture that asks slavish attention to self-promotion and personal brand – a one-click communiqué to say, “This is how bad it’s got”.

Or it could be, as Warne said, simply in the interests of #fun. God knows he’s always on the look-out for ways to maximise his text game – why use a thumbs-up[https://cricket.yahoo.com/news/shane-warne-get-into-yet-another-texting-scandal-070805861.html] to say you’ve “got the hint” when only a cartoon of your own apologetic face will do?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The storyline involving the attempted murder by domestic abuse victim Helen of her husband, Rob, concluded in a special hour-long episode on Sunday eveningWarning: this story contains spoilers

Helen Titchener was found not guilty of the attempted murder of her husband, Rob, by a jury in a special episode of The Archers that has brought to a conclusion the domestic abuse storyline that has gripped the nation.

Related: The Archers trial: verdicts from the counsellor, the lawyer and the prison expert[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/sep/05/archers-trial-verdict-helen-titchener-attempted-murder-husband]

Column inches, hashtags and fundraising campaigns have all been inspired by the storyline of more than three years, which has seen Helen emotionally abused by the apparently charming Rob[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/sep/09/louiza-patikas-ive-read-scripts-and-thought-i-dont-want-this-to-happen-to-helen-i-cant-bear-it].

The special episode, tuned into by millions, was extended to an hour for the first time in the 65-year history of the BBC Radio 4 drama, to allow fans to listen in on the deliberations of the jury at Borchester crown court before the verdict was handed down. #thearchers was the top trending Twitter hashtag during the show and #freehelen has been trending all week.

Listeners heard evidence during the five-day trial from the defence arguing that she acted in self-defence after months of mental and physical abuse and due to the need to protect her five-year-old son Henry, who was present during the stabbing. The prosecution portrayed her as unstable and volatile.

Some famous voices were heard in the episode, including that of Nigel Havers, the Chariots of Fire actor, and Catherine Tate, star of Doctor Who. They were joined by Dame Eileen Atkins, the co-creator of Upstairs Downstairs and screenwriter of Mrs Dalloway, as well as a special appearance for Graham Seed who played Nigel Pargetter in the Archers for 27 years until his character died in the show’s 60th anniversary special in 2011.

Tensions in the deliberation room ran high throughout the decision-making process, with several jurors competing to have their say and arguing about what constitutes domestic abuse and self defence.

The episode flicked between the jurors arguing and the other characters – including Helen in her cell with her baby – and her parents waiting anxiously for the decision.

The verdict may have come as a surprise to listeners. The jury had to return a majority 10 to one verdict but at one point in the show six jurors believed Helen to be guilty.

Commenting on the verdict, Louiza Patikas, who plays Helen, said: “I feel relieved – the secret’s out. Finally I can talk to friends and family about it and I’m really intrigued to see what the public makes of the verdict.”

Patikas, who has played the character for 16 years, met with survivors of domestic violence through the charities **Refuge** and Woman’s Aid, who worked with the radio soap on the story’s development. “My hope is that anyone listening to the programme who is experiencing domestic abuse finds the courage to get the help that’s out there,” Patikas said. “There are people who understand what you’re experiencing and millions of members of the public who are rooting for you, as the reaction to this storyline has demonstrated.

“I hope that she’ll soon get back behind the wheels of her car and start some therapeutic cheese-making when she feels up to it. In fact, therapy all round is probably needed.”

The special episode was Sean O’Connor’s finale as the editor of The Archers. He moved to EastEnders earlier in the year but has continued to oversee the Helen and Rob storyline – which he created – until the end of the trial. “It has been humbling and very moving to be able to shine a light on an urgent social issue that affects millions of women and to see the audience embrace Helen’s story in such an extraordinary way,” he said.

“I was very keen that having accompanied Helen on every step of her painful story, there would be hope for her and her future. We know that life isn’t always like that but sometimes drama can and needs to offer us a sense of redemption. That’s why we decided to conclude the trial with the verdict that we did.”

Polly Neate, chief executive of Women’s Aid, told the Guardian: “Up to 80% of women experience domestic or sexual violence or both so women do retaliate and when they do they very often find themselves in the position of being cast as the perpetrator. From experience I know it’s far from over, particularly where children are concerned. There are lots of avenues where he can still exercise his power and control.”

She also felt that the controversial way that the jurors discussed the issue as they deliberated the verdict was realistic. “I get into a lot of conversations as you can imagine about domestic abuse and about women and men and abusive relationships. I thought the range of views expressed were very typical really.

“Helen was jolly lucky to have someone like Jacqui in the jury actually, but it’s not surprising that there would have been jurors with personal experience of domestic abuse because actually the vast majority of us know someone who has been affected even if we don’t realise it.”

“There were some people in the jury who understood coercive control and understood domestic abuse and what I really hope what this storyline will mean is that in future for women there might more jurors who are more likely to understand the issues. It’s as basic as that. It’s awareness that saves lives when it comes to domestic abuse, which is why this storyline has been overwhelmingly positive.”

Related: My donation page inspired by The Archers has raised over £135,000 | Paul Trueman[https://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network/2016/sep/08/my-donation-page-inspired-by-the-archers-has-raised-over-135000]

The Helen Titchener fund[https://www.justgiving.com/fundraising/helentitchener], which was set up by a fan of the show, Paul Trueman, reached its target of £150,000 as the episode was on air. The money raised will go to **Refuge**, the domestic-violence-support charity.

Trueman, who set up the fundraising page in February as the abuse became more painful to listen to, said: “What a day. I couldn’t be more surprised and delighted by the fund’s success than if the Grundys were revealed as the rightful heirs to Loxley Hall. Thousands of people have helped me hit the target for **Refuge** – and they will change thousands of others’ lives in turn.”

There were hints that the storyline may continue, in a sense, beyond the trial. A custody battle is due to take place on 14 September and at the end of Sunday’s episode Helen had a chilling run-in with Rob. “Did you think you could tell all those lies about me and I’d just disappear?” he said. “Well, you might have fooled everyone else, but we both know the truth … You haven’t got rid of me. As long as we have a child together, you never will.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Open letter calls for government to ‘offer sanctuary to more **refugees**’, particularly relatives of those already in Britain

More than 200 leaders of faith communities have signed an open letter[http://interfaithrefugeeinitiative.org/] to Theresa May calling for urgent changes to the government’s **refugee** policy, particularly to allow families to be reunited.

The signatories are headed by Rowan Williams[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/rowanwilliams], the former archbishop of Canterbury, who will give a speech on Monday in front of an audience of faith leaders and **refugees** to reiterate the letter’s demands.

Elizabeth Butler-Sloss, the former lord justice of appeal, has added her name to the letter, which is also signed by leaders and representatives of the Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist communities.

Related: ‘It is a disgrace to Europe’: former child **refugee** Lord Dubs on the Calais camp[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp]

“As people of faith, we call on your government to urgently revise its policy towards **refugees**,” the letter says.

“The best of this country is represented by the generosity, kindness, solidarity and decency that Britain has at many times shown those fleeing persecution, even at times of far greater deprivation and difficulty than the present day. We rejoice in the mosaic of different faiths and British communities that we now represent.”

It adds: “In the face of the unfolding human catastrophe, there are immediate and viable steps that the government can take to offer sanctuary to more **refugees**. We call on you to create safe, legal routes of travel, for example by adopting fair and humane family reunion policies for **refugees**.”

According to Williams, “the sheer scale of the **refugee** crisis has the capacity to paralyse us”. Allowing relatives of **refugees** already in Britain to join them would offer “a practical route for responding to the pressure of the human suffering we see”, he told the Guardian.

“People admitted as family members are guaranteed a ready-made network, a human support system here – so that we are not talking about an influx of rootless or **alienated** individuals, vulnerable to exploitation and manipulation,” he said.

“One of the greatest tragedies of the current appalling situation is the shattering of family life as a result of displacement and insecurity.”

Calls have been mounting for the government to do more to bring unaccompanied **refugee** children in Calais to Britain. Some 220 children have been identified as having the legal right to be reunited with families, yet only 50 have been allowed to enter the UK.

A campaign[https://www.facebook.com/groups/186922508395215/] by the beneficiaries of Kindertransport[http://www.kindertransport.org/history.htm], the programme to rescue thousands of Jewish children from the Nazis, has raised more than £50,000[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/11/refugees-calais-children-kindertransport-britain-migrants] in a week to help pay legal costs and support children in Calais.

Related: Forgotten inside Greece’s notorious camp for child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/10/child-refugees-greece-camps]

Last week, Justin Welby, the archbishop of Canterbury, raised the issue of unaccompanied children in Calais in the House of Lords. Addressing the home office minister Susan Williams, he said[http://www.christiantoday.com/article/archbishop.of.canterbury.refugee.children.with.uk.family.must.be.brought.over.immediately/94822.htm] : “Does the minister not agree that where children – particularly young ones – have families in this country there is no reason why they should not be brought across within the day?”

One of the signatories of Monday’s interfaith letter, Rabbi Herschel Gluck, said: “Being the son of **refugees** from Hitler, who lost over 100 of their close family members because of the lack of compassion and vision with regard to family reunification by the authorities at that time, I feel especially obliged to help ensure that we don’t repeat those mistakes.”

Qari Muhammad Asim, the chief imam of the Makkah mosque in Leeds, said: “Many **refugees** with close family members in the UK are risking their lives trying to escape deplorable conditions[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/10/child-refugees-greece-camps] in camps and reunite with their families. Many lives could be saved if safe legal routes were secured by the government.”

Present policies were failing unaccompanied **refugee** children in Calais, said Peter Hill, the bishop of Barking. “The system is broken... At the current rate of reunification it will take a year before all the children in Calais are reunited with their families. This is forcing children to take matters into their own hands on rail tracks, stowing away in lorries and putting themselves into the hands of unscrupulous people traffickers. How can a civilised country allow this to continue?”

The interfaith letter follows similar initiatives by 350 judges and lawyers[http://www.lawyersrefugeeinitiative.org/], who wrote to the then prime minister, David Cameron, last October; 120 senior economists[http://www.economists4refugees.org.uk/] in January; and 27 humanitarian and **refugee**organisations[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/03/david-cameron-must-do-more-refugee-crisis-charities-urge], also in January.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Brexiteers intent on creating chaos will be frustrated by the prime minister’s firm grip on the party wheel

Barely has the bell rung for the new school term at Westminster and disputatious ministers are causing unnecessary din. Last week Liam Fox was recorded saying – more truthfully than outraged business voices have reflected – that there is a serious problem with Britain’s trade deficit [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/09/fat-and-lazy-britain-is-ill-prepared-to-secure-future-outside-eu-says-fox], and a boardroom culture of herding private reward has left too few mature companies questing hard enough for foreign business.

Related: The psychology of Mrs May and her grammar school crusade | Andrew Rawnsley [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/10/theresa-may-grammar-schools-selection]

I would be very surprised if Philip Hammond, Theresa May ’s worldly chancellor, does not share the concern about our current account deficit that emerges in these comments. But the saturnine Hammond is wise enough not to use the words “fat”, “lazy” and “golf” in proximity to British business.

David Davis, the Brexit minister – who always assumes he knows better than his titular bosses – was last week effectively ruling out remaining in the single market [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/06/david-davis-single-market-stance-not-government-policy], thus eating up valuable negotiating territory ahead of time. And the wider Brexit bunch were noisy too: Boris Johnson will join Michael Gove and others in pursuit of “hard Brexit” [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/11/boris-johnson-backs-brexit-pressure-campaign-change-britain] – the Usain Bolt variety, in which success is defined by a dash to the finish line – fearing that May prefers the Hotel California sort, where the UK checks out of the EU but never really leaves its structures.

Add to that a backlash from the Lords and some Cameronians (a few open, many grumbling) about the push for more grammar schools, and the prime minister has her hands full, before a single vote is held.

What will be the response of the May machine? No one doubts she can do tough. Her dispatch of Gove [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/14/michael-gove-sacked-as-theresa-may-appoints-new-cabinet], after a long period of tension in cabinet and the fiasco of his attack on his ally Boris Johnson [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/30/michael-gove-to-stand-for-conservative-party-leadership], was a brutal reckoning, accompanied by a lesson on loyalty. Gove and George Osborne now inhabit a corridor of what the Soviets used to call “previous people”, the parliamentary equivalent of a holding pen.

Enemies dispatched, the task of reining in others needs to commence fast. She cannot continue to allow a situation in which ministers sound off their personal views on something as crucial as single-market membership, with too many government ministers sounding like a Twitter profile at the moment: “All views my own”.

Her team points out that whether it’s Brexit or grammar schools, she intends to be fully hands on, so internal opposition, while distracting, will not throw Mayism off course. Practically she had no choice but to embrace hardline Brexiteers, given that both she and Hammond were EU remainers. She has also insisted on personally chairing the main EU Brexit committee, ensuring no policy is developed without her knowledge. A civil servant who knows her well says that when it comes to party and Whitehall organisation, “no one knows better where the stop and start levers are than May”.

Distractions matter, though. Too great an indulgence of them will feed the story that Brexit is a chaotic mess or bottle up the kind of resentments on the right that undermined John Major. True, May is a more self-confident, less nervy prime minister than him. Her secret weapon is that she has a good deal of control over the coming timeline. Hence her instant resistance to triggering article 50 [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/25/article-50-brexit-debate-britain-eu], and insistence that she does not intend to hold an early election [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/03/theresa-may-election-pm-owen-smith-corbyn]. (I would not treat this as an infallible guarantee, but it shows she intends to play a long game.)

It is also true of the grammar schools push [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/09/theresa-may-grammar-school-selection-middle-class?CMP=twt\_gu] : the intention will take a long time to deliver on any scale, but it shows how powerful her personal imprint is. Outside a clique of modernisers, most Conservatives have hankered for the return of grammar schools as vital lost territory, and May is closer to their instincts – by experience and belief – than her predecessors.

Her embrace of grammars also signals something many Tories believe but were dissuaded by Cameron-Osborne from articulating. No amount of graphs about overall outcomes, they feel, can stop a lot of parents – including those who consider themselves progressives or even on the left – wanting to send children to selective schools. Therefore, according to the May worldview, people want something the government has been stopping them from having – and that is wrong.

People do not live in the world of big data about overall outcomes, they look to their families and immediate experience

Here is Mayism in a nutshell. People do not live in the world of big data about overall outcomes, they look to their families and immediate experience – just as the argument that **immigration** benefits Britain overall was outdone by the experience of many voters.

With the exception of the writings of her policy guru, Nick Timothy [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/15/may-appoints-former-advisers-as-joint-chiefs-of-staff], Mayism has had little definition up to now, beyond a securocratic tendency, frustration at supra-national legal meddling, and a readiness to take on the reform-reluctance of the police [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/may/21/theresa-may-ripped-up-tory-pact-police-thatcher]. Now that narrow offering must become broader, without much road-testing beyond the commitment of a loyal but quite narrow inner team. This entails freedom, but at the risk of over-complication.

May seeks to offset the argument that grammars entrench social division with a push for selective schools to take many more students from poorer backgrounds [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/11/theresa-may-persists-with-survival-of-fittest-grammar-schools] and expand in areas of deprivation. Far from foolish in itself, but aligning the objectives so they work together will, in the face of political opposition, tie the plan up in knots for years.

Both the Conservative party at large and voters who, due to Labour’s self-destruction, now expect continued Tory government will want to know that May is dependably in charge. Amber Rudd [https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/lostinshowbiz/2016/jul/14/four-weddings-and-a-funeral-cabinet-reshuffle-amber-rudd], the home secretary who is fast becoming a mini-May – the silky explainer of what the prime minister really wants – made clear on the Andrew Marr Show today that the balance of **immigration** concern and openness to Europe (and beyond) matters (a slap to those who want to give up single market membership without fighting for a trade-off).

Rudd, you may recall, enlivened the referendum campaign with the insight that Boris [http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2016/07/watch-home-secretary-amber-rudd-says-boris-isnt-man-want-driving-home/] is “not the man you want driving you home at the end of the evening”. Now, she reflected: “Boris is not the driver, Theresa May is the driver.” Very well. May has reset the Conservative satnav. Her premiership will be judged on how well-chosen her routes turn out to be. Seatbelts will be required.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The decision to leave the EU has led to a rise in hate crimes, with eastern Europeans targeted. How has this left many of them feeling?

Since Britain’s decision to leave the European Union there has been a spike in hate crimes, with much of this negativity directed towards eastern Europeans.

The Guardian’s Gary Younge recently reported on this and the general sense of unease[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/31/after-the-brexit-vote-it-has-got-worse-the-rise-in-racism-against-east-europeans] as a result – documenting eggs thrown and windows smashed in Bristol. The death of Arkadiusz Józwik[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/30/five-teenage-boys-arrested-after-man-dies-following-attack-in-essex] in Harlow has also brought this topic into sharp focus: Józwik[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/30/five-teenage-boys-arrested-after-man-dies-following-attack-in-essex] was beaten to death in what is being investigated as a suspected hate crime. In the same town, police are now investigating another incident along similar lines. This time, two Polish men were attacked following a remembrance march for Józwik[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/04/assault-on-polish-men-harlow-possible-hate-crime].

We asked eastern Europeans to talk about how they feel after the referendum. Here are some excerpts from the comments we received, condensed and edited for clarity.

Shannon, 27, graphic designer, London I hold dual Canadian-Polish citizenship, but grew up in Canada. Because of this, British people think they can talk openly about their dislike for Polish **immigrants** without knowing I am one.

Before the referendum, people would make jokes about unskilled Polish plumbers. It hurt. I’ve heard horrible stories of how people can be treated here and friends have said that Polish colleagues working in restaurants have been chastised for not being able to speak English properly. They all speak it perfectly.

I believe there’s an image of Poles as plumbers and benefit scroungers, here to steal jobs, but that’s rarely the case – and most give back a lot to Britain.

Related: ‘Eggs thrown, windows smashed, a family attacked in a park’: how ?Brexit impacted east Europeans[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/31/after-the-brexit-vote-it-has-got-worse-the-rise-in-racism-against-east-europeans]

Will I be allowed to stay long-term? There are so many unanswered questions from the government and much uncertainty lies ahead. But perhaps it’s better to ask, do I want to stay in a country that doesn’t want me?

Thomas, 33, works in a restaurant I am originally from Poland and I have two bosses where I work. The day after the referendum result, one of them apologised for the misguided people who voted leave, the other one just kept asking cheerfully, “What are you still doing here?”

Tee, 22, paralegal, London I came here from Russia when I was six. As a child, I experienced racism at school – people telling me to go back to my country and refusing to go near me. But, before the referendum, I had a real sense of patriotism about England. I was on the verge of homelessness a few years ago and people in my local community found me a place to stay and helped me get on benefits. Because of that, I felt very at home here. I wanted to give something back.

However, the referendum result showed me that people don’t really want **immigrants** here. Nigel Farage’s racist and hateful brand of politics won. I don’t feel connected to Britain any more – I feel disappointed. I look and sound British, so luckily I haven’t experienced any racism. I have British citizenship and I am trying to establish a career here. I don’t want to leave.

Alexandra, 25, from Birmingham Have you ever had that nightmare where you go to school and realise that you’re naked and everyone is staring at you? That’s how I feel now. I haven’t changed, I haven’t done anything differently, yet I feel like I’m constantly being watched, as if someone is just waiting for me to make a wrong move so they can say, “That’s it, you’re out!”

Stripped of the protective layer that the EU offered, I feel exposed and unwelcome, but maybe that was always the case.

It seems that this referendum is being used to legitimise racism, offering people the opportunity to vent their spleen against **immigrants**. All of a sudden, it has become OK to be a racist because more than half of the country voted leave. In the community where I live, more than 80% of the people voted leave. The lovely elderly neighbour from across the street, the friendly butcher I visit every Saturday, the smiling cashier at my local shop – do they all want me gone? Apparently so, because my neighbour stopped wishing me a “good morning”, the butcher is always busy in the back when I pop around, and the smiling cashier is not smiling back any more.

I didn’t mind the “go back to your country” jokes at the beginning, but hearing about Polish people getting attacked on the streets, Romanian shops being vandalised and hate speech in the media are constant reminders of who I am: an **immigrant**. And, sooner or later, I could be attacked or verbally abused as well.

I am originally from Romania – and this is embarrassing to admit – but I now avoid speaking in my native tongue whenever I’m outside the house. People stare, sometimes they even sneer or change seats on the train.

Monika, 33, paralegal, Glasgow My own experience has been fantastic, really positive. I came here from Poland 10 years ago, and Scottish people are fantastic – maybe there’s a different view here compared with England. Most of my friends voted remain. To be honest, most of the time when I speak to people who voted leave, they said it was because of the way the **refugee** crisis was handled, rather than because of **immigration**.

Racism is bad in Poland, and everywhere in Europe seems to be the same. Racism is so common these days that we don’t find it shocking anymore. It is bad in England, but Polish people in their own country can be as bad to Ukrainians and Vietnamese **refugeespeople** who come over. Racist incidents in Poland are really on the rise at the moment.

Tola, 34, a web designer, Essex I came here because I felt England would appreciate my skills, the fact that I want to learn and use all that to build something positive. After the referendum, I felt I had got it wrong. People on the street suddenly seemed different, and there was no friendly “hello” in the street. However, everything eventually went back to normal. I spoke to my neighbours, who I knew voted to leave, and I told them I understood; this is their homeland and they did what they thought was best. They seemed a bit sorry.

I have a feeling that British people wanted to change something, without fully realising the consequences. My neighbours said they welcome me and my husband here and that the vote was more about other things (for example, the security of borders).

I have experienced one racist incident, however; a parent in school said something rude to the kids about packing their stuff and leaving after the referendum, but the principal and local authorities reacted appropriately, saying that there’s no place for hate crimes in this town.

I have been here for three years. When I moved here with my husband, before the referendum, we had plans to stay, establish a business, apply for permanent residency and citizenship. We still want to do that, but everything will be more complicated now. We hope we’ll be able to comply with all new rules and requirements that a post-EU Britain will have.

Mika, 50, doctor, the Midlands Most of my patients seem embarrassed about voting leave or cannot really explain why they did it, particularly when I ask why they want me to go back home. The NHS is propped up by many European doctors and it would struggle without us.

I have not seen any examples of abuse or racist behaviour; most people are polite and, if anything, just apologetic. Most patients think I am Swedish and even when I correct them, no one makes any negative comments. I live in a village where 90% voted leave but, as a local, I am not viewed as foreign and life for me has continued as normal.

My partner is British. I have now been here for 12 years and have applied for citizenship just in case there are problems in the future. I have a flat in my home country and could go back to a good job there with no problem. The UK benefits from me being here – it will be their loss if I return home.

Bea, 29, works for an NGO, London My experience of living here is exactly the same after the referendum. Perhaps this is because I live in the capital and work within a truly international team (Spanish, Georgian, Colombian etc). Or perhaps I have just been lucky. It’s hard to deny the statistics showing an increase in hate crime.

I hope the UK will get out of the EU on good terms, and Europe will not punish us for leaving. If I have children in the future, it’ll be a shame if they can’t study and work abroad. I live in Hackney and I love it here. The Victoria Park community is the best; there are many languages and many ethnicities here.

Albi, 68, retired civil servant, London I was originally born in Czechoslovakia, but have been in the UK for more than 30 years. I still have a slight accent and since Brexit I have been asked aggressively, “When are you leaving this country and going home?”

I fear about my future , even in London. My Yugoslav citizenship is no more (because Yugoslavia doesn’t exist any more), and I have therefore requested the Croatian embassy to consider me for their citizenship, just in case things deteriorate and there are more racist attacks in Britain. Clearly, my UK citizenship will not protect me when I am having my head kicked in on a pavement.

Ella, 30, architect, London There was tension in the office at the time of the referendum; a couple of my colleagues said that there are too many Polish people here. They said this to my face. I was let go a couple of weeks after that, with my employer saying I didn’t fit the office culture. I now have a new job. I’ve just started my own business and I plan to eventually move it to Warsaw.

Emily, management, London The EU vote was an eye-opener. Although my husband is British and I have lived here for more than 15 years, working and paying taxes, I felt **alienated** almost overnight. I felt almost sick on the morning following the referendum.

I felt more welcome when I first arrived here, when Poland wasn’t even in the EU. I used to think of Britain with warmth and gratitude for giving me a new home; now I just see it as a country with a massive amount of small-minded, bigoted people in it, who are totally opposed to foreigners living and working here. At the same time, these people will wave flags and cheer when Mo Farah, an **immigrant** to the country, wins gold. People shame benefit claimants yet don’t mind paying millions to the monarchy. The class system here has always baffled me, but Brexit only showed how rotten it is in reality.

I live in London, so haven’t experienced xenophobia as such, but my cousin living in Birmingham had dog poo thrown in her garden, and thus decided to move back to Poland. She works for the NHS. Good luck filling those jobs when more people go.

Cat, 41, works at a university

I generally do not speak much in my native eastern European language, but I am very careful now of using it in public, as I am scared of the reaction. At my workplace, people talk about eastern European scroungers and our love for vodka. I don’t comment or get involved, as there has always been a hostile and unwelcoming atmosphere towards Europeans where I work.

In general, I am very sad that European solidarity failed and people voted leave. There is enough going on in the world and we don’t need to be turning our backs on each other.

\* Some names have been changed.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Charges of up to £17.50 at UK airports to jump **immigration** queues could be rolled out nationwide, report suggests

Travellers are to be charged at least £5 to get through passport checks quickly at all British airports, with some paying as much as £17.50, it has been reported.

The charge is an attempt to cut queues. But unions called it a gimmick and accused the government of failing to properly fund border controls.

At Gatwick airport, passengers face having to pay £17.50 on top of the price of their airline ticket to go into a fast lane through passport control on arrival and through security on departure.

The scheme could also mean that those who do not pay are forced to wait even longer if staff were diverted to running the premium system and not replaced.

It was reported last month that Edinburgh airport was adopting the system and Gatwick’s service was advertised last year. Now, the Sunday People reports, the scheme is to be rolled out across every UK airport.

A spokesman for the Public and Commercial Services (PCS) union said: “This is a ridiculous idea that exposes just how understaffed our borders are. What happens if everyone opts to pay £5? We’re back to square one.

“Instead of gimmicks like this, the government needs to properly invest in staff to work at ports and airports because the shortages are there for all to see.”

And Mark Gribbin, chairman of the ISU, which represents borders, **immigration** and customs workers, said staffing levels were inadequate.

“There are simply not enough staff. Our members are working hours on end under oppressive, often hostile conditions,” he told members.

“Managers are under severe pressure to contain queues, creating still more pressure for frontline staff. It’s only a matter of time before [there is] serious public disorder and, who knows, even mass breach of the border.”

At Gatwick, the system involves giving those who have paid extra an “exclusive lane through passport control” and, in order to guarantee fast passage, it is limited to 50 people per hour.

The rollout follows a government consultation in 2013, in which the possibility of charging for quick passage through passport control was raised. The government had been running a similar system at some border crossing points, but was only charging travellers what it cost to run.

In the consultation document, the government suggested increasing the price and using the money it raised to “help fund the **immigration** system, secure the border and invest in improving processes”.

The Home Office has not responded to the Guardian’s request for comment. A spokesperson told the Sunday People that 27 million people had used e-passport gates in the past year and that the fast track passport control at Edinburgh would provide “a quick, secure and convenient route through the border”.

The official added: “Border Force is committed to providing an excellent service to all arriving in the UK.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Republican candidate wants to deport **immigrants** and build a wall to keep Mexicans out. So what drives los Trumpistas?

‘Trump is our wakeup call’ Raul Rodriguez, 74, Apple Valley, California

I always carry a bullhorn with me to rallies and campaign events. Into it I shout: “America, wake up!” Americans have been asleep for way too long. We need to realise that the future of our country is at stake.

If we don’t elect Donald Trump, we’ll get another four years of Barack Obama and frankly, I don’t know what would happen to this wonderful country of ours. Obama has already done so much to destroy our way of life and Hillary Clinton is promising to carry on where he left off. Like Obama, she wants to change our fundamental values – the ones people like my father fought to defend.

My father was born in Durango, Mexico. When he came to the US he joined the military and served as a medic during the second world war. He was a very proud American – he truly loved this country. I think I got my sense of patriotism from him.

Obama and Hillary Clinton want to have open borders. They let illegal **immigrants** cross our borders and now they want to accept thousands of Syrians. We don’t know who these people are. If they want to come to this country, they have to do it the right way, like my father did it.

I’m tired of politicians telling voters what they want to hear and then returning to Washington and doing whatever their party tells them to do. Politicians are supposed to represent the people – not their parties or their donors.

Part of the reason I like Donald Trump is because he isn’t an established politician. Sometimes that hurts him and people get offended. But the truth hurts. Even if he doesn’t say it well, he’s not wrong. Trump is our wakeup call.

‘Democrats treat Latinos as if we’re all one big group’ Ximena Barreto, 31, San Diego, California

I was in primary school in my native Colombia when my father was murdered. I was six – just one year older than my daughter is now. My father was an officer in the Colombian army at a time when wearing a uniform made you a target for narcoterrorists, Farc fighters and guerrilla groups.

What I remember clearly from those early years is the bombing and the terror. I was so afraid, especially after my dad died. At night, I would curl up in my mother’s bed while she held me close. She could not promise me that everything was going to be all right, because it wasn’t true. I don’t want my daughter to grow up like that.

But when I turn on my TV, I see terrorist attacks in San Bernardino [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/san-bernardino-shooting] and in Orlando [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/orlando-terror-attack]. There are dangerous people coming across our borders. Trump [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] was right. Some are rapists and criminals, but some are good people, too. But how do we know who is who, when you come here illegally?

I moved to the US in 2006 on a work permit. It took nearly five years and thousands of dollars to become a US citizen. I know the process is not perfect, but it’s the law. Why would I want illegals coming in when I had to go through this? It’s not fair that they’re allowed to jump the line and take advantage of so many benefits, ones that I pay for with my tax dollars.

People assume that because I’m a woman, I should vote for the woman; or that because I’m Latina, I should vote for the Democrat. The Democrats [https://www.democrats.org/] have been pandering to minorities and women for the last 50 years. They treat Latinos as if we’re all one big group. I’m Colombian – I don’t like Mariachi [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mariachi] music. Donald Trump is not just saying what he thinks people want to hear, he’s saying what they’re afraid to say. I believe that he’s the only candidate who can make America strong and safe again.

‘Trump beat the system: what’s more American than that?’

Bertran Usher, 20, Inglewood, California

Donald Trump is the candidate America deserves. For decades, Americans have bemoaned politicians and Washington insiders. We despise political speak and crave fresh, new ideas. When you ask for someone with no experience, this is what you get. It’s like saying you don’t want a doctor to operate on you.

But Trump is a big FU to America. He beat the system and proved everyone wrong. What’s more American than that?

As a political science student who one day hopes to go into politics, I am studying this election closely. Both candidates are deeply unpopular and people of my generation are not happy with their choices. I believe we can learn what not to do from this election. I see how divided the country is, and it’s the clearest sign that politicians will have to learn to work together to make a difference. It’s not always easy, but I’ve seen this work.

I was raised in a multicultural household. My mother, a Democrat, is Latino and African American, raised in the inner city of Los Angeles. My father, a Republican, is an **immigrant** from Belize. My parents and I don’t always see eye to eye on everything, but our spirited debates have helped add nuance to my politics.

I’m in favour of small government, but I support gay rights. I believe welfare is an important service for Americans who need it, but I think our current programme needs to be scaled back. I think we need to have stricter enforcement of people who come to the country illegally, but I don’t think we should deport the DREAMers [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/DREAM\_Act] [children of **immigrants** who were brought to the country illegally, named after the 2001 Development, Relief, and Education for **Alien** Minors Act].

Trump can be a nut, but I think he’s the best candidate in this election. Though there are issues of his I disagree with, at least he says what’s on his mind, as opposed to Hillary Clinton [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/hillary-clinton], who hides what she’s thinking behind her smile.

It’s up to my generation to fix the political mess we’re in. I plan to be a part of the solution.

‘Trump’s The Art Of The Deal inspired me to be a businessman’ Omar Navarro, 27, Torrance, California

When I was a kid, people would ask what I wanted to be when I grew up. I would tell them: I want to be president of the United States. If that doesn’t work out, I want to be a billionaire like Trump.

In a way, I supported him long before he announced he was running for president. He was my childhood hero. I read The Art Of The Deal [https://www.amazon.co.uk/Trump-Art-Deal-Tony-Schwartz/dp/0345479173] as a student; it inspired me to become a businessman. Now I own a small business and am running for Congress [http://www.omarnavarro.com/] in California’s 43rd district.

Trump built an empire and a strong brand that’s recognisable all around the world; he’s a household name and a world-class businessman. Almost anywhere you go, you can see the mark of Donald Trump on a building or property. When I see that, I see the American Dream.

Some people ask me how I can support Donald Trump as the son of a Mexican and Cuban **immigrants**. They are categorising me. In this country we label people: Hispanic, African American, Asian, Caucasian. We separate and divide people into social categories based on race, ethnicity, gender and creed. To me, this is a form of racism. I’m proud of my Hispanic heritage but I’m an American, full stop.

Like all **immigrants**, my parents came to this country for a better opportunity. But they did it legally. They didn’t cut the line. They assimilated to the American way of life, learned English and opened small businesses.

Why should we allow people to skirt the law? Imagine making a dinner reservation and arriving at the restaurant to find out that another family has been seated at your table. How is that fair?

We have to have laws and as a country we must enforce those laws. A society without laws is just anarchy. If someone invited you to their house and asked you to remove your shoes would you keep them on? If we don’t enforce the rules, why would anyone respect them? I believe Donald Trump will enforce the rules.

‘He has taken a strong stand against abortion’ Jimena Rivera, 20, student at the University of Texas at Brownsville

I’m Mexican, so I don’t have a vote, but I support Donald Trump because he is the one candidate who opposes abortion. He may have wavered in the beginning, but since becoming the nominee he has taken a strong stand against abortion.

Hillary Clinton is running as the leader of a party that has pushed a very pro-choice platform. Even Democrats like her running mate, Tim Kaine [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/23/tim-kaine-vice-president-hillary-clinton-2016-campaign], who is a devout Catholic, compromise their faith to support abortion.

I don’t always agree with his positions on **immigration**. I see the border wall every day. I’m not convinced that it’s effective. The people who want to cross will find a way. I don’t think it’s right that they do, but most of them are looking for a better way of life. A wall won’t stop them.

‘Lower taxes and less regulation will create more jobs’ Marissa Desilets, 22, Palm Springs, California

I am a proud Hispanic conservative Republican woman. I became politically engaged as a political science and economics major at university. By my junior year, I was a member of the campus Republicans’ club. As a student of economics, I am very impressed with Trump’s economic agenda. I believe we must cut taxes for everyone and eliminate the death tax. Lowering taxes and reeling back regulations will create more jobs – meaning more tax-paying Americans. This in turn will generate more revenue for the Treasury.

I also support Trump because he favours strong leadership and promised to preserve the constitution of the United States. We must have a rule of law in this country. We must close our open borders. Like Trump says: “a nation without borders is not a nation.” This doesn’t mean we should not allow any **immigrants**. We should welcome new **immigrants** who choose to legally enter our beautiful country.

This won’t be the case if Hillary Clinton becomes president. I would expect the poor to become poorer and our country to become divided. I believe that liberals’ reckless domestic spending will bankrupt our future generations. I refuse to support a party that desires to expand the government and take away my civil liberties.

‘He has gone through so many divorces, yet raised such a close-knit family’ Dr Alexander Villicana, 80, Pasadena, California

I am an example of the opportunities this country has to offer. My parents came from Mexico at the turn of the 20th century. They were not educated but they worked hard to make a better life for us and it paid off.

I went to school and studied cosmetic surgery. Now I work as a plastic surgeon and have been in practice for the last 40 years. I have a beautiful family and my health. I am Hispanic – but I am a citizen of the United States and I feel very patriotic for this country that has given me so much.

I’m supporting Trump because I agree with his vision for our economy. He has experience at the negotiating table, so he knows what to do to create jobs and increase workers’ salaries. In Trump’s America people would be rewarded for their hard work rather than penalised with hefty taxes.

The security of our nation is a top priority for me. I think it would be impossible to deport 11 million people who are here illegally, but we have to do a better job of understanding who is in our country and who is trying to come into our country.

A lot of what Trump says, especially about security and **immigration**, is twisted by the media. What he said about Mexicans, for example, that wasn’t negative – it was the truth. There are Mexicans bringing over drugs and perpetrating rapes. But what he also said – and the media completely ignored – is that many Mexicans are good people coming over for a better quality of life.

He may be blunt and occasionally offensive but I find him likable. I was so impressed by Trump and his family at the Republican National Convention [http://convention.gop/]. It’s hard for me to imagine that someone who has gone through so many divorces has managed to raise such a close-knit family. None of his children had to work and yet they spoke with eloquence and integrity about their father.

‘When Trump is harsh about Mexicans, he is right’ Francisco Rivera, 43, Huntington Park, California

People ask me how I can support Donald Trump. I say, let me tell you a story. I was in line at the movie theatre recently when I saw a young woman toss her cupcake into a nearby planter as if it were a trash can. I walked over to her and said, “Honey, excuse me, does that look like a garbage can to you?” And you know what she told me? “There’s already trash in the planter, so what does it matter?”

I asked her what part of Mexico she was from. She seemed surprised and asked how I knew she was from Mexico. “Look at what you just did,” I told her. “Donald Trump may sound harsh when he speaks about Mexicans, but he is right. It’s people like you that make everyone look bad.”

I moved from Mexico with my family when I was seven. I still carry a photo of my brother and I near our home, to remind people how beautiful the city once was. Now I spend my time erasing graffiti from the walls and picking up trash. Sixty years ago, we accepted **immigrants** into our country who valued the laws, rules and regulations that made America the land of opportunity. Back in those days, people worked hard to improve themselves and their communities.

I’m tired of living in a lawless country. It’s like we put a security guard at the front door, but the Obama administration unlocked the back door. And I have seen what my own people have done to this country. They want to convert America into the country they left behind. This country has given me so many opportunities I wouldn’t have had if my mom had raised her family in Mexico. I want America to be great again, and that’s why in November I am going to vote for Donald Trump.

‘I voted for Obama twice, but Hillary gets a free pass’ Teresa Mendoza, 44, Mesa, Arizona

In my day job I am a real estate agent but every now and then I dabble in standup comedy. Comedy used to be a safe space. You could say whatever you wanted to and it was understood that it was meant to make people laugh. Now everything has to be politically correct. You can’t say “Hand me the black crayon” without someone snapping back at you: “What do you mean by that?” Donald Trump offended a lot of people when he gave the speech calling [Mexicans] rapists and criminals but he didn’t offend me.

I was a liberal Democrat all my life. Before this I voted for Obama twice. I wanted to be a part of history. If it wasn’t for Obamacare [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patient\_Protection\_and\_Affordable\_Care\_Act] and the ridiculous growth of our federal government, I’d probably still be a Democrat, asleep at the wheel. But I woke up and realised I’m actually much more in line with Republicans on major policy points.

I like to joke that I’m an original anchor baby. My parents came from Mexico in the 1970s under the Bracero work programme [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bracero\_program] making me a California-born Chicana. We later became US citizens. But now that I’m a Republican, Hillary Clinton is trying to tell me I’m “ alt-right [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alt-right] ”. It’s strange isn’t it? All of a sudden I’m a white nationalist.

My sons and I go back and forth. They don’t like Trump. But it’s what they’re hearing in school, from their friends and teachers, who are all getting their news from the same biased news outlets.

I’m very concerned about the role the media is taking in this election. The networks sensationalise and vilify Trump while they give Hillary Clinton a free pass. It amazes me. I don’t care if Trump likes to eat his fried chicken with a fork and a knife. I do care that Clinton has not been held responsible for the Benghazi attacks [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012\_Benghazi\_attack].

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**European commission drawing up plans based on US system, which charges applicants a fee

British citizens may have to apply online and pay to travel to Europe after the UK leaves the EU, under plans being drawn up by the bloc for a visa waiver programme similar to the US system.

The European commission is due to unveil draft legislation for the EU travel information and authorisation system (Etias) later this year as part of a broader response to calls for greater security across the continent following recent terror attacks in France and Belgium.

The scheme would cover all visitors to the passport-free 26-nation Schengen zone – of which Britain is not a member – from countries that do not need a visa to enter, EU sources confirmed.

France and Germany both back a system based on the US ESTA scheme[https://esta.cbp.dhs.gov/esta/], under which visitors from countries that do not require full visas must apply online for permission to travel, preferably 72 hours before they leave, at a cost of $14 (£10).

Related: 'Fat and lazy' Britain is ill-prepared to secure future outside EU, says Fox[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/09/fat-and-lazy-britain-is-ill-prepared-to-secure-future-outside-eu-says-fox]

Currently, as citizens of the EU but not part of Schengen, UK nationals must show a valid passport to enter the zone but can then travel freely within it. But after Brexit, British citizens could have to apply through the Etias scheme and pay to visit, legal experts said.

“In theory UK citizens, as third-country nationals, would certainly be subject to the obligations” of such a scheme, said Camino Mortera-Martinez, a research fellow specialising in justice and home affairs at the Centre for European Reform. “This will have to be part of the Brexit talks. It will all have to be negotiated.”

Steve Peers, a professor of EU law at the University of Essex, said he could envisage British holidaymakers having to apply online through a future EU electronic visa waiver scheme before travelling to Spain or France, for example.

“It’s going to annoy a lot of people,” he said. “We can ask for full free movement, but any arrangement is going to have to be reciprocal, so you have to ask what Nigel Farage and the others will accept. We have no idea what the rules will be.”

Peers said the only guarantee that British citizens would not be subject to any future EU ESTA-style system and instead would still be able, for example, to use fast-track channels at EU airports would be if the government negotiated a deal similar enough to Norway’s or Switzerland’s to satisfy Brussels on free movement.

British residents made more than 30m holiday trips to EU countries last year, according to the Office for National Statistics, with Spain (13m visits)[https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2016/jan/27/terrorism-fears-see-uk-tourists-opting-for-safer-holiday-destinations] and France (8.8m) the most popular destinations.

The EU plan is part of series of measures planned in the wake of the Paris attacks in January and November last year and the Brussels airport and metro bombings in March this year[https://www.theguardian.com/world/brussels-attacks], which exposed serious failings in the EU’s external and internal border security systems.

The plan for a European ESTA was first outlined in 2011. The French interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, said last month[https://twitter.com/Place\_Beauvau/status/767996540589862912?ref\_src=twsrc%5Etfw] that France supported “a European ESTA, like that in the US, Canada and Australia”.

Under the US system, introduced in 2009, **immigration** authorities assess whether a visitor is eligible to enter the country under its visa waiver programme before they arrive at the border.

Related: Swiss blink first in EU standoff with striking similarities to UK predicament[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/swiss-eu-standoff-striking-similarities-uk-predicament]

Citing Brussels sources, the specialist EU news site Euractiv said[http://www.euractiv.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/section/global-europe/news/non-eu-citizens-will-pay-to-enter-the-schengen-area-under-future-etias-scheme/] the UK government was not involved in Etias, which is the responsibility of Dimitris Avramopoulos, the EU’s migration and home affairs commissioner, and not Britain’s future EU commissioner Julian King, who will take over the security portfolio.

The Schengen zone includes all 27 other EU member states except Ireland, which opted out like Britain, and Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, and Romania, which are waiting to join the zone. Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland have signed Schengen association agreements.

The British government has given no clear indication of the form its preferred Brexit model will take, but appears to be aiming for a bespoke agreement that would give it control over EU **immigration**, possibly at the expense of single market membership, rather than a deal based on that of Norway and Switzerland.

Negotiations with the EU are likely to be long and tough, with European leaders repeatedly stressing that privileged access to the EU’s single market[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/04/uk-could-access-single-market-suggests-french-presidential-favourite-alain-juppe] will not be on offer unless Britain accepts the fundamental principle of free movement.

Britain has also so far refused to guarantee the residence[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jul/04/future-of-eu-nationals-in-uk-uncertain-may-comments-tory-leadership-brexit] and other rights of EU citizens already in Britain unless it receives assurances from the EU on the status of British nationals on the continent.

Mortera-Martinez said Etias “may be some time coming” and stressed that that in practice Britain’s future deal with the EU would almost certainly include some form of provision for free travel – as opposed to the right to live and work – on the continent. But the free travel question will be one of many bargaining chips.

“Britain is a neighbouring country, it is a safe country, this would be very bad for business and there would always be a possibility of retaliation,” Mortera-Martinez said. “But this question will have to be dealt with. The two are not remotely comparable of course, but after Brexit Britain will be a third country like Turkey.”

The Paris and Brussels attacks exposed the ease with which even people flagged by police and intelligence services can move around the Schengen zone once they have crossed the EU’s external border, prompting France and some other countries to temporarily reinstate internal border controls.

Among a raft of new security measures, the EU has already adopted a passenger name record[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/20150123BKG12902/eu-passenger-name-record-(pnr)-directive-an-overview], obliging airlines to hand EU countries their passengers’ data, and is working on an advanced entry-exit system aimed at registering all border crossings by third-country nationals in the Schengen area.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The musical tells the story of travellers grounded in the remote Canadian town of Gander on 9/11 – yet despite the sensitive subject matter, it has received huge ovations and is bound for Broadway

It might be the most unlikely pitch for a musical since Max Bialystock and Leo Bloom came up with Springtime for Hitler[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2008/aug/16/comedy.theproducers].

The action in Come From Away[http://comefromaway.com/] starts on 11 September 2001, a day on which nearly 3,000 Americans were killed by terrorists and which artists still approach at their peril, risking accusations of exploitation and tastelessness.

Yet the genius of the show is that it approaches 9/11 obliquely and tells a little known and hugely uplifting story in its margins. And somehow, neither sacrilegious nor sentimental, it works. Come From Away sold out in Seattle and San Diego and is Broadway bound. After a standing ovation in Washington this week[https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/theater\_dance/come-from-away-stirs-powerful-memories-of-911/2016/09/08/32e8d5d0-7577-11e6-be4f-3f42f2e5a49e\_story.html], one audience member could be heard saying: “The next Hamilton!”

When hijacked planes flew into the World Trade Center, Pentagon and a field in Pennsylvania 15 years ago this Sunday, US airspace was shut down and planes ordered to land. Some 38 planes with 6,579 passengers were diverted to Gander[https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/on-sept-11-a-tiny-canadian-town-opened-its-runways-and-heart-to-7000-stranded-travelers/2016/09/08/89d875da-75e5-11e6-8149-b8d05321db62\_story.html], a remote town in Newfoundland, Canada, because of its vast airport that hosted the Queen, the Beatles and Muhammad Ali before the jet engine rendered it superfluous. And then they were stranded far from home.

We see passengers going stir-crazy as they sit on a plane on the tarmac for more than 24 hours. There are only so many inflight movies they can watch. Many don’t have mobile phones in those days, and the batteries have died anyway. They don’t know what’s happened in New York and Washington but they know it’s serious and rumours abound. “Is it world war three?” one asks in panic.

Eventually they are allowed to disembark but, with fear of terrorists running high, must leave their luggage behind. They pile on to buses with no idea where they’re going. Finally they are given food and shelter for the night but all they care about it watching the TV news. In one of the musical’s most powerful moments, we watch their reactions as they witness the catastrophe of 9/11 with fresh eyes.

“You don’t see what they’re seeing but everyone in the audience has their own version of what they’re seeing,” says David Hein, co-author of the musical with his wife, Irene Sankoff (both are Canadian-born).

With the new arrivals, the population of Gander has almost doubled overnight. The hospitality of the locals is inspiring as they take passengers into their homes, give them free food, clothes and other essentials and rally with Blitz spirit. Lifelong friendships are formed in this strange limbo. The aircraft, meanwhile, sit slowly sinking into the tarmac.

The “plane people” are from more than a hundred countries and react in different ways. A mother is desperate for news of her son, a firefighter in New York. A pioneering female airline captain fears for her friends and colleagues. A man is worried that his wallet will be stolen but learns to worry less. A gay couple fear the reaction of a seemingly conservative community. Romances are forged and others unravel[https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/theater\_dance/musical-tales-to-make-hearts-leap-at-a-time-when-they-were-desolate/2016/08/26/65381442-6875-11e6-8225-fbb8a6fc65bc\_story.html]. Some find that being stranded is escapism, a chance to reinvent themselves.

All of this could so easily have descended into earnest schmaltz with a “the darkest hour is just before the dawn” homily about hope rising from the ashes of 9/11. But like Frank Capra’s It’s a Wonderful Life[https://www.theguardian.com/film/it-s-a-wonderful-life], the show is tougher than it first appears. A Muslim man heard speaking Arabic on the phone is treated with hostility and suspicion. After days of being stranded, tempers begin to fray. And when the passengers finally leave, there is a sense of emptiness on both sides.

Hein observes: “It was not sunshine and lollipops. It was a real event that happened to real people.”

He and Sankoff were in New York on 9/11 and Hein’s cousin was in the Twin Towers but survived. “We’ve been very clear from the beginning, when we went out to Newfoundland to interview everyone, we realise the story that we’re telling isn’t about 9/11,” he says. “It’s a 9/12 story and it’s a story about how this small community reacted to a larger tragedy and a story of kindness and generosity.”

The original idea was pitched to them by Michael Rubinoff, who later founded the Canadian Musical Theatre Project. They discovered that many of the passengers were heading back to Gander to mark the 10th anniversary.

Hein continues: “We were lucky enough to go out there and spend almost a month interviewing people. The rest of the press was there trying to get five-second soundbites and we ended up talking to people for four or five hours and just came back with thousands of stories that we couldn’t wait to share.”

The couple pulled off an impressive piece of journalism, distilling those interviews into 105 minutes without an interval, sometimes by amalgamating characters and incidents. Directed by Christopher Ashley, a superb ensemble cast moves back and forth between playing passengers and locals, with their distinct accents, and the music is rooted in Newfoundland with a Celtic flavour. It will be seen in Gander itself on 29 October.

Before then, it continues at Ford’s theatre in Washington[https://events.fords.org/productions/come-from-away/], a place full of echoes and ghosts. In one scene, an actor plays George W Bush while sitting near the box where Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in 1865 (the pistol wielded by John Wilkes Booth is displayed in a museum downstairs).

Hein reflects: “There’s never a bad time to tell a story about human kindness and reaching out to strangers. One of the passengers said: ‘We were all **refugees**coming off those planes.’ And right now in Newfoundland there are welcoming in Syrian **refugees** as we speak.

“This is an important story to tell from that context. It’s not directly 9/11 but it’s a direct story about being good to one another and that seems important right now. It was really wonderful on opening night to see an incredible bipartisan audience from Capitol Hill watching it and each owning it in different ways and finding something to admire and honour and recognise.”

Some of the people portrayed in the musical are fans of it. Beverley Bass, the airline captain who features prominently, was due to see it for the 16th time on Friday night. “We absolutely love it,” she said. “It’s such a feelgood story after such a dark time in our history. It recognises Gander and all they did for us, which many people in the US don’t know about.”

Bass, who is 64, retired from flying in January 2008 and lives in Argyle, Texas. She said the authors were faithful to her story, incorporating parts of her interview directly into a solo song which muses on how she devoted her life to flying, breaking a glass ceiling for women, only to see planes cause death and destruction. “It’s what I loved the most and it had been used as a weapon and it felt so invasive,” she said.

On Sunday, she will be at the theatre again for both performances. “It will be a little more emotionally challenged than a normal night at the show. It will be a reflective time.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Jason Falinski says he won’t let anyone attack the country’s system, after growing criticism over delay in resettling Syrian and Iraqi **refugees**

The Liberal MP Jason Falinski says he won’t let “anyone criticise Australia’s **refugee** program”, amid a growing chorus of international and domestic criticism over Australia’s slow resettlement of Syrian **refugees**.

The former prime minister Tony Abbott pledged to take 12,000 Syrian and Iraqi **refugees** in 2015, in a move that was at the time lauded as a significant improvement in Australia’s humanitarian intake.

But the Australian government has now come under sustained criticism[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/08/australia-criticised-over-hollow-promise-to-resettle-12000-syrian-and-iraqi-refugees] over breaking this promise – only 3,632 people have been resettled.

On Saturday, Falinski grew defensive on ABC TV after the New South Wales Greens MP David Shoebridge pointed to the criticism by World Vision, the United Nations and other groups, of Australia’s failure to resettle the Syrian **refugees** it had committed to take in.

Related: Peter Dutton swipes at Canada as he defends Australia's slow response to **refugee** crisis[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/09/peter-dutton-defends-refugee-lag-saying-australias-security-checks-better-than-canada]

“I’m not going to let anyone criticise Australia’s **refugee** program. It is one of the best in the world, the most generous. The criticisms you are making are broad-based,” Falinski said.

“Are you telling us we don’t have one of the most generous **refugee** programs in the world? Are you telling me the Australian community isn’t one of the most generous communities in the world?”

Shoebridge pointed to Canada’s fast processing of Syrian asylum seekers and its substantial commitment compared with Australia, and said Malcolm Turnbull’s government had showed “a lack of political will” to resettle them.

“The people on the ground are saying Australia has been dragging the chain. They point to Canada. Canada has enormous integrity in its intake system. It’s processed almost 10 times as many **refugees** in the same time as Australia,” he said.

Related: Australia criticised over 'hollow' promise to resettle 12,000 Syrian and Iraqi **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/08/australia-criticised-over-hollow-promise-to-resettle-12000-syrian-and-iraqi-refugees]

“A generous promise is great. But we want generosity on the ground. We need to bring them here.”

The **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, has also defended the program[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/09/peter-dutton-defends-refugee-lag-saying-australias-security-checks-better-than-canada], claiming that “the scrutiny that we apply is greater than Canada”.

The global response to the growing migration crisis around the world is likely to come under further scrutiny later in September, with the US president, Barack Obama, hosting a migration summit in the middle of the United Nations general assembly.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Getup and Human Rights Law Centre launch new campaign following visit to the facility, and publish statements of several of the men being held there

**Refugees** held on Manus Island as part of Australia’s offshore detention regime have spoken out about their plight, as pressure grows on the government to resolve the impasse.

Getup and the Human Rights Law Centre on Saturday launched a new campaign following a recent visit to Manus Island to view the Australian-run detention and resettlement facilities.

The Manus Island detention centre is to shut down after it was found to be unlawful, although the timeline for this closure is uncertain. It remains unclear what will happen to the men found to be **refugees** and whether they will be resettled in Papua New Guinea or elsewhere.

The organisations have published the statements of several of the men held on Manus.

Imran Mohammad said: “learned English by writing a page of my life story every single day. Each day I would take that page to a teacher in the camp to correct my mistakes. I have been here for three years, and my story is now over 1100 pages long.”

Related: Inside Manus: life in detention – a photo essay[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/sep/10/inside-manus-life-in-detention-a-photo-essay]

Nayser Ahmed, who has a family that lives in Australia, said: “The thing I miss the most about my kids... is sitting down for dinner together. Every night we would sit together and eat dinner together. That is important for a family. Every night here I think of that.”

The Human Rights Law Centre’s director of legal advocacy, Daniel Webb, interviewed the men held on Manus Island in person as part of the recent visit.

“I spent my time on Manus Island interviewing the men our government has warehoused there for the last three years. I met some truly amazing people. I met one man who speaks seven languages, two of which he taught himself while in detention. I met another guy who didn’t speak a word of English when we first sent him to Manus but who has now written a book,” he said.

“They are men of different ages, from different parts of the world and with different stories to tell. But what they all have in common is they are tired. After three years of fear, violence and limbo, they are completely exhausted. It’s time to bring them here.”

Webb’s trip was not without incident. During his visit to the island, two **refugees** were attacked with machetes[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/14/manus-island-photos-show-aftermath-of-violent-attack-afghan-refugees] by a group of seven local men[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/15/manus-refugee-says-he-thought-he-would-die-after-being-attacked-by-locals]. Webb witnessed the aftermath of the assault along with freelance photojournalist Matthew Abbott. Police demanded that the photos taken by Abbott of the attack be erased.

Guardian Australia has published[http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2016/sep/10/inside-manus-life-in-detention-a-photo-essay] on Saturday a photoessay of Abbott’s visit to the island.

Getup’s human rights director, Shen Narayanasamy, urged the government to allow the men held on Manus to come to Australia.

Related: Manus island: photos show aftermath of violent attack on Afghan **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/14/manus-island-photos-show-aftermath-of-violent-attack-afghan-refugees]

“These men include engineers, poets, soccer players and cooks. They cut hair, they write books and the have dreams of being part of our community,” she said. “They fled dangerous places in search of a better life, for safety, and it is time we allowed them to come to Australia.”

Malcolm Turnbull’s government is facing growing pressure over Australia’s two remote offshore detention centres on Nauru and Manus Island.

Guardian Australia’s publication of the Nauru files[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention] renewed attention to Australia’s offshore detention facilities and the prolonged holding of the men, women and children held there.

The information disclosed in the 2000 incident reports published drew strong domestic and international condemnation.

The Labor party has also launched a push for a Senate inquiry, which is likely to succeed.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Set against the seaside charm (and ostentatious wealth), works previously seen as cold and sparse take on a new, warmer complexion

In the idyllic and also more than slightly insane seaside town of East Hampton, New York, just a mile away from waves crashing onto sandy shores and a rustic windmill that has turned in ocean air since 1806, austere arrangements of lines and grids serve an atmosphere of a markedly different kind. Tubes of bright fluorescent light shine in alternately inviting and estranging tones, with strategic deviations between extremes at different ends of a spectrum. Exacting patterns play out in measured stacks of metal boxes placed matter-of-factly on a wall. Momentous paintings that only barely register as paintings at all command attention with nothing more in terms of subject matter than the subtlest distinctions between shades of white and grey.

The occasion for the congregation of them all is Aspects of Minimalism[http://www.guildhall.org/events/?id=980&mode=id], an exhibition of minimalist art. Much of it hails from the heyday of the minimalism in the 1960s and 70s, when the term was affixed to strains of painting and sculpture that could be seen as a reaction, a reduction or a reification in line with an idea that art is in the ideal state when – no more, no less – it is what it is.

The setting for the exhibition is Guild Hall[http://www.guildhall.org/], a small and charming museum where work of the kind looks both at home and **alien** in this world. Getting there from New York City takes about three hours on a train or a bus, through suburban terrain that transforms into a sort of pastoral paradise. East Hampton, of all the Hamptons that serve as exurban sanctuaries and resorts, is the most moneyed and manicured, beautiful but with an anxiety and tension to it too. Sit and eat lunch on a bench in the serene town center and observe a pompous man exit his Porsche with a vanity license plate reading BOTML1NE. Stroll the shops and spy a bathing suit photo-printed with an image of midtown Manhattan, perfect for the beachgoer eager to miss the point of going to the beach entirely. Drop into Harper’s Books[http://www.harpersbooks.com/], a world-class destination devoted to rare and collectible art books, and lay eyes on an edition of a Donald Judd catalogue raisonné that can be yours but only for $8,500.

Money is hard to forget or avoid in East Hampton, but there is enough of it to want to privilege signs of good taste and discretion too. The simple beauty of the place is astonishing, in a way that fuses farmland with the sea. Swaying sawgrass, quietly imperial trees, white sand that leads out to the ocean’s deep blue – it’s a countryside Eden in many ways.

Inside Guild Hall, the environs are more reserved. For Aspects of Minimalism, visitors are greeted by wall text that aligns the exhibition with artists who “sought to remove any sign of personal expressivity, allowing the viewer to experience the work more intensely without the distractions of overt symbolism, narrative, and emotional content”. Many of these artists, the text continues, were reacting squarely against the “gestural excesses” of abstract expressionism[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/sep/03/abstract-expressionism-not-just-macho-heroes-with-brushes], “challenging the conventional boundaries between various mediums, subordinating authorship, and calling attention to the materiality of their works”.

Materials vary, from felt ( Joseph Beuys[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/jan/30/fat-felt-fall-earth-making-and-myths-joseph-beuys] ) and corten steel ( Donald Judd[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2004/feb/03/1] ) to gunpowder ( Ed Ruscha[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/ed-ruscha] ) and graphite ( Agnes Martin[https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/may/22/agnes-martin-the-artist-mystic-who-disappeared-into-the-desert] ). But the materials matter less than the ways they are arranged, in most cases very particularly. A somewhat loose curatorial conceit makes for the inclusion of work that classes as minimalism in less than strict and definitive ways (Gerhard Richter, Ruscha, Bridget Riley and Andy Warhol), but the classics, as it were, appear at home in their shared company.

Judd features with four works, including a pair of horizontally splayed wall pieces suggestive of mathematical properties internal to the sculptures themselves and a vertical array of six rectangular boxes – Untitled (Hernandez 94.2), from 1994 – that seems to evince a sort of ecosystem with its mix of rusty orange weathered steel and green plexiglass. Elsewhere another untitled Judd box, on its own alone, plays games with empty space as defined by mercurial differences between black and navy blue.

Among other work about measurement and more formal constraints, two large paintings by Martin breathe deep and subtly swallow up the air around them. The Peach, from 1964, tends toward a weighty grey with oil paint anointed by hazy silver pencil lines, while a later and much whiter work (Untitled #5, from 1989) seems to just hover in front a viewer whose gaze goes nowhere and everywhere at once. The most material aspect of it is a shiny silver frame, echoed nicely by the placement nearby of a sculpture by Larry Bell[http://www.larrybell.com/] comprising clear glass and similarly silver metal binding – just space, really, surrounded on all sides by windows to peer in.

All the art in the show, on view through 10 October, is from collections based on Long Island, all but one of the works belonging to Leonard Riggio[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/27/business/media/barnes-nobles-longtime-leader-leonard-riggio-is-stepping-down.html], the founder and executive chairman of the Barnes & Noble bookstore chain. Having recently announced his impending retirement – and with art activities including years of significant patronage for the Dia Art Foundation[http://www.diaart.org/] – Riggio gave a lecture at Guild Hall on opening weekend, to about 50 museum-goers there on a sunny summer Saturday.

“We were not looking at art as an asset class as is now all the rage,” Riggio said of his formidable collection. Minimalism, in a wide and ranging sense suggested by the exhibition, is among his favored modes, he said, for the ways it is “as elusive as it is profound”. He professed to know a little about art – but, amiably, “not enough to make a fool of myself”.

Considering minimalist icons in the context of a collection – as pieces to ostensibly be lived with in settings different than the museums and galleries in which they are most often seen – teases out elements of the work at odds with customary ways of regarding minimalism as totemic, remote and cold. As an aside in the Guild Hall show, a brief documentary by Chris Felver [http://www.chrisfelver.com/films/marfa.html] presents a portrait of the stalwart Judd at home in Marfa, Texas, the dusty desert town where he fashioned many of his gleaming pieces – less an **alien** aesthete and a looming legend than a guy in a plaid shirt with a lot of sun on his face.

The look of the art in Guild Hall guides it toward that kind of lived-in lineage, at least in part. Curved molding along the ceilings and soft carpet on the floors – something, anything different than the standard museum/gallery setting – can serve as a reminder of all the foraging and forging that went into making minimalism what it was at the start. Reading up on some history on the train, in the new book Eye of the Sixties: Richard Bellamy and the Transformation of Modern Art by Judith E Stein[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jul/28/eye-of-the-sixties-judith-stein-richard-bellamy-art-dealer], the distance between art’s creation by a bunch of bohemian scroungers and the ways it is most often encountered in antiseptic surroundings could not have been more clear.

Bellamy was a prescient curator who identified many of the minimalists early, when their work was still negotiating its way out of a blessed mess. About Flavin, whose sculptures in fluorescent light prove prominent via four pieces in the Guild Hall show, Stein writes of a young artist who “scavenged the city for detritus that appealed to his eye”. The image continues: “In his unheated apartment in the Meatpacking District he arranged his street finds with the care previous centuries lavished on their curiosity cabinets.” Light bulbs were industrial materials before they were grist for artworks of ethereal power and grace. They were worldly more than is typically remembered in the historical record.

Another recent show, Carl Andre in His Time[http://www.mnuchingallery.com/exhibitions/carl-andre], at the Mnuchin gallery in New York, put similar work in a similarly unusual setting last year. It was a blue chip gallery with a richly moneyed atmosphere, but a townhouse with ornamental detail work and dark wood on the Upper East Side is a long way from all the stark cement and white-walled uniformity elsewhere. In that show, minimalism by some of the same artists (plus Frank Stella, Sol LeWitt, Robert Mangold and Robert Ryman, among others) proved approachable and more receptive to a kind of curiosity that can linger. Works burrowed into corners and stuck out in spaces where a person could actually, conceivably live. A stack of boxes by Judd greeted gallery-goers at the top of a grand and winding staircase – an atypical tableau indeed.

Another home for minimalistic experiences of the sort is, like Guild Hall, also out in the Hamptons, at the eminently rewarding Dan Flavin Art Institute[https://diaart.org/visit/visit/the-dan-flavin-art-institute-bridgehampton-united-states] in Bridgehampton, New York. In an unassuming building since 1983, when it opened to the public with support from the Dia Art Foundation after being arranged by the artist himself, the permanently installed display of Flavin’s work with fluorescent light takes up in a setting that was, more than a century ago, a small-town firehouse and later a Baptist church. A white picket fence runs along the outside, and the floors creak once inside through a weighty wooden door.

Upstairs is an assembly of light sculptures built into tiny hallways and alcoves that work in isolation and also interconnect. A single vertical red bulb greets you in the main space, glowing intensely in the center and softening as illumination from the tube disperses. The other pieces – with bulbs in pink, blue, yellow and green – grow more elaborate and complexly composed.

The colors seem to change as you make your way from piece to piece, or certainly to modulate in relation to one another. One that is deep green appears to be white after having looked at what follows, a trick of the eye or perception or perhaps not a trick at all. Blues and pinks seem to fluctuate in terms of intensity while staying static all the while. Slight openings through the ends of certain walls look different from one direction than the other, in a manner that makes less sense the more you try to figure it out. Wonder is more appropriate, or at least an openness to the kind of experience that can benefit from a lack of mediation.

Here is a **refuge**, all too rare and fertile whenever found, for minimalism to come home to a state where the worldly and otherworldly meet.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**My husband stopped our Relate sessions when the therapist said our relationship had characteristics of domestic abuse. Annalisa Barbieri advises a reader

My husband and I have been married for nearly a decade. We’ve had some difficult things to deal with over the years. We also had children in rapid succession, which has been wonderful but very hard work. I felt I was increasingly struggling, particularly as his tendency is to be very negative and critical of me. I felt I was looking after the children, working, supporting him and still, for him, I wasn’t working hard enough or paying enough attention to the house or children.

He would find fault with everything I did and talk about me “abandoning” the children for work. If I tried to protest about this or other things that upset me, he would point out that I was wrong or didn’t understand or just stop talking to me until I apologised. I did still feel I loved him and was trying to hold it all together until a year ago when I sort of broke down and said I couldn’t do it any more. His reaction was to say I was depressed. We went to Relate, but he stopped going when the counsellor said he was controlling and felt the relationship had characteristics of domestic abuse.

I suggested we separate for a while just so I could get some peace and headspace back but that triggered a tirade of criticism of me, how I’ve hurt him and the children, till I’m absolutely in bits. Mediation triggered the same response. We’re now with another therapist that he’s found but I’m struggling with the sessions, feeling panicky and worn down as it seems like however much I say this is hurting me, the emphasis is on finding a way for us to be together again.

I don’t know what to do. I don’t even know how to get to a place where doing something seems possible. Sometimes it seems easiest to give in and try to make everyone happy. Please help me as I’m getting increasingly ill with the stress and worry. Please believe me, this is real and I’m not just depressed.

I believe you. Your longer letter was desperate. What I have reproduced above is what you said I could without you being identified, so there is much I cannot refer to. You sound like a woman whose life is closing in on her. You have every right to want to walk away from a relationship that is making you unhappy, if that’s what you decide.

But I appreciate this isn’t easy for you to do. I think you know that this relationship is abusive (abuse is not necessarily physical). Google the power and control wheel[http://www.domesticviolence.org/violence-wheel/] for a useful graphic on understanding domestic violence and it’s harming you very much: your longer letter showed great awareness.

But while you seem to recognise what is happening, you seem paralysed by an inability to believe it, which is leading to indecision. The impression I get is of someone spinning round and round in their thoughts, so much so that they weren’t able to stand still and see what was happening any more.

There are positives in your life that I want you to keep in sight: you have family and friends in whom you have confided who will support you. You have a job. These are all things that will help you through.

But I want you to take one step at a time. The first thing to do is call the National Domestic Violence Helpline[http://www.nationaldomesticviolencehelpline.org.uk/] on 0808 2000 247 and keep trying if you don’t get through straightaway. I know you’ve been to some Women’s Aid[https://www.womensaid.org.uk/] drop-in sessions, but it didn’t seem as if you had really talked to someone and that is key. I wondered if part of you is scared of actually talking to someone who “knows”, as this will force you to face up to what is happening and that, in turn, will make you feel you have to do something? This is completely understandable but you have to ask yourself what will happen if you do nothing? Imagine five, 10 years from now.

You do need to talk to a domestic violence adviser who understands what you are going through, who won’t minimise how you feel or say it’s your fault. You need to find out what your rights are, especially relating to your home and children (I know this worries you) and what your options are – and then you can make a decision based on facts, not just fear.

Please remember: your safety, and your children’s safety, is top priority so please make these phone calls where you will not be overheard and preferably from someone else’s phone so your call history cannot be accessed. **Refuge** ( **refuge**.org.uk[http://www.refuge.org.uk/] ) recommends that you keep important documents such as your passport and your children’s, in a safe place. For more tips on keeping safe, visit tinyurl.com/he3gzqd[http://www.refuge.org.uk/get-help-now/help-for-women/keeping-safe/].

If you decide to leave, you must not tell your partner your plans, however tempted you are. (If at any stage you feel threatened or unsafe, call 999.)

There is a lot of information you can access (from a safe browser) on the internet: the forums on Women’s Aid provide a place to talk to other women who have been or are going through a similar experience. Rights of Women has great information on what happens to children when parents separate ( tinyurl.com/goh8xzo[http://rightsofwomen.org.uk/get-information/family-law/children-law-parents-separate/] ) and also a section about domestic violence injunctions ( tinyurl.com/hg9m7s8[http://rightsofwomen.org.uk/get-information/violence-against-women-and-international-law/domestic-violence-injunctions] ).

Also, you do not have to continue going to these therapy sessions with your husband if you do not want to and they are making you feel so wretched. And don’t discount therapy just for yourself – ask your GP or try bacp.co.uk[http://www.bacp.co.uk/].

Your problems solved

Contact Annalisa Barbieri, The Guardian, Kings Place, 90 York Way, London N1 9GU or email?annalisa.barbieri@mac.com. Annalisa regrets she cannot enter into personal correspondence.

Follow Annalisa on Twitter @AnnalisaB[https://twitter.com/AnnalisaB]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERERefugee** policy creates rift among conservative allies as Joachim Herrmann blames Angela Merkel for her party’s poor show in regional elections

Migrants in Germany who have been denied asylum should be deported to war zones such as Afghanistan, Bavaria’s interior minister Joachim Herrmann has said, in a further sign of growing differences between Angela Merkel and her conservative allies over the **refugee** crisis.

The conservative Christian Social Union (CSU) to which Herrmann belongs is taking advantage of the dismal results of Merkel’s Christian Democrats (CDU) in a regional election in her own constituency.

The vote in Mecklenburg Vorpommern in the north of Germany saw the anti-**immigrant** Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) make impressive gains. The CSU, a sister party to the CDU, is holding Merkel responsible for her party coming third.

Herrmann told the tabloid Bild[http://www.bild.de/politik/inland/joachim-herrmann/fordert-drasitsche-fluechtlingsmassnahmen-47730218.bild.html] he supported the idea of deporting people whose asylum applications had been declined to areas of Afghanistan and other war-torn regions, in direct contrast to Merkel’s government which has refused to do so.

“It must be possible to carry out deportations to crisis regions, such as northern Afghanistan where the German army has been working for peace and freedom for years,” he said.

In response to data showing that 80% of **refugees** apprehended by police had no passport, he called for those who arrive at the German border to be held in transit zones until their identities can be ascertained. “Someone whose identity is not sufficiently clear should not be allowed to roam around Germany. Those who arrive in Germany without papers or cannot prove their identity must be held at the German border and if applicable, deported,” he added.

Herrmann’s comments came ahead of the presentation of a CSU **refugee** strategy paper at the weekend, in which the party is to propose measures which would considerably tighten the government’s **refugee** policy.

Among the demands is an upper limit of 200,000 asylum seekers that Germany should accept each year and for no one to be allowed into Germany before their right to asylum has been established. In addition it calls for a ban on dual citizenship and for the burqa and niqab to be made illegal. “Whoever doesn’t want to do without a burqa or niqab can find another country to live in,” the party says in the document, in which it stresses it is defending “German values” against multiculturalism.

The CSU only has a presence in the southern state of Bavaria, where it is the dominant political force. It is allied with the CDU at a federal level.

Merkel, who is due to stand for re-election next autumn, is dependent on the CSU for support. So far the CSU head, Horst Seehofer, has refused to be drawn on whether he will endorse Merkel, instead accusing her of delivering the AfD its victory. The party’s election campaign focused on its criticism of Merkel’s **refugee**policy.

Germany expects 300,000 **refugees** to arrive in 2016, a considerable drop compared with the 1.1 million who arrived last year.

According to a report by the Kiel Institute for World Economy released this week, it will spend €20bn (£17bn) on **refugees** this year, about 1.4% of the national budget.

In a sign of the widening rift between European states over how to deal with the **refugee** crisis, the CSU this week put pressure on Vienna to take back **refugees**who had arrived in Germany – mostly Bavaria – via Austria, after Austria announced it was preparing to take Hungary to the European court of justice for its refusal to allow the return of **refugees** who had arrived in Austria from Hungary. Hungary has argued that it is not prepared to do so, because it in turn cannot return **refugees** to Greece because of the difficult circumstances there.

Andreas Scheuer, the general secretary of the CSU, said he welcomed Austria’s decision. “Because I see with my own eyes the number of buses arriving from Austria to the German border, I welcome Vienna’s call to want to bring law and order back to Europe once again,” he told the Passauer Neue Presse.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Volunteering at a **refugee** camp in northern Greece, doctor Hannah Mitchell sees how women bear the brunt of the crisis

In a **refugee** camp near the Greek city of Thessaloniki, I treated a Kurdish woman in her early twenties for a throat infection. Before she left, the translator asked her if there was anything else we could help her with. She broke down in tears. She had four children who she was struggling to look after and keep clean. She showed us a photograph of her children, just one year ago, well dressed and smiling. This woman was not only tired and desperate, she was ashamed of her living conditions. The food was bad, toilets revolting and she could not properly look after her family.

This **refugee** crisis is the worst in living memory. The UNHCR currently estimates that there are 65.3 million people displaced from their homes by conflict and persecution globally[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/figures-at-a-glance.html]. Many are women and 41% are children.

Women were deliberately not drinking water so they could avoid a trip to the revolting portable toilets

In times of crisis women bear the brunt. All **refugees** are marginalised, but the women are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and physical and sexual harm. Many are victims of unimaginable atrocities as they flee their home countries. Pregnant women and those with small children are uniquely vulnerable on the dangerous journey to Europe. Throughout these camps there are widespread reports of gender-based violence.

In the camps women are under extraordinary pressure. Many have young families to provide for. Living in small tents they need to look after their children, feed their families, keep them clean and try to retain some normality with dignity.

Women are hit hardest by poor access to sanitation and water. Washing clothes for large families in a **refugee** camp becomes an impossible task. Summertime Greece is hot, in the camp where I worked women felt they could not keep clean and were deliberately not drinking water so they could avoid a trip to the revolting portable toilets; just six for a camp housing 600. They were risking dehydration and kidney and urine infections. One woman cried as she described the shame she felt about having to urinate in a bucket inside a tent that she shared with her large family.

Asides from the issue of sanitation, the toilet area was poorly lit and women felt afraid and unsafe going there at night, with reports of intimidation and fights.

In the rush to respond to the large numbers of **refugees** arriving, many of the camps have sprung up in previously abandoned warehouses. They were not designed for human habitation. However, provision of clean, well-lit sanitation facilities, which a large number of people can use is not a difficult task and something that could be easily addressed in the camps.

Another recurring theme was that women did not want to be intimate with their partners. Many felt pressured into having sexual relations and there were newly pregnant women in the camps. Women have distinct health needs that can easily be overlooked in the response to acute medical needs. Provision of good maternity care and being pragmatic about access to family planning should be prioritised.

Many of the women had previously assumed the role of carer in their family, and many were deeply upset by their inability to carry out that role in the camps. The UNHCR emphasises that women must be involved specifically with the management and distribution of resources[http://www.refworld.org/docid/479f3b2a2.html]. There was little evidence of this on the ground in the camps. Unfamiliar and unpalatable food was given out. Many of the women complained that by the time it arrived it was hardly edible.

We need to empower women in the camps Central to the humanitarian response should be empowering these women who have lost everything. Many of the women felt they weren’t being listened to. Here simple, pragmatic things can make a huge difference; volunteers in one of the camps organised distribution of fresh fruit and vegetables, which were needed to cook traditional meals from back home. Another gave out cooking utensils. Many of the women were delighted by this. Another volunteer gave pillows to each of the tents. These small acts of kindness do not solve the problems but they do give some comfort and dignity.

These women see no solution to their problems... They wait with their children for their lives to start again

However, the painful reality is that these women see no solution to their problems within reach. They wait with their children for their lives to start again. They are terrified for their children’s future as they have no access to formal education. One said that a prison sentence would be better than being in the camps, because at least then they would know when they would get to leave.

The responses of local people in the towns hosting the **refugees** was mainly one of kindness and compassion. The volunteer response, though at times chaotic, shows some of the large amount of goodwill towards **refugees** in Europe. The response of some of the European countries to the **refugees** is shameful, especially the failure of the UK to provide a safe haven for the many unaccompanied child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/02/child-refugees-calais-failed-by-britain].

The world has been slow in its response to the **refugee** crisis, but this is an issue that will affect us all for many generations. These women have faced the most appalling conditions with the utmost of resilience and dignity. As the **refugee** crisis slips down the news agenda and out of the public’s mind, these families are going nowhere. If Lebanon, a country with a population of under 5 million can host 1.5 million **refugees**, then surely the rest of the world can play its part too.

Translation by Nada Sarsour, Amer Sawaf, Mohamad Abou Ras, Mariam Saleh and Mohamad Namo.

Join our community[https://register.theguardian.com/global-development] of development professionals and humanitarians. Follow @GuardianGDP [https://twitter.com/GuardianGDP] on Twitter. Join the conversation with the hashtag #SheMatters[https://twitter.com/search?q=%23SheMatters&src=typd].

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With the Brexit vote rocking the boat and trust in the voluntary sector sinking, how can charity leaders use social media to tackle the challenges?

Charity leaders face a unique set of challenges. Brexit means[https://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network/iof-partner-zone/2016/aug/04/to-cope-with-brexit-charities-must-be-resilient-and-flexible] they will be operating in a volatile climate in the years ahead. And public trust in charities has fallen[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/public-trust-in-charities-has-fallen-reports-charity-commission], with donors citing negative press stories and a lack of knowledge and confidence in how donations are spent. So what can charity leaders do? What can they control in a world of uncertainties?

Leaders must use every instrument at their disposal to navigate the uncharted waters ahead. Social media can help them achieve many of their goals, whether it’s managing reputation, strengthening relationships with government or recognising fundraisers. We’re inviting nominations for the Top 30 Charity CEOs on Social Media Awards[http://www.socialceos.org/]. Now in their fourth year, the awards reached 2.6 million people on Twitter in 2015, with chief executives Peter Wanless of the NSPCC, Jan Tregelles of Mencap and Frances Crook of the Howard League for Penal Reform among the winners.[http://www.socialceos.org/2015-winners/]

We want to recognise other charity leaders who are excelling on social media, so we are offering four individual awards including best trustee, best senior leader, best rising star and – new this year – leader with the most innovative social media presence. For the first time, we will also be announcing an overall winner from the top 30. Nominations are open to leaders of any registered charity, of whatever size or cause. We’re keen to encourage a diverse range of applications.

So how could charity leaders use social media to tackle the challenges posed by Brexit?

Creative approaches to fundraising Sector umbrella body NCVO has warned[https://www.ncvo.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/1461-brexit-implications-briefing-from-ncvo] that Brexit may result in reduced income for the sector. When money is tight, creativity is everything. Paul Reddish, chief executive of volunteering charity Project Scotland, put on a tutu[http://thirdforcenews.org.uk/tfn-news/check-out-this-charity-boss-as-youve-never-seen-him-before?utm\_source=twitter&utm\_medium=social&utm\_content=Oktopost-twitter-profile&utm\_campaign=Oktopost-2015-12+General+Campaign] and filmed a series of dance moves for the charity’s #GivingTuesday 2015 campaign. He raised £790 to help young people and gained positive press coverage.

Thanks @JustGiving[https://twitter.com/JustGiving] @stripe[https://twitter.com/stripe] ! £790 of #GivingTuesday[https://twitter.com/hashtag/GivingTuesday?src=hash] donations arrived safely. #TwinkleToesCEO[https://twitter.com/hashtag/TwinkleToesCEO?src=hash] https://t.co/En0lL0D2bd[https://t.co/En0lL0D2bd] pic.twitter.com/JtrGoCTMi7[https://t.co/JtrGoCTMi7] — ProjectScotland (@ProjectScotland) December 2, 2015[https://twitter.com/ProjectScotland/status/672073496302891008]

Front page of the Scotsman. Retweeted by Diversity ( who appreciate a good fellow dance act when they see it ). Nailed it. #twinkletoesceo[https://twitter.com/hashtag/twinkletoesceo?src=hash] — Paul Reddish (@paul\_reddish) December 1, 2015[https://twitter.com/paul\_reddish/status/671739926585700352]

Meeting with the team at @BankofAmerica[https://twitter.com/BankofAmerica] just now. They are great supporters of @Street\_League[https://twitter.com/Street\_League] in many ways. Thank you. #MovingIntoWork[https://twitter.com/hashtag/MovingIntoWork?src=hash] — Matt Stevenson-Dodd (@Matt\_SD) August 17, 2016[https://twitter.com/Matt\_SD/status/765880304515047424]

Social media is also an excellent way for leaders to recognise corporate supporters and get their charity’s brand seen alongside.

Leadership and expertise In uncertain times, people are hungry for answers. Charity leaders have the knowledge – and the platform – to provide this. As Simon Blake, our chair of judges, says: “Facts delivered in a personable manner by a senior leader can cut through in a unique way, adding value to other organisational communications.”

"Brexit isn't an excuse to give up on the **refugee** crisis" me for @HuffPostUK[https://twitter.com/HuffPostUK] @**RefugeeAction**[https://twitter.com/RefugeeAction] all at #**refugeesummit**[https://twitter.com/hashtag/refugeesummit?src=hash] https://t.co/7fAi9ySZws[https://t.co/7fAi9ySZws] — Stephen Hale (@SHaleGeneva) July 8, 2016[https://twitter.com/SHaleGeneva/status/751365480695402498]

Disappointing that @MoJGovUK[https://twitter.com/MoJGovUK] predicts tiny drop in remands, yet 70% remanded by JPs don't merit prison sentence https://t.co/6ixzQno9v0[https://t.co/6ixzQno9v0] — Frances Crook (@francescrook) August 25, 2016[https://twitter.com/francescrook/status/768746050169475072]

Asking thought-provoking questions is powerful and, over time, will reinforce the chief executive and their charity’s status as thought leaders.

Everyone knows doctors, patients & hospitals are #NotATarget[https://twitter.com/hashtag/NotATarget?src=hash]. So why are repeated attacks accepted by World Leaders https://t.co/AKQmM2JS5l[https://t.co/AKQmM2JS5l] — Stephen Cornish (@Stephen\_Cornish) August 24, 2016[https://twitter.com/Stephen\_Cornish/status/768456042833403905]

Bringing communities together Brexit revealed how disenfranchised many people across the UK feel. As sector lawyers Bates Wells Braithwaite say in a Brexit briefing[http://www.bwbllp.com/knowledge/2016/07/15/what-does-brexit-mean-for-my-organisation-bwb-client-briefing/], charities have the power to bring people together in the communities in which they work. Who is better placed to connect with people in difficult situations who may be hard to reach?

Deborah Alsina, chief executive of Bowel Cancer UK, uses social media to offer support to patients, which in turn raises awareness of her charity’s cause. She also uses these channels to liaise with stakeholders across the health service. And during a period when things are liable to change rapidly, such interactions offer insights for chief executives into what’s happening in real time. Alsina says: “I’ve found Twitter an incredibly helpful channel to engage and build relationships with a diverse range of stakeholders, from patients, to supporters to clinicians. It gives me the opportunity to hear a range of views and opinions and of particular importance to me to gain insight into the experiences of those closely affected by bowel cancer.”

@alialifarn[https://twitter.com/alialifarn] @GemmieJo84[https://twitter.com/GemmieJo84] when's your next appointment Alison?— Deborah Alsina (@DeborahAlsina) August 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/DeborahAlsina/status/760319955912888321]

@DeborahAlsina[https://twitter.com/DeborahAlsina] @GemmieJo84[https://twitter.com/GemmieJo84] it's the actual op next Tuesday...eek!!— Alison Farncombe (@alialifarn) August 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/alialifarn/status/760525022729498626]

@alialifarn[https://twitter.com/alialifarn] @GemmieJo84[https://twitter.com/GemmieJo84] oh good luck with that Alison. Everything crossed it goes well. X— Deborah Alsina (@DeborahAlsina) August 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/DeborahAlsina/status/760527818916626432]

Increased scrutiny Brexit means seismic change, but the Charity Commission’s research[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/news/public-trust-in-charities-has-fallen-reports-charity-commission] shows that donors are still keen to know how charities work and what they are funding. As a leader, there will be natural curiosity about what you do. Use social media to invite them in. It’s a good way to pre-empt scrutiny, demonstrate the good work you are doing every day, and highlight how you are collaborating with others. By making what happens behind closed doors visible, chief executives can help critical relationships develop more quickly and show how committed they are to transparency.

Great to discuss common agendas for @intaward[https://twitter.com/intaward], @cyfpage and @UKinNigeria[https://twitter.com/UKinNigeria] with @PaulTArkwright[https://twitter.com/PaulTArkwright] today. pic.twitter.com/B2lk5qr5hS[https://t.co/B2lk5qr5hS] — John May (@johnccmay) August 22, 2016[https://twitter.com/johnccmay/status/767838883228844033]

Charity leaders can also use social media to tell people about their charity’s impact and how proud they are of its work.

Nice write up on the work we have supported in NHS on ensuring accessible information for disabled people https://t.co/8UPcPPGTTd[https://t.co/8UPcPPGTTd] — Paul Breckell (@pbreckell) August 3, 2016[https://twitter.com/pbreckell/status/760767903440527361]

While Brexit may feel daunting, the fact is that where there is change, there is opportunity. Social media is a fantastic way for charity leaders to show what they and the organisations they run are worth.

Nominations can be made here [https://goo.gl/forms/3KMZORSs5n1JQiof2] . Nominees will be judged by a panel of voluntary sector leaders and the results will be announced on Friday 18 November. All entries must be received by midnight on Friday 25 September.

The Guardian Voluntary Sector Network is a media partner for the awards.

For more news, opinions and ideas about the voluntary sector, join our community - it’s free! [https://register.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Author Rebecca Ananian-Welsh says **immigration** minister’s attack belies moves by state Labor towards transparent judicial appointments

Peter Dutton’s claim that Labor has stacked the Queensland judiciary with lenient judges[http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland/immigration-minister-peter-dutton-defends-taking-early-mark-from-parliament/news-story/2d87ab0ad1177a9973d160af2815caf5] ignores a history of “tough on crime” platforms and politicised appointments, according to the author of a new book on the state courts’ most controversial saga.

Rebecca Ananian-Welsh, who co-wrote The Tim Carmody Affair: Australia’s Greatest Judicial Crisis, said Dutton’s attack flew in the face of moves by the state Labor government towards transparency in judicial picks and its inaction in scrapping harsh gang laws.

Related: Tim Carmody saga is a 'lesson for all governments', former judge says[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/jul/07/tim-carmody-saga-is-a-lesson-for-all-governments-former-judge-says]

On Thursday Dutton, the federal **immigration** minister, said it was “no wonder” there were lenient sentences “when you look at who appointed the judges and magistrates”.

“Have a look at the background of some of these appointments, some of their friendships, their affiliations,” he told Macquarie Radio. “Look at the appointment of magistrates by attorneys general [Rod] Welford, [Linda] Lavarch and Yvette D’Ath.

“Have a look back at the appointments and the backgrounds of these people and then ask yourself why are we getting some of the decisions we’re getting at the moment.”

Dutton’s comments drew rebukes from D’Ath – who compared his “trouble with understanding the separation of powers” to the notorious former arch-conservative premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen’s – and the Queensland law society president, Bill Potts, who challenged Dutton to “name names”.

Ananian-Welsh said the crisis and controversy attracted by the former Newman government’s ill-fated choice of Carmody as chief justice had prompted a “step in the right direction” from Labor with its protocol of more consultation on appointments.

While more progress was needed, “it would be surprising if Labor was actively seeking more transparent appointments with one hand whilst actively appointing politicised judges who are soft on crime”, she said.

“Being tough on crime is a political platform used by both Labor and the Liberal party. We’ve seen an escalation in bikie laws particularly all over the country by both sides of politics here. There hasn’t been a single side of politics that says we want lighter sentences.”

The fact Labor was yet to strip back many harsh sentencing measures for gang and drug crime introduced under Newman, including anti-bikie laws that high-level independent reviews had recommended repealing, further belied Dutton’s claim, Ananian-Welsh said.

“So there are much clearer actions [Labor] could be taking around just implementing the recommendations of inquiries rather than this very abstract allegation that they would appoint a judge in the hope that that judge whilst on the bench would deliver lighter sentences,” she said.

Ananian-Welsh said Dutton’s attack “just absolutely highlights the necessity for reform” around judicial appointments in Queensland, where there is no independent judicial commission as there is in New South Wales.

“We need a process that is clear and ensures that judicial appointments are justified by reference to publicly available standards, so that everyone knows exactly why a judge was appointed.

“And then we don’t get into these kind of arguments.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Jeremy Corbyn debates Owen Smith on BBC Question Time’s Labour leadership hustingsSnap verdictSummary

block-time published-time 11.41pm BST

Corbyn v Smith - Summary Here are the key points from the hustings.

\* Owen Smith says Labour should stop the UK leaving the EU . He reaffirmed his commitment to giving the people the chance to vote on the final Brexit deal, either in a second referendum or at an election. But he was also explicit about saying he wanted Labour to stop the UK leaving the EU . This came in a discussion with David Dimbleby.

DD: You said you would like to see Labour going into the next election saying our party policy is to go back into the EU .

OS: Yes.

DD: You ignore the Brexit vote.

OS: Exactly.

DD: Exactly?

OS: Exactly. We need to find out what it is. The Brexit vote set a direction, if we like. We don’t know where we’re going.

DD: You know where you are going. You are going back in.

OS: Well, I hope we are. And I think we should be strong about that.

Smith said Labour would be entitled to go against the referendum vote because people were lied to. But Jeremy Corbyn disagreed. He said parliament should accept the vote to leave the EU , but he said it was important to ensure that the Brexit deal protected workers rights.

\* Smith claimed people around Corbyn were encouraging people with antisemitic views to join Labour. He said:

I think Jeremy has not been strong enough in speaking out against antisemitism... Under Jeremy’s leadership we have seen people coming into Labour from the hard left of politics who are bringing in antisemitic attitudes... Some of the people around Jeremy are encouraging it. There is absolutely no doubt.

Corbyn strongly objected, saying that Smith’s claim was unfair. “I have spent my life opposing racism in any form, as have you,” he told Smith.

\* Corbyn said Labour should review the Shami Chakrabarti report in the future to see what progress was being made on tackling antisemitism.

\* Corbyn said he wanted the UK to remain in the single market after Brexit “if it’s possible and I think it probably is”. Earlier this week one of his aides suggested Corbyn was not committed to full single market membership.

\* Corbyn said he expected the Labour party to unite behind him if he won the leadership election.

I think after the election is over and after the conference is over you will see the wish of MPs to reflect the wishes of party members all over the country that there is a coming together in order to oppose this Tory government.

\* Corbyn claimed that he could increase support for Labour through a political “re-energisation” that would mobilise people who had never voted in the past, like the young. He said:

The core vote... is also a very large number of people who are intrinsically inclined towards Labour but have not bother to vote in the past. Only 47% of young people voted in the last general election. I tell you this now. There is a re-energisation in politics over the past year. Many of those that have joined the party, many of those that are very active in local groups, are very well connected with colleges, with universities, with young people at work. I tell you this; after this leadership [election] is over, there is going to be that energisation in politics which will challenge the Tories...

A Labour opposition offering investment in a growing economy, a Labour opposition offering to invest, to drive down the inequalities in Britain and invest in a growing economy with sustainable jobs, I think that’s something that’s very attractive and will bring an awful lot of people over to Labour.

That’s all from me for tonight.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.44pm BST

block-time published-time 11.03pm BST

Here is my colleague Rowena Mason ’s story about the debate.

Related: Jeremy Corbyn claims he can unite Labour to take on Tories [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/08/jeremy-corbyn-claims-he-can-unite-labour-to-take-on-tories]

I will post a summary with a further set of quotes shortly.

block-time published-time 10.56pm BST

And here are some Tweets from Labour/left figures who are not Corbyn supporters.

From Adrian McMenamin, a former Labour special adviser and staffer

enltrIf you come at the king, you best not miss. Owen Smith's problem is not he's harsh about Corbyn: it's that he's not harsh enough.

— adrian mcmenamin (@adrianmcmenamin) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/adrianmcmenamin/status/773992323499917312]From Nyta Mann, the former New Statesman journalists

enltrCorbyn's talking rubbish, 3/4 of the audience crazily applauds him, and it really appears to be almost goodbye Labour. #bbcqt [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcqt?src=hash]

— Nyta Mann (@nytamann) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/nytamann/status/773985642887933952]From David Boothroyd, a Labour councillor

enltrIf Jeremy Corbyn read out a dictionary his supporters would cheer and clap. If Owen Smith read out the 1945 manifesto they'd jeer him #bbcqt [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcqt?src=hash] read out a dictionary his supporters would cheer and clap. If Owen Smith read out the 1945 manifesto they'd jeer him

— David Boothroyd (@220\_d\_92\_20) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/220\_d\_92\_20/status/773980196496113664]block-time published-time 10.51pm BST

This is from Jennie Formby, a senior Unite official being tipped as a possible Corbyn candidate to replace Iain McNicol (a none-Corbynite) as Labour’s general secretary.

enltr #Corbyn [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Corbyn?src=hash] measured & impressive. Big mistake by Smith to think constant personal attacks on JC will lead to victory; looking v petty #bbcqt [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcqt?src=hash] measured & impressive. Big mistake by Smith to think constant personal attacks on JC will lead to victory; looking v petty

— Jennie Formby (@JennieUnite) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JennieUnite/status/773981697973096449]block-time published-time 10.47pm BST

This is from the New Statesman editor Jason Cowley.

enltrCorbyn is right: to hold the referendum might have been a mistake but the result is final. There is no going back. Smith deluded. #BBCQT [https://twitter.com/hashtag/BBCQT?src=hash]

— Jason Cowley (@JasonCowleyNS) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JasonCowleyNS/status/773981083943698432]block-time published-time 10.46pm BST

And Owen Smith’s team have tweeted the message he mentioned during the debate from Corbyn supporters saying the SWP are welcome at a rally so long as they leave their banners behind.

enltrHere's the advice Owen mentioned from the SWP telling members not to bring banners to Jeremy Corbyn rallies: pic.twitter.com/pA2cMXWaF7 [https://t.co/pA2cMXWaF7] rallies:

— Owen Smith 2016 (@owensmith2016) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/owensmith2016/status/773991882921836544]block-time published-time 10.44pm BST

This is from Jeremy Corbyn .

enltrThank you @OwenSmith\_MP [https://twitter.com/OwenSmith\_MP] for good, constructive debate this evening. And thank you to all in the audience and to the BBC ’s staff. #bbcqt [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcqt?src=hash]’s staff.

— Jeremy Corbyn MP (@jeremycorbyn) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/773991150139105280]block-time published-time 10.43pm BST

Here is some video of the selfie moment.

enltrThat awkward moment when the Oldham Question Time crowd walk past Owen Smith for that @JeremyCorbyn [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn] selfie. pic.twitter.com/6mQCYPrqiB [https://t.co/6mQCYPrqiB] selfie.

— Jeremy Corbyn for PM (@JeremyCorbyn4PM) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JeremyCorbyn4PM/status/773998504867827712]block-time published-time 10.38pm BST

This is from BuzzFeed ’s Jamie Ross.

enltrA sad moment at the end of #bbcqt [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcqt?src=hash] as the crowd surround Corbyn for selfies as Smith walks off the stage. pic.twitter.com/uOsWZMSlfc [https://t.co/uOsWZMSlfc] as the crowd surround Corbyn for selfies as Smith walks off the stage.

— Jamie Ross (@JamieRoss7) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JamieRoss7/status/773989475101925378]block-time published-time 10.38pm BST

This, from the Telegraph’s Michael Wilkinson, reinforces the point I made earlier.

enltrThe best thing about #bbcqt [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcqt?src=hash] with Jeremy Corbyn and Owen Smith? The End! An army of Corbynistas ran to JC for selfies on stage...

— Michael Wilkinson (@ThatMichaelW) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ThatMichaelW/status/773989879403409408]block-time published-time 10.33pm BST

Corbyn v Smith - Verdict Corbyn v Smith - Verdict: Owen Smith is articulate and combative, but it feels as if he has not really found a way of dismantling Jeremy Corbyn ’s appeal and in tonight’s hustings that showed. Having adopted large chunks of the Corbyn policy agenda, he has two main offers: competence/electability, and Europe. He was probably at his best in the early stages of the debate, talking about Labour’s performance in the polls but it did not feel as if his arguments, robust as they were, were going to make much impression on those like the “feel the love” Corbynista councillor. (See 9.10am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/08/jeremy-corbyn-v-owen-smith-on-bbc-question-timess-labour-leadership-hustings-live?page=with:block-57d1c56fe4b08465d44fec05#block-57d1c56fe4b08465d44fec05]’s appeal and in tonight’s hustings that showed. Having adopted large chunks of the Corbyn policy agenda, he has two main offers: competence/electability, and Europe. He was probably at his best in the early stages of the debate, talking about Labour’s performance in the polls but it did not feel as if his arguments, robust as they were, were going to make much impression on those like the “feel the love” Corbynista councillor. (See

On Europe, Smith has a distinctive position which should be attractive to Labour’s pro-European membership. And tonight he seemed to go further than he has in the past, making explicit something previously only implicit and saying that if he were leader Labour could reject the EU referendum result and opt to keep the UK in the EU . Many pro-European politicians, like Paddy Ashdown and Tony Blair , would back this 100%. But it is a tricky argument to make now, because it is tantamount to saying “ignore the referendum”, and the studio audience reacted quite badly when he made his case.

Smith should have had the edge over Corbyn too on security, but the reminder of his Isis gaffe set him back.

Generally, though, Corbyn seemed to exude confidence. With the polls suggesting he is well ahead, this is not surprising, but what was striking was how much better a performer Corbyn is now at this format than he was a year ago. He was relaxed and even funny at times, and he managed to brush off Smith’s most aggressive criticisms, over extremism. It helped that the audience seemed more on his side than Smith’s (so much for “BBC bias” - see 8.57pm) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/08/jeremy-corbyn-v-owen-smith-on-bbc-question-timess-labour-leadership-hustings-live?page=with:block-57d1c108e4b013613fffb619#block-57d1c108e4b013613fffb619] His claim that he would be able to take Labour to power by inspiring the young may sound fanciful (the psephologists say boosting youth turnout mostly helps Labour get larger majorities in the seats they hold anyway), but it seemed to strike a chord with a large Labour chunk of the studio audience. What the public at large think is another matter, but this was a Labour-dominated audience and they seem happy to keep him as leader.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.48pm BST

block-time published-time 10.00pm BST

Q: Would you work with your opponent?

Corbyn says he would be delighted to work with Smith.

Smith says he has already said he would not serve under Corbyn.

And that’s it. Dimbleby reads the names of next week’s guests. They include Alastair Campbell. When his names is called out, there is some booing.

And that’s it.

I’ll post a summary and verdict and some reaction shortly.

block-time published-time 9.59pm BST

Q: What do you think of the monarchy? My dad received an honour from the Queen.

Corbyn says he is glad the questioner’s dad got an honour. But he does not think serving politicians should accept that.

Q: But what is your view of the monarch?

Corbyn says he is not campaigning on the monarchy. He is campaigning on issues of democracy.

Smith says he supports the monarchy.

block-time published-time 9.57pm BST

Junior doctors' strike Q: Do you support the junior doctors’ strike?

Corbyn says he supports their right to strike. But he says he hopes the government will negotiate with them.

Q: But should they strike?

Corbyn says he hopes the government is listening.

Smith says he supports their right to strike. But he hopes they do not go on strike.

But he understands why they need one, he says.

block-time published-time 9.55pm BST

Corbyn says people need to unite to fight hate crime.

block-time published-time 9.55pm BST

Smith criticises the way the Prevent programme works. He says he would spend more on it to make it more effective.

block-time published-time 9.53pm BST

Q: What would you do to tackle antisemitism in Labour?

Smith says there is a problem. There has been antisemitism in the party. And that has diminished Labour’s ability to speak out against it in the country at large.

He says Corbyn has not been strong enough on this. He says the report commissioned from Shami Chakrabarti is not seen in the Jewish community as being strong enough.

Corbyn says there were reports of antisemitism in the party before he became leader. It is totally unacceptable anywhere in society, he says. He says he commissioned the Chakrabarti report. It should be “subject to review at a later stage to see how we are getting on”.

\* Corbyn says Labour should review the Chakrabarti report in the future to see what progress is being made on tackling antisemitism.

Dimbleby quotes the Labour MP Ruth Smeeth criticising Corbyn’s record on antisemitism. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/02/jewish-labour-mp-corbyn-must-name-and-shame-online-abusers]

Smith says antisemitic people have been attracted to the party under Corbyn. They have come from groups like the AWL or the SWP. There was a tweet from someone in Corbyn’s camp recently saying they could come to Corbyn meeting, as long as they left their banners outside.

Q: Are you accusing Corbyn of encouraging this?

Smith says people around Corbyn are encouraging people to join the party.

\* Smith says people around Corbyn are encouraging the hard left to join Labour.

Corbyn says Smith’s comment are unfair. He says he, like Smith, has opposed antisemitism all his life.

That is the core of what Labour is about.

Smith says some Jewish people do not feel safe in Labour now.

Corbyn says he supports people like this.

Jeremy Corbyn and Owen Smith on Question Time Photograph: BBC block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.01pm BST

block-time published-time 9.45pm BST

Q: Why do you support getting rid of Trident?

Corbyn says the UK should honour the obligations it has under the nuclear non-proliferation treaty to get rid of nuclear weapons.

The questioner accuses Corbyn of playing games.

Corbyn says we should be putting pressure on China, and working for the de-nuclearisation of the Korean peninsula.

He says we should give meaning to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty agreed under Labour in the 1960s.

Smith says he and Corbyn both want to get rid of nuclear weapons, but he thinks Corbyn’s approach is naive.

He says the government also has to keep the UK safe.

block-time published-time 9.42pm BST

Security Q: One of you wants to scrap Trident, the other says we should have talks with Isis, so why should we trust either of you on security?

Smith says he never said we should negotiate with Isis.

Dimbleby quotes what Smith said about the need for all parties to get around the table. [http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2016/08/owen-smith-get-isis-round-table-peace-talks/]

Smith says Dimbleby ignored the first part of his quote, in which he said we could never talk to Isis. He says that eventually you can only make peace with those prepared to talk. He says he was involved in the Northern Ireland peace talks. But Isis would never get to this stage, he says.

\* Smith says he does not think Isis would ever be involved in peace talks. He says his previous comments were misinterpreted.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.08pm BST

block-time published-time 9.39pm BST

A young woman asks what they would say to young people who were not allowed to vote in the referendum.

Smith says he thinks 16 and 17-year-olds should have been allowed to vote.

But he does not think it is undemocratic to say, once we know what Brexit will involve, people can reject it.

Corbyn says Labour tried to change the bill to ensure 16 and 17-year-olds could vote.

He wants to ensure good relations with European universities, he says.

block-time published-time 9.34pm BST

Smith criticises Corbyn for not mentioning Brexit at the last two PMQs. Corbyn says EU nationals in the UK work hard and support public services.

He says he wanted free movement, but was concerned about the undercutting of wages.

Q: Are you saying you want better wages here to reduce **immigration**?

Yes, says Corbyn. But he says he favours higher wages on the continent too.

Smith says people did not know what they were voting for.

Labour should be being a more powerful opposition.

He criticises Corbyn for not mentioning Brexit at the last two PMQs.

\* Smith criticises Corbyn for not mentioning Brexit at the last two PMQs.

block-time published-time 9.30pm BST

A woman in the audience accuses Corbyn of not doing enough for the remain cause. Remain could have won if Corbyn had campaigned more effectively, she says.

Corbyn says he did campaign hard for remain.

Corbyn says remain would have got even fewer votes if he had said everything in the EU was perfect.

block-time published-time 9.28pm BST

Smith says Labour could decide to keep the UK in the EU under his leadership Smith says we do not know what Brexit means.

Labour has to stand up to the Tories, he says.

If Brexit means fewer protections, then we should test the final deal, either at a general election or in a second referendum.

Nigel Lawson said just this week he would like to use Brexit to finish Thatcher’s revolution.

Q: So Labour could go back into the EU ?

Yes, says Smith.

Q: Even if that means ignoring the results of the referendum.

Yes, says Smith.

Some in the audience boo.

Smith says Corbyn would give the Tories a free ride. If Brexit would make live worse for the people of Oldham, Labour should accept it.

\* Smith says Labour could decide to keep the UK in the EU under his leadership.

\* Corbyn says Labour must accept the Brexit vote.

A man in the audience says Labour should accept the referendum result. Smith would ignore the views of 17m people, he says.

block-time published-time 9.24pm BST

Q: And what is your view on controlling **immigration**?

Corbyn says non-EU **immigration** is already controlled. He supported signing the posting of workers directive to stop workers having their wages undercut by migrants. And he backed the return of the migrant impact fund, abolished by the Tories.

block-time published-time 9.22pm BST

Brexit Q: Should there be a second referendum on leaving the EU or the terms of Brexit?

Corbyn says we have to recognise the results, regrettable as it is. But Britain has to protect workers’ rights.

He says he would like to remain in the single market “if that’s possible - it probably is”.

And he would like Britain to stay a member of the European Investment Bank .

But he is sceptical of TTIP, he says.

block-time published-time 9.21pm BST

A member of the audience asks Smith to identify a Labour policy he supports that Corbyn doesn’t.

Smith says he supports remaining in the EU , and remaining in the single market.

block-time published-time 9.20pm BST

Smith says he saw Corbyn asked five times if he wanted to be PM. He did not answer.

In the shadow cabinet Corbyn offered “scant leadership”, he says.

Jeremy Corbyn and Owen Smith Photograph: BBC block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.41pm BST

block-time published-time 9.19pm BST

Q: Will there be a split if Corbyn wins?

Smith says he will not serve in the shadow cabinet under Corbyn. He could not do so with integrity. But he would not leave Labour, he says. He will vote Labour he says.

He says Corbyn says Labour was ahead of the Tories in the poll. But it was not. And he says he can win by attracting young voters. But all the experts say you need to win by winning over Tory voters, he says.

A man in the audience says, if Smith were really Labour, he should be willing to serve under Corbyn.

Smith accuses the man of abuse.

Owen Smith on Question Time Photograph: BBC He says he decided to stand when he heard John McDonnell say he was prepared to split the party.

Corbyn says they had a meeting. Smith offered him unelected elevation to a non-existent post [party president] if he resigned.

That gets a laugh.

Corbyn says he and Smith worked together. He tells Smith he (Smith) has enormous talents. Why can’t they work together?

Smith says it is because he does not think Corbyn cannot win.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.22pm BST

block-time published-time 9.15pm BST

A man asks why Labour got annihilated in Scotland.

A young woman in the audience says she has been on her CLP committee. The discourse has been divisive. We have heard it tonight, with the booing. It is coming from both sides, but more from Corbyn’s. What is happening generally id disgraceful.

A man accuses Corbyn of ignoring his core vote.

Corbyn says there should be no abuse in debate. He never makes personal attacks.

Yes, the party has to come together, he says. From that point, it has to be a strong party.

He says Labour was “more or less level pegging with the Tories” until the leadership challenge.

\* Corbyn claims Labour “more or less level pegging with the Tories” until the leadership challenge.

Corbyn says only 47% of young people voted at the election. But there has been a new positivity about voting, he says. Labour would invest and tackle inequalities. That is very attractive, and will bring “an awful lot of people over to Labour”, he says.

\* Corbyn claims Labour can mobilise the youth vote under his leadership.

block-time published-time 9.10pm BST

Q: Wasn’t Labour ahead in the polls before the leadership challenge?

No, says Smith. There were 89 polls under Corbyn’s leadership. Labour was behind in 85, and level pegging in the others.

A man in the audience tells Corbyn to ignore the critics. A Labour councillor, he tells Corbyn that he meets people and they say they love him.

block-time published-time 9.09pm BST

The questioner says both men look unelectable. Someone else should take over - maybe Harriet Harman.

That prompts booing.

Corbyn says: “Thanks for your vote of confidence. I really appreciate it.”

He says Labour has recruited 300,000 members over the last year. The questioner may not rate Corbyn or Smith. But the people who nominated think they can do the job.

Jeremy Corbyn speaking in response to audience questions Photograph: BBC He says there has been a lot of negative publicity recently.

But the party will unite afterwards, he says.

Smith says he is not as optimistic as Corbyn. It has fallen in the polls. If there was an election now, it would go backwards. Corbyn is more satisfied with leading the party in opposition, he says.

Q: How could you lead the party better than Corbyn?

Smith says today there has been a 20% increase in zero-hours contracts. Hospital waiting times are up. And the Tories are bringing back grammar schools. But Corbyn has not said anything about any of those three developments.

We have got to win, he says. He says winning is not a “dirty word”.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.22pm BST

block-time published-time 9.05pm BST

Smith says he is very pleased most MPs support him. And he won in the only ballot conducted so far - of GMB members, he says.

He wants to lead Labour back to power.

Some in the audience boo Smith.

block-time published-time 9.04pm BST

Labour unity Q: Corbyn has no support from his MPs, and Smith has no support from his party. Shouldn’t they both stand aside to unite the party?

Corbyn says there is huge support in the party for opposing austerity. Some MPs support him. A large number don’t. He fully understands that, he says. But he hopes the party will come together afterwards to take on the Tories.

Q: Why do you think MPs will come back to support you?

Corbyn says he has spoken to a lot of them. After the conference, people will see a coming together.

\* Corbyn claims Labour MPs will unite behind him if he wins.

Steven Williams asks the first question Photograph: BBC block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.07pm BST

block-time published-time 9.01pm BST

Question Time David Dimbleby, of course, is presenting.

He is introducing Jeremy Corbyn and Owen Smith now.

Jeremy Corbyn and Owen Smith listen to the audience Photograph: BBC They are in Oldham.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.08pm BST

block-time published-time 9.00pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn has been tweeting ahead of the programme.

enltrGetting ready for @bbcquestiontime [https://twitter.com/bbcquestiontime] 's #LabourLeadership [https://twitter.com/hashtag/LabourLeadership?src=hash] hustings with David Dimbleby #bbcqt [https://twitter.com/hashtag/bbcqt?src=hash] hustings with David Dimbleby pic.twitter.com/iJiSqsFSnS [https://t.co/iJiSqsFSnS] hustings with David Dimbleby

— Jeremy Corbyn MP (@jeremycorbyn) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/773970505208586244]block-time published-time 8.58pm BST

According to the BBC there will be around 150 people in the audience tonight and around half of them are Labour supporters, split equally between Corbyn backers and Smith backers. The rest of the people in the audience support a mixture of other parties.

block-time published-time 8.57pm BST

Huffington Post is running a clickbaity story ahead of the hustings, based on a handful of tweets, about Corbyn supporters thinking tonight’s programme will be rigged against Corbyn. [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/bbc-question-time-jeremy-corbyn-owen-smith-oldham-tonight-david-dimbleby-bias\_uk\_57d1504fe4b0ac5a02dd8bd1?]

The story does not mention the fact that the YouGov poll of people voting in the Labour leadership contest showed that Corbyn’s supporters (97%) really are much more likely than Smith’s supporters (44%) to think the media is biased against Corbyn. [https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/09/02/8-more-things-weve-learned-our-labour-leadership-e/] But the Smith supporters are less likely than the public at large (51%) to think the media is biased against Corbyn.

Here is an excerpt from the YouGov research. [https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/09/02/8-more-things-weve-learned-our-labour-leadership-e/]

The overwhelming majority of Corbyn supporters believe that the mainstream media is biased against Corbyn (97%) and that PR agencies helped orchestrate the ‘chicken coup’ (90%), and more than half believe that the intelligence services are working to undermine Corbyn (55%).

Smith supporters are far more sceptical of such claims, with 44%, 24% and 11% believing them respectively. Belief in these theories is more prevalent among Labour voters in general, however, as well as among the general public at large.

block-time published-time 8.47pm BST

Sources in Jeremy Corbyn camp have today released some figures from their own canvassing showing that Corbyn is well ahead of Owen Smith - in Smith’s own constituency. According to their figures, based on 56% of Labour members contacted in Pontypridd in south Wales, 64% are backing Corbyn and just 29% are backing Smith.

block-time published-time 8.35pm BST

Comradely is not the word that springs to mind. Whereas last year’s Labour leadership contest was relatively good-natured, this year’s has been much spikier. The contest was triggered because 75% of Labour MPs voted for a motion saying they had no confidence in Corbyn but Corbyn refused to resign. Corbyn’s allies saw this as a coup mounted by 172 MPs prepared to defy the will of more than 400,000 members and supporters who voted in the leadership contest last year. The first hustings between Jeremy Corbyn and the challenger, Owen Smith, in Cardiff at the start of August, was frosty. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/04/corbyn-and-smith-face-off-in-tense-labour-leadership-hustings] Since then it’s got worse.

Tonight’s hustings may be the most high-profile yet, although its impact on the result could be limited because many members will have already cast their vote. Corbyn and Smith are on a Question Time special. According to Wikipedia (I did try the BBC press office, but they would not say) a normal Question Time gets seen by almost 3m people. But this one is going out at 9pm, an hour and a half earlier than when the programme usually airs.

As the leadership contest nears its end - the winner will be announced on 24 September, a fortnight Saturday - Corbyn remains the overwhelming favourite. A YouGov poll of people voting in the leadership contest last week [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/04/corbyn-and-smith-face-off-in-tense-labour-leadership-hustings] found Corbyn ahead by 24 points. Here are the detailed figures showing the figures amongst the three categories of people voting in the leadership contest.

Labour leadership poll. Photograph: YouGov But the contest does not seem to have done much to improve Labour’s ratings, or Corbyn’s, with voters as a whole. A YouGov poll yesterday gave the Tories an 11-point lead over Labour. [https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/09/07/voting-intention-conservative-lead-11-points/] And Corbyn’s personal ratings, compared to Theresa May ’s, are very poor.

May, Corbyn and Farron’s ratings. Photograph: YouGov The hustings starts in just over 20 minutes. I will be covering the proceedings in detail, and then posting a summary, analysis and reaction at the end.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Guy Verhofstadt, the federalist former Belgian prime minister, appointed to represent views of MEPs across the EU

The former Belgian prime minister has been appointed lead Brexit negotiator for the European parliament, as the other 27 EU member states gear up for the complex negotiations ahead.

Any deal on Britain’s new relationship with the rest of the EU after Brexit will have to be ratified by the European parliament, and Guy Verhofstadt will represent the views of MEPs from across the EU . He said he was “honoured” to take on the role.

Honour to be appointed as lead #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] negotiator for @Europarl\_EN [https://twitter.com/Europarl\_EN], which will play central role Art 50 deal + any future EU-UK agreements.— Guy Verhofstadt (@GuyVerhofstadt) September 8, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GuyVerhofstadt/status/773866691549880320], which will play central role Art 50 deal + any future EU-UK agreements.— Guy Verhofstadt (@GuyVerhofstadt)

After the referendum result in July, he insisted that Britain should not be allowed to restrict **immigration** – a central demand, according to Theresa May – and retain access to the other aspects of the single market.

“The European parliament will never agree to a deal that de facto ends the free movement of people for a decade, while giving away an extra rebate in exchange for all the advantages of the internal market. What would stop other countries from asking the same exceptional status?” he said.

Instead, Verhofstadt said some form of associate status for Britain would be a better approach, “with less obligations but equally less rights”.

Vincenzo Scarpetta, of thinktank Open Europe, wrote in a blogpost about the appointment [http://openeurope.org.uk/today/blog/guy-verhofstadt-european-parliaments-top-brexit-negotiator-mean/] that Verhofstadt’s role would be less critical than that of Michel Barnier, the French former EU commissioner who will negotiate on behalf of the more powerful commission.

He added: “On a personal level Verhofstadt could be a pretty tough nut to crack. A diehard European federalist, he generally comes across as less pragmatic than Barnier. I would expect Verhofstadt to be particularly intransigent when it comes to splitting the EU ’s so-called ‘four freedoms’ – that is the free movement of goods, services, capital and people.”

Verhofstadt’s appointment was announced after the president of the European council, Donald Tusk, used a breakfast meeting in Downing Street to urge the prime minister to press ahead with formal negotiations as soon as possible [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/08/donald-tusk-theresa-may-article-50-brexit-negotiations-eu].

Speaking before the pair shared what a spokeswoman said was a friendly breakfast of scrambled eggs and smoked salmon, Tusk said: “The ball is now in your court.”

The spokeswoman said the pair had discussed working together on a smooth process for Britain to leave the EU but reiterated that May would not invoke article 50, which begins the formal negotiations, before the end of the year.

May also raised the issue of recent attacks on Polish people [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/30/five-teenage-boys-arrested-after-man-dies-following-attack-in-essex] in the UK with Tusk – a former prime minister of Poland – the spokeswoman said. She sought to reassure him that Britain was a “tolerant country” and would remain so outside the EU . She detailed the actions the government is taking to crack down on hate crime [https://www.theguardian.com/society/hate-crime].

With the uncertainty over the EU ’s future likely to dampen economic confidence, the government could face increasing pressure from the rest of the EU . Other EUleaders will meet in Bratislava next week – without Britain – to consider the way forward.

But Tusk made clear there could be little progress until article 50 had been triggered. “It doesn’t mean that we are going to discuss our future relations with the UK in Bratislava, because for this – and especially for the start of the negotiations – we need the formal notification, I mean triggering article 50,” he said.

“This is the position shared by all 27 member states. To put it simply, the ball is now in your court. I’m aware that it is not easy but I still hope you will be ready to start the process as soon as possible. I have no doubt that at the end of the day our common strategic goal is to establish the closest possible relations.”

With the summer recess in Westminster now over, the government is gearing up for the challenge of taking Britain out of the EU . However, May gave little away about her intentions, insisting in the House of Commons on Wednesday that her government would not give a “running commentary” [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/sep/07/theresa-may-not-provide-running-commentary-on-brexit-negotiations-video] on the issue.

She has made clear that controls on **immigration** would have to be a key element of any deal, but she doesn’t favour the points-based system advocated by many pro-Brexit campaigners in the run-up to the referendum.

It is also unclear whether May believes Britain can remain a member of the single market after leaving. The Brexit secretary, David Davis [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/05/david-davis-vows-to-build-national-consensus-on-brexit], who was asked if Britain could remain inside the single market, said earlier this week: “The simple truth is that if a requirement of membership is giving up control of our borders, I think that makes it very improbable.”

But the prime minister’s spokeswoman subsequently indicated that Davis was “setting out his opinion” [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/06/david-davis-single-market-stance-not-government-policy] rather than making a statement of government policy – underlining the tensions that could emerge between the pro-remain prime minister and the pro-Brexit team she has put in charge of negotiating Britain’s departure.

May has also insisted that she does not see the need [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/27/theresa-may-acting-like-tudor-monarch-in-denying-mps-a-vote-over-brexit] for a parliamentary vote to ratify a decision to trigger article 50.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Lanarkshire ‘holding’ facility dubbed barbaric and inhumane to be replaced by new centre near Glasgow airport

The Home Office has announced plans to close the controversial Dungavel **immigration** removal centre in Scotland, in a move that has been quickly praised by campaigners. The Lanarkshire centre, which will shut down towards the end of 2017, has been the focus of numerous protests, some describing it as barbaric and inhumane[https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/mar/15/uknews].

Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Prisons has criticised the detention facility, as has the recent independent report on welfare in detention by Stephen Shaw[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/490782/52532\_Shaw\_Review\_Accessible.pdf].

Related: UK must drastically reduce use of detention, says Shaw **immigration** report[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jan/14/uk-must-reduce-detention-shaw-immigration-report]

Robert Goodwill, the **immigration** minister, said that the existing centre, which opened in 2001, has capacity for up to 249 detainees, and is the only one of its kind in Scotland, would be replaced by a short-term holding facility close to Glasgow airport.

He said the new facility (which needs planning approval from Renfrewshire council) would provide easy access to London airports, where most removals took place, and that the closure would mean “a significant saving for the public purse”.

The proposed short-term facility would be used to accommodate people detained during **immigration** enforcement operations. It would have 51 beds and most stays would probably last fewer than seven days.

Dungavel sparked widespread condemnation for holding young children[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/libertycentral/2010/may/23/child-detention-review], before deportation, for periods exceeding a year..

Aamer Anwar, a human rights lawyer, said: “The closure of this institution, which has been described over the years as barbaric, inhumane and racist, is long overdue. However, today, there is no room for complacency if this institution is simply replaced with another at Glasgow airport controlled by the Home Office that cares more about deportation than human rights.”

Related: Court rejects government appeal over fast-track detention of asylum seekers[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/29/court-rejects-government-appeal-fast-track-detention-asylum-seekers-michael-gove]

Anwar, who had represented the Ay family[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/jan/06/child-asylum-seekers-win-compensation] – Kurdish asylum seekers with four children aged seven to 14 detained at Dungavel for more than a year in 2003 before they gained asylum in Germany – urged the Scottish government to demand Home Office guarantees of “rigorous and independent accountability” for the new facility.

Those concerns were echoed by Jerome Phelps, director of the organisation Detention Action, who said that while the facility’s closure was an important step towards the UK government’s intention of reducing numbers of migrants in detention, there were serious questions about plans to transfer migrants from Glasgow airport to **immigration** removal centres in England after seven days.

Phelps said: “People could be forced to abandon legal challenges in the Scottish courts, and start again with new solicitors in the English courts. The government should give a clear commitment not to detain, in England, migrants with pending asylum or **immigration** claims in Scotland, other than in exceptional circumstances.”

Naomi McAuliffe, director of Amnesty International’s Scotland programme, said that while the closure was welcome news,[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2002/apr/23/immigration.immigrationandpublicservices] all of the UK needed a more humane approach to detention. “Goodwill’s remarks focus on the fact that the new holding facility is near Glasgow airport and will save money. The reality is that indefinite detention is expensive, ineffective, and extremely harmful to many of the people held. Dungavel was cited in the Shaw report last year [for its] substandard accommodation and damaging use of indefinite detention. Any plans for a new facility must take into account the rights of the people who will be held there.”

Related: Prisons inspector praises **immigration** centre for families set for closure[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/11/cedars-immigration-detention-centre-for-families-closure-prisons-inspector-peter-clarke]

Angela Constance, Scotland’s secretary for communities, social security and equalities, raised similar concerns to campaigners. She said the introduction of a rapid removal facility meant there was “a real risk that people who have been living in Scotland will either have their opportunities to challenge their deportation restricted or be taken to **immigration** removal centres far away from their families, friends and legal representation”.

She said she would be seeking urgent clarification from the UK government on the proposals, and guarantees over the treatment of asylum seekers based in Scotland and facing deportation.

Constance is to announce, in the Scottish parliament this Thursday, funding of £85,000 for a pilot peer education scheme for Syrian **refugees** that builds on the pledges of volunteer help offered by thousands of people in Scotland over the past year. The project will ask volunteers to introduce **refugees** to social activities and help them practise colloquial language skills.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Libertarian candidate for president appears clueless about city at center of years-long conflict during interview on MSNBC’s Morning Joe

Libertarian presidential nominee Gary Johnson appeared clueless about the Syrian crisis on Thursday morning, asking “What is Aleppo?” during a television interview.

Mike Barnicle, during an interview on NBC’s Morning Joe, asked Johnson: “What would you do if you were elected, about Aleppo?”

Earlier this week activists reported[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/syrian-government-chlorine-gas-aleppo] a Syrian government aircraft dropped suspected chlorine bombs on residents in the city, injuring 71 (37 of whom were children), as part of the civil war that has raged since 2011 and resulted in 4.7 million **refugees** fleeing the country by February 2016. Aleppo, formerly Syria’s largest city, has been the worst hit area during the country’s war.

But Johnson didn’t know what Aleppo was.

“About?” he asked.

“Aleppo,” replied Barnicle.

“And what is Aleppo?” asked Johnson.

“You’re kidding,” responded Barnicle.

“No,” said Johnson.

. @mikebarnicle[https://twitter.com/mikebarnicle] : What would you do, if you were elected, about Aleppo? @GovGaryJohnson[https://twitter.com/GovGaryJohnson] : And what is Aleppo? https://t.co/ZbqO5RAEsk[https://t.co/ZbqO5RAEsk] — Morning Joe (@Morning\_Joe) September 8, 2016[https://twitter.com/Morning\_Joe/status/773851435477762048]

Barnicle explained that Aleppo is in Syria and “it’s the epicenter of the **refugee** crisis”.

“OK, got it. Got it,” replied Johnson, before continuing to say of Syria: “It’s a mess”, and that the US should join with Russia to diplomatically end the war.

“No one is taking this more seriously than me, I feel horrible,” Johnson said to Bloomberg Politics’ Mark Halperin, who was also a guest on Morning Joe. “I have to get smarter, and that’s just part of the process.”

But Johnson’s highly embarrassing lapse immediately resulted in watchers declaring it the nail in the coffin for his campaign.

“Well, that ends him,” tweeted Laurence Tribe[https://twitter.com/tribelaw/status/773851134586974208], a professor of constitutional law at Harvard Law School.

“It was astonishing to watch Gary Johnson effectively end his campaign,” said Rick Tyler, a former top Ted Cruz aide and MSNBC political analyst.

“The little five-year-old boy that was literally on every newspaper was in Aleppo. He absolutely had to know what that is as a candidate for president.”

Tyler said Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump had underperformed during NBC’s military forum on Wednesday night – something Johnson could have taken advantage of.

“The opportunity that he blew was astonishing,” Tyler said.

“Here’s Gary Johnson’s chance to say: ‘If you don’t like what you saw last night, I will be honored to receive your vote, and he had an opportunity to perform and is worthy of the vote.

“And now the only question is where do Gary Johnson’s votes go.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Lament for the Fallen by Gavin Chait, Night Without Stars by Peter F Hamilton, Behind the Throne by KB Wagers, Revenger by Alastair Reynolds, Crosstalk by Connie Willis

Gavin Chait’s first novel, Lament for the Fallen[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/lament-for-the-fallen.html?utm\_source=editoriallink&utm\_medium=merch&utm\_campaign=article] (Doubleday, £14.99), is a refreshingly different take on the old “**alien**-falls-to-Earth-bearing-gifts” chestnut. Joshua Ossai lives in the West African village of Ewuru, blessed by a water turbine, up-to-the-minute technology, and an AI known as sphere. This farming existence, however, is frequently threatened by **refugees** from the war-torn north, and the vicious attacks of ravaging warlords. When Joshua and his fellow villagers see something fall from the sky, they investigate and discover a crashed starship and its pilot, a bizarre metal-skinned **alien** who can speak their language. Samara is from the world of Achenia, a near-immortal soldier on the run from a space prison known as Tartarus. What follows is an exhilarating story of mutual co-operation as Joshua nurses Samara back to health so that he can return and destroy Tartarus, and Samara assists the villagers against the brutal warlords. It’s a compulsively readable, life-affirming tale told in direct, lambent prose, and Chait does a masterful job of juxtaposing a traditional African setting with a convincing depiction of a far-future **alien** society.

The second book in the duology that started with The Abyss Beyond Dreams, Peter F Hamilton’s Night Without Stars[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/night-without-stars.html?utm\_source=editoriallink&utm\_medium=merch&utm\_campaign=article] (Macmillan, £20) is set 250 years later on the benighted planet of Bienvenido. Invaded by the evil Fallers – hive-mind **aliens** who can take on human form – the planet and its settlers are facing annihilation. Tech-augmented Kysandra, a “warrior angel” and leader of the underground resistance, molecular physicist Laura Brandt, forest warden Florian and hyperspace theorist Joey Stein – as well as a complement of ANAdroids – find themselves up against both the Fallers and the PSR, the fascist government that rules Bienvenido. It’s a thrilling, multi-viewpoint ride, and while in lesser hands the vast dramatis personae might have become entangled and indistinguishable, Hamilton maintains the reader’s interest in the cast of varied characters and invests the various plot threads with equal significance. He even ties all the loose ends together in a satisfying denouement.

Tough, sardonic Hail Bristol is a gunrunner with her own ship who twenty years before the story opens left the matriarchal Indranan Empire on a quest to track down her father’s killer. She’s also the daughter of the empress who, when Hail’s sisters are killed, has Hail return home to take her place as heir. In Behind the Throne (Orbit, £8.99), debut novelist KB Wagers expertly charts Hail’s reluctant acceptance of her role, and the realisation that the Empire is crumbling and that forces behind the throne will stop at nothing to achieve its downfall. Interstellar empire space operas are 10-a-penny and easy to do badly, lending themselves to cliche and overplayed melodrama, but the first volume of the Indranan War series follows in the tradition of Anne Leckie’s Ancillary series to produce a fast-paced story of political intrigue and gender issues held together by a tight plot and a cast of sympathetic characters. Behind the Throne is thought-provoking entertainment and great fun.

Alastair Reynolds’s 14th novel Revenger[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/revenger-428401.html?utm\_source=editoriallink&utm\_medium=merch&utm\_campaign=article] (Gollancz, £18.99) hits the ground running with teenage sisters Arafura and Adrana Ness leaving the world of Mazarile aboard the sunjammer Monetta’s Mourn on a quest to discover technological treasures hidden amid the ruins of a long-vanished **alien** civilisation. Some of Reynolds’s past novels may have suffered problems of pacing, but it’s a charge that can’t be brought against Revenger, the opening book of a series. The intriguing far-future setting is presented to the reader piecemeal through Arafuma’s perceptions, a skilful ploy which not only heightens tension but builds a tantalising picture of a universe to be explored in subsequent volumes. It’s also something of a departure for Reynolds, a swashbuckling thriller – Pirates of the Caribbean meets Firefly – that nevertheless combines the author’s trademark hard SF with effective, coming-of-age characterisation.

Briddey is an executive for a mobile phone company, responsible for the development and deployment of cutting-edge products, and in the line of duty agrees to the suggestion of her co-worker boyfriend to have an EED – an neurological emotion-enhancer – installed. What should facilitate the communication of emotions instead bestows Briddey with telepathy, and we follow her as her new ability makes her hectic life, with her meddling Irish-American family and various suitors, almost unmanageable. In Crosstalk[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/crosstalk-428713.html?utm\_source=editoriallink&utm\_medium=merch&utm\_campaign=article] (Gollancz, £16.99), Connie Willis has crafted a lightweight, sci-fi romcom satire for the 21st century, firing broadsides at our dependency on hi-tech gadgetry and social media. As with a few of her more recent novels, Crosstalk wears its research rather heavily and could have been shorn of a hundred pages. That said, Willis tells a fast-paced tale with well-observed dialogue and some gentle humour.

• Eric Brown’s latest novel is Jani and the Great Pursuit[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/jani-and-the-great-pursuit.html] (Solaris).

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The more unflinchingly Trump preaches, the more it clicks with the national creed and the more satisfying it feels. There’s a reason for that: it’s part of the fabric of American history

This past summer, I was guest-teaching in Europe. When the talk of the town wasn’t Brexit, it was the US election. It was discussed the way you’d discuss an **alien** invasion: bizarre.

A look at US history, however, suggests that this election is far from unusual, and that Donald Trump’s populist, anti-Washington cry to Make America Great Again emerges from the foundational belief of many early settlers: that they were the chosen ones who saw corruption and fought it, building a world cleansed of its sins.

This ethos embodies what Jean-Jacques Rousseau[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/feb/10/christianity-wrong-civil-religion-rousseau] called “civil religion” – that is, the features that undergird political, social and economic behavior. In America’s case, the sociologist Robert Bellah described the country’s civil religion through its symbols: the Exodus, Chosen People, Promised Land, New Jerusalem, and Sacrificial Death and Rebirth.

Related: Trump attacks Clinton as 'trigger-happy' as he vows to expand military[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/07/donald-trump-us-military-spending-sequester-isis]

These optimistic, populist, and nativist traditional underpinnings help explain why Americans think about politics as they do: we bring a good deal of fervor to these symbols.

Our country’s most pressing issues – from purchasing power stagnation to rust belt[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/01/trump-clinton-kaine-rust-belt-pennsylvania-ohio] job loss – tend to be concrete and measurable. But solutions, as they project into the future, are a matter of belief. Americans – heir to people so devout they crossed an ocean to stay true to principle – have faith in what will save the day. It’s “the economy, stupid” when it comes to describing problems. When it comes to solutions, beliefs count.

The main issue facing voters can be summed up by the significant drop in upward mobility. America is the most unequal[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/eric-zuesse/us-is-now-the-most-unequa\_b\_4408647.html] of all western nations: our “Gini” (inequality) index is 85.1, in line with Chile’s 81.4, India’s 81.3, Indonesia’s 82.8, and Kazakhstan’s 86.7. The top 20% of households own over 84% of the wealth; the bottom 40% own 0.3%. In both the working and middle classes, people feel sidelined or fear their children soon will be.

Such are the problems agreed upon by voters across the political spectrum, from Sanders backers to Trump supporters. In coming to solutions, Americans bring fervor particularly to what Bellah described as Sacrificial Death and Rebirth. This includes not only a future orientation, rebirth and “start anew!”, but death to the old and decayed.

The Christian narrative of crucifixion and resurrection and the national tale of leaving the old world have anchored the story of Death and Rebirth in the American civil creed. In it, we hear echoes of the preacher’s “rid ye of the devil” and traces of the political call to “throw the bastards out”.

This election year, it’s clearest in the Trump campaign but emerges in alternative form in Democratic positions. Populist demands grow loud when the “bastards” are identified as Washington insiders, constrainers of liberties, corrupt and incompetent. Nativist demands increase when the “bastards” are **immigrants** or other suspect groups. In both, a troubled world will be set right when evil forces are purged.

The country was born in a revolution against central government, but long before, early settlers, fleeing the centralization of Charles I, were wary of London: the king’s men were the bastards to be thrown out in order to preserve local control. “The Congregational churches and self-contained towns of Massachusetts,” the historian TH Breen writes, “stood as visible evidence of the founders’ decision to preserve in America what had been threatened in the mother country.”

The many early settlers who were religious dissenters were doubly suspicious of government, first for its centralizing efforts and second for the persecution it had foisted upon them. Internal migration through sparsely settled land contributed to the dismissal of central government and growing self-reliance, as there was relatively little government to rely on. Individual initiative and local community were the keys to survival.

National government took a larger role as the country grew, yet the value of individual and local effort combined with a suspicion of central authorities were rooted in America’s civil faith.

Protestantism, born also in revolution (against Rome), added to the mix. The mandate to read the Bible for oneself and find one’s own path to God encouraged the view that the responsible moral agent is the individual (with guidance from her local church). The Great Awakenings of the 1730s-1740s and 1820s-50s were festivals of individual iconoclasm, religious groups splintering off from established institutions, and populist religious ideas.

Reformed Protestantism, which came to America through Puritan and other Calvinist traditions, had an even stronger impact on political development. It held that the sovereign nation does not start with central government but with the local covenanted community – the foedus – which form networks to constitute the nation. It’s these ideas that gave the US its federal system of government and the continuing political and legal battles about states’ rights.

During the revolution, America’s churches sided with the rebels, not London. Among the more anti-authoritarian sects was Arminianism – or in America, Methodism – in which the accent shifted subtly to the individual’s role in salvation. It was a faith well-suited to a self-reliant nation wary of authorities, and America embraced it. The number of Methodist churches rose from 20 in 1770 to 19,883 in 1860. By the mid-19th century, two Kentucky preachers could in good anti-authoritarian conscience opine: “We are not personally acquainted with the writings of John Calvin … neither do we care.”

When Reagan said government was the problem, he was channeling American history and zeal

From this history came the myth, reality and creed of self-reliant localism and suspicion of central authority. Reliance on government is for the faint and faithless of heart. When Reagan said government was the problem, he was channelling American history and zeal.

Today, Trump is giving this civil religion voice in populist form, and because “throw the bastards out” is rooted in US culture and worldview, it wins votes.

In April 2016, the Public Religion Research Institute reported: “Two-thirds of Trump supporters think the nation needs a leader who breaks the rules” (a ritual redux of Boston’s “throw the bastards out” Tea Party). Other Republican candidates had populist, small-government positions but lacked Trump’s feathers-and-warpaint yelp. Ted Cruz came closest, which is one reason, along with his social conservatism, why he was second in line and why there is substantial support for his running in 2020.

Even when Trump says he’d keep governmental social security for retirees, his jeremiad is brimstone and hellfire for Washington. The more unflinchingly Trump preaches, the more it “clicks” with the national creed and the more satisfying it feels.

Trump University taught: “You don’t sell products, benefits or solutions – you sell feelings.” Trump had no hand in the development of America’s civil-religious anti-authoritarian feelings, but he taps into them. His first and continuing charge against Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine is that they are “ultimate insiders”.

In nativist form, “rid ye of the devil” is extended from the populist Satan of big government to other spoilers of the City on the Hill, especially traditionally suspect groups like **immigrants** and Muslims. Many factors go into antipathy against these communities, and surveys have correlated support for Trump with pre-existing intolerance for **immigrants**, racial minorities, and Muslims. But intolerance becomes calls for deportation and border closings where “throw the devil out” is seen as the way to save a fallen world.

One definition of “tragic” is getting behind solutions that don’t solve problems. Closing borders to keep or throw the bastards out will probably not address America’s economic or national security problems. Given the extensive vetting process, it’s not clear that barring Muslims will boost security, but it does do Isis’s PR for them, giving weight to the claim that America is in a war against all Muslims. It’s also not clear that reducing **immigration** would yield economic benefits, since legal and illegal **immigrants** to the US create companies and jobs and boost the economy by a surplus of $35bn annually, benefiting all but the lowest earners.

Related: Pride and pain in Trump country: 'We all grew up poor, but we had a community'[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/07/kentucky-trump-obama-unemployment-drugs]

America’s employment crisis could be addressed through education, job (re)training, and regional redevelopment, for a start. But these options lack the satisfaction of “ride ’em out of town”.

What of Clinton and the year-long outpouring of support for Sanders? Though they occupy different positions on the Democratic spectrum, they, like Obama, preach America’s alternative gospel: government is not the devil that should be kept as small as possible; instead, it should be large enough to give the little guy a leg-up. The Clinton platform builds on the Roosevelt Institute’s policy recommendations that government “rewrite the rules” for broad-based distribution of resources.

This American gospel too believes in “cast out the old to build the new”. Obama, after all, also campaigned on “Change” in the American civil creed idiom. But this alternative “change” and creed sees government as the agent responsible for maintaining opportunities for ordinary people and for ensuring that the middle class is the largest class, which it is no longer.

The economic tsunami of 2008 has added to the problems that have been accumulating since the 1980s – not only purchasing power stagnation but the fear that it will worsen.

America is in a civil-religious war about its response. Rid-ye-of the-devil’s-government remains America’s first and oldest civil religion. It faces the newer “leg up” creed. Seventy-two percent of Democrats and those leaning Democratic see a major role for the government in lifting people out of poverty; only 36% of Republicans do. Eighty-two percent of Democrats see government as having a major role to play in healthcare; only 34% of Republicans do.

The apostles of each creed, like the circuit-rider preachers who traversed America, cross the country today with their campaign staffs, hoping to save the nation.

Marcia Pally teaches multilingual multicultural studies at New York University. Her latest book is Commonwealth and Covenant: Economics, Politics, and Theologies of Relationality

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The referendum result was, above all, a demand to pull up the drawbridge in this island’s imaginary wall. But that was breached a long time ago – by Louis Bleriot

The first large walls are older than history – which is to say, older than writing. They are older even than agriculture, or pottery. There was a wall built around the settlement at Jericho, about 10,000 years ago, and it was frequently renewed over the following 5,000 years. Whether it was built to keep out people or floodwaters is disputed among archaeologists, but until recent times it was axiomatic that a wall was built to keep people out rather than to pen them in.

Related: UK **immigration** minister confirms work to start on £1.9m Calais wall[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/uk-immigration-minister-confirms-work-will-begin-on-big-new-wall-in-calais]

The proposed Calais wall[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/uk-immigration-minister-confirms-work-will-begin-on-big-new-wall-in-calais], like the Israeli separation barrier, will look like a fortification from one side and a prison wall from the other. The Berlin Wall, and the iron curtain more generally, were the largest prison walls ever built, since there was no realistic prospect of any invasion from which the minefields and guard towers might protect the people behind them. But the idea of walling in whole peoples seems to have originated in the 20th century.

Before then, the essential function of walls was protection from marauding outsiders. They represented from the beginning quite astonishing feats of social organisation. Even the neolithic walls of Jericho were surrounded by a moat cut by hand through solid rock; 7,000 years later the walls of Nineveh were 16 metres[http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Nineveh] high and nearly as wide, while the walls of Babylon[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/aug/08/lost-cities-1-babylon-iraq-war-history-mankind-greatest-heritage-site] were said by Herodotus to be 63 miles long. Socratic Athens was walled; Rome was walled, and at the extremity of the empire the Romans built both Hadrian’s Wall and the smaller, more northerly Antonine Wall[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2011/sep/19/antonine-wall-gaps-roman-occupation] to keep out the barbarians beyond.

This much effort can have been called for only in the face of really dreadful threats. The sack of a city was indeed one of the greatest horrors imaginable, before the 20th century. Baghdad never recovered from its sack by the Mongols[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege\_of\_Baghdad\_(1258)] in 1258, when perhaps 200,000 people were massacred in scenes of overwhelming destruction.

Related: There is an antidote to the failed humanity of the Calais wall[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/07/there-is-an-antidote-to-the-failed-humanity-of-the-calais-wall]

In the end, walls fail. Even the Great Wall of China failed. The barbarians always get through – unless, that is, the wall is made of water. The hardest siege Alexander the Great faced was the island city of Tyre[http://www.ancient.eu/Tyre/], which defied him for seven months, because its walls ran all around the shoreline (and when he conquered it he added to the usual horrors of hot-blooded massacre and slavery the crucifixion of 2,000 of the inhabitants).

The idea that the Channel is the natural fortification of this island lurks beneath most of the ways that British history has been told and taught. The Brexit vote was, above all, a demand to pull up the drawbridge in this imaginary wall.

But the Channel was breached nearly 100 years ago, when Bleriot flew across it, in 1909[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/1999/jul/26/ameliagentleman], and the development of air transport has made it an obstacle no more imposing than a hopscotch court chalked on the pavement.

Today most migrants and **refugees** fly into the country. The wall in Calais looks like a prison from one side – but it will never do what it’s really supposed to, which is to keep out the nightmares of the people who voted for Brexit.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The JustGiving page motivated by the radio soap’s storyline of Helen Titchener’s abuse will help thousands of families

I put my JustGiving page together one night in February, in about the time it takes to check Facebook after a day at work. It was easily the best 10 minutes I have ever spent.

As a fan of The Archers[http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006qpgr], I had listened for months as smooth-talking snake-oil merchant Rob Titchener slowly crushed the life out of his partner, Helen. Rob had slowly shut down every aspect of Helen’s life that he no longer agreed with: her friendships, her money, even her son, Henry; all of it nothing for her “to worry about” any more. The slow burn of the show made it excruciating listening: a slow-motion car crash was unfolding.

Related: The Archers: call to help domestic abuse victims as Titchener trial starts[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/sep/04/the-archers-call-to-help-domestic-abuse-victims-as-titchener-trial-starts]

Helen was clearly in a lot of trouble. Why couldn’t someone – anyone – help her? Which is when it suddenly dawned on me one night after a particularly harrowing episode. Why couldn’t it be us? Why couldn’t the audience set up a real rescue fund for real women, on behalf of Helen Titchener?

I thought if I was really lucky and managed to get some traction on social media, we could, perhaps, make £1,000 over a few weeks, which would be amazing. I quickly set up the JustGiving page for a fictional character[https://www.justgiving.com/fundraising/helentitchener], sent out a few speculative tweets, confessed that I may have gone a teensy bit mad to my friends on Facebook – and sat back.

As notifications for the first £10 or £20 started to flow in almost straight away, I stared at them in astonishment. By the time I went to bed just after midnight, I had already hit the original target, just three hours after I launched it. I poured myself a stiff drink to celebrate and put the target up to £3,000. Later the next day, we hit that too.

For at least the first month the campaign (as it quickly became) took over my life. I was constantly checking my phone, which was constantly beeping with notifications of new donations, retweets and media enquiries.

My wife, family (and employers) all had to put up with me being less than “present” through at least the first six weeks and I couldn’t have done any of it without their support. It was exhausting and exhilarating, but a day spent with the brilliant team at **Refuge** HQ in London left me determined to keep the fund going. There I learned that if my final target of £150,000 is reached, and along with the gift aid, it will fund nearly 3,000 nights in a **refuge** for a family.

So far, in just eight months, the Helen Titchener Rescue Fund has channelled a gobsmacking £135,000 and vast reserves of goodwill in the direction one of the country’s great unsung charities. It’s become part of a national conversation about domestic abuse and attracted support from everyone from Sir Patrick Stewart to Jo Brand to Frank Cottrell-Boyce.

Please help @**RefugeCharity**[https://twitter.com/RefugeCharity] & @paultrueman74[https://twitter.com/paultrueman74] support women escaping #domesticviolence[https://twitter.com/hashtag/domesticviolence?src=hash] https://t.co/AmXnSwAmnv[https://t.co/AmXnSwAmnv] #TheArchers[https://twitter.com/hashtag/TheArchers?src=hash] — Jo Brand (@iamjobrand) February 5, 2016[https://twitter.com/iamjobrand/status/695615968379326464]

Honestly though? Before this I had no real knowledge of domestic abuse. Not really. I was woefully ignorant about the damage being done to so many lives by coercive control, for example. But the comments left with each donation have helped educate me.

From heart-stopping testimonies from survivors to searingly painful memories of those who were not so fortunate, the page has collected them in their thousands.

Love this comment from a donation for @**RefugeCharity**[https://twitter.com/RefugeCharity] over the weekend at https://t.co/SgJfrRN25c[https://t.co/SgJfrRN25c] #thearchers[https://twitter.com/hashtag/thearchers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/FdeOq3Qipu[https://t.co/FdeOq3Qipu] — Paul Trueman (@paultrueman74) June 20, 2016[https://twitter.com/paultrueman74/status/744871905841250305]

So many donations to the memory of friends, daughters and mothers who were in these kind of relationships. The real Helens. The real Henrys. Those who got out “in time” and those who didn’t. Those who realised and those who didn’t. Those who could help, and those who couldn’t.

To the thousands of lovely people donating to https://t.co/SgJfrRN25c[https://t.co/SgJfrRN25c], here's why **Refuge** is so vital. #thearchers[https://twitter.com/hashtag/thearchers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/djFSYG7J6z[https://t.co/djFSYG7J6z] — Paul Trueman (@paultrueman74) May 19, 2016[https://twitter.com/paultrueman74/status/733246970551259140]

There was the single line, left anonymously, that simply read “For our daughter” that hit me like a train one morning at work when I read it on my phone.

Or the time I was in the pub with a friend as a donation came in on Mother’s Day, and we both tried not to tear up as we read the anonymous words left with the money: “For my mum, no longer here on Mother’s Day. Sorry I wasn’t brave enough to let you know I was a ‘Helen’, though I think maybe you guessed. I do hope you somehow know I’m free now. Love you always x.”

Or this one:

There really is nothing I can add to this. https://t.co/SgJfrS4CWK[https://t.co/SgJfrS4CWK] @**RefugeCharity**[https://twitter.com/RefugeCharity] #thearchers[https://twitter.com/hashtag/thearchers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/OvXyq3FFjq[https://t.co/OvXyq3FFjq] — Paul Trueman (@paultrueman74) March 3, 2016[https://twitter.com/paultrueman74/status/705379462607536129]

The fund has had donations from a freemasons’ lodge, been given the winnings from a pub quiz team, and even a whip round from a group of friends who were out for dinner one night. We’ve had donations from £2 to £1,000 and every single one of the nearly 7,000 donations has meant a huge amount.

And there’s also been the wonderful Free The Blossom Hill One[https://www.impacttrading.co.uk/helenarcherrescuefund] merchandise organised so brilliantly by Michael Moran and Susan Waters (and her team) at Cotton Roots that has seen all the funds go to **Refuge**.

My #FreeTheBlossomHillOne[https://twitter.com/hashtag/FreeTheBlossomHillOne?src=hash] bag is heavy. It's, like, a metaphor for Helen's burden #thearchers[https://twitter.com/hashtag/thearchers?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/qhgSw7FJ61[https://t.co/qhgSw7FJ61] — Lidl Kim (@lidlkim) May 14, 2016[https://twitter.com/lidlkim/status/731523945799815170]

And we’re not quite done. Money is still coming in from amazing people, as are the comments. As The Archers storyline reaches its conclusion this month, I would dearly love to hit the final target.

Helen might not be real, but thankfully the money is and so is the difference it will make to thousands of families.

You can donate to the Justgiving page[https://www.justgiving.com/fundraising/helentitchener] and also support **Refuge** by buying Fairtrade Archers merchandise[https://www.impacttrading.co.uk/helenarcherrescuefund]. Keep up to date with the campaign by following Paul on Twitter: @paultrueman74[https://twitter.com/paultrueman74].

The day I made a difference[https://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network/series/the-day-i-made-a-difference] is the Guardian Voluntary Sector Network’s[https://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network] series that showcases the work of people involved with charities. If you have a story you want to share email voluntarysectornetwork@theguardian.com[mailto:voluntarysectornetwork@theguardian.com] with a short summary of your experience.

For more news, opinions and ideas about the voluntary sector, join our community - it’s free! [https://register.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Leading humanitarian groups say government’s dilatory response to Syrian crisis ‘incomprehensible’

Australia’s promise to settle 12,000 **refugees** fleeing Syria and Iraq appears “hollow” after a year when only about 2,000[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/02/australia-resettles-only-a-sixth-of-promised-syrian-refugee-intake] have reached the country, six of Australia’s leading humanitarian organisations have said.

World Vision, Oxfam, Save the Children, Plan International, Care and Amnesty International have condemned Australia’s dilatory response to the Syrian crisis as “incomprehensible”, and called on the government to resettle all the promised 12,000 by the end of March 2017.

Friday marks one year since then prime minister Tony Abbott committed Australia to resettling 12,000 **refugee** from the Syrian and Iraq conflict, saying “our officials will work with the UNHCR to resettle the **refugees** as soon as possible[http://foreignminister.gov.au/releases/Pages/2015/jb\_mr\_150909a.aspx] ”.

Related: Australia resettles only a sixth of promised Syrian **refugee** intake[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/02/australia-resettles-only-a-sixth-of-promised-syrian-refugee-intake]

Since then, Australia has resettled fewer than 2,000 **refugees** from the conflicts in Syria and Iraq, while the US and Canada have resettled more than 10,000 and 30,000 respectively. Canada’s government runs a website, tagged #Welcome **Refugees**[http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/welcome/milestones.asp], which gives progress updates.

After a slow start to the program – as recently as August 13 just 1,876 **refugees** had come to Australia[http://www.theaustralian.com.au/in-depth/terror/syrian-resettlement-less-than-2000-of-12000-places-filled/news-story/5cf6f4211e8fb05ef5eb9f1db6a2c05b] – the pace of resettlement has dramatically increased in the past month.

Late on Thursday, the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, issued a statement saying more than half of the 12,000 visas promised – 6,678 – had been granted, and 3,532 of those visa holders had come to Australia under the program.

Another 6,000 people were in the process of being interviewed, screened and vetted.

Dutton said it was vital that identity, health, character, and security checks were carried out before the granting of a visa.

“The government’s prime responsibility is to protect the Australian community and Australians would understand that these checks must be carried out in the current global security environment.

“As a government we made it clear at the outset this special intake would take time to fulfil, that processing would be thorough, that there would be no shortcuts,” Dutton said.

Australian **immigration** department sources earlier told the Guardian there has been a recent rise in **refugee** processing, but that the process remains mired in bureaucratic delays, mainly around identity and security checks.

The World Vision Australia chief executive Tim Costello said it was incomprehensible Australia had been able to resettle only a fraction of the special intake.

“When Tony Abbott promised to take 12,000 more **refugees**, he said it would reflect ‘Australia’s proud history as a country with a generous heart’,” Costello said. “But there is a point at which a promise begins to look hollow when it is not honoured, and Australia has reached that point.”

The conflict across Syria and Iraq is producing the largest number of forcibly displaced in the world at present. Nearly 12 million Syrians are either internally displaced, asylum seekers, or **refugees**. Neighbouring countries Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon are hosting the vast majority of those forced out by the five-year-old internecine conflict.

Related: Canada meets target to resettle 25,000 Syrian **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/01/canada-target-resettle-25000-syrian-refugees]

The Plan International Australia chief executive officer Ian Wishart said the world was in the middle of one of the largest **refugee** crises in living memory.

“In Syria, half the pre-conflict population of 22 million Syrians have fled their homes in the past five years and more than 13.5 million people are in need of help. Australia needs to shoulder its fair share of the global responsibility for **refugees**.”

Eighty-six percent of the world’s **refugees** are hosted by developing countries[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/statistics/unhcrstats/576408cd7/unhcr-global-trends-2015.html], usually near to their country of origin. The chief executive of Oxfam Australia, Helen Szoke, said Australia’s efforts lagged well behind even those of other wealthy nations.

“Canada completed security checks and settled 25,000 people in just four months. We know millions of ordinary men, women and children have been forced to flee their homes in a desperate search for protection and are in dire need of assistance. We urgently need to help as many as we can,” said Szoke.

Abbott announced the additional 12,000 resettlement places on 9 September 2015, saying Australia’s was a “generous, prudent and proportionate response by a decent and compassionate nation”.

Abbott said the **refugees** would be selected from those “most in need” and all would undergo normal security, health and character checks before being resettled in Australia and offered permanent protection.

The 12,000 would be in addition to Australia’s annual humanitarian intake of 13,750. No timeframe was put on the resettlement.

A senior department source told the Guardian last week the figure was “starting to pick up but it’s still only about 2,000”. The majority of that figure are understood to have arrived in the past six weeks.

The **immigration** minister and his department both declined to answer questions. However, the NSW coordinator general for **refugee** resettlement, Peter Shergold, told the Guardian in a recent interview: “We’re working on basis that most of those 12,000 will arrive this year. We expect 6,000 of those 12,000 to come to NSW.”

Criticism of Australia’s resettlement efforts means Australia approaches two major global fora on **refugees** with its hardline asylum policies under unprecedented international pressure.

Related: ‘The human heart is surviving’: the woman giving sanctuary to **refugees** in Lesbos[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/sep/06/lesbos-refugees-efi-latsoudi-unhcr-nansen-award-humanitarian]

In April, the Papua New Guinea supreme court ruled the Manus Island offshore detention centre was “ illegal and unconstitutional[https://uploads.guim.co.uk/2016/04/26/PNG\_SC\_judgement.pdf] ”, a finding accepted by the PNG government which promised to shut the centre down.

And in August, the Guardian published the Nauru Files[https://www.theguardian.com/news/series/nauru-files] : more than 2,000 leaked incident reports from within the detention centre on that island that show systemic violence and sexual abuse, including by guards; catastrophic rates of mental illness; regular downgrading and manipulating of reports; and almost daily instances of self-harm and suicide attempts.

On 19 September, the UN secretary general, Ban Ki-Moon, will host a summit in New York “addressing large movements of **refugees** and migrants”. A draft declaration document[http://www.un.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/pga/70/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2015/08/HLM-on-addressing-large-movements-of-refugees-and-migrants-Draft-Declaration-5-August-2016.pdf] from the summit has already been widely circulated – and widely condemned – for its failure to commit countries to concrete actions to make **refugees**’ journeys better or safer.

The day after Ban’s summit, the US president, Barack Obama, will host his own “leaders’ summit”, also in New York.

But, unlike the UN event, the US summit has been billed as a “pay-to-play” summit, with Obama offering invitations only to countries who indicate in advance they are prepared to make concrete commitments to accept more **refugees**.

The Guardian understands Australia has been invited but has not yet formally accepted.

A further commitment to resettle more **refugees** from Middle East conflict zones has been mooted as a possible commitment from Australia, but it is understood a final decision has not been made.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Male violence against women is rife – and it’s getting worse. We need a new, inclusive form of masculinity to eliminate it

The failure of men to speak out about male violence against women and girls renders us all complicit. Male violence is a pandemic: 117,568 men were prosecuted for offences against women in Britain in 2015-16, a surge of almost 10% over the course of a year[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/05/violent-crimes-against-women-in-england-and-wales-reach-record-high]. These figures are alarming enough, but they represent only a sliver of the actual violence, abuse and harassment women are subjected to: most crimes are not reported.

It was estimated that 1.4 million women suffered domestic violence in England and Wales in 2014[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/feb/12/14-million-women-suffered-domestic-abuse-last-year-ons-figures-show]. Around 400,000 women are sexually assaulted each year[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/jan/10/sex-crimes-analysis-england-wales] ; approximately 85,000 women are raped[http://rapecrisis.org.uk/statistics.php]. Convictions represent a tiny proportion. Putting it bluntly, the men who commit violence think they are likely to get away with it – and, devastatingly, they are right.

There are two potential objections to men speaking out about this tidal wave of violence. One is that it would be nothing more than so-called “virtue-signalling” – that is, men who self-identify as left-wing demonstrating how “right on” they are for political brownie points. And yes, there are such men who exist, dubbing themselves a “feminist” on their Twitter profile, like teenagers who put badges of bands on their schoolbags.

The other more compelling argument is that we live in a society where men dominate every pillar of power, from parliament to the economy to the media. Men crowd out the voices of women systematically, including on issues that directly affect women. No wonder women end up disproportionately affected by policies such as cuts to social security. It would be perverse if women did not take the lead in campaigning on violence overwhelmingly committed against them by men.

Related: Violent crimes against women in England and Wales reach record high[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/05/violent-crimes-against-women-in-england-and-wales-reach-record-high]

So how do men fit in? Jill Robinson is a volunteer with the White Ribbon Campaign[http://www.whiteribboncampaign.co.uk/], which focuses on encouraging men to campaign against male violence. When she was growing up in rural Devon in the 1960s, she would barricade herself in her bedroom along with her mother to escape the alcohol-fuelled rage of her father. He didn’t believe that women should be educated, so she would flee to the fields to study. There were no helplines or local **refuges** when she was young.

When she did manage to complete her A-levels and get a place at university, her father was so enraged he told the local community that the real reason his daughter had left was to get an abortion. “I was just a naive teenager,” she recalls tearfully. “Why is he doing this? It’s not how fathers should behave.” She believes men have a responsibility to speak out. “It’s tremendously important that everybody speaks up, whoever they are,” she says. “Men should be taking a lead on it.”

The White Ribbon campaign was set up 10 years ago “because of the huge problem of the massive prevalence of violence by men towards women, and what was so striking was the silence of men in relation to that,” says David Bartlett, the campaign’s director. “It was as though all these men were committing violence, and all these other men were pretending it wasn’t going on, or it was no concern of theirs.”

Men are conditioned from an early age to feel a sense of superiority over women, and to objectify women. Violence against women is the most extreme conclusion of a belief – nurtured over thousands of years – that women are subservient and exist to satisfy men. Rape, assault and murder exist on a continuum that begins with degrading jokes and comments; cat-calling in the street; images that objectify women; the shouting down of women for daring to have an opinion, often involving insults about their physical appearance on social media.

“We have a very misogynistic culture in the UK,” says Sam Smethers, chief executive of the Fawcett Society. “We tolerate the casualisation of violence and objectification.” An atmosphere is produced that makes violence culturally acceptable – and men have a responsibility to challenge it.

Although Bartlett emphasises that male perpetrators of violence must take responsibility for their actions, “boys around the world grow up being taught it’s acceptable... They also feel in some ways that it’s part of what it is to be a man.”

Society’s reinforcement of what it is to be a man from such a young age damages men too. “The stereotype assumptions that create violence against women create very narrow expectations of what men should be like,” says Rachel Krys, co-director of the End Violence Against Women coalition. Gay, bisexual and transgender men – or simply men who do not conform to an unreconstructed form of masculinity – can also experience violence.

There are so many practical demands that men should support[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/24/men-women-masculinity-feminism]. In a country in which one to two women are killed each week by a current or former partner, 17% of **refuges** have been shut[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/05/domestic-abuse-refuges-save-lives-why-government-closing-them] since the Tories re-entered government six years ago. Cuts that threaten women’s lives must be reversed. The Fawcett Society is calling for male violence against women to be treated as a hate crime – an approach now adopted by Nottinghamshire police[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-nottinghamshire-36775398]. Misogynistic hate also intersects with other forms of bigotry: take the targeting of Muslim women on the streets by white men.

It’s tremendously important that everybody speaks up, whoever they are. Men should be giving a lead on it

Jill Robinson, White Ribbon Campaign

Men have to be sensitive about their role, of course. As Bartlett puts it, the approach cannot be “as though women haven’t been talking about it for decades, or as though men have something new to say”. Smethers argues it should be “in alliance with women, and on women’s terms”.

It is easy for men to turn away: “I don’t commit this violence, I’m not a perpetrator, so why should it concern me? Why impose collective guilt for the crimes of a minority?” But it doesn’t take much self-reflection to accept that the culture of men – into which we are socialised from the day we are born – fosters a sense of superiority and dominance. We did not invent it, but we did inherit it. And unless that culture is overcome in favour of a more inclusive form of masculinity[http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/06/how-be-man], male violence against women will continue to be legitimised.

Feminists and LGBT activists have helped to redefine masculinity in a way that is more accepting and less about dominance. But there is still so far to go – and if male violence is to be overcome, men have a duty to listen to women and to speak out.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happen, including Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn at PMQs and May’s Commons statement on the G20 and BrexitPMQs - Snap verdict

block-time published-time 2.16pm BST

Theresa May has now finished taking questions. I will post a summary soon.

block-time published-time 2.09pm BST

The SNP’s Joanna Cherry says Edinburgh could replace London as Europe’s leading financial centre when the UK leaves the EU , because Scotland wants to remain in the single market.

May says the best thing for prosperity in Scotland is for Scotland to remain part of the UK.

block-time published-time 2.06pm BST

Labour’s Clive Efford asks if the UK is having to employ people from overseas to work as trade negotiators.

May sidesteps the question. She says the department for international trade is building up its capacity.

block-time published-time 2.01pm BST

Labour’s Tristram Hunt asks what conversations May had with the Japanese about Brexit. And will May take control of these negotiations herself?

May says she will focus her efforts on getting a good deal.

block-time published-time 1.56pm BST

The Conservative MP Nigel Adams asks May if Britain has the international trade negotiators it will need for the Brexit talks.

May says for many years Britain did not need trade negotiators. But she is building up capacity through the department for international trade, she says.

block-time published-time 1.55pm BST

Many Labour pro-Europeans have been urging Theresa May to commit to keeping the UK in the single market. But Jeremy Corbyn , the Labour leader, is less keen on this, according to Labour sources.

This is from Politics Home’s Kevin Schofield.

enltrLabour source refuses to say Jeremy Corbyn wants Britain to remain a member of the single market post-Brexit. Significant.

— Kevin Schofield (@PolhomeEditor) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PolhomeEditor/status/773503459920404480]And this is from the Sun’s Tom Newton Dunn.

enltrInteresting. Corbyn against keeping single market membership, spksman reveals. "There are aspects of it that Jeremy has campaigned against".

— Tom Newton Dunn (@tnewtondunn) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/tnewtondunn/status/773503989140844544]block-time published-time 1.47pm BST

Jessica Morden , the Labour MP for Newport East, says it was disappointing that May did not raise the issue of Chinese steel at her meeting with the Chinese president.

May says she did raise this issue, but at the plenary session. A new forum to look at this is being set up, and China will sit on it.

block-time published-time 1.41pm BST

Sky ’s economics editor Ed Conway thinks Theresa May ’s “no running commentary” policy on Brexit is quite sensible.

enltrHaving covered plenty of late night Brussels negotiations, sounds quite sensible for PM May to insist she won't show her hand too early

— Ed Conway (@EdConwaySky) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/EdConwaySky/status/773493311420194816]block-time published-time 1.39pm BST

Emma Reynolds , the Labour MP, asks May to clarify that David Davis was wrong to say the UK would probably leave the single market, Boris Johnson was wrong to back a points-based **immigration** system and Liam Fox was wrong to say the UK would leave the customs union.

May says she has said what she has said on these issues.

block-time published-time 1.34pm BST

Pat McFadden , the Labour former Europe minister, quotes what David Davis said in his ConservativeHome article in July [http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/07/david-davis-trade-deals-tax-cuts-and-taking-time-before-triggering-article-50-a-brexit-economic-strategy-for-britain.html] about the new prime minister triggering a large round of global trade deal on 9 September. (See 9.18am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/07/pmqs-may-corbyn-statement-brexit-australia-dashes-hopes-of-quick-brexit-trade-deal-with-uk-politics-live?page=with:block-57cfc2b1e4b0bc856be628a5#block-57cfc2b1e4b0bc856be628a5] Will May be triggering those trade deals in two days’ time?

May says she had many discussions at the G20 about trade deals.

block-time published-time 1.31pm BST

Alex Salmond , the SNP foreign affairs spokesman, asks why Number 10 slapped down David Davis over what he said on Monday about the single market. And doesn’t she know a lot more about Brexit than May, because she has only been a Brexiteer for a few weeks.

May says she wants the best deal for the UK.

block-time published-time 1.25pm BST

Labour’s Ben Bradshaw says giving up membership of the single market out of a “dogmatic” desire to cut **immigration** would be an act of self harm.

May says Bradshaw should consider the message given by the public in the EU referendum.

block-time published-time 1.23pm BST

In his statement to MPs about Brexit on Monday [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/speeches/exiting-the-european-union-ministerial-statement-5-september-2016] David Davis , the Brexit secretary, said he wanted to build a “national consensus” on Brexit and to minimise uncertainty.

First, as I said, we wish to build a national consensus around our position. Second, while always putting the national interest first, we will always act in good faith towards our European partners. Third, wherever possible we will try to minimise any uncertainty that change can inevitably bring. And, fourth, crucially, we will – by the end of this process – have left the European Union , and put the sovereignty and supremacy of this Parliament beyond doubt.

Now May is saying the government will not reveal its hand and not provide a running commentary. (See 1.04pm.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/07/pmqs-may-corbyn-statement-brexit-australia-dashes-hopes-of-quick-brexit-trade-deal-with-uk-politics-live?page=with:block-57d00200e4b042bbfb32431c#block-57d00200e4b042bbfb32431c]

block-time published-time 1.19pm BST

Labour’s Yvette Cooper says it is important to know what May values in the Brexit negotiations. Does May value membership of the single market? And should staying in be an aim of the negotiations?

May says she has answered this already. If people ask the same questions, they will get the same answer.

She wants to get the right deal. But it will be a new relationship. And she will not be setting out her negotiating stance in advance.

That would be the best way to come out with the worst deal.

block-time published-time 1.15pm BST

Anna Soubry , a Conservative, asks what assurances May can give the automative industry about tariffs and the customs union.

May says she wants the right deal for trade on goods and services. It is important not to think of this as trying to replicate something here, or something there.

The Brexit department is working on this, and asking people in sectors like the automative industry what they want. Then the government will “be ambitious” and go out there and get it, she says.

block-time published-time 1.13pm BST

Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, says Australia has told the UK it is at the back of the queue for a trade deal. Can May confirm we will remain a member of the single market? We trusted the people on the departure. And we should trust them on the destination too, he says.

May says the Australian trade minister has just set out the legal position; we cannot concluded a trade deal while we remain a member of the EU . But that does not mean we cannot negotiate with them in the meantime.

block-time published-time 1.10pm BST

Angus Robertson , the SNP’s leader at Westminster, says he asked twice at PMQs if Britain would remain a full member of the single market. May would not reply. But this is not a “twist and turn”. This is a crucial issue. Can she reply?

How many trade negotiators has the UK hired since the referendum vote, he asks.

He says the government has ditched the idea of a points-based **immigration** system and is now adopting a Donald Trump policy - a wall.

He asks May to confirm that the Vote Leave pledge that leaving the EU would raise £350m a week for the NHS is being broken.

He says the Tories are suggesting EU citizens should not participate fully in Scottish public life. The SNP reject that, he says. Will May apologise for this?

May says a points-based **immigration** system would not give the government control over who enters the country.

block-time published-time 1.04pm BST

May's statement about not providing a 'running commentary' on Brexit Here is the full text of what Theresa May said about not providing a “running commentary” on Brexit.

I know many people are keen to see rapid progress and to understand what post-Brexit Britain will look like. We are getting on with that vital work. But we must also think through the issues in a sober and considered way. And as I have said this is about getting the kind of deal that is ambitious and bold for Britain. It is not about the Norway model or the Swiss model or any other country’s model – it is about developing our own British model.

So we will not take decisions until we are ready. We will not reveal our hand prematurely and we will not provide a running commentary on every twist and turn of the negotiation. And I say that because that is not the best way to conduct a strong and mature negotiation that will deliver the best deal for the people of this country.

Theresa May telling MPs the government will not provide a running commentary on Brexit. block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.44pm BST

block-time published-time 1.02pm BST

May is responding to Corbyn.

She says the government is acting on hate crime. There was a recent meeting with the Polish on this.

On Brexit, May says the UK will be negotiating a new relationship with the EU . That will include control on the movement of people into the UK. And it will cover trade.

She says she will not be giving a running commentary. She wants to get the best deal. If she gave a running commentary, and gave away her negotiating hand, she could not achieve this.

On steel, she says the G20 as a whole recognised the importance of this issue.

On Hinkley, she says the say she works is not to take a decision without looking at the analysis first.

She says she met the Saudi Crown Prince at the G20. She raised this issue. But she says the UK’s relationship with Saudi Arabia has helped to keep Britain safe.

And she says free trade is the way to promote growth and spread prosperity. She will take no lectures from Corbyn on tackling poverty, she says.

Free trade can be the best anti-poverty policy for those countries.

She says she will spread this message “unashamedly” and is sorry Labour is turning its back on a policy that has helped the UK.

block-time published-time 12.57pm BST

Corbyn says the G20 was formed after the financial crisis. Rising levels of inequality pit communities against each other, he says.

He says the free trade dogma May spoke of has often damaged the world’s most vulnerable community.

Will May agree with him that trade policies must not further the deregulation agenda in developing countries?

He asks May about her talks with the Chinese president on two issues.

First, on steel, what assurances did he give that the Chinese would stop dumping cheap steal on Europe.

And, second, on Hinkley Point, what did she say to the Chinese about this.

He criticises the government for continuing to sell arms to Saudi Arabia. Will May commit to stopping those arms sales.

block-time published-time 12.54pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn is now responding to May.

He says he first went to China in 1998. That was the same year the Human Rights Act was passed. Labour is worried about the plans to repeal this.

Corbyn says May has not revealed her hand on Brexit, or the government’s “many hands”. They are unclear what they want to do.

He says Labour accepts the result of the EU referendum. But it has led to an increase in hate crime, and created uncertainty. David Davis says staying in the single market is “improbable”. Number 10 says that is not right. Which position is correct?

He says parliament and the public must not be sidelined from the Brexit debate.

block-time published-time 12.51pm BST

May says she intends to return to the issue of illegal **immigration** when she next visits the UN .

She says she wants Britain to lead a global effort to tackle human trafficking.

When Britain voted to leave the EU , it did not vote to turn its back on the world, she says.

We will make a success of Brexit, she says.

block-time published-time 12.49pm BST

May is now running though the G20 summit conclusions.

Here is the summit communique. [http://www.g20.org/English/Dynamic/201609/t20160906\_3396.html]

block-time published-time 12.47pm BST

Theresa May 's Commons statement on the G20 and Brexit Theresa May is now making her statement the G20 and Brexit.

She says she knows many people are keen to see rapid progress on Brexit.

But the government must look at this in a sober and considered way.

This is about looking for the right model for Britain.

The government will look at this carefully, she says.

It will not declare its hand prematurely.

And it will not provide a running commentary on what it will do.

\* May says the government will not provide a “running commentary” on the Brexit negotiations and that it will take its time to get the decision right.

(This is quite a contrast from what David Davis , the Brexit secretary, was saying on Monday. He stressed the government’s desire to keep people informed. May’s comment suggests we might not be getting any more Commons updates on Brexit from Davis for quite some time.)

block-time published-time 12.42pm BST

Labour’s Jim Dowd asks May to send her condolences to the family and friends of the woman and boy killed in Penge last week by a dangerous driver. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-37234416] Will the government review the laws on dangerous driving? They are not tough enough, he says.

May says this was a terrible tragedy. She is aware of the concern there is about the law on dangerous driving. The Ministry of Justice is looking at this, she says.

block-time published-time 12.40pm BST

Cheryl Gillan , the Conservative MP, asks about a drug newly available for a rare medical condition, a form of muscular dystrophy.

May says this is a very important issue

block-time published-time 12.39pm BST

Caroline Lucas , the Green MP, says the government still has not ratified the climate change treaty. Is the government still committed to action on climate change? And when will the treaty be ratified?

May says it will be ratified. But she urges Lucas to congratulate the government. The UK has been rated the second best country in the world at tackling climate change.

block-time published-time 12.37pm BST

Philip Hollobone , a Conservative, asks about the funding of NHS services in his constituency.

May says all MPs are aware of the challenge there is in integrating health and social care. In some areas this is done very well. The government wants to spread good practice on this.

block-time published-time 12.36pm BST

The Lib Dem MP Tom Brake asks May for an assurance that, when £350m a week becomes available for the NHS (he is being sarcastic) the first £100m goes to his local hospital.

May says the government will continue to fund the NHS .

block-time published-time 12.35pm BST

Julian Sturdy, a Conservative, asks for an assurance that universities will get the funding they need to thrive post Brexit after 2020.

May says the chancellor has given assurances to universities. Looking ahead, a higher education bill is going through the House. That will ensure the UK can provided the university places it needs. Britain has a great record on universities, she says.

block-time published-time 12.34pm BST

Labour’s Helen Hayes asks for an assurance that funding for schools in London will not be cut by up to 20% when the school funding formula gets changed.

May says this will be done carefully to see what impact there is on all parts of the country.

block-time published-time 12.33pm BST

According to a Guardian report from May, [https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/mar/24/right-to-buy-homes-sold-england-councils] the figures for the number of homes sold under right to buy that get replaced are even worse than those Jeremy Corbyn quoted. He said just one in five was replaced. Hilary Osborne’s story quotes figures saying it was just one in 10. [https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/mar/24/right-to-buy-homes-sold-england-councils] quoted. He said just one in five was replaced.

block-time published-time 12.28pm BST

Snap PMQs verdict Snap PMQs verdict: An unedifying draw. Theresa May sounded confident, but her pre-scripted anti-Corbyn jibes (in response to questions two and three) came over as unprovoked, gratuitous and consequently rather cheap. It was reminiscent of David Cameron ’s Bullingdon aggro, but Cameron found a way of at least making his attacks sound relevant. Corbyn ignored the obvious topics (grammar schools, or Brexit) and he asked solid, serious questions about one of the most pressing social questions of our time. But, as ever, he did not really use follow-up questions to drive home his points and so he did not really succeed in discomforting May at all. The PM was relatively weak on detail, but she did try to turn the argument into a wider one about values, and about home ownership, and on these points Corbyn’s responses were thin.

Theresa May pokes fun at Jeremy Corbyn during PMQs [https://www.theguardian.com/global/video/2016/sep/07/theresa-may-pokes-fun-at-jeremy-corbyn-during-pmqs-video]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.27pm BST

block-time published-time 12.18pm BST

Corbyn says only a year ago May voted against a Labour amendment to the housing bill saying all homes in the rented sector should be fit for habitation. The Treasury is losing £500m a year from unpaid tax from landlords in the housing sector. Unpaid tax, poor quality homes - doesn’t this require government intervention.

May says the government has intervened. Thousands of landlords face further action. Corbyn may have a model of society where he does not want to see private landlords. But that is not what she wants. She wants people to have opportunities.

Corbyn says he recognises the case for a mixed housing economy, but he does not want to see people pay excessive rent. Women’s Aid has raised concern about the cuts to housing benefit. Does May accept that very vulnerable women could be affected by the closure of these **refuges**. Will May ensure the cap on housing benefit does not apply to **refuges**.

May says the government is working on exempting women’s **refuges** from the housing benefit cap. But the government has a very good record on domestic violence, she says.

It is 50 days since she and Corbyn last met at the despatch box. It is good to see him sitting there. The Conservative government has been working tirelessly, she says. She mentions the public sector audit, and work on new trade deals. What a contrast with the party opposite, divided amongst themselves, and incapable of uniting the country.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.53pm BST

block-time published-time 12.13pm BST

Corbyn says there is a housing crisis in Britain. Some £9.3bn is paid from housing benefit into the pockets of private landlords. Is that money well spent?

May says Corbyn asked about home ownership, but than objects to a measure that helps people have homes. Corbyn may have an ideological objection to the private rented sector. Everything Corbyn tells us everything we need to know about Labour. The train has left the station, the leader is on the floor, even on rolling stock, they are a laughing stock.

Corbyn says David Cameron said every penny spent on housing subsidies was money that could not be spent on new housing. He quotes someone saying landlords should be fined for renting homes in poor condition. Does the PM think this is satisfactory?

May says, if housing benefit is such a bad thing, why did Labour oppose cuts to housing benefit. The rules for landlords have been changed, she says. New rules are being introduced for houses in multiple occupation.

block-time published-time 12.09pm BST

Jeremy Corbyn starts off also congratulating Team GB. The average house price is now £215,000. That is eight times the average wage. Isn’t the dream of home ownership now just a dream?

May says it is important to help people get their first foot on the housing ladder. House building is up. But the government wants to do more, she says.

Corbyn says house building is 45,000 a year less than under the last Labour government. He quotes from a note from Jenny. She and her partner work in a supermarket. They have been told they can borrow £73,000. So there is not much hope for them. George Osborne said there would be one to one replacement for homes sold under right to buy. But only one home gets build for every five homes sold. When will one to one replacement come in?

May says Corbyn is wrong. The government has delivered on one to one replacement. Corbyn has asked his followers on Twitter for questions. May says she looked at them. He got on from Lewis saying don’t know scored higher than Corbyn on who would make the best prime minister. Whoever wins the Labour leadership, “we will not let them anywhere near power again”.

block-time published-time 12.05pm BST

Neil Parish , a Conservative, asks for an assurances that farmers will not lose out from Brexit.

May says the chancellor’s announcement also said farmers would have their EU income guaranteed too until 2020.

block-time published-time 12.04pm BST

Thangam Debbonaire, the Labour MP, says the UK has a disproportionate number of the world’s best universities. But some are already losing out as a result of Brexit. Can May tells MPs what the government’s stragegy is?

May welcomes Debbonaire back. (She was ill earlier this year.) She says the chancellor has announced that universities will have some EU funding guaranteed.

block-time published-time 12.03pm BST

Theresa May starts by congratulating the British Olympic team. They did themselves and their country proud, she says. And she offers best wishes to the Paralympic team.

block-time published-time 11.55am BST

This is from the BBC ’s Laura Kuenssberg .

enltrFollowed by PM's statement on G20, expect a strong message from May that she won't be rushed

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/773473266354847744]block-time published-time 11.52am BST

PMQs PMQs starts in 10 minutes.

Here is the order paper showing which MPs are asking questions.

enltrThere's a G20 statement by PM 1230ish, on our #PMQs [https://twitter.com/hashtag/PMQs?src=hash] panel we have @wesstreeting [https://twitter.com/wesstreeting] panel we have @StephenGethins [https://twitter.com/StephenGethins] and @andreajenkyns [https://twitter.com/andreajenkyns] and pic.twitter.com/6w5dRKrtkI [https://t.co/6w5dRKrtkI] and

— Faisal Islam (@faisalislam) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/faisalislam/status/773471304016076800]block-time published-time 11.49am BST

Here is my colleague Alan Travis ’s story on Liz Truss’s evidence to the justice committee.

Related: Liz Truss puts prison reform plans put on hold [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/07/liz-truss-puts-prison-reform-plans-put-on-hold]

And here is how it starts

Theresa May ’s new government has pulled back from Michael Gove ’s plan to introduce a major prison reform bill that formed the social reform centrepiece of David Cameron ’s last Queen’s speech only four months ago.

The new justice secretary, Liz Truss, sparked astonishment among MPs when she refused to guarantee to the Commons justice select committee that Gove’s prison reform legislation [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/may/18/uk-prison-reform-programme-fail-phil-wheatley-director-general] would go ahead.

When asked by the justice committee chairman if the prison reform bill was going to go ahead, she replied: “We are looking at that at the moment. It will be in the plan … I am not committing to any specific piece of legislation at this stage.”

block-time published-time 11.46am BST

Umunna to stand for election as home affairs committee chair Chuka Umunna , the Labour former shadow business secretary, will stand for election as chair of the Commons home affairs committee, I’m told. He is a member of the committee and all MPs will vote for the new chair following Keith Vaz ’s resignation yesterday. Umunna has the backing of all Labour members of the committee, as well as some Tories on committee. As MP for Streatham in south London, where there is a sizeable black and minority ethnic (BME) community, he feels that chairing the committee would dovetail with his constituency responsibilities (because home affairs covers some issues of particular relevance to BME communities). He also thinks that having a serving member of the committee replace Vaz would provide continuity, which would benefit the committee, and that it would be good for Vaz to be replaced by a BME candidate because Vaz was the only BME Commons select committee chair.

Home affairs is one of the most high-profile Commons committee and there is likely to be strong competition for the post, which has to got a Labour MP. Caroline Flint, a former Home Office minister, has already confirmed that she is also standing. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/06/keith-vaz-resigns-as-chair-of-home-affairs-select-committee]

block-time published-time 11.28am BST

Jeremy Corbyn ’s campaign team have responded rather wittily to Owen Smith ’s open letter about what he should say at PMQs. (See 10.17am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/07/pmqs-may-corbyn-statement-brexit-australia-dashes-hopes-of-quick-brexit-trade-deal-with-uk-politics-live?page=with:block-57cfd910e4b0c1d95ae142d1#block-57cfd910e4b0c1d95ae142d1]’s campaign team have responded rather wittily to Owen Smith ’s open letter about what he should say at PMQs. (See

enltr.Hi @owensmith2016 [https://twitter.com/owensmith2016], like all Labour supporters, you're welcome to submit questions for Jeremy to ask at PMQs here: https://t.co/vVQmI0tB6u [https://t.co/vVQmI0tB6u], like all Labour supporters, you're welcome to submit questions for Jeremy to ask at PMQs here:

— Jeremy4Labour Press (@JfLpress) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JfLpress/status/773465216659193856]block-time published-time 11.25am BST

Truss suggests prisons reform bill no longer a priority Liz Truss, the new justice secretary, has just finished giving evidence to the Commons justice committee this morning. Here are some of the highlights. The tweets are from the Guardian ’s Alan Travis, the BBC’s Danny Shaw and the legal commentator Joshua Rozenberg.

\* Truss suggested that the prison and courts reform bill announced in the Queen’s speech earlier this year was no longer a priority.

enltrLiz Truss appears to have pulled back from introducing Michael Gove 's prison reform bill which was centrepiece of Queen's Speech

— Alan Travis (@alantravis40) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alantravis40/status/773454759277760512]enltrJustice cttee chairman expresses astonishment that Queen's Speech jail reform centrepiece not guaranteed - I am looking at that, says Truss

— Alan Travis (@alantravis40) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alantravis40/status/773455206625452032]

\* She refused to commit herself to cutting prison numbers.

enltrLiz Truss resists justice select ctte pressure to commit to cut prison numbers and says there is no right or wrong levels of imprisonment.

— Alan Travis (@alantravis40) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alantravis40/status/773446614740508672]enltrLiz Truss tells Victoria Prentis she doesn’t want to be judged on prison numbers. Her “metric” is whether prisoners are motivated to engage.

— Joshua Rozenberg (@JoshuaRozenberg) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JoshuaRozenberg/status/773449965704187906]

\* She said drug levels in prisons were being cut.

enltrLiz Truss suggests new technology in some prisons to detect 'legal highs' is working & drug levels have been cut @CommonsJustice [https://twitter.com/CommonsJustice]

— Danny Shaw (@DannyShawBBC) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DannyShawBBC/status/773450570199887872]Journalists and commentators watching the session were not impressed. These are from the Daily Mirror’s Jack Blanchard.

enltrWe're 25 minutes into Liz Truss's first appearance at Justice select committee. 25 minutes of meaningless platitudes I will never get back.

— Jack Blanchard (@Jack\_Blanchard\_) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jack\_Blanchard\_/status/773448200166510593]enltrHalf an hour of Liz Truss's management-speak guff is almost enough to make you miss Michael Gove . It's actually that bad

— Jack Blanchard (@Jack\_Blanchard\_) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jack\_Blanchard\_/status/773451947944869888]enltrPhilip Davies asks again about allowing sex in prisons. Truss replies: "We'll be setting out a framework in due course." She really is a gem

— Jack Blanchard (@Jack\_Blanchard\_) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Jack\_Blanchard\_/status/773456366430289921]This is from Politics Home’s Emilio Casalicchio

enltrJustice Secretary Liz Truss appears to be fudging her way through first Justice Select Committee appearance.

— Emilio Casalicchio (@e\_casalicchio) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/e\_casalicchio/status/773456517488140288]And this is from the lawyer and legal blogge r Carl Gardner.

enltrLiz Truss was far from impressive before the justice committee. She seems pretty vague about what she's doing.

— Carl Gardner (@carlgardner) September 7, 2016 [https://twitter.com/carlgardner/status/773463856446406656]block-time published-time 10.45am BST

Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, is today launching a Lib Dem “plan for Britain in Europe”. [http://www.libdems.org.uk/our-plan-for-britain-in-europe] The party is campaigning for people to be given the chance to vote on the final Brexit deal, although it claims that this is not the same as demanding a second referendum. Farron said:

Voting for departure is not the same as voting for a destination. Brexit means Brexit but we still don’t know if that means £350m a week extra for the NHS , **immigration** controls or membership of the Single Market. This is not an attempt to re-run the first referendum. It is to enable the public to vote on the final deal, reflecting that there is disagreement even in the cabinet over every major aspect of Brexit.

block-time published-time 10.36am BST

David Willetts, the former Conservative universities minister who now chairs the Resolution Foundation thinktank, was on the Today programme this morning criticising the government’s proposal to bring back grammar schools. It’s a subject about which he feels strongly, because his opposition to grammar schools probably cost him a seat in cabinet. As shadow education secretary in 2007 he gave a speech saying bringing back grammar schools would be bad for social mobility. David Cameron backed him at the time, but the Willetts argument went down very badly with Conservative party members and Willetts was subsequently demoted to the shadow universities post. As universities minister he attended cabinet but not as a full cabinet minister.

On the Today programme he said he had not changed his mind on grammar schools.

It’s a very serious problem in these selective systems: they do tend to be captured by the better-informed, more affluent parents... They’re doing the right thing for their kids but the trouble is social mobility suffers as a result.

If you look overall, not just in Britain but around the world, at those school systems we admire that have got high performance and high standards, from Shanghai to Finland, by and large they don’t put their effort into trying to pick which kids they educate; they put their effort into raising standards for all the kids.

David Willetts. Photograph: Richard Gardner/REX block-time published-time 10.17am BST

Smith proposes questions for Corbyn to ask at PMQs Owen Smith , the Labour leadership challenger, has written an open letter to Jeremy Corbyn about the questions he should ask at PMQs.

His suggestions are rather good. But they are contained in a letter that is both critical and patronising. Here’s a flavour of it.

I’m sorry to say that in her first PMQs in July, you put Theresa May under no pressure at all. You moved from issue to issue with no follow-up for any of your six questions, so that the prime minister’s answers were not challenged.

You didn’t even ask her about the EU , even though Brexit was and is the biggest challenge facing her government, and the reason for David Cameron ’s resignation and her elevation to Downing Street. Perhaps the same reticence about standing up for Britain’s place in the EU which led you to campaign so ineffectively for Remain also puts you off exposing the weaknesses and contradictions in the Government’s position – but continuing to fail to take Theresa May on over Brexit would be a dereliction of duty.

And here are the specific questions that Smith proposes.

Following her experience at the G20 summit this weekend, does the PM regret not campaigning harder for Britain to remain in the EU ?

The PM has said on a number of occasions that “Brexit means Brexit”. Did she find that this vacuous slogan was sufficient to alleviate our allies’ concerns at the G20 this weekend, or did they still have some questions?

The Japanese government raised a number of concerns about what Brexit might mean – they clearly do not find “Brexit means Brexit” a sufficient clarification of UK government policy. They want the UK to stay within the single market. But the Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union says this is “improbable”. Does the PM agree with the Japanese Government or her own Secretary of State?

President Obama said at the G20 that the USA’s priority would be to pursue trade deals with the EU and with Pacific countries – not to do a deal with the UK. Does the PM plan to persuade the United States to change its diplomatic priorities, and if so how?

Over the last few months a points-based **immigration** system has been proposed by the Foreign Secretary, the International Trade Secretary, the International Development Secretary, the Environment Secretary and the Transport Secretary. Can the PM confirm that she disagrees with all of them?

A points-based **immigration** system was one of the Leave campaign’s key promises. Can the PM confirm that she also has no intention of honouring the Leave campaign’s promise of an additional £350m a week for the NHS ?

The Smith letter was originally written for the Times’s Red Box website. [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/redbox/topic/corbyns-labour/dear-jeremy-some-questions-you-could-ask-at-pmqs]

block-time published-time 10.06am BST

Here are some more lines from the Today programme’s interview with Steven Ciobo , the Australian trade minister.

\* Ciobo confirmed that Australia had offered to lend trade negotiators to the UK - although his tone suggested it was not a particularly serious offer.

I indicated that if a request was forthcoming, Australia would certainly be willing to help. I made the passing quip to Secretary Fox that if we were going to have negotiations with Australia, they would probably go very smoothly if it was Australians on all sides of the negotiating table. But, ultimately, we’re happy to provide whatever support we can.

Britain does not have trade negotiators [https://www.civilserviceworld.com/articles/news/former-brexit-minister-oliver-letwin-uk-has-no-trade-negotiators] because, as an EU member, all trade negotiations have been conducted on the UK’s behalf by Brussels. But since the Brexit vote Whitehall has been trying to recruit some.

\* He said that cheap Australian wine would be one benefit of a UK-Australia trade deal. Asked if Australian wine would get cheaper for British consumers, he replied:

Absolutely. Cheap Australian wine is a good fringe benefit of an FTA [free trade agreement] if we are able to put one in place.

\* He confirmed that Australia would conclude its trade deal with the EU before concluding one with the UK. “That’s a consequence of the fact that discussions with the European Union are more advanced than they are with the UK,” he said.

block-time published-time 9.18am BST

In July, a few days before his surprise appointment as Brexit secretary, David Davis wrote a detailed article for ConservativeHome about the approach the government should adopt to EU withdrawal. [http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/07/david-davis-trade-deals-tax-cuts-and-taking-time-before-triggering-article-50-a-brexit-economic-strategy-for-britain.html] In it, he confidently predicted that new trade deals with countries outside the EU could be negotiated quickly, within two years.

So be under no doubt: we can do deals with our trading partners, and we can do them quickly. I would expect the new prime minister on September 9th [at this point the Tories still thought members would be voting in a lengthy leadership election[ to immediately trigger a large round of global trade deals with all our most favoured trade partners. I would expect that the negotiation phase of most of them to be concluded within between 12 and 24 months.

So within two years, before the negotiation with the EU is likely to be complete, and therefore before anything material has changed, we can negotiate a free trade area massively larger than the EU .

But that timetable has timetable has now been consigned to the bin. Steven Ciobo , the Australian trade secretary, has come to London for talks with Liam Fox , the international trade secretary, and in an interview with the BBC he said that it would take at least two and a half years to agree a UK-Australian trade deal, and possibly longer. That was because the two countries could not strike a deal until the UK left the EU , he said.

My formal advice is that, and this is from the UK side, the UK is unable to negotiate or sign an agreement prior to the formal exit from the EU . We can certainly have preliminary discussions and that’s part of what I’m doing here this week. Preliminary discussions around what a post-Brexit Australia-UK trade deal might look like.

Asked if that meant a deal was some years off, Ciobo replied:

Based upon what we’ve been told, if article 50 is present in Q1 or Q2 next year [the first or second quarter of the year] and then the two year year window in relation to that, so you would expect it is at least two and a half years off.

Ciobo was then asked if, with the UK and Australia only free to sign a deal in two and a half years’ time, there would then be months or years of “tough negotiations”. Ciobo conceded that at that point further talks might be necessary, but he also said that with “our strong historical bonds we should be able to make a meal of it quite quickly”.

And remember - Australia is supposed to be one of the countries with whom negotiating a trade deal should be easiest.

I will post more from the interview shortly.

And we’ve got more Brexit later, because Theresa May is making a statement in the Commons about the G20 summit which is almost certain to turn into a mini debate about the government’s Brexit policy.

Here is the agenda for the day.

9.45am: Liz Truss, the justice secretary, gives evidence to the Commons justice committee.

12pm: Theresa May faces Jeremy Corbyn at PMQs.

12.30pm: May gives a statement to MPs. It is supposed to be about the G20 summit, but it is bound to lead to MPs questioning her about Brexit, which was discussed at the summit.

2.30pm: Chris Wormald, permanent secretary at the Department of Heath, gives evidence to the Commons public accounts committee.

3pm: Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary, and Priti Patel , the international development secretary, meet representatives of the Syrian opposition.

3pm: Amber Rudd , the home secretary, gives evidence to the Commons home affairs committee.

4pm: Jeremy Corbyn , the Labour leader, launches his energy and environment policy.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.21am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Boris Johnson, Liam Fox and David Davis are holding a blank sheet of paper where they should have answers. Their campaign slogan sounds increasingly meaningless

Before the last election I shared a train journey with Ed Miliband and some of his advisers on their way to a live television debate. The conversation turned to mugs. Labour had produced a range emblazoned with campaign pledges, and one offering “controls on **immigration**” had angered the left of the party [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/mar/29/diane-abbott-labour-immigration-controls-mugs-shameful].

Miliband was puzzled and frustrated. The promise to manage the nation’s borders followed logically from the impossibility of fighting an election on a manifesto implying the opposite. Who would advocate uncontrolled **immigration**? Besides, it was hardly the centrepiece of the campaign. Why get so hung up on one pledge when there were four others that the left should be cheering – protecting the NHS , for example, and raising living standards? There were mugs for those too.

But the problem wasn’t the mug so much as the ease with which an empty political vessel is filled with scepticism. No one who resented Labour for lax border policy in the past was impressed by a slogan of control; and anyone who found that kind of rhetoric distasteful was appalled that Labour should be borrowing it. One side doubted that Miliband meant what he said; the other side hoped he didn’t. He paid the maximum price in perceived inauthenticity, for no return in votes.

Related: The Guardian view on EU migration after Brexit: May must tell us what she wants | Editorial [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/05/the-guardian-view-on-eu-migration-after-brexit-may-must-tell-us-what-she-wants]

With **immigration**, perhaps more than any other policy area, the credentials of the messenger matter as much as the message. There is more space for consensus than is apparent in a polarised debate. Public attitude surveys find little support for the open-door approach, but also limited interest in raising drawbridges. Most people recognise that migrants make a valuable contribution to British society and always have done, but they also fret about the pressure put on public services – and, in some sectors, wages – by new arrivals. Many also find rapid change in the cultural contours of their neighbourhoods disorienting. Those are not unreasonable concerns, and the surest way to provoke mistrust is to conflate them with racist attitudes.

The point is made well and with reference to detailed polling in a report – published in 2014 [http://www.britishfuture.org/articles/less-racist-anxious/] but still fresh with insight – from British Future, a thinktank specialising in matters of migration and identity. The authors identify an “anxious middle”, comprising around half the population, who simultaneously value ethnic diversity and mourn a loss of cultural continuity. They are flanked by roughly equal 25% tranches of “migration liberals” on one side and “rejectionists” on the other.

A routine failure among politicians and commentators on the liberal wing is to treat the anxiety of the middle as a shade of rejectionism – either closet prejudice or a naive susceptibility to that tendency. Having diagnosed the problem as misinformation spread by the enemies of tolerance, they treat it with “myth-busting” cures, hoping that a blast of cold logic might dispel the miasma of false consciousness.

But to someone made anxious by personal experience, myth-busting comes across either as an accusation of stupidity (“you don’t understand the issues”) or a symptom of elite arrogance (“your unhappiness is a price worth paying for my continued economic success”).

With **immigration**, perhaps more than any policy area, the credentials of the messenger matter as much as the message

There is a blind spot on the other side too, exemplified by those Conservative Brexiteers who fought a campaign promising simple **immigration** solutions, and now plead for time, citing the complexity of their task. Boris Johnson, Liam Fox, David Davis [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/16/johnson-davis-fox-three-brexiteers] – the cabinet ministers responsible for engineering a post-EU settlement of Britain’s relations – might be appalled at the suggestion they pander to racism, and yet this triumvirate owes its position to an electoral project that mobilised all the racists.

Of course not everyone who voted for Brexit is xenophobic, but xenophobes voted leave; and to pretend that the campaign did not give licence to casual bigotry, with an undercurrent of violent menace, defies decency and evidence.

Leave campaigners packaged up their answers to the border question as “an Australian-style points system”. That solution has now been rejected by Theresa May [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/05/the-guardian-view-on-eu-migration-after-brexit-may-must-tell-us-what-she-wants], not because it is too stringent but because the model is too lax, with too many avenues for automatic entry entitlement. So not really taking control at all. It was designed not to reduce numbers but to increase the population of Australia by importing labour and it succeeded in that aim, as the Brexit bunch knew all along.

The “points-based system” was always a phoney offer. It was clever shorthand for “non-racist yet rigorous-sounding alternative to the status quo”, chosen because it seemed meritocratic (points are earned) and culturally digestible (Australia is a friendly, Anglophone cousin country). It was no more viable as a device for containing public anxiety about **immigration** than Miliband’s mug, albeit with more retail appeal. Nor did it much improve on David Cameron’s commitment to cap net migrant numbers – a pledge with the dubious honour of being even more politically cynical and less practically attainable than George Osborne ’s fiscal targets.

Thus are we confronted with the Conservative Eurosceptics, tongue-tied but blinking smugly in the glare of referendum victory, holding a blank piece of paper where they should have answers on **immigration**.

Related: Boris Johnson, David Davis and Liam Fox as the Three Brexiteers? Dream on | Marina Hyde [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/16/johnson-davis-fox-three-brexiteers]

For years they posed as valiant crusaders against an oppressive liberal taboo. Countless times was it said that we couldn’t talk about **immigration**; that just to raise the concern invited nasty and unjustified insinuations of racism. Then it was said that there could be no solution to the problem without leaving the EU , that liberal elitists had propped open the doors and were using economic scare tactics against anyone who might close them.

Well, the field belongs to the sceptics now. The regime of the Bruxellois metropolitans is vanquished. They might once have had something sensible to say about the need to balance border control with economic openness, diversity and tolerance, but their message-carrying credentials are shot. The taboos they policed are all comprehensively broken.

So come on then, Johnson, Fox, Davis and friends: you can talk about **immigration** without being racist. It isn’t that hard. Start talking. Take control. Or does it turn out that this was just a meaningless slogan – in which case I’ve got a mug to sell you.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Charities welcome move to make it easier to stay off public electoral roll, saying it will help victims of domestic violence

The government has announced that it will make it easier for people to register to vote anonymously, a change long pushed for by charities working with women who have experienced domestic abuse.

The charities argue that while it can be vital for women who have escaped violent relationships to conceal their whereabouts, the current hurdles for being allowed to remain off the public electoral roll are very high.

Those seeking to register anonymously have to either present a court order or other legal document, or a letter from a senior police officer or another very high-ranking official.

The constitution minister, Chris Skidmore, told parliament on Wednesday that the government would look at simplifying the qualifying evidence necessary to register anonymously.

Before the statement Skidmore’s department, the Cabinet Office, said that as well as for those who had experienced domestic abuse, anonymous registration can be necessary for those at risk of forced marriage, witnesses in some criminal cases, or people vulnerable for other reasons if their name and address can be accessed.

Skidmore said: “This government wants everyone’s voice to be heard and ensure anonymous registration is accessible to those who are some of the most vulnerable, but also the bravest in society.”

The changes have been pushed for primarily by Women’s Aid [https://www.womensaid.org.uk/]. Sian Hawkins, campaigns manager for the charity, said that for women living in a **refuge** it was currently “an almost insurmountable challenge” to register to vote.

To remain off the public register they must currently provide either a court order or the signature of a police officer of superintendent rank or above, or the head of the National Crime Agency or a director of social services.

“These are not the kind of people that survivors of domestic abuse come into contact with in everyday life,” Hawkins said, adding that the evidence must be resubmitted every year.

“It’s safe to assume that many, many survivors of domestic abuse will currently not be able to take part in the democratic process,” she said.

Women’s Aid has recommended that the permitted signatories for letters asking for people to register anonymously be expanded to the likes to **refuge** managers, GPs, health visitors and midwives.

The charity was, Hawkins said, extremely pleased the government was taking action: “It’s absolutely critical that survivors of domestic abuse have the same right to the democratic process as everybody else, particularly after being so often disenfranchised by the system in many other ways.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Snowden and others are raising money for the impoverished asylum seekers who protected the whistleblower after he leaked classified documents

Supporters of Edward Snowden[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/edward-snowden] are raising funds to try to help **refugees** who helped hide him when he went on the run in Hong Kong in 2013.

Until now, the whereabouts of Snowden in the weeks after he leaked secret intelligence documents had remained a mystery. But it has now been revealed he was staying with with **refugees** in cramped and impoverished flats in some of the poorer parts of the city.

One of the whistleblower’s lawyers in Hong Kong, Robert Tibbo, disclosed the details in an interview with Canada’s National Post. Tibbo said Snowden had sent $1,000 to each of the people who had helped him. Other supporters of Snowden are also sending donations.

Related: Snowden lawyer vows to make new push for pardon from Obama[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/26/edward-snowden-lawyer-pardon-obama]

The fear is that now those who helped him have been identified, they might face reprisals. The money is to try to help them.

After Snowden leaked tens of thousands of secret documents from America’s National Security Agency and Britain’s GCHQ to journalists in the Mira Hotel in Hong Kong, he fled, under the protection of two lawyers, Tibbo and Jonathan Man.

Snowden went to an office of the United Nations to apply for **refugee** status in an attempt to avoid extradition, and then stayed with various **refugee** families.

Both Tibbo and Man had helped the asylum seekers in the past and felt they would not betray Snowden.

Related: Snowden the movie: Ewen MacAskill watches the NSA super-leak come back to life[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/aug/18/snowden-the-movie-ewen-macaskill-watches-the-nsa-super-leak-come-back-to-life]

In an interview with Canada’s National Post, Tibbo said: “Nobody would dream that a man of such high profile would be placed among the most reviled people in Hong Kong.”

The revelation now was prompted by the movie Snowden, which is to be premiered in Toronto on Friday. Its director, Oliver Stone, who meticulously researched the film, had been pressing for details of what had happened to Snowden after he left the Mira hotel.

Snowden, in a text sent to the Post, expressed thanks to the **refugees**. “Imagine the world’s most wanted dissident brought to your door. Would you open it? They didn’t even hesitate and I’ll always be grateful for that,” he said.

A **refugee** from Sri Lanka, called Supun Thilina Kellapatha, and his partner, Nadeeka, gave him a place in their small home. He later moved to another flat, where Vanessa Mae Bondalian Rodel, an asylum seeker from the Philippines, lived with her mother and daughter.

Then he stayed with Ajith Pushpakumara, another Sri Lankan who had been helping him move around the city.

Their surnames were withheld by the Post to try to protect their identities, but they were soon identified.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**GOP nominee said his rival produced ‘only turmoil, suffering and death’ while he laid out his vision for a more robust military and cautious foreign policy

Donald Trump derided Hillary Clinton as a warmonger on Wednesday, saying: “Sometimes it seems like there wasn’t a country in the Middle East Clinton didn’t want to invade,” even as he called for a major increase in US defense spending.

In the speech at the Union League in Philadelphia, a century-and-a-half-old institution crammed with portraits of civil war generals and long-dead club presidents, Trump laid out his vision for a more robust US military paired with a cautious foreign policy.

Trump railed against his Democratic opponent as having been “trigger-happy and very unstable” during her tenure as secretary of state, claiming that she produced “only turmoil, suffering and death” while in office.

By contrast, the Republican nominee promised to “prioritize diplomacy over destruction” and pledged that in his administration “our actions in the Middle East will be tempered by realism”.

The address, billed as a policy speech on military readiness, marked Trump’s second on policy in the past week after addressing **immigration** last Wednesday in Phoenix. Trump has taken a more scripted approach in recent weeks, which have seen Hillary Clinton’s lead narrow in national polls[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/us/general\_election\_trump\_vs\_clinton\_vs\_johnson\_vs\_stein-5952.html].

Related: Military veterans demand Republicans unendorse Trump and his 'ignorance'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/04/us-military-veterans-donald-trump-petition-john-mccain]

Trump also called for an end to the sequester, the automatic spending cuts that took effect in 2013 as part of a budget deal in Congress, which forced significant cuts in both defense and non-defense spending. Trump only called for an end to the defense cuts, arguing that deep cuts in the military “invite more aggression” and, without increased spending, “we will have aggression like you’ve never seen before”.

At the time the sequester went into effect, the Republican nominee dismissed its impact. He told Fox News[http://www.foxnews.com/on-air/on-the-record/2013/02/24/trump-looming-sequester-its-being-overexaggerated] in 2013 that concern about it was “over-exaggerated” and dismissed naysayers, saying “a lot of things are not going to happen that people are thinking are going to happen.”

Clinton called for an end to the sequester at a speech to the American Legion in Cincinnati on 31 August. “We cannot impose arbitrary limits on something as important as our military,” the Democratic nominee said. “That makes no sense at all. The sequester makes our country less secure. Let’s end it and get a budget deal that supports America’s military, our families, and our country.”

Trump proposed to use the increased defense budget to expand the army to 540,000 people, the navy to 350 ships, and the air force to at least 1,200 fighter aircraft, as well as to develop a missile defense system. A number of the recommendations were based on a report from the Heritage Foundation, a conservative thinktank based in Washington that Republicans have long relied on for policy recommendations.

The size of the armed forces has been reduced in recent years, with the army moving towards a long-term goal[https://www.armytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/07/09/army-outlines-40000-cuts/29923339/] of reducing its force to 450,00 active duty soldiers. The marine corps has only 23 battalions, which the Heritage Foundation has argued is below the minimum of 30 needed for the United States to fight two major regional conflicts simultaneously.

Trump also pledged to build a “state-of-the-art missile defense program”, which he said would create a significant number of jobs. He said: “Accomplishing this missile rebuild will be a 50-state effort. Every state in the union will be able to take part rebuilding our military and developing the technologies for tomorrow.”

The Republican nominee provided few details about how this massive increase in spending would be funded. Trump talked vaguely of “commonsense reforms that eliminate government waste and budget gimmicks” as well as “reducing the size of the federal bureaucracy through responsible workforce attrition”. One specific measure Trump suggested was “respectfully asking Germany, Japan, South Korea and Saudi Arabia to pay more for the tremendous security we provide them”. Trump was confident that those countries will “fully understand” and insisted currently “we are subsidizing them for billion of dollars”.

Trump has previously pledged to greatly increase infrastructure spending and slash tax rates, all while maintaining current entitlement spending.

Trump also reiterated a statement he first made[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/06/donald-trump-rally-greenville-north-carolina-clinton-attack] at a Tuesday night rally in Greenville, North Carolina, that, after being elected, he would “ask the generals to present a plan within 30 days to defeat and destroy Isis”.

Previously, Trump has said he had a secret plan[http://www.mediaite.com/tv/donald-trump-i-know-how-to-defeat-isis-but-im-not-gonna-tell-yet/] to defeat Isis that he did not want to share, telling Fox News in May 2015: “I don’t want the enemy to know what I’m doing.”

The Wednesday speech’s more sedate setting came after Trump delivered his most recent policy speech on **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-vows-to-deport-millions-during-first-hour-in-office-in-hardline-speech] to a roaring crowd in Phoenix last week. Trump admitted to reporters on Monday that the setting may have led to his more strident than expected tone.

“You had 15,000 people and 10,000 outside and they were going wild,” Trump told reporters on his aircraft. “A lot of that the noise was unbelievable, it’s possible when you make a speech like that you’re better off doing it for 150 people in front of the Washington Press Club.”

Related: Will the US elections be hacked? It's doubtful, but machines could be 'rigged'[https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/aug/06/will-the-us-elections-be-hacked]

In a press release issued before his speech, Trump also said that among his first requests as commander-in-chief would be to ask the joint chiefs of staff as well as other departments to identify potential vulnerabilities in the US’s cyber-defenses.

Clinton has suggested that the Russian government is using cyber-attacks to meddle in the US presidential election[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/05/russia-influence-us-presidential-election-investigation], after a host of emails were leaked in a hack of the Democratic National Committee. Trump has downplayed the severity of these hacks and even once apparently jokingly invited Russia to hack Clinton’s emails and release the findings.

In a clear dig at his Democratic opponent, Trump said he would “enforce all classification rules, and enforce all laws relating to the handling of classified information”.

Clinton reportedly told the FBI in a July interview about her use of a private email server that she could not recall key details and events[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/hillary-clinton-emails-laptop-thumb-drive-archive-missing] related to classified information procedures, according to notes recently released by the bureau. Trump and his campaign have seized on this, saying Clinton’s apparent irreverence to the classification rules should “disqualify” her from seeking the presidency.

Additional reporting by Lauren Gambino in Washington

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**King Harald shook up the royal garden party with a speech in support of **refugees** and gay rights which has since gone viral

A 79-year-old monarch is perhaps not the most likely person to deliver a rousing speech in support of **refugees**, religious tolerance, diversity and LGBT rights, and a royal garden party may not be the most likely place to hear it.

But an impassioned five-minute address on the need for inclusiveness and acceptance by Norway’s King Harald last week to some 1,500 slightly startled – but ultimately delighted – guests in the park of the Royal Palace in Oslo has gone viral.

A spokeswoman, Marianne Hagen, said the palace had received “a huge number” of requests for an official English translation of the speech, which had received nearly 80,000 likes and been viewed more than 3m times on Facebook[https://www.facebook.com/nrknyheter/videos/10154056444941715/].

Interest in the speech has been such that Harald, who celebrated 25 years on the Norwegian throne earlier this year, was quizzed about it at length during a state visit to Finland this week, Hagen said.

Explicitly backing gay rights, the king, who will be 80 in February, said Norwegians were “girls who love girls, boys who love boys, and girls and boys who love each other”. He also voiced support for religious diversity, saying Norwegians believed “in God, in Allah, in the universe – and in nothing”.

Calling on people to embrace “trust, solidarity and generosity”, he said the notion of home could not be confined within national borders: “It is not always easy to say where we are from, what nationality we are. Home is where our heart is.”

Norwegians came, the king continued, referencing a hit Norwegian DJ Kygo alongside the altogether more classical composer Grieg to prove it, in all ages, abilities, heights, family statuses and careers. “In other words,” he said. “Norway is you. Norway is us.”

Rightwing, anti-**immigration** rhetoric has been mounting in Norway since the election three years ago of a centre-right coalition that has been widely criticised for trying to deport asylum seekers to Russia and last month suggested erecting a fence along the two countries’ Arctic border.

The Nordic nation of 5 million is struggling to integrate an estimated 30,000 asylum seekers who arrived last year, including 5,500, most of them Syrian, who rode bikes across from Russia.

Harald insisted Norwegians came not only “from north Norway, central Norway, southern Norway and all the other regions”, but from “Afghanistan, Pakistan and Poland, from Sweden, Somalia and Syria”.

If they were surprised by the unexpected royal intervention, many of his citizens seemed genuinely pleased. “I’m immeasurably proud to be Norwegian, and to have such a great king and royal family,” said one commenter, Yngve Gasoy Romdal. “Yes, we love this country!”

Another expressing approval on the state broadcaster NRK’s Facebook page, Lars Jacob Schärer, said it was “really hard to be republican with this royal family – they are unique, and down-to-earth like most Norwegians. What an example of Norwegian values in practice!”

Even more enthusiastic was Rizwan Al Huq: “This is why we have you, dear king. When monarchy can live hand in hand with democracy, why not support a diverse society and a nation that chooses his own identity with such fine words?”

Harald, a champion sailor who in his younger days represented his country three times in the Olympic Games, praised its beauty, from the “high mountains and deep fjords” to “lush farmland and rolling moors”, but urged its unity.

“My greatest hope for Norway,” he said, “is that we will be able to take care of one another. That we will continue to build this country. That we will feel that we are – despite our differences – one people.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Lack of access to safe water in the war-torn country is driving migration and disease and pollution, say hydrologists and humanitarian groups

War-torn Syria’s water supplies are deteriorating fast, triggering migration and disease and stoking a pollution crisis in neighbouring Lebanon, hydrologists and humanitarian groups have warned.

“Water security continues to deteriorate for many civilians [in Syria]. Evidence shows that control over power and water[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/jul/02/water-key-conflict-iraq-syria-isis] infrastructure is [being] used as a weapon of warring parties,” said Noosheen Mogadam, a policy adviser with the Norwegian **Refugee** Council based in Gaziantep on the Turkish-Syrian border.

“Conflict and protection concerns are the primary drivers for the current displacement trends, [but] a lack of access to water[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/dec/27/war-syrian-water-digital-map-boreholes-icrc] is also cited as a major reason amongst both Syrian **refugees** and internally displaced people within Syria for fleeing their communities,” she said.

According to the UN **refugee** agency, 6.6 million people have been displaced internally in Syria due to the war and around 4.3 million people have fled to Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan and Europe in the last six years.

“Damaged [water] infrastructure, a lack of maintenance, and limited power supply has resulted in a 50% reduction in access to safe water [in Syria],” said Mogadam.

The environmental effects of the war are widely seen in neighbouring Lebanon which has received 1.8 million Syrian **refugees** in six years, said Nadim Farajalla, a professor of hydrology and water resources at the American University of Beirut.

Lebanon, which has many rivers and water sources, is water-rich compared to Jordan, Israel or much of Syria. But the amount of renewable water available in the country has dropped from more than 1,000 cubic metres a year per person – considered the threshold of water poverty – to around 700m3 per person since the **refugees** arrived, Farajalla said.

The extra pressure put on Lebanon’s water supplies and sanitation is the equivalent of a sudden 30% increase in population and is now critical, he said. “This influx of people has had a severely negative impact... with increasing demand on water, higher generation of sewage that goes untreated and an increase in solid waste that is often disposed of in dumps. All of this has put water resources in Lebanon under severe pressure – high demand coupled with increasing pollution,” he said.

“People just don’t realise how critical Lebanon’s water resources is. **Refugees** arriving when there was already a drought really killed us. The human tragedy is worsening, threatening the lives and the livelihoods of both **refugees** and their host communities through a resource that is supposed to be the source of life.”

“The [water] situation is getting worse throughout the Middle East region,” said Ashok Swain, director of the International Centre for Water Cooperation, who has co-authored a new book on emerging security threats in the Middle East.

“The Middle East as a whole has the lowest per capita water availability in the world. At the same time it has also one of the highest rates of population growth. Governments have largely focused on water supply management, through desalination. Current co-operation over water resources is minimal. That needs to change,” he said at a water conference in Stockholm.

Co-author Dr Anders Jägerskog, water adviser to the Swedish government in Amman, Jordan, said water was an indirect security threat throughout the Middle East. “More attention needs to be paid to water, population, food and energy supplies. These are not direct security threats, like the Islamic State, but rather are growing behind the headlines and may contribute to more immediate threats in the years to come. Food availability, water scarcity and large population migration are all challenges that are set to increase in importance.”

Some academics and environmentalists, including Prince Charles[http://news.sky.com/story/charles-syrias-war-linked-to-climate-change-10338610], Al Gore[http://www.nationalobserver.com/2015/07/09/news/climate-change-opened-gates-hell-syria-al-gore] and President Obama[http://www.cleveland.com/nation/index.ssf/2015/12/president\_obama\_other\_world\_le.html], have suggested that the roots of the Syrian war are in the long, ongoing drought, which has been linked to climate change[http://journals.ametsoc.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/doi/abs/10.1175/WCAS-D-13-00059.1].

But Jägerskogand and Swain say water and climate are not the main causes of largescale population migration in Syria or other parts of the world where there are water shortages.

“The debate tries to see linkages between water scarcity, migration and **refugee** flows and conflict. Water should be seen as one of many areas that can contribute to migration,” said Jägerskog.

Middle-East water researcher Francesca de Chtel said that the roots of the Syrian conflict were to be found in 50 years of Syria’s mismanagement of water, the failure of intensive, irrigated wheat and cotton farming, and growing water scarcity.

“The failure of largescale agricultural development projects from the 1950s onwards undermined farmers’ livelihoods and dislocated rural communities. As rivers disappeared and wells ran dry after years of overexploitation, farmers abandoned their land and sought work in the big cities.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Diplomacy can work: the US and China have agreed on climate change, so the US and Russia can stop Syrians being condemned to face another five years of war

You read of the latest suspected chlorine attacks on Syrian civilians[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/syrian-government-chlorine-gas-aleppo], which activists and rescue workers say came in the form of barrel bombs dropped on Aleppo by a helicopter pilot serving Bashar al-Assad. You see the pictures showing children clutching oxygen masks[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-37291182], grasping for breath. You see people hosing down the young and naked, desperate to wash away any trace of the burning, stinging chemical.

Related: Syrian government 'drops chlorine gas' on rebel-held part of Aleppo[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/syrian-government-chlorine-gas-aleppo]

You read today’s Unicef report[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/07/nearly-half-of-all-refugees-are-children-unicef-report-migrants-united-nations], showing that children now make up half of the world’s **refugees** and that half of the child **refugees** under UN protection come from Syria (along with Afghanistan).

You read all this and you wonder, how long will Syria’s agony last? Can anything be done, or will those children just have to wait until this conflict burns itself out, until all the multiple factions and proxy armies exhaust themselves, even if that takes another five years of bloodshed – or another five years after that?

As always, the smart money is on inaction. The realistic, worldly wise and grownup view says that nothing will be done. The rivalries on the ground and the competing interests of the region’s players and patrons are just too tangled and intense to be solved any time soon. If you’re the betting type, you’d wager that today’s meeting of Syrian opposition groups in London[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/07/syrian-opposition-coalition-to-announce-democratic-transition-plan] – the so-called High Negotiation Committee (HNC), comprised of more than 30 political and military forces – will achieve precisely nothing.

The HNC’s blueprint does put the lie to the notion that the only options are jihadist brutality or murderous Ba’athism

After all, the US and Russia negotiated for months seeking a way forward, and yet when Barack Obama and Vladimir Putin met at the G20 in Hangzhou on Monday – a meeting that, it was once hoped, might seal a Syria deal – they could only announce that, as Obama put it, “gaps of trust”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/05/obama-says-negotiations-with-russia-over-syria-tough-but-under-way-video] remained between them.

You can see why diplomats are coming to view Syria as not just intractable, but insoluble. Just when you think you can see a clear set of threads that might be untangled, you find several more stubborn knots. To take just one example: Turkey seems like a useful ally in wresting territory from Islamic State – but it insists on also raining fire on the very Kurdish groups, backed by the US, who have been most effective in confronting Isis. So Kurdish fighters help free a Syrian city like Manbij from rule by the so-called Islamic State – prompting last month’s stirring scenes of civilians celebrating their liberation from tyranny[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/12/isis-kidnaps-human-shields-manbij-syria] – only for those same fighters then to face attack from Turkey.

So it is maddeningly complex. And yet there are surely grounds to oppose the fatalism and defeatism that governs most thinking about Syria.

First, it long used to be said that Syria was impossible because it represented a choice between two evils: Assad or Isis. But the coalition of opposition groups assembled today in London, just like the forces who freed Manbij, demonstrate that there is another way. The HNC’s blueprint for a pluralist, democratic Syrian future may look like a fantasy now, but it does put the lie to the notion that the country’s only options are jihadist brutality or murderous Ba’athism.

Related: Nearly half of all **refugees** are children, says Unicef[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/07/nearly-half-of-all-refugees-are-children-unicef-report-migrants-united-nations]

Second, something else happened at this week’s G20. Lost among the reports of diplomatic (and undiplomatic)[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/barack-obama-deliberately-snubbed-by-chinese-in-chaotic-arrival-at-g20] spats, the icy stares[http://nypost.com/2016/09/05/putin-obama-exchange-icy-stares-at-informal-meeting/] and the “son of a whore”[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/son-of-a-whore-was-not-meant-to-be-personal-duterte-tells-obama] insults, was the fact that the US and China formalised their joint commitment[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/sep/03/breakthrough-us-china-agree-ratify-paris-climate-change-deal] to reduce carbon emissions and combat climate change. Now if those two superpowers can overcome all their multiple tensions and frictions to collaborate on that, it surely cannot be beyond the US and Russia to construct some kind of plan for Syria – centred on Moscow using its influence over Assad.

Of course it will be difficult. But so was the agreement on global warming. We cannot let our diplomats and politicians give up on Syria. If we do, we are condemning those children – and their parents – who have faced five years of unimaginable bloodshed to keep on suffering. For another year and another year and, who knows, another year after that.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Robert Goodwill says four-metre high wall to stop **refugees** boarding lorries is part of £17m Anglo-French security package

Work is about to begin on “a big, new wall” in Calais as the latest attempt to prevent **refugees** and migrants jumping aboard lorries heading for the Channel port, the UK’s **immigration** minister has confirmed.

Related: Protesters close Calais over **refugee** crisis: 'We are not racist but we see no solution'[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/05/calais-residents-protest-jungle-refugee-camp-not-racist-problem-getting-worse]

Robert Goodwill told MPs on Tuesday that the four-metre high wall was part of a £17m package of joint Anglo-French security measures to tighten precautions at the port.

“People are still getting through,” he said. “We have done the fences. Now we are doing the wall,” the new **immigration** minister told the Commons home affairs committee.

Building on the 1km-long wall along the ferry port’s main dual-carriageway approach road, known as the Rocade, is due to start this month. The £1.9m wall will be built in two sections on either side of the road to protect lorries and other vehicles from migrants who have used rocks, shopping trolleys and even tree trunks to try to stop vehicles before climbing aboard.

It will be made of smooth concrete in an attempt to make it more difficult to scale, with plants and flowers on one side to reduce its visual impact on the local area. It is due to be completed by the end of the year.

The plan has already attracted criticism from local residents who have started calling it “the great wall of Calais”.

François Guennoc of Auberge des Migrants, a French aid group working in Calais, said: “This wall is the latest extension to kilometres of fencing and security surveillance already in place. It will just result in people going further to get round it.

“When you put walls up anywhere in the world, people find ways to go round them. It’s a waste of money. It could make it more dangerous for people, it will push up tariffs for people smugglers and people will end up taking more risks.”

The Road Haulage Association has said it will be a poor use of taxpayers’ money, arguing that security levels need to be improved in the surrounding approach roads to Calais. “It is imperative that the money to pay for a wall would be much better spent on increasing security along approach roads,” a spokesman said.

But Goodwill, a former shipping minister, said the new wall was part of a package of measures to step up security at the Channel ports. “We are going to start building this big, new wall as part of the £17m package we are doing with the French. There is still more to do. We have also invested in space for 200 lorries at Calais so that they have somewhere safe to wait.”

Goodwill, who took over the job of **immigration** minister on 16 July, said he had yet to visit Calais to see for himself the conditions in the **refugee** camp known as the “Jungle”. He said he would go as soon as he could but refused to be pinned down by MPs on when exactly that might be.

He defended the government’s record on helping child **refugees** with links to Britain in the Calais camp, saying they were trying to speed up the process. But he conceded that he had only had one lengthy conversation with Lord Dubs[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/disgrace-to-europe-former-child-refugee-lord-dubs-calais-camp], the leading parliamentary campaigner on the issue, since taking over the job.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**At a North Carolina rally Trump took aim at his rival’s ‘military adventurism’ and condemned the promotion of democracy oversees: ‘They don’t even want it’

Donald Trump, in a fiery attack on Hillary Clinton before a crowd of thousands in North Carolina, called his Democratic opponent a liar and said “her conduct is disqualifying”.

The Republican presidential nominee raised issues on Tuesday night about his Democratic rival’s policy of “military adventurism” and homebrew server to a capacity crowd that chanted “lock her up”.

Trump’s assault on Clinton, in a cavernous convention center, marked his first public rally since the Labor Day, the unofficial kickoff to the fall campaign. After bemoaning that Clinton didn’t talk about policy but instead engaged in “hitjobs” against him, Trump proceeded to return the favor. Only hours before, at a Tampa rally, Clinton had called him “temperamentally unfit and totally unqualified to be president of the United States”.

Related: Major 50-state poll shows leads for Hillary Clinton in key states[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/06/washington-post-50-state-poll-trump-clinton-2016-election]

Trump started by focusing on Clinton’s policies as Secretary of State. In a passage that was remarkable for a Republican less than eight years after George W Bush left office, Trump condemned democracy promotion overseas. “I believe in a foreign policy based on our national interests that focuses on American security and regional stability instead of using our military to create democracies in countries with no democratic history and couldn’t care less about democracy,” he said. “We are trying to force democracy down their throats and they don’t even want it.”

At a town hall earlier on Tuesday, Trump criticized the United States’ intervention in Libya as part of Nato in 2011. There, he said “this was a Hillary Clinton deal. We could have had a minor attack.” The Republican nominee supported the intervention[https://www.buzzfeed.com/andrewkaczynski/trump-claims-he-didnt-support-libya-intervention-but-he-did] at the time.

The attack on Clinton’s interventionist foreign policy came the night before Trump will hold a major address on defense policy in Philadelphia. He is expected to call for the end of the sequester and a significant increase in military spending. He is also expected to condemn Clinton’s foreign policy of regime change and democracy promotion as well.

In addition to policy, Trump used much of his speech to give a fervent indictment of the ongoing controversy of Clinton’s emails, which he said was “worse than Watergate”. In his view, “we can’t have someone in Oval Office who doesn’t know meaning of words ‘confidential’ or ‘classified.’”

The Republican nominee condemned Clinton’s use of the software BleachBit to wipe her servers – “she bleached her emails” – and raised questions about a Clinton aide destroying her discarded phones with a hammer. “Who uses 13 different iPhones in 4 years,” Trump asked. “The only people who use that many phones are usually involved in very, very, I mean very, shady activity.”

Trump also suggested that something ominous had happened to Bryan Pagliano, the IT worker who maintained Clinton’s server and invoked the fifth amendment in lieu of testifying to Congress on the matter. “He pleaded the 5th and where is he? We never heard about him again,” Trump said.

As Trump summed it up: “In history there has never been a situation like what’s going on with Justice and Hillary Clinton. There has never been a situation like what’s going with the media and Hillary Clinton.”

Trump also continued to compare Hillary Clinton to German chancellor Angela Merkel, calling her “America’s Merkel” and saw parallels to her fortunes in Merkel’s party losing regional elections in Germany on Sunday[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/mecklenburg-vorpommern-german-anti-immigrant-party-strong-regional-election-exit-polls-merkel]. “See what happened to Angela Merkel, they had a massive defeat recently in the elections.”

Trump did outline one new policy detail at the rally. The Republican nominee pledged that, if elected, “I am also going to notify all countries that refuse to take back dangerous illegal **immigrants** that they will lose access to our visa programs and many more little goodies.” Losing access to US visa program would effectively mean that residents of those countries would not be able to visit the United States for any reason.

He tied the issue to risk from **immigrants** committing crimes, in particular Syrian **refugees** whom he once again called “a Trojan Horse”. Unusually, Trump thought about history in expressing his concern about a potential threat from those fleeing the Syrian civil war. “In 200 years, 400 years, I don’t want people to be reading about it or talking about it,” said Trump.

The Republican nominee also pledged that he would have the US military submit a plan to defeat Isis within 30 days of taking office. This marked a shift from his statement[http://www.mediaite.com/tv/donald-trump-i-know-how-to-defeat-isis-but-im-not-gonna-tell-yet/] in May 2015, before he formally announced his candidacy, that he already had a plan to defeat Isis but that he wanted to keep it secret because: “I don’t want the enemy to know what I’m doing.”

In addition to his speech on defense policy Wednesday, Trump is also scheduled to address the presidential convention of the Conservative Party in New York City and participate in a televised forum with NBC’s Matt Lauer.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Shadow treasurer says automation and technology to blame for job losses and slow wage growth, not open economy

The shadow treasurer, Chris Bowen, has warned against erecting barriers to trade and **immigration** when automation and technology are more to blame for job losses and slow wage growth.

In a speech defending an open economy at the Crescent Institute on Wednesday, Bowen called for policies to combat inequality, which he said would help policymakers defend globalisation and its benefits.

Bowen noted the rising tide of protectionist and anti-**immigrant** sentiment around the world, including in the US and Britain’s desire for “isolation” from Europe.

Related: 'Demagogues and cheats': UN rights chief condemns Trump and Wilders[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/06/demagogues-and-cheats-un-human-rights-chief-condemns-trump-and-wilders]

He said in Australia the trends could be seen in the return of Pauline Hanson whose “current attacks on Islam [have replaced] her prejudices against Asians and Aborigines in the 1990s”.

Minor parties are “crowded” with those that blame trade more than **immigration**, he said.

Bowen warned populist stances were harmful because open trade and **immigration** had contributed to more than 25 years of continuous economic growth in Australia[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/07/australia-notches-up-25-years-without-recession-as-public-spending-boosts-growth].

“Living standards – as measured by national income per person – have grown by 60% over the last 25 years,” he said.

Bowen noted that household goods were cheaper than ever due to imports, including electronics being 90% cheaper than 25 years ago. Luxury items were now “commonplace in most households around Australia”.

“It is estimated that the tariff cuts put in place by the Hawke/Keating government have put nearly $4,000 into the pockets of average Australian households.”

Bowen said that migrants come to Australia and work hard, making them “a vital part of the success of the postwar years”.

**Immigration** would lead to a 5.9% gain in GDP per capita in the next 35 years, according to the Migration Council.

Bowen argued it was simplistic to blame trade for the decline in manufacturing because automation and technology – though they boost productivity – have played a large role making jobs obsolete.

He argued that “faster and more instantaneous dissemination of information and services” meant that services sector jobs could also “be traded at light speed with the tap of a keyboard”.

“Automation threatens the jobs of all working people.”

Bowen questioned how erecting trade barriers could prevent job losses from technology.

Related: Australia notches up 25 years of growth as defence spending boosts economy[https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/07/australia-notches-up-25-years-without-recession-as-public-spending-boosts-growth]

Policymakers should “better identify the cohort of people and industries struggling with the changes”, he said, and suggested the Productivity Commission or a similar body to regularly report on how trade reforms, technology and automation benefit communities.

“This work would importantly also allow us to gain a deeper understanding of the people, industries and regions that are adversely affected or displaced from the increasingly rapid change from the new wave of globalisation.”

The shadow treasurer advocated “more investment in relevant education, training and industry plans” rather than “returning to the old days of hoping that protection can prop us up, when it actually drags us down”.

Bowen conceded the open economy was not “working well for everyone”.

“National income per person, in other words our living standards, is almost 2% less than where it was three years ago,” he said.

“For two years, many Australians have grown progressively worse off, not better off. We’ve seen this crystalise in the lowest wages growth on record in Australia[https://www.theguardian.com/business/grogonomics/2016/aug/18/wages-growth-is-at-record-lows-unless-youre-a-commonwealth-bank-ceo].”

Bowen said he cared about income inequality, social mobility and inclusiveness from a moral point of view as a progressive but also because they “[make] it easier to defend globalisation and an open economy”.

He said decline in trade union membership was “at least in part” to blame for low wages, and the result of generations of “union bashing”.

Related: Wages growth is at a record low – unless you're a Commonwealth Bank CEO | Greg Jericho[https://www.theguardian.com/business/grogonomics/2016/aug/18/wages-growth-is-at-record-lows-unless-youre-a-commonwealth-bank-ceo]

Bowen said voters who feel the economy isn’t working for them wanted greater representation, as seen in gains by Labor in Tasmania, Nick Xenophon in South Australia and Pauline Hanson’s One Nation.

“The last thing our economy needs is a retreat to protectionist isolationism. We can and we must win that argument,” he said.

“But let’s listen as we do so, and make sure that Australians who currently feel excluded are included.

“Let’s make sure that our growth is more inclusive and our nation fairer.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Report shows child **refugee** figures have jumped by 75% in five years to 8 million, and calls for urgent action to protect the 50 million child migrants worldwide

Children now make up more than half of the world’s **refugees**, according to a Unicef report, despite the fact they account for less than a third of the global population.

Just two countries – Syria and Afghanistan – comprise half of all child **refugees** under protection by the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees**(UNHCR), while roughly three-quarters of the world’s child **refugees** come from just 10 countries.

New and on-going global conflicts over the last five years have forced the number of child **refugees** to jump by 75% to 8 million, the report warns, putting these children at high risk of human smuggling, trafficking and other forms of abuse.

The Unicef report[http://www.unicef.org.uk/Documents/Media/UPROOTED%20Report.pdf] (pdf) – which pulls together the latest global data regarding migration and analyses the effect it has on children – shows that globally some 50 million children have either migrated to another country or been forcibly displaced internally; of these, 28 million have been forced to flee by conflict. It also calls on the international community for urgent action to protect child migrants; end detention for children seeking **refugee** status or migrating; keep families together; and provide much-needed education and health services for children migrants.

“Though many communities and people around the world have welcomed **refugee** and migrant children, xenophobia, discrimination, and exclusion pose serious threats to their lives and futures,” said Unicef’s executive director, Anthony Lake.

“But if young **refugees** are accepted and protected today, if they have the chance to learn and grow, and to develop their potential, they can be a source of stability and economic progress.”

Today children comprise one-eighth of all international migrants in the world (31 million children out of 244 million total migrants), according to 2015 data. The vast majority of child migrants – some 3.7 million children – live in the US, followed by Saudi Arabia and Jordan, while in Europe, the UK hosts the largest number of migrants under the age of 18 (close to 750,000).

Unicef UK is calling on the UK government to step up action to ensure that **refugee** children stranded in Europe can reach safety with their families in the UK.

“Today, nearly one in every 200 children in the world is a **refugee**,” said Lily Caprani, Unicef UK’s deputy executive director. “In the last few years we have seen huge numbers of children being forced to flee their homes, and take dangerous, desperate journeys[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/jun/13/safe-memories-children-traumatised-by-escape-to-europe-ritsona-camp-greece], often on their own. Children on the move are at risk of the worst forms of abuse and harm and can easily fall victim to traffickers and other criminals.

“Many of these children wouldn’t resort to such extreme measures if the UK government made them aware that they may have a legal right to come to the UK safely, and if they provided the resources to make that process happen before these terrible journeys begin.”

The vast majority of the world’s child migrants live in Asia or Africa, the report says. Asia is the birthplace of nearly half (43%) of all the migrants in the world, with nearly 60% of these migrants moving within the region. Most of Asia’s child migrants are hosted in Saudi Arabia, which also receives the highest number of labour migrants – the report’s authors say more research is needed to understand the connection between the two.

Globally, Turkey has the largest share of **refugees** – including adults – under protection by the UNHCR, and is believed to host the most child **refugees** as well.

In Africa, nearly one in three migrants is a child – nearly twice the global average – and three in five **refugees** are children. African migrants move both within and beyond the continent’s borders in nearly equal numbers; South Africa and Ivory Coast are the top two host countries for **immigrants**. But on-going conflict in many countries, in addition to linguistic difficulties between peoples and extremely limited resources to deal with migrant and **refugee** populations, mean that “the economic and social pressures of hosting threaten to uproot **refugees** once more”, the report warns.

Related: Thousands of children travelling alone from Africa to Europe, says Unicef[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/jun/14/thousands-of-migrant-refugee-children-travelling-alone-from-africa-to-europe-says-unicef]

Understanding how and why children move within or beyond their birth countries is hugely important but usually hidden from view, says Dale Rutstein of Unicef’s Office of Research – Innocenti[https://www.unicef-irc.org/], which is investigating the multiple drivers that push children to start new lives, and the problems that they face as a result.

“The systems we have in place for people fleeing or seeking asylum are focused on adults, and in no way are articulated for children,” he says. “They are usually based on border control and law enforcement, yet we know that detention for a child is the worst thing that can happen and can create significant problems [for] a child’s development. But time and time again, we see that states don’t have any system for [holding] children apart from [putting them in] detention.”

Data clearly shows that **refugee** and migrant children disproportionately face poverty and exclusion despite being in great need of aid and resources, and in many circumstances are required to handle their own legal cases as they lack any form of legal representation.

“In many parts of the world, children are often and regularly in court proceedings where they have no legal representative and no adult representation, most notably on the border between Central America and the US,” says Rutstein.

“Think of how absurd it is for a child to be arguing their case against a government-appointed lawyer. Often states believe they are set up to protect ‘their own’ children, but children have to be children anywhere and everywhere, and need to have the same standard forms of protection and treatment [around the world].”

The report calls on the international community to fulfil the Convention on the Rights of the Child[http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx], the most widely ratified human rights treaty in history[http://www.unicef.org/rightsite/433\_468.htm], which obliges ratifying countries to respect and protect the rights of all children within their territories, regardless of a child’s background or migration status. While legal frameworks protecting **refugees** and other adult migrants is unclear and fragmented, the report says, the children’s convention is clear and unequivocal, taking into account minors’ particular vulnerabilities.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**What do politicians actually mean when they talk about ‘real people’ and ‘doing the right thing’? To save you from brain fade, here’s a handy guide

Austerity [https://www.theguardian.com/business/austerity] (n) The price you have to pay for the mistakes that others, typically politicians and bankers, have made and aren’t going to pay for themselves. A catch-all term that includes being completely broke even if you’ve got a job (see Hardworking families [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/10/working-class-hard-working-families-labour-social-change] ) and hanging out at food banks if you’re out of work (see Scroungers).

Blairite (n) Originally used to describe anyone who was a supporter of Tony Blair [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/tonyblair] and to distinguish them from the Brownites who were followers of Gordon Brown . Now typically used in conjunction with “scum”, as in “Blairite scum”, to anyone in the Labour party who is not an enthusiastic supporter of Jeremy Corbyn (see Corbynista).

Bourgeois metropolitan elite [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/may/20/metropolitan-elite-britains-new-pariah-class] (ph) A description of anyone who lives inside the M25 and voted for Britain to stay in the EU .

Brain fade [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/apr/25/david-cameron-blames-brain-fade-for-getting-his-football-team-wrong] (n) A term first coined by former Green party leader Natalie Bennett to describe the moment when a politician reveals him/herself to be a complete idiot live on TV or radio. As in “Can you tell me how your party intends to fund your housing policies, please Natalie?” “Er, no... I haven’t a clue, I’m having a brain fade [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2015/mar/27/natalie-bennett-brain-fade-interview-video].” The brain fade’s saving grace is that it does at least reveal the politician to be fundamentally honest. If naive. When asked a question to which they don’t know the answer, more experienced politicians merely answer a different question to which they do have an answer.

Brexit means Brexit [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/22/brexit-means-brexit-when-is-big-question] (ph) A saying originally invented by the Remain campaign to frighten people into voting to stay in the EU . Once that failed it came to mean “Get off my back. I haven’t a clue what Brexit means right now and I will get back to you once I’ve cobbled together something that appears to be vaguely politically feasible.” Not even those who campaigned for Britain to leave the EUhave any idea what Brexit means. Other than Brexit, of course. Throughout the referendum campaign, those who wanted Britain to leave the EU always said that it was up to the government, which was campaigning to stay in the EU , to tell them what Brexit would look like. Go figure.

Brick truthers (n) Those who were standing on a grassy knoll opposite Angela Eagle ’s constituency office and know for certain that she was lying when she said a brick was thrown through her window [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/12/angela-eagles-constituency-office-vandalised-after-leadership-bid-launch] because it definitely only went through a communal window and they will throw a brick through anyone’s window who says anything different.

Chicken coup (ph) Term applied to describe those Labour MPs who would like to get rid of Jeremy Corbyn as leader but know they have no chance of doing so and therefore spend most of their time briefing against him behind his back in the hope that he will resign.

Corbynista (n) A neologism first coined in 2015 that now comes in two distinct usages.

A member of the Labour party who has seen the true path of socialism [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/05/political-establishment-momentum-jeremy-corbyn] and will follow Jeremy Corbyn even unto a defeat at the 2020 general election because it is far better to have 75 of the right kind of MPs than 326 who might be able to form a government (cf Blairite).

A member of the Labour party who is completely deluded and will follow Jeremy Corbyn even unto a defeat [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jan/24/corbynistas-labour-alibis-for-defeat] at the 2020 general election because it is far better to have 75 of the right kind of MPs than 326 who might be able to form a government (cf Blairite).

Dead cat strategy [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jan/20/lynton-crosby-and-dead-cat-won-election-conservatives-labour-intellectually-lazy] (ph) A key strategy in winning an election that you think you might be about to lose. Most recently deployed in the 2015 general election by Lynton Crosby , the Australian in charge of the Conservative election campaign. With Labour beginning to make headway with its focus on tax loopholes, Michael Fallon was sent out to make a gratuitous ad hominem attack on Ed Miliband . Within minutes everyone had forgotten about tax loopholes and was talking about Fallon.

Doing the right thing (ph) How governments choose to describe policies they know are going to make most people a great deal worse off.

Experts [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/2016/jun/08/experts-eu-referendum-michael-gove] (n) What we no longer need in post-referendum politics. When asked how it was that every respected economist believed that leaving the EU would be bad for the UK, Michael Gove announced in a live TV debate that “these people were just experts and nobody wants to listen to experts any more”. It turned out 52% of the country agreed with Gove, who was recently seen looking unkempt and unloved on holiday, and has since followed his own advice by taking up a second career as a newspaper columnist [https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/sep/05/michael-gove-returns-times-columnist-book-reviewer].

Fact (n) Original meaning of “a statement that we know to be true” has been replaced by “any assertion that we would quite like to be true”. An essential component of any current debate (See Post-truth politics [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/13/boris-johnson-donald-trump-post-truth-politician] ). As in “It is a fact that Brexit means Brexit’.

Foreign Office (n) Formerly one of the great offices of state, the Foreign Office has been renamed the Department of Fun and Insults [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/14/boris-johnson-foreign-secretary-view-from-abroad] since Boris Johnson became foreign secretary.

Hardworking families [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2013/jan/05/hard-working-families-osborne] (n) Not to be confused with hard-working families, which are families that are hard-working. Hardworking families are those families that embody the true spirit of austerity and are first in line for a break when the politicians feel they are ready for one. These families are predominantly white, though a special exception can be made for some Asian families, and will include a father, mother and two children.

Inquiry into an inquiry (n) An inquiry that is set up when the first inquiry fails to come up with the answers that was expected of it.

Joining (n) A word that is not to be confused with the word joining. During the EU referendum, the Leave campaign repeatedly assured the country that “ Turkey is joining the EU imminently. [http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2016/06/leave-talks-turkey/] ” This new usage confusingly means the opposite. As in, “Turkey is not joining the EU imminently.”

Judge-led inquiry (n) An inquiry that is set up when an inquiry into an inquiry still fails to come up with answers that was expected of it. In exceptional circumstances, as in the failed Justice Goddard inquiry [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/aug/04/dame-lowell-goddard-resigns-as-head-of-child-sexual-abuse-inquiry] into historic cases of child sex abuse, there may be a judge-led inquiry into a judge-led inquiry.

Kinder and gentler politics [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/27/ken-livingstone-labour] (ph) A saying created to show that people on the far left of the Labour party (see Corbynista) do have a sense of humour after all. Common usage as in “We are going to practise a kinder and gentler politics by throwing a brick through your window and calling anyone who disagrees with us “fascist Blairite scum” (see Blairite).

Kitchen cabinet (n) A term used to describe a group of advisers whom the prime minister trusts more than the MPs she has officially appointed to her cabinet. With liabilities such as Boris Johnson , David Davis, Liam Fox , Jeremy Hunt, Priti Patel and Andrea Leadsom in the current cabinet [https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/jul/18/concerns-mount-over-andrea-leadsoms-suitability-for-environment-role], expect to hear more of Theresa May ’s kitchen cabinet.

Leavercrats (n) Someone in the civil service with the necessary expertise to negotiate Britain’s exit from the EU . Currently on the critically endangered list [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2016/07/03/government-faces-worldwide-hunt-for-trade-negotiators-experts-wa/]. As the EU has conducted all the UK’s trade negotiations for the past 40 years, the country has only about three trained trade negotiators in existence.

Long-term economic plan (ph) Term invented by David Cameron ’s government to give the impression that it knew what it was doing [https://www.theguardian.com/business/economics-blog/2015/apr/19/tory-long-term-economic-plan-not-even-the-propaganda-is-working]. To be differentiated from the short-term economic plan, which meant “making it up as we go along and hoping for the best”. The long-term economic plan has now officially been abandoned since the EU referendum to be replaced by Brexit means Brexit.

Mainstream media (ph) Sometimes abbreviated to MSM. Any part of the media that fails to acknowledge that Jeremy Corbyn is the messiah [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/03/media-dont-hate-corbyn-labour-leader-victory-not-understand-his-appeal]. Most commonly used as a term of abuse for the BBC , ITV , Sky , the Guardian , the Times, the Telegraph, the Daily Mail, the Sun and the Mirror. Everyone really.

Milifandom [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/apr/22/milifandom-soars-with-twitter-backing-for-labour-leader-ed-miliband] (n) A noun used to describe a strange affliction which gripped a few people in may 2015, leading them to believe that Ed Miliband was a sex god.

Moderates (n) Formerly used to describe those on the centre left of the Labour party. Now no longer used as everyone in the party is either a Red Tory (see Blairite) or a member of the hard left (see Corbynista).

Neo-liberal consensus [http://anotherangryvoice.blogspot.co.uk/2012/09/what-is-neoliberalism-explained.html] (ph) A form of abuse used by those on the far left and far right to describe what the majority of people in the country actually think.

Neverendum (n) A term used to describe a situation in which you keep on having a referendum [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37271417] on something you’ve already had a referendum on until such time as neither side can remember what it was exactly they were supposed to be voting for.

Notting Hill set [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/14/may-regime-change-notting-hill-set-theresa-may] (ph) A phrase used to describe a group of west London public school and Oxbridge opportunists who only went into politics because they thought it was their birthright and it might be a bit of a laugh and unexpectedly found themselves running the country for six years. The principal members of the Notting Hill set were the now discredited David Cameron , George Osborne and Michael Gove .

Omnishambles (n) A situation in which everything that can possibly go wrong does go wrong. First used by the TV political satire The Thick of It and then comprehensively developed by George Osborne in at least three of his six budgets [http://news.bbc.co.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/democracylive/hi/house\_of\_commons/newsid\_9712000/9712855.stm]. (See also Ultrashambles.)

Open for business (ph) As in “ Britain is open for business [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/03/theresa-may-g20-uk-brexit-china-hinkley-point-c].” What governments are obliged to say when they know that the economy is liable to tank at any minute and are desperate to say something vaguely reassuring. Guaranteed to have the opposite effect and cause panic in the financial markets. The very fact that someone is saying “Britain is open for business” is a sure sign that it probably isn’t.

Points-based **immigration** [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/no-10-theresa-may-rules-out-points-based-immigration-system-for-britain-brexit] (ph) A synonym for “I’m not a racist but...” Those calling for an Australian points-based system to control **immigration** are the last ones likely to advocate it once they’ve seen it in action as there would be more people coming to the UK than there are now. But since even Ukip no longer think it’s OK just to say “Basically, I want to see a lot fewer foreigners here. End of”, everyone has to pretend they want “points-based **immigration**” targets instead.

Post-truth politics [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/13/boris-johnson-donald-trump-post-truth-politician] (ph) A term used to describe a state in which politicians are no longer obliged to tell the truth and are content to make any assertions (see Facts) they feel like. Some commentators have argued that there has never been a truth politics as politicians have always lied when it is convenient for them; the only difference is that people have got better at realising when they are being lied to. In which case there is no post-truth politics. Only politics.

Processology [https://mobile.twitter.com/hashtag/processology] (n) A catch-all, derogatory word used by governments to describe the things they are not going to get in to but really ought to. As in “We aren’t going to get into the processology of Brexit now.” Can also be translated as “Don’t worry your pretty little heads with the detail.”

Project Fear [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/11/project-fear-started-as-a-silly-private-joke-now-it-wont-go-away] (ph) The successful rallying cry for the Vote Leave campaign [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/03/boris-johnson-project-fear-hysteria-is-gripping-britain/] in the EU referendum. Most commonly used when opponents produced some data from a reputable independent organisation which indicated that leaving the EU was likely to have a negative impact on the country. As in “We’re not going to listen to that as you’re only trying to scare us.”

Real people (n) Sometimes also known as ordinary people. The voters politicians often like to talk about but do their best to avoid whenever possible.

Regrexit [http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-news-second-eu-referendum-leave-voters-regret-bregret-choice-in-millions-a7113336.html] (n) State of unease felt by some people who voted to leave the EU only to find out that many of the things they had been promised were never going to happy.

Remoaners (n) Those people who voted to stay in the EU and find it hard to accept that Britain is on the cusp of a bright new future.

Scroungers [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/reality-check/2013/apr/24/benefits] (n) A term used to denote anyone who is out of work, disabled or otherwise relies on the state for financial support. Scroungers are the enemy of civilised society [http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/475772/Madness-of-Britain-s-handout-culture-Scroungers-rake-in-85-000-a-year-from-benefits] and are one of the main reasons the government was forced to introduce austerity measures. Not to be confused with MPs massaging their expenses [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/17/mps-expenses-martin-williams-parliament-ltd] or going on unnecessary assertion-finding trips abroad.

Squeezed middle (ph) Anyone earning between £25K and £50K per year who still feels a bit broke. Squeezed middle [http://www.spectator.co.uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/2014/08/the-squeezed-middle-is-a-myth/] is commonly patronisingly used as a term of affection by politicians to show they understand how difficult the little people are finding life in times of economic hardship. It also goes without saying that the squeezed middle must understand they wouldn’t be feeling quite so squeezed if there weren’t so many unemployed people making demands on the state (see Scroungers).

Ultrashambles (n) A more extreme version of the Omnishambles [http://www.itv.com/news/2016-03-22/chancellor-due-to-defend-budget-in-parliament/]. (See Brexit means Brexit). As in “Donald Trump is heading for the White House, Boris Johnson is in the Foreign Office, Nigel Farage is on the loose and Jeremy Hunt is dismantling the NHS .”

Valid concerns (ph) The recognition by government that many people in the country are intolerant of anything that doesn’t directly benefit them but their views need to be taken into consideration if it wants to get re-elected. As in “It is perfectly reasonable for people to have valid concerns about **immigrants** coming over here and marrying their daughter.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The flight, which is due to take off from the UK early on Wednesday, will do so with the cooperation of the Jamaican government

Protesters are to gather outside the Jamaican high commission in south-west London to demonstrate against Jamaica’s cooperation with a deportation flight to the country due to take off on Wednesday morning.

Mothers, fathers and grandparents are among those due to be forcibly removed from the UK, despite many of them having spent their entire adult lives in Britain and, in some cases, still fighting their **immigration** cases, activists say.

Critics have raised questions about the tactics used by the Home Office **immigration** enforcement, which has been accused of “strategically” detaining individuals to fill the flight, without consideration of their circumstances.

The Unity Centre, a Glasgow-based migration support collective, has said in a statement[http://unitycentreglasgow.org/home-office-restarts-racist-jamaica-charter-flights/] that it has spoken to more than 50 of the passengers booked on to the flight, all of whom came to the UK as children but have failed to regularise their **immigration** status.

It says all bar one has British children, one has been married to a British national for 12 years, and two are full-time carers to their partners. Many have never been convicted of a criminal offence.

Hilary Brown, managing director of the law firm Virgo Consultancy Services, based in south London, said she had managed to get clients pulled off the flight by filing judicial reviews of the actions taken by the Home Office.

One of those is a woman in her 60s who was married to a British man, but whose application for indefinite leave to remain was held up by so much bureaucracy that her husband died before it was completed, Brown said.

After her husband’s death, she was told that she no longer had a case to stay, despite having children and grandchildren in the UK. She was seized on Friday at her daughter’s house and taken to **immigration** detention.

“While we were writing back and forth to the Home Office and they are asking for all kinds of different evidence and documents and an explanation for this and an explanation for that, all of a sudden they grabbed her last week and were going to put her on this flight,” Brown said.

Activists believe this is the first **immigration** removal flight to Jamaica since November 2014. Brown said it seemed that **immigration** enforcement was acting quickly in an effort to prevent those being removed from making legal challenges.

“What you can do is go to the high court and challenge the fact that you are not being given an in-country appeal and that in itself is a breach of your human rights,” she said.

“But what they are doing is they are trying to snatch these people away very quickly before the three months [time limit for lodging a judicial review] is up so the lawyers may be trying to gather all of the evidence to make sure the Home Office knows everything … before we’ve gathered that and before the three months is up they will try to put them on the plane.”

Lee Jasper, the veteran black rights activist and former equalities adviser to the mayor of London, wrote a plea to the Jamaican government on the Facebook page for the protest.

“The people on that flight have lived in Britain for years. Some have committed criminal offences, most have not. We urge you not to accept this charter flight that constitutes a grave infringement of the human rights of [Jamaicans] living in the UK,” he said.

On Tuesday night the Home Office had declined to comment.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Dozens of flights cancelled as police struggle to remove group of white black rights activists from runway in east London

Nine activists who said they were from Black Lives Matter UK were arrested on Tuesday after storming the runway at London City airport and chaining themselves together in a six-hour protest that caused severe travel disruption.

Dozens of flights were cancelled or rescheduled at the airport, in Newham, east London, as police struggled to remove the group, who erected a wooden tripod on the runway and secured themselves to the structure as well as each other.

The Black Lives Matter group said the demonstration aimed to highlight the disproportionate impact air pollution had on black people in a wide-ranging press release that also cited the deteriorating environment in Newham, the wealthy clientele at London City airport, the migrant crisis in the Mediterranean, the impact climate change has on sub-Saharan Africa and **immigration** deportations as motives behind the action.

There were chaotic scenes at the departure lounge of the airport near Canary Wharf, as a queue of passengers snaked through an adjacent DLR railway station, with some expressing their anger and confusion over the motive behind the protest. Applause broke out in the departure lounge when the conclusion of the protest was announced over a loudspeaker.

Prominent black rights activists accused the Black Lives Matter movement in the UK of “cultural appropriation” as it emerged all nine protesters on the runway were white, but it garnered support from environmental groups.

Black people are the first to die not the first to fly. This is why London City Airport has been #shutdown[https://twitter.com/hashtag/shutdown?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/HWvwNirerX[https://t.co/HWvwNirerX] — #BlackLivesMatterUK (@ukblm) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/ukblm/status/773106177509036032]

The Metropolitan police said all nine had been arrested[http://news.met.police.uk/news/protest-at-london-city-airport-184011?hootPostID=41f75de6bced5f12e174b5a8a63d6880] on suspicion of aggravated trespass, being unlawfully airside and breaching the airport’s bylaws.

In a statement, the Black Lives Matter group UK said: “The average salary of a London City airport user is €136,000 [£114,000] … It is an airport designed for the wealthy. At the same time, 40% of Newham’s population struggle to survive on £20,000 or less.

“By 2020, there will be 200 million climate **refugees** globally. While at London City airport, a small elite is able to fly, in 2016 alone, 3,176 migrants are known to have died or gone missing in the Mediterranean, fleeing conditions that they did not create because cheaper, easier and most importantly, safer avenues have been blocked by the UK and other European countries. Black people are the first to die, not the first to fly, in this racist climate crisis.”

The activists reportedly swam or took a dinghy across a dock to reach the runway. The last protester on top of the tripod was removed when police used a mobile airline staircase to reach him.

Black rights figures including Stafford Scott and Lee Jasper, a former equality adviser to Ken Livingstone, were publicly critical[https://twitter.com/StaffordScott\_/status/773097976386453505] of the protest, accusing white, leftwing activists of hijacking the Black Lives Matter banner. “It’s cultural appropriation. Even our struggle no longer our own,” Jasper said on Twitter.

But Friends of the Earth said the group was right to draw attention to the disproportionate impact air pollution has on ethnic minorities.

Asad Rehman, a Friends of the Earth climate campaigner and Newham resident, said: “Air pollution disproportionately harms black and poorer communities, who are more likely to live in areas with poor air quality. Black Lives Matter UK are right to draw attention to this reality. The expansion of City airport is not compatible with our urgent need to reduce air pollution in London, nor our need to reduce global warming.”

Departure information screens at City airport, which is popular with business travellers, showed a significant number of cancellations. Airline staff handed out water and chocolates to aggrieved passengers.

Among the cancellations were flights to Geneva, Milan, Luxembourg, Edinburgh, Amsterdam, Zürich, Florence, Mallorca and Málaga. Flights to Dublin and Frankfurt were showing “indefinite delays”.

@Trivium21c[https://twitter.com/Trivium21c] Its cultural appropriation. Even our struggle no longer our own.— Mr Lee Jasper (@LeeJasper) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/LeeJasper/status/773118083061936128]

Sarah Antoniou, 31, from London, was due to fly to Málaga on holiday with her husband and two children, a two-year-old and a five-month-old baby, but her 9am flight was cancelled. The family were rebooked on to a flight from Gatwick, about 26 miles away, at 6.40pm.

“It is difficult flying with children,” she said. “They’re going to spend the whole first day of their holiday travelling. I’m running out of bottles for their milk. I allowed for some delay.”

Antoniou said she understood the protest was against the expansion of the airport, but had little sympathy. “I understand the concerns, but there are other ways of making your point, which won’t impact on young families,” she said.

Today's protest is an example of white allyship under black leadership— #BlackLivesMatterUK (@ukblm) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/ukblm/status/773125811503267840]

A 49-year-old passenger, who asked not to be named, had his flight home to Nigeria cancelled, meaning he and his two companions faced a 13-hour wait for the next one.

“I can only wait,” he said. “I’ve been given a voucher for some light refreshment. I’m angry.” Discussing the protest, he said: “It’s ridiculous. Life is life, black or whatever colour, I don’t see any difference.”

Pam and Lee Menzies-Banton from Bow, east London, were due to fly to Palma at 10am and were awaiting information. “The holiday is long overdue, we’re very tired,” said Pam, who works for a drug and alcohol treatment charity. “Many issues always affect the poorest in society,” she said. “But it has stopped these two black lives from going on holiday.”

By 2050 there will be 200 million climate **refugees**. Black people are the first to die, not the first to fly, in this racist climate crisis.— #BlackLivesMatterUK (@ukblm) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/ukblm/status/773055327189209088]

Frank and Margaretta Bell were waiting for information about their delayed flight to the Isle of Man, where they were hoping to spend four days as part of an annual trip with friends.

Frank, 80, and Margaretta, 78, were unaware that the protest was organised by Black Lives Matter UK and understood it to be a demonstration against the treatment of **refugees**.

“We all care and feel about that,” Frank said. “At our age, this is a bit frustrating.”

Related: Black Lives Matter UK: what does it mean to you?[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/30/black-lives-matter-uk-what-does-it-mean-to-you]

Margaretta said: “They were taking a long time [removing the protesters] and someone said something about how human rights are involved in how they will be removed. What about the human rights of the people forced to wait in the airport for their flights?”

Black Lives Matter set up in the US following the killing of the black teenager Trayvon Martin in Florida four years ago. Since then offshoot groupings have emerged internationally.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The new artistic director of Edinburgh’s Lyceum theatre explains how The Suppliant Women, Aeschylus’s 2,500-year-old play about a **refugee** crisis, offers a ‘profound statement on the purpose of theatre’

David Greig, the recently installed artistic director of Edinburgh’s venerable Royal Lyceum theatre[http://lyceum.org.uk/], says there are a hundred reasons why he chose a 2,500-year-old play to be the opening production of his debut season. But those familiar with the funny, sexy, challenging work of the award-winning playwright may be surprised to learn that one of them is a millennia-old pipe called an aulos.

Greig had already been in discussion with director Ramin Gray and composer John Browne, with whom he collaborated on the internationally acclaimed The Events[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2013/dec/31/best-theatre-of-2013-no-1-the-events], about the possibility of staging one of the world’s oldest plays, The Suppliant Women by ancient Greek tragedian Aeschylus.

“I was going to do an adaption and, incredibly hubristically, I thought the point of doing an adaption was to improve, to fix problems, and make it work for an audience as if it was written yesterday. But what I realised quickly was that Ramin and John were interested in the archeology of the work, and were coming at it from another angle.”

Related: Running the Lyceum could be David Greig's greatest show yet[https://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2015/sep/10/david-greig-artistic-director-royal-lyceum-theatre-edinburgh]

Meanwhile, Browne had discovered a specialist musical archeologist who had reconstructed and learnt to play an aulos, the ancient Greek wind instrument, akin to bagpipes, that provided the usual accompaniment to theatrical performances of that time.

“Ramin was saying, ‘This instrument has not been heard for millennia!’, and I’m smiling, but thinking, ‘I bet there’s a reason for that’. Then we heard [a recording] and it was genuinely beautiful.”

“For me there was a flash that I should go in precisely the other direction: instead of making this ‘normal’ for our audience, to go back, so the audience think, ‘My God, this is 2,500 years old but it’s talking to me as directly as if it was written yesterday’.”

The modern-day parallels of the story of 50 young women who flee forced marriage in Egypt to seek asylum in Greece are plain enough. But for Greig, the resonances of the piece extend beyond the immediately political.

“When I got the job at the Lyceum, I needed an opening show, but also [something that marked] the unrolling of a whole bunch of things that I think about theatre. Music is at the heart of it, and political engagement, and it’s a play from the birth of democracy, and Edinburgh is the Athens of the north … it was the obvious choice.”

Talking alongside his collaborators on a breezy Edinburgh morning, just as rehearsals are beginning in earnest, it is clear that Greig also wanted to call on their triumvirate energy, previously used to great effect in The Events, about the aftermath of a gun massacre. “There’s something about the way we work as a group of three that’s more than rigorous, that’s about pushing as hard as you can possibly push. And for an opening show it would have a vulnerability to it. There’s no point doing an opening show that you know everyone’s going to like: it had to feel like a worthy risk.”

Irish composer Browne chips in: “The common feature [of how we work together] is dramaturgical. The three of us have that drive, and here the story is the smallest part of this piece, while the context is massive. It’s a very simple story that can be told and absorbed in a single sentence, but thematically and politically it’s very complex.”

Gray, currently the artistic director of Actors Touring Company[http://www.atctheatre.com/], adds: “There are all sorts of assumptions people make because of the way the technology of theatre has evolved over the past 2,500 years, but [this work] is about poetry, music, dancing, philosophy, politics, ritual …”

Drawing these strands together is a chorus of non-professional local young women, representing the suppliants of the title. In ancient Greece, the theatrical chorus was like a finishing school for young men, Gray explains. It was, says Browne, “on the cusp between a religious ceremony and public entertainment and political debate”.

But in modern day Edinburgh, as well as Belfast and Newcastle, The Suppliant Women will also be performed by local choruses, the cities represented on stage by 50 volunteers, aged between 16 and 30, whose voices will carry the performance. “There are 55 pages of just chorus!” Gray exclaims, as the young women, who are learning their lines by rote around a piano rather than from a script, plead for sanctuary. “But we haven’t told them that yet …” he adds jauntily.

Greig’s version is written in rhythm, and Browne says that he has stuck as closely as possible to the inverse and anti-verse choral device used by Aeschylus. “With the chorus, its about getting dynamic through antithesis, for example between war and justice. We’ve just allowed 50 **refugee** women in, but the worry is that this may lead to war in our city. The debate at the heart of the play is the current debate.”

Gray adds: “It can be helpful when you have a very contemporary and pressing issue to look at it through a 2,500-year-old lens. It enables you to look at it in a more abstract way.”

Greig pre-empts the charge that his adaption has shoe-horned in its current politics: “There will be people who say, ‘Well they’ve made this all about asylum seekers, and that line about Syria has obviously been placed’, and the frustrating thing is that all that stuff is already there – it isn’t imposed by us.”

Gray interjects with delight: “In the fourth line in Aeschylus, Syria is name-checked!”

For Greig, the usefulness to a contemporary audience is obvious: “We’re not watching propaganda and we’re not watching op-ed pieces; we’re watching stories and performances that require us to engage with each other. This play is primal, it’s the very beginning of what drama is, it’s a play from a year before democracy was invented in Athens.” (The original text also contains the first ever recorded use of the word democracy, and a public vote – on whether the women should be allowed to stay – is a key plot point.)

“To have theatre and democracy linked like that, I think is a really important and profound statement about what the role and purpose of theatre is.”

\* The Suppliant Women is at Edinburgh Lyceum[http://lyceum.org.uk/whats-on/production/the-suppliant-women] from 1-15 October; Belfast international arts festival[http://belfastinternationalartsfestival.com/], 21-22 October; and Northern Stage[http://www.northernstage.co.uk/], Newcastle, 3-5 November.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happen, including the home affairs committee meeting to discuss the future of Keith Vaz

block-time published-time 12.21pm BST

According to the Press Association, House of Commons rules allow a select committee chair to be removed by a vote of a majority of the committee, including at least two MPs from the largest party represented and one from another party. But the rules also state that notice of a motion of this kind must be circulated 10 days before the vote is held.

block-time published-time 12.14pm BST

Liz Truss, the new justice secetary, has been taking questions in the Commons for the first time and she was resolutely repeating the phrase “in due course” as she was multiply questioned on the timing of proposals for a Bill of Rights to replace the Human Rights Act.

While campaigners had assumed that, post-Brexit, this traditional Tory conference set-piece would be firmly on the back-burner, Truss has surprised some by emphasising that it remains a manifesto commitment that the party fully intends to deliver.

Meanwhile May herself been explicit that she cannot get the Commons majority needed for withdrawal from the European Convention.

Questioned by the SNP’s Joanna Cherry this morning about consultation with the Scottish government, given that human rights are not a reserved matter, Truss only replied that she intended to meet the Scottish justice minister, again, “in due course.”

This will be frustrating for Cherry, who has been pushing for clarity on this for over a month, as well as the devolved administrations, who would be forgiven for concluding that the Westminster government really has no answer as to how repeal of the HRA will affect, for example, the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland.

Liz Truss. Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament block-time published-time 11.26am BST

Livingstone defends Vaz over sex allegations Given that Ken Livingstone is currently suspended by the Labour party, following the row about his comments linking Hitler with Zionism,[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/28/ken-livingstone-suspended-from-labour-after-hitler-remarks] he might not be the best character witness available to defend Keith Vaz. But there have not been many other senior Labour figures speaking out in the media on Vaz’s behalf, and no doubt Vaz will be grateful for what Livingstone said about him on the BBC’s Victoria Derbyshire show.

Livingstone was characteristically combative but, not for the first time, he ended up banging on about Hitler (in response to a question about his suspension from the part).

Here are the key points.

\* Livingstone defended Vaz, saying that what he did in private was up to him. “I think someone’s private life should be private,” he said. Livingstone insisted that the story about Vaz sleeping with two male escorts was as yet unproven.

Let’s see what turns out to be true. I could spend the next half an hour recounting to you all the stories you’ve seen about me in the press that turned out not to be true.

But, even if it was true, it was a private matter, he argued. He also insisted that it was wrong to condemn someone like Vaz for a single “mistake”. He explained:

The simple fact is, don’t judge somebody on one mistake they make in their life, or even a couple of mistakes. It’s the total that he’s done for other people, in his own constituency and up and down Britain. He’s always been on the side of justice. And that can’t just be swept away by one mistake that he has made.

\* He effectively accused journalists of hypocrisy, saying he had seen political correspondents at party conferences picking up prostitutes.

What I find particularly ridiculous about this is I can recall being at Labour party conferences and watching journalists there going up to their hotel room with prostitutes they picked up from the streets. All across our society there are people that pay for sex. I don’t approve of that. I don’t do it myself. But I don’t think it’s illegal.

\* He dismissed suggestions that, if Vaz has paid sex workers, there was a conflict of interest because his committee is investigating prostitution.

I don’t think the fact that, if it turns out to be true, and he has paid for sex, that prevents him from actually conducting an inquiry into prostitution and the problems of prostitution. The problem of prostitution is what happens to the poor prostitutes, not so much their clients.

When he was asked if he was happy about a Labour colleague exploiting young **immigrants** for sex, Livingstone repeated his belief that the allegations were unproven.

\* He claimed that the Labour party is delaying the disciplinary hearing into his Hitler remarks because it knows he was right.

I think they keep putting if off because the simple fact is I’ve got so much evidence that says what I was saying was true. Particularly striking, if you go to the Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem, one of the pamphlets they sell to tourists is about the deal that Hitler did with the Zionists in the 1930s. So I don’t think anyone is going to accuse the Holocaust Memorial management of being antisemitic.

Ken Livingstone on the BBC’s Victoria Derbyshire show. Photograph: BBC News block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.27am BST

block-time published-time 11.01am BST

Belfast will lose one of its four Westminster/Stormont Assembly seats under new recommendations from the Boundary Commission. The Commission’s main proposal is for the number of parliamentary constituencies is reduced from 18 to 17. In Belfast the south and west of the city would be merged into one single constituency called Belfast South West. Parts of West Belfast - since 1983 the main electoral stronghold for Sinn Fein - would be amalgamated into Belfast North West. Outside of the city the number of seats would remain the same but under new names.

The recommended changes have upset both unionist and nationalist parties. Sinn Fein’s Alex Maskey said his party had concerns that the recommended changes would also reduce the number of Stormont Assembly seats to 16 or less. Lord Empey of the Ulster Unionists said the proposals would mean places like Lisburn and Ballymena would be “cut off from their natural hinterlands” by the boundary changes.

The changes also put under threat the Ulster Unionist seat won back from Sinn Fein in the last general election, Fermanagh/South Tyrone. Under the recommendations Dungannon town is taken out of the constituency and new territory includes more nationalist dominated areas in the west of Northern Ireland, enabling the possibility for Sinn Fein to win back a seat in the border zone.

block-time published-time 10.40am BST

Ken Livingstone, the former Labour mayor of London, is on the BBC Victoria Derbyshire show defending Keith Vaz.

enltrKen Livingstone jumps to defence of Keith Vaz: "Don't judge someone on the basis of one incident. Everyone makes mistakes."

— steve hawkes (@steve\_hawkes) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/steve\_hawkes/status/773092983319191553]I will post the quotes in full shortly.

block-time published-time 10.30am BST

Sports Direct has announce that it will offer casual retail staff guaranteed hours instead of zero-hours contracts. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/sep/06/sports-direct-to-ditch-zero-hours-contracts] My colleague Graeme Wearden is covering the reaction to this in detail on his business live blog.

Related: Sports Direct: Politicians welcome report into working practice failings – business live[https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2016/sep/06/sports-direct-review-brexit-builders-stock-markets-live]

Jon Trickett, the shadow business secretary, has welcomed the announcement.

These are good steps forward from a company whose Dickensian working practices have shocked the country. I hope this isn’t the last word from Mr Ashley, and that we can look forward to further such announcements in coming weeks, particularly regarding warehouse staff.

block-time published-time 10.21am BST

Tim Loughton, a Conservative member of the Commons home affairs committee, is clearly getting fed up of getting calls from journalists about Keith Vaz.

enltrShort note to journos so I can start answering my mobile again-not making any statements on Keith Vaz until after Select Committee has met

— Tim Loughton (@timloughton) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/timloughton/status/773088363872129024]block-time published-time 9.31am BST

As the New Statesman’s George Eaton points out, Keith Vaz could be replaced as chair of the Commons home affairs committee by Chuka Umunna, the Labour former shadow business secretary.

enltrChuka Umunna could be temporary (and perhaps permanent) replacement for Vaz as home affairs committee chair.

— George Eaton (@georgeeaton) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/georgeeaton/status/773064087475478528]If Vaz stands aside temporarily, then the committee would have to choose a temporary chair. But if he quits for good there will be an election for the post. Select committee chairmanships are allocated to particular parties, and this is a Labour post, and so only Labour MPs can stand. But all MPs in the Commons vote, which means the elections tend to be won by figures with cross-party support in the House.

block-time published-time 9.09am BST

Here is my colleague Rajeev Syal’s story on Keith Vaz. Rajeev says Vaz definitely intends to stand down as home affairs committee chairman at least temporarily.

What remains to be resolved is whether or not he is going to quit the post for good.

Related: Keith Vaz set to quit as chair of home affairs select committee[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/06/keith-vaz-set-to-quit-home-affairs-select-committee]

block-time published-time 9.05am BST

Two days after the Sunday Mirror splashed on a story about Keith Vaz paying two male escorts for sex, the veteran MP faces the meeting that may decide whether he can survive as chair of the Commons home affairs committee. On Sunday Vaz indicated that he would temporarily stand aside as chairman,[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/04/keith-vaz-to-step-down-commons-committee-chair-sunday-mirror-sex-claims] but he was clearly hoping that he would be able to return. This afternoon the committee will meet to discuss his position. But, according to the BBC’s Norman Smith, some members of the committee want him to stand down and they are even discussing holding a vote of confidence in him.

enltrKeith Vaz to be given 24 hours to "reflect on his position" if does not quit today as committee chairman

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/773058818481807360]enltrMPs consulting Commons clerks over whether can force vote of confidence in Keith Vaz

— norman smith (@BBCNormanS) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/BBCNormanS/status/773059016650031105]I will be covering this story as it develops.

But there is plenty of other politics around too. Here is the agenda for the day.

9am: The cabinet meets.

1pm: Owen Smith, the Labour leadership challenger, takes part in a phone-in on the World at One.

1pm:UB40 declare their support for Jeremy Corbyn at a Corbyn campaign press conference. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/05/ub40-ali-campbell-astro-mickey-virtue-endorse-jeremy-corbyn-labour]

2pm: The Commons home affairs committee meets in private. At 3.30pm it is supposed to be holding a public hearing with Robert Goodwill, the **immigration**minister, but it it not clear who will be chairing the session, or whether it will even be definitely going ahead.

After 2pm: Nicola Sturgeon, Scotland’s first minister, gives a statement in the Scottish parliament on the Scottish government’s legislative programme for 2016-17.

3pm: Lord Kerr, the former head of the diplomatic service, and academic experts give evidence to the Lords European Union committee on Brexit.

Also, Labour MPs are voting today on whether to bring back shadow cabinet elections. The result should be announced in the late afternoon.

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter, I’m on @AndrewSparrow.[https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow]

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Police arrest seven of nine people chained to tripod on runway in protest against impact of air pollution on black people

Flights have been cancelled at London’s City airport after nine protesters from Black Lives Matter UK got on to the runway and chained themselves together.

The airport said all flights were disrupted and that police were at the scene.

We're currently experiencing disruption to all flights due to protestors at the airport. Police are currently on the scene.— London City Airport (@LondonCityAir) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/LondonCityAir/status/773036891885170689]

The Metropolitan police said nine protesters erected a tripod on the runway and locked themselves together just before dawn.

By 9.30am, seven of them had been arrested[http://news.met.police.uk/news/protest-at-london-city-airport-184011?hootPostID=41f75de6bced5f12e174b5a8a63d6880] on suspicion of aggravated trespass, being unlawfully airside, and breaching the airport’s bylaws.

Two people remained locked together on the runway as officers negotiated with them.

There were chaotic scenes at the departure lounge as a large queue of passengers snaked through the adjacent DLR station with some expressing their anger at the protest.

The campaign said it carried out the protest to highlight the environmental impact of air travel on the lives of black people locally and globally.

It posted images of protesters lying on the runway after unfurling banners.

The UK is the biggest per-capita contributor to temperature change & among the least vulnerable to its affects. pic.twitter.com/Bb5SmKWyt6[https://t.co/Bb5SmKWyt6] — #BlackLivesMatterUK (@ukblm) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/ukblm/status/773053025720078336]

Activists in support of BLMUK #Shutdown[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Shutdown?src=hash] London City Airport to protest the UK's environmental impact on black people pic.twitter.com/7LvFnB9Pv3[https://t.co/7LvFnB9Pv3] — #BlackLivesMatterUK (@ukblm) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/ukblm/status/773050855046144000]

Protesters reportedly swam or got a dinghy across the dock to reach the runway. A spokeswoman for BLMUK said she could not confirm or deny this. However, she did confirm that all the protesters who had chained themselves together on the runway were white.

The group issued a video that said the reason for the protest was that the climate crisis was a “racist crisis”.

Climate crisis is a racist crisis. Cut emissions. Open borders. #Shutdown[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Shutdown?src=hash]. pic.twitter.com/IUOaeaTrmw[https://t.co/IUOaeaTrmw] — #BlackLivesMatterUK (@ukblm) September 6, 2016[https://twitter.com/ukblm/status/773058142133518336]

Passengers in the crowded lounge were waiting at check-in counters and customer service desks to find out what was happening to their flights.

Departure information screens were awash with red, showing a significant number of cancellations, while airline staff handed out water and chocolates to aggrieved passengers.

Flights were cancelled to Geneva, Milan, Luxembourg, Edinburgh, Amsterdam, Zurich, Florence, Majorca and Malaga. Flights to Dublin and Frankfurt were showing “indefinite delays”.

Sarah Antoniou, 31, from London, was set to fly to Malaga on holiday with her husband and two children, one aged two and one aged five months, but her 9am flight has been cancelled. The family were rebooked on to a flight from Gatwick, about 26 miles away, at 6.40pm.

“It is difficult flying with children,” she said. “They’re going to spend the whole first day of their holiday travelling. I’m running out of bottle for their milk. I allowed for some delay.”

Antoniou said she understood the protest was against the expansion of the airport but had little sympathy. “I understand the concerns, but there are other ways of making your point, which won’t impact on young families,” she said.

A 49-year-old passenger, who asked not to be named, had his flight home to Nigeria cancelled and he and his two companions were facing a 13-hour wait for the next one.

“I can only wait,” he said. “I’ve been given a voucher for some light refreshment. I’m angry.” Discussing the protest, he said: “It’s ridiculous. Life is life, black or whatever colour, I don’t see any difference.”

Pam and Lee Menzies-Banton, a married couple living in Bow, east London, were supposed to fly to Palma at 10am and were awaiting information. “The holiday is long overdue, we’re very tired,” said Pam, who works for a drug and alcohol treatment charity. “Many issues always affect the poorest in society,” she said. “But it has stopped these two black lives from going on holiday.”

An 86-year-old woman, who asked not to be named, was waiting in a designated area for wheelchair users. She had been set to fly to Nice at 9am, but the flight was cancelled. “I’ve given up hope that we’re flying there,” she said. “I have mobility difficulties and it’s very difficult to travel.”

In a statement, BLMUK said the protest was aimed at highlighting the economic disparity between the users of the airport and the people who lived in east London where it is based.

“The average salary of a London City airport user is €136,000 … It is an airport designed for the wealthy. At the same time, 40% of Newham’s population struggle to survive on £20,000 or less.”

It added: “By 2020, there will be 200 million climate **refugees** globally. Whilst at London City airport a small elite is able to fly, in 2016 alone 3,176 migrants are known to have died or gone missing in the Mediterranean, fleeing conditions that they did not create because cheaper, easier and most importantly, safer avenues have been blocked by the UK and other European countries. Black people are the first to die, not the first to fly, in this racist climate crisis.”

The group called for further protests on Tuesday over a deportation flight to Jamaica later this month.

Its statement said: “We note that the UK is willing to charter special flights to remove black people from the country based on their **immigration** status. We call on our supporters to join the demonstration against this, today at the Jamaica high commission[https://m.facebook.com/events/1590851347875114/?acontext=%7B%22ref%22%3A29%2C%22ref\_notif\_type%22%3A%22event\_aggregate%22%2C%22action\_history%22%3A%22null%22%7D¬if\_t=event\_aggregate¬if\_id=1473150586686448&ref=m\_notif].”

Black Lives Matter UK, was launched last month as an offshoot of the international movement was set up in the US following the killing of black teenager Trayvon Martin[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/mar/20/trayvon-martin-death-story-so-far] in Florida four years ago.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Uncertainty over research funding and **immigration** rules blamed for decline, as Cambridge slips out of top three for first timeTop 200 universities in the world - the table

British universities have taken a tumble in the latest international rankings[http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/ng-interactive/2016/sep/05/top-200-universities-in-the-world-2016-the-table], as concern persists about the potential impact of Brexit on the country’s higher education[https://www.theguardian.com/education/higher-education] sector.

The UK’s top-ranked university, Cambridge[https://www.theguardian.com/education/cambridgeuniversity], has fallen out of the top three for the first time since the QS World University Rankings[http://www.topuniversities.com/qs-world-university-rankings] began 12 years ago, and the vast majority of the country’s other leading institutions similarly drop down the table.

While the performance of many western European institutions – in France, Portugal, Germany and Italy – has declined, the most significant falls have been in the UK where universities have seen a real-terms cut to government funding for research.

The surveys that informed the rankings were carried out before the UK voted in June to leave the EU. QS, a higher education thinktank, said the referendum had added to the uncertainty undermining the UK sector but did not fully explain the downward trend.

Of the 48 UK institutions in the top 400, 38 have dropped down the rankings this year. Cambridge slips to fourth place, and Imperial College London drops from eighth to ninth. King’s College London (KCL) falls from 19 to 21, the London School of Economics (LSE) from 35 to 37, the University of Bristol from 37 to 41 and Warwick from 48 to 51.

Four UK universities remain in the top 10 in the world: Cambridge, Oxford (unchanged at 6), University College London (still at 7) and Imperial. On the up are the University of Edinburgh, climbing from 21 to 19, and Manchester University, now ranked in the top 30.

Related: Top 200 universities in the world 2016 - the table[https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/ng-interactive/2016/sep/05/top-200-universities-in-the-world-2016-the-table]

QS said storm clouds were gathering over UK higher education. “ Uncertainty over research funding[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/jul/12/uk-scientists-dropped-from-eu-projects-because-of-post-brexit-funding-fears], **immigration** rules, and the ability to hire and retain the top young talent from around the world seems to be damaging the reputation of the UK’s higher education sector,” said Ben Sowter, head of research at QS.

The government’s promise to guarantee EU funding levels for research projects signed before this year’s autumn statement had helped address some of the uncertainty, but QS said more support was needed if the UK higher education sector was to retain its reputation for excellence.

Leading US universities which benefit from substantial private funding continue to dominate the rankings, with Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in top spot followed by Stanford University, California, in second and Harvard third.

Asian universities continue to make strong progress. Of the 74 Asian universities in the top 400, 68% have risen in the latest rankings.

Almost three-quarters of British universities in the top 400 have seen a drop in both academic reputation and employer reputation this year, and 58% have seen a fall in the number of foreign academics.

Nick Hillman, director of the Higher Education Policy Institute, said the drop in the rankings was worrying for British universities. Echoing QS, he blamed funding and the perception that the UK was a little less open to the rest of the world than it had been in the past.

“We don’t know where Brexit is going to take us. We do know we have got a prime minister who for all her strengths looks like she is going to continue to have no particular soft spot for universities,” he said.

London continues to fare well, however, with more top 40 institutions than any other city in the world. London’s mayor, Sadiq Khan, said: “Boasting more of the globe’s top universities and welcoming the most international students, London is the higher education capital of the world and I want to make sure it stays that way.”

The QS World University Rankings are based on four categories: research, teaching, employability and internationalisation. The methodology consists of six indicators: academic reputation (40%), employer reputation (10%), faculty student ratio (20%), citations per faculty (20%), international students (5%), and international faculty (5%).

In a separate report, the Office for Fair Access[https://www.offa.org.uk/] (OFFA), the university admissions watchdog, has announced that universities will spend £833.5m in 2017-18 on schemes to improve access to higher education for under-represented groups[https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/feb/18/percentage-of-poorer-students-accepted-to-oxbridge-falls-figures-show].

The figure represents a 10% increase on last year, funded by increased tuition fees. Just under half (£408.7m) will pay for financial support including bursaries, fee waivers and accommodation discounts. The rest pays for outreach work in communities, homework clubs, summer schools, as well as pastoral support and study skills training.

James Westhead, executive director of Teach First, which aims to address educational disadvantage, said: “While it is welcome that universities will increase spending on widening access to higher education this year, too much of this money is spent on ineffective schemes, or as recruitment incentives for those who have already decided to apply.

“Still only a quarter of access money is spent on activities to raise attainment and aspirations in younger children, including primary age, and unless this is significantly increased we will continue to see poorer pupils struggle to reach university.”

Research from the Social Market Foundation[http://www.smf.co.uk/] (SMF) has found that retention rates in higher education in England have barely shifted since 2009/10 and that rates for students from the most disadvantaged backgrounds remain lower than for others.

The SMF report, Staying the Course, says just over 8% of students from low-participation areas dropped out of higher education in 2014/15, compared with just over 6% of students from other areas.

The report identifies a group of 20 institutions where around one in 10 students are not continuing in higher education after a year, and highlights the University of Bolton, where more than one in five students from the most disadvantaged backgrounds drop out.

Emran Mian, the report’s author, said: “Every student who does not continue in higher education means a loss of potential, a bad experience for that student and poor value for the taxpayer, as the investment in tuition costs is likely to have a low return.

“This research suggests a link between an institution’s students’ satisfaction and its drop-out rates. Institutions which prioritise student success are likely to see lower rates of non-continuation.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Citizenship will be a ‘get out and come back in’ process for the undocumented – but he is ‘not ruling out anything’ regarding those who say

Donald Trump kicked off Labor Day by pivoting yet again on **immigration**.

On a day when he barnstormed Ohio like a conquering hero, the Republican nominee left open the possibility of a path to legal status for undocumented **immigrants** and indicated a desire to move on from the issue.

In an interview with reporters on his jet, somewhere over north-eastern Ohio, Trump insisted that while anyone seeking to become a citizen was “going to have to get out and come back in through the process”, he was “not ruling out anything” when it came those who remained in the US.

“We are going to make that decision into the future. That decision will be made.

“Our first thing will be to get all the bad elements out, the gang members, secure the border, stop the drugs from coming in.

“You know what I talk about more than anything else is jobs. We’ve been talking about **immigration** … if I didn’t bring up **immigration**, you guys wouldn’t have been talking about it. **Immigration** is a huge problem. I’ve proved that and I’ll solve that problem. But the thing I am going to be best at is jobs, at renegotiating trade deals, which are a disaster.”

As the Republican nominee later declared in his in-flight interview “it’s all about jobs … The **immigration** position is so clear and so well announced – we gotta stop the drugs, we gotta stop criminality, get rid of the bad ones, and a lot of them are bad – it’s really now so much talking about jobs because our country has been destroyed by other countries taking our jobs.”

Less than a week earlier Trump had given a hardline **immigration** speech, proclaiming firmly[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/in-arizona-we-saw-the-real-donald-trump-the-one-we-already-knew] “There will be no amnesty” and insisting “anyone who enters the United States illegally is subject to deportation, otherwise we don’t have a country”.

But surrogates appearing on Sunday shows[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/04/donald-tump-immigration-mixed-messages-republicans] made his position sound more nuanced. The former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani, a Trump confidante, told CNN he had left “a very big opening for what will happen with the people that remain here in the United States after the criminals are removed and after the border is secure”.

On Monday Trump seemed eager to focus on jobs in blue-collar Ohio communities. Starting with a round table with union members outside Cleveland, then making a retail stop before being mobbed by crowds at a county fair outside Youngstown, Trump bathed in the adulation – the 5th Avenue billionaire transformed into working-class hero.

At the roundtable, introduced by Tom Coyne, the Democratic mayor of Brook Park, Ohio who cast his first Republican vote for Trump in March’s presidential primaries, the nominee bemoaned the fact that Mexico and China were taking American jobs. As he told reporters later: “They are taking our jobs like Grant took Richmond.”

He criticised Barack Obama over his visit to China where the G20 hosts didn’t “give him stairs, the proper stairs to get out”. The “metal staircase” Obama descended was attached to Air Force One[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/05/trump-obama-china-trip-snub-clinton-ohio-campaign]. “[If it] were me I’d say you know what folks, I respect you a lot, but let’s get out of here.”

Voters in Ohio seemed to warm to his style. At a county fair in traditionally Democratic Mahoning county, Trump was mobbed as he briefly walked through the crowd. The Republican nominee smiled and waved as infatuated Ohioans shouted “We love you Donald” and even shrieked in glee.

Adulation in Ohio, maybe – but Trump faces as an uphill battle as he lags in national and state polls. Looking ahead to the debates, he pledged that barring “hurricanes [or] natural disaster, I expect to do all three. I look forward to the debates. I think it is an important element of what we’re doing. I think you have an obligation to do the debates.”

He confirmed that he was not engaging in traditional preparation – no mock debates, no one playing Hillary Clinton. “I’ve seen people do so much prep work that when they got out there they can’t speak.”

The first debate between Trump and Clinton takes place on 26 September.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hauliers, farmers and business owners lift blockade on Channel Tunnel and ferry terminal after French government says ‘Jungle’ camp will be dismantled

French demonstrators blocked access to the Channel Tunnel and the Calais ferry terminal on Monday, causing severe transport disruption, to protest at the government’s failure to close the **refugee** camp[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/31/dismantle-calais-camp-modern-slave-trade-traffickers] known as the Jungle.

Hauliers who said they had to run the gauntlet of increasingly daring and aggressive attempts[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/uk-and-french-authorities-blind-to-growing-problems-in-calais-jungle] by stowaways to get to Britain were joined by farmers, shopkeepers and business owners on the march, which closed the A16 motorway outside the Channel port.

A convoy of about 40 lorries and trucks was joined by 50 tractors and several hundred marchers who formed a human chain to converge on the access roads to the tunnel and ferry terminals.

The blockade came to an end on Monday night. A Eurotunnel spokesman said it was understood the protesters agreed to end the blockade following concessions from the government.

Representatives came away from a meeting with the state representative of the region, Fabienne Buccio, with a new commitment – but no date – that the camp would be completely dismantled “in a single step”.

Buccio also said a special fund to help businesses in need would be activated and more than 230 extra security staff brought in, bringing the total to over 2,000. However, the hauliers threatened to stage fresh protests and keep blocking the A16 if the migrant camp is not dismantled.

Eurotunnel said on Monday night that the protest had dispersed and traffic would be back to normal on Tuesday. A spokesman told the Press Association: “Eurotunnel services have been operating normally all day. Some freight traffic was held back but, due to a lot of discussion and forward planning before the protest, most had been diverted and came at the weekend or last week.”

France’s interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, pledged last week to dismantle the Calais camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/uk-plays-down-calais-border-tensions-with-critical-ally-france], Europe’s biggest and most notorious open-air squat, which is now home to between 7,000 and 10,000 migrants and **refugees**. Many of them are desperate to reach Britain. The former French president, Nicolas Sarkozy, who hopes to stand again in 2017, called on the British to set up their own holding centre[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/29/uk-warned-calais-border-deal-is-in-danger] on the other side of the Channel.

Related: No 10 rules out points-based **immigration** system for Britain[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/no-10-theresa-may-rules-out-points-based-immigration-system-for-britain-brexit]

But Eric Fiolet, a local haulier and one of the demonstration’s organisers, said during the protest that the time for talking was over. “It’s action we want, not promises that may or may not be kept. I don’t know of any other industry or any other workers that have to put up with being attacked the way we are every night. Our people risk being hurt or having their lorries, which are their livelihoods, destroyed.”

He added: “Pressure has been building up for three and a half years. We have exhausted all possibility of discussions and negotiations. Today our backs are against the wall.”

Over the Channel, the Road Haulage Association (RHA) said lorry drivers would stand their ground until action to dismantle the camp was taken and predicted the traffic chaos in France would have a knock on effect on traffic on Britain’s south coast; however, the Port of Calais said a diversion had been put in place and ferries were operating as normal.

“This will bring yet further misery to hauliers bound for mainland Europe and of course for the people and businesses of Kent[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/29/how-operation-stack-is-affecting-uk-tourism],” RHA chief executive Richard Burnett said. However, he added: “There needs to be a clear plan that shows how the camp is going to be dismantled. Drivers have been attacked on a daily basis for months. And there has been insufficient resource to protect.”

On Monday, farmers, truck drivers and local residents spoke of their growing fear, frustration and anger at the failure of French, British and European politicians to solve Calais’ migrant problem. The term most often used was ras-le-bol ; which literally means to have a bowl full, but translates as being fed up.

Local officials say tourists now snub the historic Channel town, with long and close links to Britain, because of its association with the human misery and violence of the camp.

But while Calaisiens spoke of being angry and fed up, many also had sympathy for the plight of the migrants and **refugees** in their midst, living in squalor in a shanty town of makeshift tents and plastic shelters.

Related: Let’s dismantle the Calais camp – and smash this modern slave trade | Charlie Elphicke[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/31/dismantle-calais-camp-modern-slave-trade-traffickers]

“We are not racist and we are not Front National [the far-right party of Marine Le Pen]. We understand there is a humanitarian question here, that there are people living in misery, but we are living with incivility and a growing feeling of insecurity,” Jean-Pierre Clipet, of the FDSEA farmers’ union, said.

People smugglers are reported to be going to extreme lengths in Calais to get people to the UK, with reports of vehicles being torched, petrol bombs thrown and trees being felled to block roads before drivers are threatened with chainsaws and machetes.

Gangs are often paid thousands of pounds by vulnerable people to get them to Calais, from where some are smuggled to Britain.

Christophe Delacourt, 49, a maintenance technician with Eurotunnel, showed the Guardian photographs on his telephone of his car windscreen – smashed, he said, by angry migrants and **refugees**.

“I was driving to work at 5am last Tuesday when about 20 to 30 of them tried to get on a lorry. When it didn’t stop and they failed, they grabbed tree branches and started attacking my car. Of course, I was afraid.”

Delacourt said Eurotunnel had advised its employees to take smaller roads to work during the night.

Sebastien Fournier, 36, who joined the human-chain march, said his wife was now afraid to drive to the supermarket with their young child in the car.

“This isn’t normal. Every day it’s getting worse and worse. We don’t want confrontation with the migrants. We just want to go to work. And it’s sad because it’s turning the local population racist.”

Ludovic Demol, 45, said he was driving to work at 5am on the A16 two months ago with three colleagues when they stopped at roadblocks. “A hundred or so men attacked our car with iron bars and sticks. We got out and ran away. You can imagine how frightened I was.”

Pressure has been growing on the French authorities to tackle the problems at the camp, which has expanded in recent months. Talks took place on Friday between protest organisers and Cazeneuve, who has promised to gradually dismantle the camp and move asylum seekers to other locations in France.

Farmers complain that the migrants make their way back and that dispersing them just shifts the problem elsewhere. Pierre-Yves, 47, who drove one of the tractors blocking the roads said: “We are not racist, we are not political, but we are in a situation that is not going away and we’re having difficulty seeing the end, the solution. Farmlands are being camped on, crops damaged, and our turnover is hit.

“This area has always welcomed migrants. The Polish came to work in the mines, Belgians like my grandmother came to work in the lace industry. But back then there were jobs and work. In the current economic situation, it’s not possible.”

Other farmers fear the increasing violence will lead to tragedy. Vincent Cocquet, 41, said “We now confront this problem day after day, night after night and we all fear this is going to finish badly. Very badly.”

Frédéric Van Gansbeke, president of the Calais business and shop owners collective, said Monday’s action was just a start. “We won’t be moving until the state gives us a date for the total dismantling of the northern zone of the Jungle,” he said.

French authorities have made repeated efforts to shut down the camp, which the state was responsible for creating in April 2015[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/06/at-night-its-like-a-horror-movie-inside-calaiss-official-shanty-town] when authorities evicted migrants and **refugees** from squats and outdoor camps across the Calais area and concentrated them into one patch of wasteland without shelter. Earlier this year, Calais residents and business leaders sent a delegation to see the president, François Hollande, at the Elysée Palace to demand that the region be declared in a “state of exceptional economic catastrophe”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of all the day’s political developments as they happen, including Brexit secretary David Davis ’s statement to the Commons on the government’s latest plans for leaving the EUMay’s G20 press conference - Summary and analysis

block-time published-time 6.27pm BST

David Davis has just finished taking questions. The session went on for more than two hours, and John Bercow , the Speaker, said 85 backbenchers asked questions.

I will post a summary shortly.

block-time published-time 6.06pm BST

The SNP’s Pete Wishart says Davis’s statement was “meaningless waffle”.

Davis says, for all the SNP’s objections, the EU referendum vote has done nothing to increase support for independence in Scotland.

block-time published-time 6.05pm BST

Henry Smith, a Conservative, says the words “European Union ” should be removed from the British passport as soon as possible.

Davis says he will pass that message on to the home secretary.

block-time published-time 6.02pm BST

Labour’s Paula Sherriff asks for an assurance that the UK will be able to abolish the tampon tax once it leaves the EU .

Davis says Sheriff has given an example of why it is important to leave the EU . Countries should be able to set their own tax rates, he says.

block-time published-time 5.59pm BST

Davis says there was undoubtedly a downward dip in confidence after the Brexit vote. That was partly because people said Brexit would be bad for the economy. But confidence has recovered, he says.

block-time published-time 5.54pm BST

Davis says the common travel area with Ireland will continue after the UK leaves the EU .

block-time published-time 5.53pm BST

Here is my colleague Anushka Asthana and Peter Walker ’s story about the David Davis statement.

Related: David Davis vows to build national consensus on Brexit [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/05/david-davis-vows-to-build-national-consensus-on-brexit]

block-time published-time 5.51pm BST

Nigel Evans , a Conservative, asks when the UK will get its hands on the Brexit dividend.

At some point after we have left, Davis says.

block-time published-time 5.50pm BST

Labour’s Stephen Timms asks if it is possible that the UK could remain a member of the single market at the end of this process.

Davis says he wants the best possible access to the single market. But that does not have to involve being a member, he says.

block-time published-time 5.47pm BST

John Baron , a Conservative, asks Davis to accept that the **immigration** policy after Brexit should not discriminate against non-EU citizens.

Davis says he is not home secretary. He says his job is to bring the powers back; it is the home secretary’s job to exercise them. But he thinks Baron makes a good point.

block-time published-time 5.46pm BST

The Conservative Peter Bone asks Davis when he thinks we will leave the EU .

Davis says that was a good try. He suggests that Bone was a good seducer in his youth, but says he won’t be seduced by him.

block-time published-time 5.43pm BST

Davis says he takes the views of those who voted in the referendum very seriously.

He wants to make this process as open as possible.

But this is a negotiation, he says, and you do not negotiate with your cards turned face up.

block-time published-time 5.41pm BST

The Conservative MP Philip Davies asks Davis to confirm that the government’s red lines in the negotiation will involve control of **immigration**, no more money going to the EU and the UK no longer being subject to EU law.

Davis says someone on the frontbench has just joked that he should have not problem with that. But he does not want to give away the government’s negotiating position, he says. But he says his view of the EU referendum was that it was a vote for taking back control.

block-time published-time 5.38pm BST

Some Labour MPs are taking to Twitter to express their concern about how little content there is in Davis’s statement.

enltrNot a statement but a random collection of clichés, David Davis speaks for 15mins on #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] & without advancing our understanding \*at all\*

— chi onwurah (@ChiOnwurah) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ChiOnwurah/status/772824397333815297]enltrAstonishingly empty statement from Brexit Sec David Davis . No plan, no sense of grip, no detail. It's too important for this kind of drift

— Yvette Cooper (@YvetteCooperMP) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/YvetteCooperMP/status/772826444636491776]enltrDavis has the car, he has the office and he has the officials, but watching this he doesn't have the plan.

— Pat McFadden (@patmcfaddenmp) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patmcfaddenmp/status/772830952439578624]enltrDavid Davis has not yet said anything in his statement. The government clearly has no idea what Brexit could or should look like.

— Chris Bryant MP (@RhonddaBryant) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RhonddaBryant/status/772833880927834112]block-time published-time 5.35pm BST

Davis says he has been struck by the tendency of the papers over recent weeks to blame everything on Brexit.

block-time published-time 5.33pm BST

Here is some comment from journalists on the Davis statement.

From BuzzFeed ’s James Ball

enltrDavis v Thornberry not going to go down in parliamentary history: two speakers with very little to say (as neither party has a policy yet).

— James Ball (@jamesrbuk) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/jamesrbuk/status/772821291413958657]From the BBC ’s Glenn Campbell

enltrI think the only thing I learned from @DavidDavisMP [https://twitter.com/DavidDavisMP] #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] statement is that he now has 180 staff in London backed up by 120 in Brussels

— Glenn Campbell (@GlennBBC) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GlennBBC/status/772826889698349056]From the Times’ Patrick Kidd

enltrDavid Davis's Brexit statement reminds me of WS Gilbert on the Lords during Napoleonic wars: did nothing in particular and did it very well

— Patrick Kidd (@patrick\_kidd) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrick\_kidd/status/772832936991264768]block-time published-time 5.31pm BST

Davis says the most successful countries in the world at negotiating free trade deals, like Chile and South Korea, do not have to give up anything apart from agreeing free trade.

enltrIn answer to his ally Dominic Raab , DD suggests that the UK shouldn't pay anything to get free trade deals with the EU or other countries

— James Forsyth (@JGForsyth) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/JGForsyth/status/772834676100784129]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.34pm BST

block-time published-time 5.30pm BST

Davis says there is no point having a vote on invoking article 50 in the Commons. But that does not mean MPs will not debate the issue. He would urge MPs to bring forward concerns raised by their constituents.

block-time published-time 5.29pm BST

Here is Nick Clegg , the former Lib Dem leader and deputy prime minister, on David Davis ’s statement.

enltrThis Govt really is up #Brexit [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Brexit?src=hash] creek without a paddle. More round tables? Is that all they've come up with since 23/6?

— Nick Clegg (@nick\_clegg) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/nick\_clegg/status/772819336356630528]block-time published-time 5.27pm BST

The SNP’s Tasmina Ahmed-Sheikh asks what assessment the government has made of the impact of Brexit on the Scottish economy.

Davis says he has not done that assessment yet, but that his department will do that.

He wants to ensure this outcome serves all parts of the UK, he says.

block-time published-time 5.26pm BST

Here is the full text of David Davis’s statement. [https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/speeches/exiting-the-european-union-ministerial-statement-5-september-2016]

enltrRead David Davis 's full statement in the @HouseofCommons [https://twitter.com/HouseofCommons] today https://t.co/nIIqYGfQ4X [https://t.co/nIIqYGfQ4X] today pic.twitter.com/CAZuXS9epr [https://t.co/CAZuXS9epr] today

— Exiting the EU Dept (@DexEUgov) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DexEUgov/status/772826916181184512]block-time published-time 5.23pm BST

Mark Harper, the Conservative former chief whip, says the government should not rush decisions over Brexit as Labour is demanding.

Davis says he will take no lessons in organisation from Labour.

block-time published-time 5.21pm BST

The Conservative Anna Soubry asks if the government has given up plans to remain in the single market.

Davis says it is hard to see how the UK can remain in the single market if it wants to control **immigration**.

block-time published-time 5.20pm BST

Andrew Tyrie , the Conservative chair of the Commons Treasury committee, asks Davis to confirm that the UK will not remain a member of the customs union.

Davis says being in the customs union puts limits on what a country can do outside it. The government is looking at this carefully, he says. This is one of the matters to be resolved before article 50 is invoked.

\* Davis says government will decide whether it wants to remain in the EU customs union before invoking article 50.

block-time published-time 5.13pm BST

Dominic Grieve, the Conservative former attorney general, says the idea of invoking article 50, and thereby abandoning EU law and the property rights for Britons that go with it, troubles him greatly.

Davis says he did not spend all the time he did on the backbenches defending civil rights to give them up easily.

block-time published-time 5.10pm BST

Michael Gove , the former Vote Leave leader, congratulates Davis on his appointment. He says there has been a record increase in service industry and manufacturing industry growth since the Brexit vote. And other countries are pressing for free trade deals. The German vice chancellor says the EU/US trade deal is dead. So doesn’t that prove that the British public have more expertise than all these so-called experts like the IMF and the OECD and the others who all have “oeuf” on their face.

(Gove is speaking in a rather odd accent - a Scottish, high-pitched Enoch Powell . It’s very peculiar.)

Davis thanks Gove for his comments, but says he would be a bit more cautious than Gove at this point about Britain’s economic prospects.

block-time published-time 5.05pm BST

Davis suggests he would oppose any attempt to undermine workers’ rights as part of Brexit Labour’s Angela Eagle asks if parliament, and the British people, will get a say on the deal that is done.

Davis says his views on the importance of parliamentary accountability have not changed since he left the backbenches.

On employment rights, he says many of those who voted for Brexit were members of the industrial working class. He says it is no part of his brief to undermine their rights.

\* Davis suggests he would oppose any attempt to undermine workers’ rights as part of Brexit.

block-time published-time 5.02pm BST

Peter Lilley , the Conservative former cabinet minster, says withdrawal needs to take place quickly. Can Davis confirm two years is a maximum? Other countries that have obtained independence have done so in less than two years.

Davis says Theresa May has said the British people want the government to get on with it. But it is important to get it right. He would rather wait an extra month before invoking article 50 to get it right than go a month early and get it wrong.

block-time published-time 5.00pm BST

The Conservative Owen Paterson says when countries like India got independence, they lifted all UK laws into Indian law. Then, over time, they went through those laws and abolished the ones they did not want. Can’t the UK do the same with EU law?

Davis says originally he thought that, but it is not quite that straightforward, because of the way EU laws interacts with UK law.

block-time published-time 4.58pm BST

Davis says the EU cannot stop the UK talking to other countries about trade deals now. The only thing the UK cannot do is agree those deals.

But talks are taking place already, he says.

He says he has studied article 50, and it is clear that article 50 does not prevent parallel trade talks taking place as withdrawal is being negotiated.

block-time published-time 4.55pm BST

Davis says it is not necessary for Britain to remain a member of the single market Davis says the single market is there for everyone. Some countries that are not members of the single market are better at selling into it than countries that are members.

\* Davis says it is not necessary for Britain to remain a member of the single market.

block-time published-time 4.51pm BST

Labour’s Ben Bradshaw says Theresa May said more in her briefing with journalists in China than Davis did in his statement. Will he confirm that the three Vote Leave promises - a points-based **immigration** system, £100m a week for the NHS and a cut to VAT on fuel - are in tatters.

Davis address the **immigration** point. He says Brexit could lead to **immigration** controls being more rigorous, not less rigorous.

block-time published-time 4.48pm BST

Labour’s Yvette Cooper says David Davis has not given any answers on important matters of detail. Will the UK remain a member of Europol ?

Davis says justice and home affairs matters are being considered. The government wants to maintain security cooperation he says, implying it would maintain Europol membership.

\* Davis suggests UK will remain a member of Europol .

I will post the exact quote late.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.52pm BST

block-time published-time 4.46pm BST

Ken Clarke , the Conservative former chancellor, says he looks forward to the moment when the government agrees on what Brexit actually means. He says David Davis did not take part in the ignorant and prejudiced attacks on foreigners during the campaign. Does he agree that most people are not hostile to foreigners living here so long as they obey the law? So will the government not turn away foreigners whom employers wish to employ for the sake of it?

Davis says he agrees with Clarke entirely that the “sort of unpleasantness” that has sometimes arisen out of this should be wholly condemned.

But he says that when people complain about **immigration**, they are not being xenophobic.

And he says he does not accept that there is a trade off between controlling **immigration** and boosting free trade. A free trade deal is in the interests of both sides, he says.

\* Davis says he does not accept there is a trade off between controlling **immigration** and protecting free trade.

block-time published-time 4.41pm BST

The SNP’s Europe spokesman, Stephen Gethins , starts by asking “Is that it?” David Davis has told us very little, he says.

block-time published-time 4.39pm BST

David is responding to Thornberry.

He says it is something to be accused of incompetence by Labour.

Labour seems to be adopting a “load, fire, aim” strategy, he says.

On **immigration**, he says the government wants a results-based **immigration** strategy.

He says Labour backed the idea that the decision on Brexit should be taken by the British people. Now Labour are trying to undo that. That is something “up with which we will not put”, he says (part-quoting Churchill).

block-time published-time 4.36pm BST

Emily Thornberry , the shadow Brexit secretary, is replying.

She says it is eight years since Davis was last at the despatch box. His last words from the front bench were ‘You’ll have to answer’. He will have to answer, he says.

She says Davis’s departmental website does not even have a phone number on it.

Theresa May has said what she will not do. But she has not said what she will do, she says.

She says Davis said two months ago (in his ConservativeHome article) [http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/07/david-davis-trade-deals-tax-cuts-and-taking-time-before-triggering-article-50-a-brexit-economic-strategy-for-britain.html] that the negotiating strategy would have to be “properly designed”.

But there is no strategy, she says.

She says Davis has always spoken up for the rights of parliament.

So he cannot believe it is right for the government to invoke article 50, starting the EU withdrawal process, without consulting parliament, as the government says it intends to do.

She says that parliament must be given a vote on this. And she says Davis would say that himself if he were a backbencher.

Emily Thornberry Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.36pm BST

block-time published-time 4.30pm BST

He says parliament will be kept regularly informed.

Until the UK leaves, it must respect EU laws, he says.

He says the government will keep paying farmers the subsidies get from the EU until 2020.

And he says the government wants to ensure that EU citizens living in the UK can stay.

He says he wants us to come together as one nation so we can get the best deal for the UK.

We will leave the EU but we will not turn our back on Europe.

block-time published-time 4.27pm BST

Davis says his officials are carrying out a sectoral analysis, looking at how Brexit could affect 50 different business sectors.

block-time published-time 4.25pm BST

He says his department is fully engaged with the governments of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

He says his first meeting was with the general secretary of the TUC. He has also met with universities, charities and business groups, and is meeting other bodies too.

block-time published-time 4.24pm BST

Davis says his department has 180 staff in London.

And it has the support of 120 staff in Brussels.

block-time published-time 4.24pm BST

Davis sets out 4 principles for Brexit negotiations He says the government will be guided by four principles.

First, the government will try to establish a national consensus.

Second, it will put the national interest first.

Third, the government will try to minimise uncertainty.

Fourth, the government will leave the EU and put the supremacy of parliament beyond doubt.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.29pm BST

block-time published-time 4.21pm BST

Davis says negotiating with the EU must be got right.

So the government will take time to get it right, he says.

He says economic indicators are strong. And he pays tribute to the work of George Osborne .

block-time published-time 4.20pm BST

Davis says Brexit is not about ending our relationship with the EU . It is about starting a new one.

The government wants free trade, he says.

block-time published-time 4.20pm BST

David Davis 's statement on Brexit David Davis , the new Brexit secretary, is giving his Commons statement now.

He starts by stressing that the UK will leave the EU . There will be no second referendum, he says. The government will honour the decision of the people.

Brexit means leaving the EU , he says.

It means getting control of our borders, our laws and our money.

This is not about making the best a bad job, he says.

This is an historic and positive moment for our nation. Brexit isn’t about making the best of a bad job. It is about seizing the huge and exciting opportunities that will flow from a new place for Britain in the world. There will be new freedoms, new opportunities, new horizons for this great country.

block-time published-time 4.14pm BST

David Davis , the new Brexit secretary, will make his statement to the Commons shortly. It will be the first Commons statement from a member of the new government on Brexit strategy.

Davis actually wrote a long article for ConservativeHome on what he thought the government should do only days before his surprise appointment as Brexit secretary. You can read it in full here [http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/07/david-davis-trade-deals-tax-cuts-and-taking-time-before-triggering-article-50-a-brexit-economic-strategy-for-britain.html], and a summary here. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/jul/14/theresa-may-cabinet-reshuffle-boris-johnson-philip-hammond-rules-out-emergency-budget?page=with:block-578754c1e4b073c22786c335#block-578754c1e4b073c22786c335], and a summary

block-time published-time 3.59pm BST

In the Commons the Foreign Office minister Tobias Ellwood has been responding to Labour’s urgent question about Yemen. These are from the Telegraph’s Laura Hughes.

enltrHilary Benn calls for suspension of arms to Saudi Arabia. Tobias Ellwood invites him to join him this wed when SA Foreign Minister visits

— Laura Hughes (@Laura\_K\_Hughes) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Laura\_K\_Hughes/status/772808238769340416]enltrTobias Ellwood says our int partners (Saudi Arabia) need to "honour international humanitarian law"

— Laura Hughes (@Laura\_K\_Hughes) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Laura\_K\_Hughes/status/772808608350343169]enltrHilary Benn says no arms should be sold until the government can guarantee no humanitarian laws have been breached in ongoing war in #Yemen [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Yemen?src=hash]enltrHilary Benn says no arms should be sold until the government can guarantee no humanitarian laws have been breached in ongoing war in

— Laura Hughes (@Laura\_K\_Hughes) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Laura\_K\_Hughes/status/772809101076205568]Labour’s Keith Vaz has just asked Ellwood a question. This is from the i’s Nigel Morris.

enltrAnd Keith Vaz asks another question in the Commons... it's as if it's a normal day in the office for him...

— Nigel Morris (@NigelpMorris) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/NigelpMorris/status/772810456738193408]block-time published-time 3.55pm BST

Theresa May holds a meeting with Chinese President Xi Jinping at the State Guesthouse in Hangzhou, China. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA Theresa May ’s meeting with the Chinese president, Xi Jinping , at the end of the G20 summit seems to have gone quite well.

This is from my colleague Rowena Mason.

enltrChina in conciliatory mode for May meeting- no specific mention of Hinkley, willing to be "patient" about decisions. May didn't raise steel

— Rowena Mason (@rowenamason) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/rowenamason/status/772798330271178753]This is from the Financial Times ’ George Parker.

enltrG20 latest: Xi is going to "have a little patience" as May works out Hinkley stance. All very cordial..for now

— George Parker (@GeorgeWParker) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GeorgeWParker/status/772801186084696065]enltrG20: So cordial, in fact, that Xi congratulated Team GB showing. T May did not congratulate China on finishing third in medals table

— George Parker (@GeorgeWParker) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/GeorgeWParker/status/772801375122001920]And this is from the BBC ’s Laura Kuenssberg .

enltrBritish officials sound relieved the Chinese gave May a bit of space over Hinkley, promises of a visit next year and warm relations

— Laura Kuenssberg (@bbclaurak) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/bbclaurak/status/772802908936998913] (@bbclaurak) Theresa May holds a meeting with Chinese President Xi Jinping at the State Guesthouse in Hangzhou, China. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA block-time published-time 3.17pm BST

In the Commons Andy Burnham , the shadow home secretary, asked the government to clarify its plan for **immigration** rules post-Brexit. His question was answered by Robert Goodwill, the **immigration** minister, who sidestepped the question and just focused on attacking Labour’s record.

Robert Goodwill. Photograph: BBC/BBC Parliament block-time published-time 3.00pm BST

Keith Vaz is asking a question now in Home Office questions. He starts by welcoming Amber Rudd to her post and asks if the government will change the law to ensure that suspects on bail have to hand over passports to police. Rudd says the government is looking at this, and may adopt this policy.

Vaz seemed a bit more subdued than usual, but for someone who has just been turned over by an embarrassing and potentially career-wrecking newspaper sting, he was looking remarkably resilient.

block-time published-time 2.51pm BST

Keith Vaz is now in the chamber, the Spectator’s Isabel Hardman reports.

enltrKeith Vaz now in the Chamber

— Isabel Hardman (@IsabelHardman) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/IsabelHardman/status/772793820400484353]block-time published-time 2.48pm BST

Amber Rudd , the home secretary, is taking questions in the Commons at the moment. According to Channel 4 News’ Michael Crick, Keith Vaz is planning to ask a question.

enltrKeith Vaz back in Commons, going into chamber to ask question at Home Office questions

— Michael Crick (@MichaelLCrick) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MichaelLCrick/status/772792870545813504]block-time published-time 2.42pm BST

Owen Smith , the Labour leadership contender, has put out a press notice on **immigration** that manages to criticise both Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn . He said:

Theresa May has presented a totally confused vision of what Brexit means for Britain to the international community.

More than two months after the referendum we are still no closer to having any answers to the critical questions about **immigration** and access to the single market. As a result, we have had dire economic and jobs warnings from key trading partners - the USA and Japan - and a totally chaotic response when asked about what kind of migration arrangements Britain should have with the EU .

Labour should be offering a powerful opposition to this Tory shambles, demanding a seat at the negotiating table and providing an alternative vision for our future. Yet Jeremy Corbyn has failed at every stage, from the lacklustre campaign to stay in the EU to calling for Article 50 to be triggered immediately after the result.

block-time published-time 2.07pm BST

Theresa May 's press conference - Summary and analysis At her first PMQs Theresa May looked remarkably confident and assured but this afternoon, at what was her first press conference in her new post, she looked rather more like the prime ministerial novice that she actually is. It was not that she was at all poor or incompetent; it was just that she sounded a bit nervous (she was speaking more quickly than necessary) and the reporters seemed to be getting frustrated by her reluctance to engage with the specifics of their questions about Brexit. There is nothing unusual about politicians refusing to answer questions. But getting away with it harder than it looks, and one was reminded that her predecessor used to do this stuff very well.

Here is my colleague Dan Sabbagh on her performance.

enltrFiddly, slightly irritable performance from Theresa May there. Is she really enjoying her trip to China?

— Dan Sabbagh (@dansabbagh) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/dansabbagh/status/772765561914875905]And here is Bloomberg’s Robert Hutton .

enltr"Brexit means Brexit."

"What Keith does is for Keith."

Theresa May 's soundbites are Theresa May 's soundbites.

— Robert Hutton (@RobDotHutton) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/RobDotHutton/status/772764898908577792]We did not learn much new about the government’s Brexit plan. I will probably be writing that sentence again after David Davis ’s Commons statement, and probably quite regularly for the rest of the decade. In truth May and her team may have little idea what the final Brexit settlement will look like and, as they try to craft a deal acceptable to both Nigel Farage, the CBI and the EU , the outcome is likely to emerge slowly and haphazardly. (That’s why David Cameron once said a Brexit vote would mean “three years of Euro-wank.) [https://twitter.com/jasongroves1/status/745278844135931904], the outcome is likely to emerge slowly and haphazardly. (That’s why

But some of May’s comments were moderately revealing. Here are the key points.

\* May said that leaving the EU would give the UK “some control” over EU migration - suggesting that the restrictions on EU migration might just be partial. She said that at present the UK could not restrict EU migration. She went on:

What we will now have an ability to do, which we haven’t had before, is when we come out of the EU , we will be able to have some control on movement of people coming from the EU into the UK, which of course was one element over which we weren’t able to have control before.

It is not entirely clear what May meant, but hardline anti-Europeans like Nigel Farage (see 9.33am) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/05/david-davis-brexit-commons-statement-leaving-uk-since-brexit-vote-poll-suggests-politics-live?page=with:block-57cd2b09e4b01f3b278917b0#block-57cd2b09e4b01f3b278917b0] are likely to be worried by her tone. My colleague Alan Travis says this could be a hint that free movement could remain for EU citizens with job offers in the UK.

enltrMay says she wants to "gain an element of control" over **immigration**. Hinting at restricting free movement for those without a job offer?

— Alan Travis (@alantravis40) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/alantravis40/status/772767292937625600]

\* May explained why she was ruling out a points-based **immigration** system. A points-based system did not give the government discretion over who came in, she said. She explained her point with a story about what she learnt when she visited Heathrow to speak to Border Force staff with David Cameron after they took office.

And we talked to Border Force officers there. And we said to them, ‘What’s the most important thing that we can focus on?’ And they said, ‘You need to look at the issue of students who come here, who appear to have met the criteria, they don’t speak English, they don’t know which institution they are going to and they don’t know what course it is they’re doing’. So the system is being abused. But because they met the criteria, they were automatically allowed in. And that’s the problem with the points-based system. I want a system when the government is able to decide who comes into the country. I think that’s what the British people want. A points-based system means that people come in automatically if they just meet the criteria.

Asked what alternative system the government would adopt post-Brexit, May said there were “various ways” for the government to assert control over migration into the UK. “We will be coming forward in due course with proposals,” she said.

\* She hinted that she had lost confidence in Keith Vaz as chair of the Commons home affairs committee. Asked about his conduct she replied:

What Keith does is for Keith and any decisions he wishes to make are for him. But I think overall what people look for is confidence in their politicians.

\* She reaffirmed her commitment to make the UK “the global leader in free trade” and she said she had been encouraged by how many world leaders were interested in striking trade deals with the UK. She said India, Mexico, South Korea and Singapore had all expressed an interest in removing barriers to trade. And she said Australian trade minister to visit UK this week to for “exploratory discussions” on UK/Australia trade deal.

\* She said she would be chairing a meeting of the cabinet committee on Brexit and international trade later this week to discuss which markets to prioritise.

\* She sidestepped a question about whether she had been able to reassure Japan on any of the Brexit demands it is making on behalf of Japanese firms based in the UK.

\* She said the government would publish a consultation paper on tackling corporate irresponsibility in the autumn.

To restore greater fairness, we will bring forward a consultation this autumn on measures to tackle corporate irresponsibility: cracking down on excessive corporate pay and poor corporate governance and giving employees and customers representation on company boards.

Theresa May gestures at her press conference after the G20 Summit at the Hangzhou International Expo Centre in Hangzhou, China. Photograph: How Hwee Young/EPA block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.49pm BST

block-time published-time 1.07pm BST

Here are Theresa May ’s comments on Keith Vaz .

enltrPM twists the knife on Vaz - they have history don't forget. pic.twitter.com/JqglJUigHV [https://t.co/JqglJUigHV]

— Harry Cole (@MrHarryCole) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/MrHarryCole/status/772765652956372992]And here is the Mirror’s Kevin Maguire on what she said.

enltrThat was a text book knifing of Keith Vaz by Theresa May by

— Kevin Maguire (@Kevin\_Maguire) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Kevin\_Maguire/status/772764744050741248]UPDATE: Here’s another tweet on this from Maguire.

enltrHard to see how Keith Vaz can survive as Home Affairs chair after Theresa May knifed him: 6 members Con, 4 Lab(incl Vaz) + 1 SNP

— Kevin Maguire (@Kevin\_Maguire) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/Kevin\_Maguire/status/772766354948628480]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.22pm BST

block-time published-time 12.56pm BST

Q: Will you be able to sort out Brexit in two years? Or will there have to be transitional arrangements?

May says she will not trigger article 50 before the end of the year.

Once it is triggered there will be a two-year deadline. The G20 talks have shown here there is a genuine willingness to engage with the UK on trade deals.

She wants the best deal for the UK, but she thinks the deal will be good for Europe.

And that’s it.

I will post a summary soon.

block-time published-time 12.53pm BST

Q: The MPs’ code of conduct says MPs have to act with probity and integrity. Are you confident Keith Vaz has acted in this way?

May says what Vaz does is up to him. But people should be able to have confidence in their politicians, she says.

block-time published-time 12.52pm BST

Q: The Australian prime minister Malcolm Turnbull has talked about the need to “civilise capitalism”. Was that a theme of the conference?

May says she was pleased to hear echoes of what she has been saying in the UK around the table at the G20. Other leaders accept the need to ensure that globalisation works for everyone.

Other leaders, including Turnbull, were interested in what she had to say about corporate irresponsibility.

block-time published-time 12.50pm BST

May says UK will have 'some control' over EU migration after Brexit Q: What alternative to a points-based system would you have? And why should people trust you to cut **immigration** when you did not as home secretary?

May says the government will come forward with **immigration** plans in due course.

As home secretary she did start getting to get the migration numbers down, she says.

In the future the UK will be able to have “some control” over people coming into the UK from the EU .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 2.22pm BST

block-time published-time 12.49pm BST

May says a decision about the Hinkley Point power station will be taken next month.

But the UK’s relationship with China is not just about Hinkley. She want to continue Britain’s strategic relationship with China.

block-time published-time 12.47pm BST

May turns to the points-based system proposal.

She says people voted to bring back control. But a points-based system does not meet that.

She says when she was home secretary, she and David Cameron went to Heathrow to meet border officials. They told them that people could meet the criteria for coming as students. But that when these foreign students arrived, it would turn out that they could not speak English and did not even know the name of the college where they were supposed to be studying.

So points-based systems are flawed, she says.

block-time published-time 12.45pm BST

May's Q&A May is now taking questions.

Q: Most G20 leaders think the UK should stay in the single market. Are you worried you might harm the economy by leaving the single market so that you can control migration?

May says she wants the best deal for the UK. Voters want **immigration** controlled, but they want to trade too. She intends to be “ambitious” and to get the best deal for the UK.

Q: Can you address any of the worries in the Japanese government’s 15-page memo?

May says she has been saying Brexit means Brexit because it does.

But she has found it encouraging that other world leaders are willing to talk about trade deals. She spoke to the Japanese prime minister, and they both want to build on their relationship. The best vote of confidence since Brexit came when the Japanese bank SoftBank bought ARM. [https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jul/19/softbanks-takeover-of-arm-holdings-in-doubt]

block-time published-time 12.41pm BST

May says the G20 agreed that more must be done to tackle the causes of mass migration.

The summit has been successful, she says.

The UK continues to play a leading role in the world, she says.

She say this has been her first visit to China. She looks forward to her talks with the Chinese president shortly.

block-time published-time 12.40pm BST

May says government to publish consultation soon on tackling corporate irresponsibility May says the government will hold a consultation this autumn on tackling corporate irresponsibility.

\* May says government to publish consultation in the autumn on tackling corporate irresponsibility.

She says moves like this are essential if the government is to retain public support for free trade.

block-time published-time 12.39pm BST

May says she wants UK to be “the global leader in free trade” On free trade May says Britain has been one of the longest advocates for free trade.

The right trade agreements can be the best anti-poverty measures of all time.

That is why the G20 has decided to resist a move towards protectionism, she says.

She says as the UK leaves the EU she wants the UK to become “the global leader in free trade”.

\* May says she wants UK to be “the global leader in free trade”.

May lists various countries that have agreed at the G20 to pursue free trade deals with the UK.

And she says she will chair a cabinet committee on free trade later this week to decide what countries the UK should prioritise for trade deals.

block-time published-time 12.36pm BST

Theresa May 's press conference in China Theresa May is giving a press conference in China.

She is making an opening statement, saying she is optimistic about the UK’s prospects after Brexit.

block-time published-time 12.35pm BST

There is an urgent question on Yemen (see 11.23am) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/05/david-davis-brexit-commons-statement-leaving-uk-since-brexit-vote-poll-suggests-politics-live?page=with:block-57cd46cae4b0c2a396c06d90#block-57cd46cae4b0c2a396c06d90] at 3.30pm. That means the David Davis statement on Brexit will not start until around 4pm. After that there will be a statement from Jeremy Hunt on the junior doctors’ strike.

enltr1 UQ at 3.30pm @hilarybennmp [https://twitter.com/hilarybennmp] to ask @BorisJohnson [https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson] for statement on Govt assessments of breaches of international humanitarian law in Yemen.

— Labour Whips (@labourwhips) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/labourwhips/status/772758533028909056]enltr2 Statements from 3.30pm: 1. Re Brexit ( @DavidDavisMP [https://twitter.com/DavidDavisMP] / @EmilyThornberry [https://twitter.com/EmilyThornberry] ) 2. Junior doctors' industrial action ( @Jeremy\_Hunt [https://twitter.com/Jeremy\_Hunt] / @HackneyAbbott [https://twitter.com/HackneyAbbott] )

— Labour Whips (@labourwhips) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/labourwhips/status/772742245443366912]block-time published-time 12.30pm BST

In his BBC News interview the Conservative MP Bernard Jenkin also said that Britain would leave the EU free market after Brexit. He said he thought Britain would be able to continue trading tariff-free with the EU . But if the EU did impose tariffs, it would not matter, he said.

If they go for tariffs, so be it. Sterling has already depreciated by more than the average of the tariffs, so it won’t affect our exports to them. We will make a great deal of money out of the tariffs we collect on their goods coming to us. If they want that, I think it’s anti free trade, but I don’t think will do the economy any harm in this country.

block-time published-time 12.21pm BST

Paddy Ashdown , the former Lib Dem leader, likened Tory Brexiteers to Nazis in a tweet this morning.

enltrThe Tory Brexit brownshirts are stirring. Betrayal is the word most likely to be heard in the run up to the Tory Conference.

— Paddy Ashdown (@paddyashdown) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paddyashdown/status/772678098345160704]The Tory MP Bernard Jenkin , a prominent Brexiteer himself, told BBC News that Ashdown was being ridiculous.

We know he is one of those who is utterly grief stricken that we have abandoned the federalist project in Europe. But this is ridiculous.

He is trying to write a narrative that the pro-Brexit Conservatries are coming for the Conservative leader. Look - the war is over; you can come out now. Old grey bearded people are still on deserted pacific atolls who think the war is still carrying on - I think Paddy Ashdown is painting himself into that corner.

In a subsequent tweet Ashdown suggested he was not really calling Tories Nazis.

enltr"Brownshirt-gate". Heavens! Even allowing for these over-heated times, do we really have to lose contact with the concept of the metaphor?

— Paddy Ashdown (@paddyashdown) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/paddyashdown/status/772709427157827584]block-time published-time 12.17pm BST

enltrFive minute warning to hear Theresa May speak at the G20. Live @SkyNews [https://twitter.com/SkyNews] speak at the G20. Live pic.twitter.com/u7qcVAM7bK [https://t.co/u7qcVAM7bK] speak at the G20. Live

— Emily Purser (@EmilyPurser) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/EmilyPurser/status/772755313338388480]block-time published-time 12.15pm BST

The Theresa May press conference in China has been delayed, but it is due to start shortly.

I will be covering it in detail, and we will have a live feed at the top of this blog.

block-time published-time 12.13pm BST

Earlier I quoted the ComRes poll for the BBC on attitudes to Brexit.

Polling Digest, a website that publishes polling analysis, has published a post looking at the figures in some detail.

enltr @AndrewSparrow [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow] Andrew, here's our analysis of the ComRes Brexit poll: https://t.co/AOlgfOzPB3 [https://t.co/AOlgfOzPB3] Andrew, here's our analysis of the ComRes Brexit poll:

— Polling Digest (@PollingDigest) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/PollingDigest/status/772750324243243009]block-time published-time 12.03pm BST

Theresa May might not raise the issue of Chinese steel dumping blamed for crippling the UK industry at her first meeting with president Xi Jinping on Monday.

A UK official source said it may not come up in the half-hour of talks as May believes there has already been some progress in cutting overproduction after progress at a G20 level.

Overproduction of steel in China has been blamed for the crisis engulfing the UK industry, threatening Tata’s plants and others.

David Cameron was last year criticised for failing to raise the issue strongly enough with the Chinese during Xi’s state visit and not responding quickly enough to the threat to jobs in the industry.

However, the issue still does not appear to be a top priority for May during her initial talks with Xi, which are already likely to be tricky because the prime minister is considering whether to block China from investing in UK nuclear power.

The UK official source said it was being dealt with at G20 level and progress is being made.

The reason why every country has signed up to this approach is that there are countries including China which have excess production that they are dealing with.

If you look at the measures the Chinese have taken to reduce their capacity, they are dealing with hundreds of thousands of job losses in China because of their own excess capacity. It is a factor that flows out of the downturn in the global economy post the crash which now means it is an issue the G20 are having to deal with.

We have already made progress in a wider forum. It is their first bilateral... And from our perspective we have made important progress here in getting acknowledgement at the G20 level.

In contrast, Jean-Claude Juncker , the European Commission president, used the G20 summit to call for tougher monitoring measures in China to deal with steel overcapacity that has plunged the industry into crisis in parts of Europe including the UK.

“This is a global problem, but with a specific Chinese dimension we have to address,” Juncker said at a press conference. “We are really insisting on the need to take this seriously.”

Theresa May arrives at the G20 Hangzhou Summit. Photograph: Mikhail Svetlov/Getty Images block-time published-time 11.57am BST

Andy Burnham , the shadow home secretary, has accused the government of generating confusion about its **immigration** policy.

The referendum was a major decision and what the country needed more than anything else was leadership from ministers.

But instead, we are getting confusion from the Tory government on its **immigration** policy. A number of members of the cabinet made this pledge and voters will be surprised to see the prime minister rip it up without any consultation. The government must clear this up without delay.

Burnham’s comment is not especially accurate. In one important respect what we’ve had today is not confusion but clarity; Number 10 has said categorically that it won’t introduce a points-based **immigration** system. And on the basis that what the PM says, goes - as good a rule as any, when it comes to understanding how the British government works - this is now the government’s position.

Burnham is right about about confusion in one respect, because no one knows what **immigration** rules will apply post-Brexit. But many other aspects of the post-Brexit settlement remain a mystery too.

block-time published-time 11.43am BST

In his interview with Nick Clegg published in the Guardian at the weekend [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/03/nick-clegg-did-not-cater-tories-brazen-ruthlessness] Simon Hattenstone quoted Clegg complaining about newspaper columnists who become politicians. Clegg said:

You’ve got a generation of politicians very close to the media, people like Boris Johnson and [Michael] Gove, and the problem is, the skill of tossing off 800 words on one subject and then on another a week later is completely different to governing. With Cameron and Osborne, there was a seriousness about what they were doing – a deadly seriousness I often didn’t like. But with Gove it was just a series of throwaway poses about our kids’ futures. There’s this ersatz intellectual heft that Gove and his people have that I don’t think is merited. People such as Gove and Johnson have elevated striking poses into a political art form.

As if on cue, the Times as announced that Gove, who was sacked by Theresa May when she became prime minister, is joining the paper as a columnist.

enltrNews from the Times... #Gove [https://twitter.com/hashtag/Gove?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/3xZoaWKSnx [https://t.co/3xZoaWKSnx]

— Michael Savage (@michaelsavage) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/michaelsavage/status/772707289056903168]block-time published-time 11.31am BST

As part of his leadership campaign Jeremy Corbyn has this morning announced plans to invest £300m in renewable energy research. He would channel the money through a new Advanced Research Agency, he said.

My pledge to establish a dedicated Advanced Research Agency will help tackle the global social challenge of climate change and make fundamental breakthroughs in energy science. It will put the UK in the best possible place to take advantage of the rapidly growing global renewable energy market, forecast to reach $630bn worldwide by 2030.

The Tory cuts to the UK renewables sector – including dramatically cutting feed-in tariffs and subsidies for domestic installation – are nonsensical and a damaging backwards step in our efforts to decarbonise our energy production. My pledge is about ensuring that the UK is at the forefront of world-leading technology development in a sector of growing demand.

Jeremy Corbyn speaking at a rally in Ramsgate on Saturday. Photograph: Vickie Flores/REX/Shutterstock block-time published-time 11.23am BST

In a Commons written statement this morning [http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Commons/2016-09-05/HCWS128] Boris Johnson , the foreign secretary, says the government will continue selling arms to Saudi Arabia because there is no proof that they might be used to commit human rights abuses in the conflict in Yemen.

Here is my colleague Patrick Wintour on his statement.

enltrJohnson in new statement backs UK arms sales to Saudi - no clear risk weapons might be used in a commission of a serious violation of IHL.

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/772726655920050176]enltrJohnson remarks on Saudi in Yemen clarifies Uk position as arms export control sel comm members meet this week to look at UK arms export ban

— Patrick Wintour (@patrickwintour) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/patrickwintour/status/772730625463820288] The site of a Saudi-led air strike in the Red Sea port city of Houdieda, Yemen.

Photograph: Abduljabbar Zeyad/Reuters block-time published-time 11.14am BST

And here is my colleague Peter Walker ’s story on the Owen Smith press conference.

Related: Re-electing Corybn would consign Labour to irrelevance, says Smith [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/05/jeremy-corybn-labour-party-leadership-vote-election-owen-smith]

block-time published-time 11.13am BST

At his news conference Owen Smith said he was not in favour of a universal basic income, the Independent reports.

enltrUniversal basic income 'not a credible' idea, says Labour leadership contender Owen Smith . https://t.co/GfyiLUJq06 [https://t.co/GfyiLUJq06].

— Ashley Cowburn (@ashcowburn) September 5, 2016 [https://twitter.com/ashcowburn/status/772734630600511488]Smith said that Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell ’s interest in the universal basic income idea was an example of their “not being credible on economic policies”.

block-time published-time 11.10am BST

The Institute of Directors has backed Number 10’s decision to rule out a points-based **immigration** system. This is from Seamus Nevin , head of employment and skills policy at the IoD.

The prime minister is correct to highlight problems with points-based **immigration** systems and to be wary of trying to copy the Australian model. The UK’s points system for non-EU migrants is already hopelessly bureaucratic, governed by 13 different Acts of Parliament and creating 1,400 categories of **immigrant**.

Nevin said the government should launch a comprehensive **immigration** review “that will enable it to design a British system that addresses public concerns, while still allowing businesses to access the skills they need to ensure economic success outside the EU ”.

block-time published-time 11.01am BST

Smith publishes spoof 2020 Tory manifesto to highlight risk of Corbyn's re-election At a news conference this morning Owen Smith , the Labour leadership challenger, has published a spoof Conservative manifesto for 2020. He said that if Jeremy Corbyn were re-elected leader, the Tories could win the next election with an increased majority and that it was important for people to know what they might do.

The Tories have already done serious damage to our country.

Now facing a weak, unpopular and incompetent Labour leader in Jeremy Corbyn , all indications are now that they will be able not just to hold on in 2020, but to win with an increased majority.

Jeremy’s unpopularity with the public is so strong that the Tories are emboldened. They no longer feel constrained by the risk of losing votes to Labour: they will be confident enough to argue for right-wing policies they have always believed in - and to win with them.

The consequences for Britain - and especially for the people Labour has always stood up for - could be disastrous.

Owen Smith speaking at his press conference this morning. Photograph: Justin Tallis/AFP/Getty Images The document runs to 12 pages and you can read it here (pdf). [https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/owen/pages/119/attachments/original/1473062824/ToryManifesto2020.pdf] It may not be the most fair or accurate assessment of Theresa May ’s policy agenda, but some of it is very plausible. Smith says all the proposals in the spoof manifesto are ideas that have been floated by Tories or Tory thinktanks in the past and there are almost 50 footnotes proving this.

Here is an excerpt from the spoof foreword to the manifesto, purporting to be what Theresa May would be writing in 2020.

We have also been a reforming government. We have liberalised our education system – I am proud that we have extended the Free Schools programme and begun the construction of new selective schools for the first time in two decades. I am pleased that we have begun a decade long task of spreading that same level of freedom throughout our health service. In the past the Conservatives have promised to cut the deficit, not the NHS – but we have delivered more than we promised and successfully managed to cut both. We have also continued our revolution in the welfare system, cutting back unnecessary programmes and getting welfare spending further under control.

This manifesto seeks to build on those achievements and do more:

\* It is a manifesto that will ensure we eliminate the deficit within five years and reduce public spending to 30 per cent of GDP, the lowest level since the 1930s.

\* It is a manifesto that ensures that we increase selection within our education system.

\* It is a manifesto that ensures we have a reformed healthcare system through the introduction of a new private health insurance system of the future as opposed to the outdated nationalised health service of the past.

\* It is a manifesto that will increase home ownership by selling off all remaining social housing.

\* It is a manifesto that further reduces unnecessary burdens on businesses by abolishing corporation tax, making Britain a tax haven for global big business whilst also radically cutting red tape.

This manifesto is the right plan of action – our plan to take our country forward. Above all, it is the most radical plan to change our country in a generation.

With no opposition, it is a plan we will deliver in full.

Spoof Tory manifesto for 2020. Photograph: Owen Smith block-time published-time 10.30am BST

Tim Farron , the Lib Dem leader, has issued a statement challenging the cabinet minister who campaigned for Vote Leave to explain what they will do now Number 10 has ruled out their proposed points-based **immigration** system. Farron said:

My question for the Brexiteers like [Liam] Fox , Boris [Johnson] and [David] Davis is this – what are you going to do now?

Are you going to fight for the points-based **immigration** system you so vigorously proposed? Or are you happy to sit round the cabinet table, with your red boxes and chauffeur driven cars, and look the other way?

block-time published-time 10.22am BST

Nicola Sturgeon is offering to form a coalition with members of the UK government who want Britain to remain in the European single market.

This follows the first minister’s directly challenge to Theresa May on Friday over her mandate to take Scotland out of the single market.

Sturgeon said her initial objective was to strengthen the hand of those ministers within the UK government who want a soft exit from the EU .

In an interview with BBC Scotland’s political editor Brian Taylor, Sturgeon said:

Can there be a coalition across the UK that gets the UK into a more sensible position? I think that’s worth a good try because Theresa May , she was on the Remain side, so presumably she knows the real risks of removal from the single market.

Sturgeon insisted that she wants full membership, not just access, of the single market.

Let’s have a try at getting the UK, not into the best position - because the best position in my view would be continued membership of the EU - but let’s try and get the UK as a whole into the least worst position and that means staying in the single market.

At a meeting of SNP MPs and MSPs last Friday, Sturgeon suggested that leaving the single market would be a potential red line in triggering a second independence referendum, stating: “My message to the prime minister is this: you may have a mandate in England and Wales to leave the EU but you do not have a clear mandate to take any part of the UK out of the single market.”

Nicola Sturgeon . Photograph: Andy Buchanan/AFP/Getty Images block-time published-time 10.07am BST

No 10 says points-based **immigration** system 'will not work and is not an option' Speaking to reporters on her flight to China Theresa May appeared to rule out introducing a points-based **immigration** system. (See 9.33am.) [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/05/david-davis-brexit-commons-statement-leaving-uk-since-brexit-vote-poll-suggests-politics-live?page=with:block-57cd2b09e4b01f3b278917b0#block-57cd2b09e4b01f3b278917b0] Downing Street has now gone even further and ruled out the idea unequivocally. A Number 10 spokesman told reporters:

One of the opportunities of Brexit is that we will be able to control the number of people coming to Britain from the EU .

The precise way in which the Ggvernment will control the movement of EU nationals to Britain after Brexit is yet to be determined. However, as the PM has said many times in the past, a points-based system will not work and is not an option.

When Labour introduced a points-based system, the numbers went straight up. In Australia, they have a points-based system and they have higher **immigration**per capita than Britain. A points-based system would give foreign nationals the right to come to Britain if they meet certain criteria: an **immigration** system that works for Britain would ensure that the right to decide who comes to the country resides with the government.

block-time published-time 10.01am BST

The Japanese government has published a 15-page open letter setting out in considerable detail what it wants to the UK to achieve in its Brexit negotiations. You can read the full letter here (pdf), [http://www.mofa.go.jp.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/files/000185466.pdf] an analyis by the Guardian ’s diplomatic editor Patrick Wintour here [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/04/britain-japanese-brexit-letter-eu] and a summary of the demands by the Guardian ’s Phillip Inman here. [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/japan-brexit-demands-range-from-possible-to-fanciful]’s Phillip Inman

On the Today programme this morning Koji Tsuruoka, the Japanese ambassador to London, said Japanese firms could leave the UK if they did not get the right deal post-Brexit. Hundreds of Japanese companies were based in the UK, he said.

They are companies responsible to their stakeholders and their duty is to produce profit. If the way Brexit ends up does not provide companies with a prospect of making sufficient profit to continue operating in the UK, of course there is no option that they can’t choose. All options are open to them.

Tsuruoka’s tone was very moderate. He said that Japanese companies were in the UK because “they all agree that the UK is the best place to do business in Europe” and that they did not want to have to leave.

However, there is a negotiation that will have to be conducted and if these requests are not met, then it will be for industry to decide what to do.

It is very difficult to imagine that all Japanese companies - including the auto companies - will be pulling out in totality from UK, because the UK economy will be here and vibrant and it will be a good market for auto manufacturers to continue to sell their cars.

The problem we will have to confront is what is the market that could be accessed for production outside of the UK? If there are conditions that block Japanese auto makers’ cars being exported to continental Europe, such as customs duties, that of course will affect the competitive nature of the pricing of the cars.

Workers at the Nissan car factory in Sunderland.

Photograph: Bloomberg/Bloomberg via Getty Images block-time published-time 9.39am BST

Theresa May meets Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull during a meeting on the sidelines of G20 Summit. Photograph: ALY SONG / POOL/EPA At the G20 summit in China Theresa May has held a meeting with her Australian counterpart, Malcolm Turnbull . Turnbull told reporters afterwards that Australia would be “getting in to deal with the British early” and wanted a “very strong, very open free trade agreement”.

May also said that she wanted Britain to be even more outward-looking after Brexit. She told Turnbull:

I’m very clear that [Brexit] doesn’t mean that we are going to be inward-looking. In fact, we want to be even more outward-looking around the whole of the world. And obviously, Australia, with our long-standing ties and our close relationship, will be one of the first countries we will be looking to.

block-time published-time 9.33am BST

Farage says it would be 'totally unacceptable' to give EU citizens priority in post-Brexit migration rules In her briefing with journalists on her flight to China Theresa May [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/04/theresa-may-refuses-to-guarantee-brexit-pledges-on-immigration-and-nhs] citizens priority in post-Brexit migration rules In her briefing with journalists on her flight to China appeared to rule out introducing a points-based **immigration** system, [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/04/theresa-may-refuses-to-guarantee-brexit-pledges-on-immigration-and-nhs] despite this being one of the key proposals from the winning Vote Leave campaign. This is what May actually said:

You really don’t want to ask a former home secretary about the intricacies of a points-based system because it might take a very long time to answer your question. One of the issues is whether or not points-based systems do work.

May said what people wanted was “an ability to be able to control the movement of people from the European Union ... not free movement as it has been in the past.” She left reporters with the impression that EU citizens could still take priority over non-EU citizens under the **immigration** rules that will eventually be adopted post-Brexit.

Nigel Farage, the outgoing Ukip leader, has responded this morning by issuing a statement criticising May’s stance. He said:

Theresa May ’s track record on **immigration** as Home Secretary was appalling and her comments rejecting an Australian-style points system really worry me. There is already huge anxiety out there in the country regarding Theresa May ’s reluctance to trigger article 50. Her rejection of the type of migration system so many went out there and voted Leave to see implemented indicates serious backsliding.

The people were clear in wanting a points-based **immigration** system which is why so many went out and voted to Leave the European Union . Any watering down from that will lead to real anger.

Farage also said it would be “totally unacceptable” to give EU citizens priority under the post-Brexit **immigration** rules.

Given that myself and others also campaigned for a migration system that would treat all who wanted to come equally, any preference for EU nationals would be totally unacceptable. If the establishment think they can stitch-up Brexit then they better be ready for the huge electoral consequences from a British public who on June 23rd voted for radical political change and now expect it to be delivered without failure.

Nigel Farage. Photograph: Daniel Leal-Olivas/PA block-time published-time 9.09am BST

MPs return to the Commons today after their summer recess and the highlight will be a statement from David Davis , the new Brexit secretary, about the government’s plans for leaving the EU . We’ve been told that Brexit means Brexit, but beyond that relatively little has been said about what Brexit will entail and Davis’s statement may enlighten us (but probably only marginally - don’t expect the full negotiating prospectus). In a statement released overnight Davis stressed that Britain’s future outside the EU would be marvellous.

Brexit isn’t about making the best of a bad job. It is about seizing the huge and exciting opportunities that will flow from a new place for Britain in the world. There will be new freedoms, new opportunities, new horizons for this great country.

But hang on. On her flight to the G20 summit in China, in a briefing with journalists, Theresa May gave a rather more sober assessment of Britain’s prospects. She told the hacks:

Now I’m not going to pretend it will be plain sailing. There’ll be some difficult times ahead.

Like the cabinet, the public at large also seems uncertain about the implications of Brexit. The BBC is focusing on Brexit today and it has released a poll showing that, while 62% of people are positive about Britain’s future after the EU referendum, 35% are negative. Some of the other poll findings are more awkward for the Brexiteers.

\* A quarter of Britons have considered leaving the country since the Brexit vote, the poll reveals.

\* Almost twice as many Britons think the UK’s reputation abroad has been damaged by the Brexit vote (46%) as think it has been improved by the vote (27%).

The ComRes summary of the poll is here, [http://www.comresglobal.com/polls/bbc-5live-brexit-identity-poll/] and the full tables are here (pdf). [http://www.comresglobal.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Brexit-Identity\_Tables\_300816\_18-34break.pdf] and the full tables are

Here is the agenda for the day.

9am: Owen Smith , the Labour leadership challenger, holds a press conference to publish a document setting out the implications if the Tories win the election in 2020.

11.30am: Theresa May is due to hold a press conference at the G20 summit in China.

2.30pm: Amber Rudd , the new home secretary, takes questions in the Commons.

3.30pm: David Davis , the Brexit secretary, makes a statement to the Commons about the government’s plans for leaving the EU .

4.30pm: MPs will hold a debate in Westminster Hall on the e-petition signed by more than 4m people calling for a second EU referendum. [https://petition.parliament.uk/petitions/131215]

As usual, I will be covering the breaking political news as it happens, as well as bringing you the best reaction, comment and analysis from the web. I will post a summary at lunchtime and another in the afternoon.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter , I’m on @AndrewSparrow. [https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow], I’m on

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter .

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 9.11am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Prime minister declines to guarantee points-based system and extra £100m a week for health service as Japan and US warn of exit risks to Britain

Theresa May has cast doubt on whether Brexit will lead either to a points-based **immigration** system or an extra £100m a week for the NHS – two central promises made by the successful campaign to leave the European Union .

The prime minister declined to endorse pledges made by the official Vote Leave group as she headed to China for the G20 summit, where Japan and the US have issued strong warnings about the consequences of exiting the EU .

In an unprecedented set of demands over the terms of Britain’s exit, Tokyo said Japanese firms could move to other parts of Europe unless many of the current privileges [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/japan-brexit-demands-range-from-possible-to-fanciful] of membership were maintained.

Speaking from her prime ministerial plane, May questioned whether the type of system that admits migrants based on their skills was effective, and did not rule out retaining preferential access arrangements for EU citizens. “One of the issues is whether or not points-based systems do work,” she said, stressing that there was “no single silver bullet” on reducing **immigration**.

May also refused to commit to working towards the promises made by Vote Leave of an extra £100m a week to the NHS , scrapping VAT on fuel bills or ending contributions to the EU budget.

She would only say: “I’m going to work for what I just said I’m going to work for: the best possible deal for the UK in terms of the relationship that we would have with the EU , following us leaving.”

Her decision not to endorse the key planks of the Vote Leave manifesto may anger some of the electorate who thought they were voting for firm pledges made by politicians now senior in May’s government, such as Boris Johnson.

On becoming prime minister, May satisfied many Tory leave campaigners with a pledge that “Brexit means Brexit”, but she has not set out what this means, beyond a pledge to move away from the current system of free movement of EU citizens.

The prime minister has repeatedly said she intends to make a success of leaving the EU but admitted this weekend that there were difficult times ahead for the economy, even though it is currently doing better than many predicted before the 23 June referendum.

She backed the position of the former chancellor George Osborne that there were no plans for more welfare cuts, but left the door open for this to shift if the economy deteriorated. “We are continuing the plans we have as a government,” she said. “Obviously we have to look and see what happens in the economy, and how the economy does start to move... We’ve got the plans that are there at the moment. And obviously anyone would be looking at how the economy pans out.”

May’s comments on the way to Hangzhou in China were made before what turned out to be a trying start to the international summit. She had been hoping to pitch the UK as a global leader in free trade during her first major outing on the world stage. However, she was immediately confronted with warnings about the consequences of leaving the EU , as well as diplomatic tensions with the Chinese over their proposed investment in UK nuclear power.

After her first bilateral meeting with President Obama, May was told that the US wanted to focus on trade negotiations with the EU and a bloc of Pacific nations before considering a deal with the UK.

The message from Japan to the UK subsequently emerged, warning of a series of corporate exits from the UK unless some of the privileges that come with access to the single market are maintained.

The document from Tokyo [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/04/britain-japanese-brexit-letter-eu] lists the possible consequences of Brexit and a series of specific requests from significant Japanese investors. “Japanese businesses with their European headquarters in the UK may decide to transfer their head-office function to continental Europe if EU laws cease to be applicable in the UK after its withdrawal,” the report concludes.

Earlier, Obama had promised to work hard to stop “adverse effects” of Brexit and said a very special relationship between the two nations still existed. But he also made clear that it would not make sense to prioritise a UK trade deal above existing negotiations with EU and Pacific countries.

“We are going to do everything we can to make sure the consequences of the decision don’t end up unravelling what is already a very strong and robust economic relationship,” he said. “But first things first. The first task is figuring out what Brexit means with respect to Europe. And our first task is making sure we go forward on TTIP [Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership] negotiations in which we have already invested a lot of time and effort.”

May received better news from Malcolm Turnbull, the Australian prime minister, [https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/sep/05/australia-to-seal-early-trade-deal-with-britain-after-brexit-predicts-turnbull] on Monday as he predicted an early trade deal between the two nations and offered all help and assistance to the UK after the vote for Brexit.

At the start of his meeting with May in Hangzhou, Turnbull told her: “Britain’s made a very momentous and historic choice to leave the European Union and we have already been engaged in discussions with you about what the free trade arrangements may look like after that.

“Australia is determined to provide Britain with all the support and assistance that we can.”

May told him that in the post-Brexit era the UK wanted to be “even more outward-looking” and “obviously, Australia, with our long-standing ties and our close relationship, will be one of the first countries we will be looking to”.

It is understood that David Davis, May’s new secretary of state for exiting the EU , will update parliament on Monday about the government’s work towards Brexit, as MPs return after the summer recess.

May is likely to come under pressure from MPs on both sides of the debate, as well as companies, to be more specific about her Brexit vision in the coming weeks.

Vote Leave, led by May’s cabinet ministers Johnson, Andrea Leadsom and Priti Patel, had promised the electorate before the EU referendum that voting out would mean a “genuine Australian-style, points-based **immigration** system” by the time of the next election.

The campaign group said those seeking to move to Britain should be admitted on the basis of their skills, without discrimination on the grounds of nationality, making clear EU citizens should not be given any preferential access to the UK.

Asked about bringing in a points-based **immigration** system, May said: “A lot of people talk about points-based systems always being the answer in **immigration**. There is no single silver bullet that is the answer in terms of dealing with **immigration**.”

Related: Britain cannot easily dismiss Japanese Brexit warning letter [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/04/britain-japanese-brexit-letter-eu]

When pressed on whether failing to bring in such a system would not respect the reasons people voted for Brexit, May said: “People voted, I think, for control. What they wanted to see was control of the freedom of movement of the European Union countries into the United Kingdom.”

During the referendum campaign, in which she backed remain, May had appeared to be negative about the idea of a points-based system but this is her first steer on the subject since the vote.

She was also asked about whether she would hand more money to the NHS , and scrap VAT on energy bills using funds saved by leaving the EU . These were two more promises made by Vote Leave, whose senior politicians toured the country in a bus saying £350m a week sent to the EU could help fund the NHSinstead. Shortly before the vote, this was refined by Vote Leave to a promise of £100m a week more for the NHS out of money saved from ending contributions.

Asked whether she would work towards these goals, May would not commit to either pledge. She also would not rule out giving any contributions to the EU budget or retaining full access to the single market, which many Eurosceptic Conservative MPs and Ukip figures would find unacceptable.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Secretary of state for exiting EU is accused of delivering ‘astonishingly empty statement’ to MPs on government’s plans

The secretary of state for exiting the EU has been accused of appearing before parliament without any details of how the government is planning to embark on Brexit negotiations.

David Davis faced a barrage of criticism from MPs from Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the SNP after he updated them on the work of his department so far.

He said his priority was “to build a national consensus” around the UK’s negotiating position, though he ruled out any veto for Scotland. Davis said he was confident the UK would not need to indulge in trade-offs that have been suggested by critics but instead could control **immigration** and retain free trade.

He signalled that Britain would be seeking “access” to the single market but not necessarily full membership. “This government is looking at every option, but the simple truth is that if a requirement of membership is giving up control of our borders I think that makes it very improbable.”

Related: David Davis - backed by Boris Johnson and Liam Fox - sets out Brexit plans - Politics live [https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/05/david-davis-brexit-commons-statement-leaving-uk-since-brexit-vote-poll-suggests-politics-live]

The shadow foreign secretary, Emily Thornberry, who leads for Labour on Brexit, attacked Davis for failing to explain how his government was hoping to win such concessions, arguing “his positive vision is just a pipe dream”.

Former shadow home secretary Yvette Cooper dismissed Davis’s words as an “astonishingly empty statement” with “no plan, no sense of grip, no detail”.

Tim Farron, the leader of the Liberal Democrats, said: “David Davis told us nothing. He read out a few dates in his diary, but anyone looking for Britain’s post-Brexit strategy would have looked in vain. No trade deals, no allies, no plan.”

There was also pressure from Davis’s Tory backbenchers, with Anna Soubry saying that parliament was “none the wiser about the government’s plans” following his statement. “‘Brexit means Brexit’ has surely passed its shelf life. It’s time for some detail,” said the MP who is backing the Open Britain group that has sprung out of the Remain campaign from the referendum.

The negative response from pro-EU MPs came as Davis used his statement to parliament’s first sitting since the summer break to say that it was natural for people to ask what Brexit would mean.

“Simply, it means the UK leaving the European Union . We will decide on our borders, our laws, and taxpayers’ money,” he said, insisting that meant no attempt to “delay, frustrate or thwart the will of the British people” and “no attempt to engineer a second referendum because some people didn’t like the first answer”.

However, he conceded that the talks did represent a considerable challenge. Arguing that he would seek to find a position that would be acceptable to Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales as well as to English councils and small and large businesses, Davis said he was seeking a “unique to Britain and not an off-the-shelf solution... This must mean controls on the numbers of people who come to Britain from Europe – but also a positive outcome for those who wish to trade in goods and services.”

Davis, who said his department now had 180 staff in London and 120 officials in Brussels, also set out some of the government’s thinking around the negotiations, including that Theresa May would lead talks aimed at the UK regaining control of its laws, borders and money.

He argued that Britain could be a “beacon for free trade across the world” and a “more glorious country” with an **immigration** system that controlled the numbers but also encouraged the “brightest and best” to come. He suggested Britain could bring in an even more rigorous **immigration** system than a points-based system.

He said his work would be driven by four key principles: to seek the national consensus; to put the national interest first and act in good faith towards European partners; to minimise uncertainty; and ultimately to leave the European Union .

And he said parliament would be regularly “informed, updated and engaged” but did not suggest any need for a vote to trigger article 50.

Thornberry said the government had gone from “gross negligence to rank incompetence” when it came to preparing for the process of exiting the EU . And she said it was unacceptable for the government not to give parliament more of a say during the process.

“When there is no evidence of sound planning by the government, no detail whatsoever on the deal they want to strike, the strategy for achieving that deal or the reasons for rushing it through, parliament must have more than a say on those issues,” she said. “We must have a vote.”

She accused the prime minister of “literally making up policy on **immigration**, tax and NHS spending” during a plane journey to the G20 summit in China. “So we know some of the things they are not going to do. No points-based **immigration** system, no extra money for the NHS , but when will they tell us what they are going to do?”

Davis, who promised to hold roundtables with stakeholders in different sectors, also faced a difficult challenge from a Tory grandee.

The former chancellor Ken Clarke said that while some “anti-foreigner rhetoric” may have increased the leave vote, that was not the driving factor. He called on Davis to confirm that the government would “not needlessly sacrifice access to a market with 500 million people just to demonstrate that we are turning away foreigners” who British companies needed to employ.

Davis agreed to “wholly condemn” hate crime but said people’s concerns about **immigration** were not “xenophobic”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Theresa May has rejected a points-based migration system from the EU . But she needs to explain her alternative and her plan

There are plenty of reasons why Theresa May’s press conference in Hangzhou [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/no-10-theresa-may-rules-out-points-based-immigration-system-for-britain-brexit], while perfectly competent in most ways, was not the most assured performance of her two-month premiership. She was, after all, attending her first top-level international summit with a group of more practised peers. She had arrived to find many of the G20 leaders in hostile and sceptical mood over Britain’s Brexit vote. She was about to have a sticky encounter over nuclear power with China’s president, Xi Jinping . She had not faced the British press since becoming prime minister. It would have taken someone with the rhinoceros hide of a Keith Vaz [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/keithvaz] not to display a few nerves in such circumstances.

Yet the main reason why Mrs May found herself on the back foot on Monday was wholly political not personal. On her way to China she had told the travelling press that the points-based **immigration** system promoted by the Vote Leave campaign during the EU referendum might not work. On Monday in Hangzhou, speaking from bitter experience from her time as home secretary, she amplified her sceptical view, saying that the trouble with points-based systems is that they take away migration control from governments by allowing people who meet the criteria to have automatic rights of entry.

This stance was important for two reasons. First, it marked a clear break from the position adopted by the Vote Leave campaign, which had put a points-based system at the core of its **immigration** argument. This therefore puts Mrs May potentially at odds with Leavers in her own cabinet and party, including the trade secretary, Liam Fox , and Brexit secretary, David Davis, who campaigned for such a system. It also drew Nigel Farage back in front of the radio microphones and TV cameras – hasn’t he retired to get his life back? – to accuse her of betraying Brexit voters.

Second, it marked the conclusive arrival in the Brexit argument of a phrase that will soon start to haunt Mrs May unless and until she can deliver on it. The electorate voted to leave the EU , she said, because they wanted “some control” over migration from within the EU into the UK. Later, she varied it a little: “an element of control” which could be delivered in “various ways”. Faraway in the House of Commons on Monday, Mr Davis, in a generally anodyne statement on Brexit [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/05/david-davis-brexit-commons-statement-leaving-uk-since-brexit-vote-poll-suggests-politics-live], confirmed it yet again.

If politics was a respectful process in which voters allowed a government the luxury of honing its positions on big issues over time, a phrase like this might not matter too much. Since politics does not work like that, however, and since **immigration** is a toxic issue, the phrase matters. By rejecting the points system Mrs May puts pressure on herself to define the alternative [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/05/uk-immigration-what-are-the-alternatives-to-a-point-based-system]. This will matter to Brexit voters, many of whom cast their votes because of **immigration**, real and imaginary. Their wish was for a lot of control, not some. And it will matter to pro-Brexit press campaigners, full of self-confidence now, who know weasel words when they hear them. They will press the issue until Mrs May reveals how much control is some.

Mrs May has made her own luck this year, with spectacular rewards. She had another piece of luck on Monday, when junior doctors called off the first of their new waves of industrial action [https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/05/junior-doctors-suspend-planned-five-day-strike-in-september], in a dispute on which Mrs May has been unbending. But she will need to tell a lot of people very soon what she means by “some control” [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37277412] if she is not to become a hostage to the ambiguity of the phrase. Mrs May said she would look at all forms of **immigration**, presumably including non-EU, before reaching a decision, while Mr Davis hinted that existing EU nationals in the UK would be able to stay. Nevertheless, a government that has staked its credibility on delivering Brexit, and that has put migration control at the top of its Brexit goals, is running a serious political risk if it does not come up pretty quickly with a solution that will satisfy its voters and activists.

Important though it is, **immigration** is not the only issue here. Brexit is not a tactical issue. It is as large a strategic issue for the country as can be imagined in peacetime. As Mr Davis told MPs on Monday, even remain supporters have an interest in the government doing as good a job as circumstances permit. The increasing worry now, from both sides of the Brexit argument, is that Mrs May doesn’t actually have a plan at all, and that she is pressing forward into the fog without a clear enough idea of her detailed goals. “You don’t know what you’re doing” is a chant from the political terraces that would spell bad news for Mrs May.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Four months ago, after an intervention by the Kindertransport veteran, Britain promised to rescue hundreds of children stranded without parents in the squalor of the Calais **refugee** camp. They are still there – and are losing hope

After two hours walking through the camp in Calais, meeting **refugee** children who have crossed Europe alone, Alf Dubs is exhausted and feeling uncharacteristically despondent. “It is awful. I will have nightmares, and this is just the tip of the iceberg,” he says.

Lord Dubs, the Labour peer who earlier this year masterminded a political coup forcing the government to promise to give sanctuary to some unaccompanied child **refugees**, usually comes across as an upbeat figure, not inclined to wallow in despair. Today he seems momentarily overwhelmed by the horrific situation facing about 860 children[http://i0.wp.com/www.helprefugees.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/census-edit-kids.jpg] living here in second-hand camping tents and flimsy wooden shacks. Given the amount of energy he has dedicated to trying to help them, and the complete absence of any progress to date, he has every reason to feel depressed.

“It is a disgrace. A piece of legislation was passed with enormous public support, and the government has done nothing discernible about it,” he says. As a former child **refugee** himself, brought to Britain from Czechoslovakia on one of the Kindertransport trains in 1939, his sense of anger at the political inaction[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/27/peer-condemns-shocking-delays-over-help-for-unaccompanied-child-refugees] is particularly acute.

After his intervention shamed Cameron’s government into a U-turn, securing a commitment that Britain would give homes to some of the estimated 88,000 child **refugees**[http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-minors-idUKKCN0XT15M] believed to be travelling through Europe, his amendment to the **Immigration** Act was widely celebrated as a rare sign of the government’s humanity. Four months later, none of the qualifying children have arrived in the UK. Worse still, Dubs is dismayed to find, during a meeting with French officials, that there is no system in place for identifying and registering the children in order to see who might be eligible.

His feelings of disappointment are nothing compared with those felt by the hundreds of children, some as young as eight, living here without parents or close relatives, many of whom have been stranded here, just a few hundred metres from Calais town centre and only 30 miles from England, since the end of last year.

Ahead of his visit, volunteers ask some of the youngest children, potentially eligible for help under the “Dubs” amendment, to meet him to help explain the urgency of the situation. Two cousins from Afghanistan, aged nine and 10, who left home more than a year ago and who have been in Calais for 10 months, were due to meet him. After months of trying to survive alone, attempting nightly to smuggle themselves into lorries to try to join an uncle in Britain, they are entirely crushed by their experiences and now mainly speak in reluctant monosyllables, occasionally offering a full sentence.

The younger boy says (through a translator) that he had recently been hit on the knee with a rubber bullet fired by French police. His older cousin says they have tried more than 20 times in the past month to climb on to trucks. They look more unwell and more fragile than a month ago when I met them, their clothes grimier, and new scabs visible on the face of the younger boy.

“I lost my mind here. I don’t remember anything I’ve been doing,” the older boy says. Pushed by the translator to say something else, he adds: “We ran away from war, and no one here has helped us... Now the weather is getting colder.” But he is not inclined to say much and tells the translator: “They ask too many questions, and they aren’t doing anything.”

Another eight-year-old boy from Afghanistan, also left to fend for himself after the older relative he was travelling with succeeded in getting to England, is close to tears, and crouches on the sandy path, playing with stones and poking at the dirt with a stick. One of the volunteers who has worked with him says he feels suicidal.

**Immigration** minister James ­Brokenshire ­acknowledged: 'We have a moral duty to help'

“They need to leave the site now. They are on their own; they have been here through the winter and they are falling apart in front of us. There is no one here to put them to bed and sort their clothes. They are not functioning properly now. I can’t believe that nobody in authority is here sorting this out. The British governmenthas promised to help; the French aren’t coping,” says Liz Clegg[https://mydonate.bt.com/fundraisers/junglewomenscentre], a volunteer from Devon who has spent much of the past year living on the camp, trying to make up for the absence of support from mainstream international agencies.

She and other volunteers have devoted a lot of energy to trying to persuade children to apply for asylum in the France, and hundreds already have, but sometimes children are resistant to logic persuasion when they know their parents have gone heavily into debt, trying to get them to the UK; often they are trying to reach relatives.

Visits from groups of politicians are always emotionally fraught because the children expect help to be forthcoming immediately, and find it hard to understand why nothing is done, Clegg says. She decides that these children are not up to speaking to Dubs, who is visiting alongside Vanessa Redgrave and her daughter Joely Richardson, and the Walthamstow MP Stella Creasy.

Instead, Dubs has a private meeting in a wooden hut with three boys from Eritrea, aged between 13 and 16, who Citizens UK[http://www.citizensuk.org/], the campaign group which has been lobbying for Britain to help unaccompanied children, believe have a good case for being transferred to safety in Britain. Their names, along with those of the cousins from Afghanistan, were on a list of 387 **refugee** children believed to be eligible under the amendment presented by Dubs to the Home Office on Friday.

He leaves the meeting aware they need help urgently. “I felt a terrible sense of hopeless despair on their behalf. They are clearly frightened of violence from older people; they don’t feel safe,” he says. Outside the hut, crowds of people gather to find out what help is on offer. “This boy is 14, what about him?” one older camp residents shouts. “Can you meet my friend who is 12?” another asks.

The problem facing campaigners such as Dubs is immense, and he acknowledges that it is a struggle not to feel overcome by the weight of responsibility.

Fleetingly in May, it appeared that, regardless of political sensitivities around **immigration**, there was a consensus that something needed to done for the lone child **refugees**. With Save The Children estimating that there were 85,000 across Europe, politicians acknowledged that Britain had a responsibility to take its share of stranded children.

Originally, the government rejected Dubs’s amendment on the grounds that France, Greece and Italy are safe countries, until Dubs argued that there was a responsibility to share the burden between countries. The then **immigration** minister, James Brokenshire, acknowledged: “We have a moral duty to help.” Even the Daily Mail launched a campaign[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3562690/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-Mail-s-robust-migration-lost-children-sanctuary.html] to help the children.

The impetus got lost in the Brexit referendum, amid a hardening of attitudes on **immigration**. Local authorities with stretched budgets have yet to offer enough spaces to accommodate more asylum-seeking children. The situation in Calais is volatile and complex, and there is no simple solution. With the camp population now more than 9,000 and rising – higher than it has ever been – alarm among local people is mounting. The roads around the town this week are being blockaded by French farmers[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/05/travel-chaos-warning-as-french-farmers-and-truckers-plan-calais-camp-protest], truck drivers and residents, demanding that the government set a firm date for the camp to be cleared. The French government has said it will be gone by Christmas, but plans for the **refugees** are not clear. Attempts by some migrants to block the road at night and storm on to lorries have become more violent and more frequent, making the area dangerous for lorry drivers.

It’s not surprising they are doing ­everything to cross the Channel. I would be doing the same

Even if the “Dubs” amendment were being actively implemented, children need to have arrived in Europe before 31 March to be eligible, a clause inserted to prevent more parents from sending their children on a perilous journey to come to Britain. But somehow the numbers are rising. Volunteers attempting to register the new unaccompanied children arriving in Calais note that numbers have jumped by about 100 in the past month, with more children coming from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Iraq, and greater numbers of unaccompanied girls.

New reports documenting the dangers of the camp are published every week; on Monday Unicef research[http://www.unicef.org.uk/Media-centre/Press-releases/Children-risking-their-lives-over-2000-times-a-week-to-reach-the-UK/] suggested that the Calais **refugee** children were risking their lives 2,000 times a week to reach Britain, trying to stow away in lorries or jump on trains.

The Home Office says it is in “active discussions” with the UNHCR and Italian, Greek and French governments to “speed up mechanisms to identify, assess and transfer **refugee** children to the UK where this is in their best interests.” But no children have come as a result of the Dubs commitment.

“I was shocked that nothing had happened despite the amendment. There are more people than ever, and the conditions are as awful as ever – children living in shacks, in tents very makeshift, with just one meal a day, often not enough to eat, with no support system except for the volunteers, left to their own devices,” Dubs says.

“Visually, it is pretty awful, hemmed in, with barbed wire along the motorway; what it will be like in the cold and winter, I shudder to think. Human beings can’t survive indefinitely like this. No wonder there is violence in the camp, no wonder they are so desperate to escape. It is not surprising they are doing everything they can to get across the Channel. In their position, I would be doing the same.”

He is reluctant to overstate the similarities between his own experience as a child fleeing war and the ordeal confronting many of these children, but he recognises that his campaign has been given moral weight by his timely reminder of how much Britain had helped Jewish children fleeing the Nazis.

“It was important, politically, to remember that Britain had set a strong humanitarian example in 1938, which undoubtedly saved the lives of many people who would otherwise have ended up in the gas chambers,” he says. “I wanted the argument to stand on its own merits, not just because I was putting it. However, it clearly informed me and made me perhaps more emotionally committed, because I thought about my own background. Britain has given me fantastic opportunities and I would like to think that others who flee could have similar opportunities.”

Related: Peer condemns 'shocking' delays over help for unaccompanied child **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/27/peer-condemns-shocking-delays-over-help-for-unaccompanied-child-refugees]

Dubs came to Europe on a train organised by Nicholas Winton[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/09/british-schindler-nicholas-winton-interview] when he was six, in the summer of 1939, a few months after the Germans had invaded Czechoslovakia. Like the children in Calais, he had very little with him, a few clothes and a knapsack of food, (which he forgot to open on the journey – a sign, he thinks, of how traumatised he was).

He only remembers the journey hazily. “My mother saw me off. I can see my mother with a friend at the station and a soldier with a swastika on the platform. When we got to the Dutch border, the older ones cheered. I had no idea, but they knew it meant something.” Later, he remembers waiting at Liverpool Street station with a name tag around his neck, until his father (who had fled Prague a few months earlier) was allowed to take him back to a bed and breakfast where his father was staying in Belsize Park, north London.

“There is a temptation to make up what you thought at the age of six; actually you don’t remember much. I didn’t know what was happening; I couldn’t understand. I don’t want to pretend I had a sensitivity or wisdom that I didn’t have,” he says. Nevertheless, he believes his experience has given him some understanding of how the unaccompanied children in Calais are feeling. “Some of them were helped to flee by their parents or by traffickers, because they feared death, war, bombings – not totally different motivations from mine. I see them, and I see think there but for the grace of God...”

He takes some inspiration from Winton’s campaign. “It was a matter of luck that he was persuaded to give up a skiing holiday to go to Prague and he saw for himself what was happening. He set about working extremely hard to overcome the resistance of the British government and the suspicion of the Germans.”

This is not a place for living. The human is not created to live like this

In some ways, it might have been easier for Winton, because “**immigration** wasn’t the political issue on which the administration had staked its reputation”, Dubs says. “But he took on the British authorities almost single-handedly and got them to agree. He was an exceptional individual who made things happen when a lesser person would not have bothered.”

Winton’s MP was Theresa May, and Dubs met her first at his 103rd birthday party. While May was home secretary, he met her twice to talk about his amendment; the second time, under considerable political pressure, she agreed to include it in the **immigration** bill. He is uncertain about the strength of her ongoing commitment to the issue.

In a wooden hut, set up by volunteers as a safe meeting space for the children travelling alone, a couple of dozen boys, mostly in their early teens, are waiting for food, half-watching a Bollywood film involving a flying taxi; some are curious about the visit from British politicians.

Among them is 13-year-old Jawaad (not his real name) from Afghanistan, who learned English from his father, a Nato translator who has been pursued by the Taliban for working with western forces, and who has separately fled the country. “Is it true that the government will pick up the right boys and take them legally?” he asks, in careful, grammatically correct English.

He says he his too tired and frightened to continue attempting to travel to the UK illegally. “Every second you are scared that something dangerous will happen to you. The French police, they are familiar with beating. When the police started beating dangerously, a lot of the underage boys stopped trying to go illegally. They don’t care if you are a child or a grownup. They send dogs after us. The dog’s mouth is covered but they can get you with their nails.”

He is clear about why Calais is not a suitable place for children travelling alone. “From the time I arrived in Calais, I don’t have a happy moment. Every day I spend in sorrow, thinking about my family and how to reach the UK.” Intelligent, and very motivated, he is particularly frustrated at not being to able to study; eventually he hopes to become a doctor.

Asked what message he would give to the British government, he thinks for a while before offering a clear summary of the problem, fluently articulated. “If I could directly speak to the British government, my suggestion is that the government should help the underage boys because they have no father, mother or brothers to help them here. Calais is full of dangers and difficulties. When we want to take a shower, we cannot. We have no money for anything. When we want to call our parents, we are not able to. We have no relatives here.

“This is not a place for living. The human is not created to live like this. In my room in Afghanistan, I had electricity, I could study night and day. I had a beautiful bed, I slept comfortably. Here I have a tent. I have only a blanket, and the clothes I am sleeping in. When it is raining heavily sometimes the water comes inside the tent. Sometimes when you are late for the food, you will be hungry. At home, I never lived like this. It is too strange.”

Returning home would be extremely dangerous. “I don’t want to go to back to Afghanistan. I couldn’t be alive for a moment back there. The Taliban forced my father to leave his job. I don’t know where he is now.”

Volunteers who have been trying to help the children, struggling without the support of international aid agencies, are jaundiced by the lack of progress on the “Dubs” amendment. “I’d love to say I was surprised,” says Karen Moynihan, who works with children in a youth centre on the camp. “There have been lots of politicians with good intentions, but, on the ground, very little has changed.”

Volunteers are becoming used to seeing children with cuts to their heads from falling off lorries, or complaining of having been sprayed in the face with pepper spray, she says. “Now we just say: ‘Are you OK?’ It has become normalised. These are, without doubt, the most appalling conditions for young children to be living in.”

Dubs leaves the camp determined to keep fighting to ensure that at least some of the children are helped. “These kids are having a terrible time. There’s no safety, no security. The situation we saw today is terrible. It is a disgrace to Europe to have 9,000 people with so many children living in those conditions.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Analysis reveals Daily Express and Daily Mail lead the way in negative coverage of asylum-seekers, **refugees** and **immigrants**

I must commend this terrific analysis by a former Sunday Times colleague, Liz Gerard: The press and **immigration**: reporting the news or fanning the flames of hatred?[http://www.sub-scribe.co.uk/2016/09/the-press-and-immigration-reporting.html]

It runs to almost 3,500 words and makes for uncomfortable reading. But journalists should make the effort because it is a factual account of truly industrial-scale misreporting and misrepresentation.

Her meticulous research, complemented by reproductions of front pages and statistical graphs, is a fine piece of work worthy of being a Phd proposal.

By looking back to the coverage of **immigration** since the May 2010 general election, she has been able to reveal a disturbing pattern of wholly negative articles about **refugees** seeking asylum in Britain.

The worst culprits were the Daily Express, which splashed on migration issues on 179 occasions, and the Daily Mail, with 122 splashes. She writes:

“The Sun and Star see footballers and reality TV stars as better sellers, but are generally hostile [to **immigration**]. The Telegraph is not quite as fevered as the white-top tabloids, but shares their outlook. The Guardian, i and Independent are all generally sympathetic, while the Times tries to steer a middle course.”

As for the Daily Mirror, it is “the one paper that has shunned front-page stories about migration”.

Recognising that “there is a groundswell of opinion that something needs to happen to stop this dangerous drip-feed of negative headlines”, Gerard asks: what is to be done?

Her first approach was to the Independent Press Standards Organisation (Ipso), only to discover that it avoids getting involved in what might be termed “general” complaints.

As for the alternative regulator, Impress, which has yet to finalise its code of conduct, its complaints officer “was hopeful that the end product would be strong enough to tackle such drip-feed effects.” But it transpired that Impress, like Ipso, is wary of dealing with complaints “based on a collection of articles.”

There is more, much more, to appreciate in her article. And she promises yet more in future.

Let me finish with one of the examples turned up by Gerard that illustrates how the Express, in its desperation to publish anti-migrant material, happily regurgitates “news” stories.

On 23 November 2010, it carried a splash “A gypsy’s mansion built on benefits” with an inside spread showing two pictures of the alleged house.

On 30 March 2016, the Express “You pay for Roma gypsy palaces” with an inside spread also carrying two pictures.

Gerard writes: “Doesn’t the house and its interior look familiar?” Indeed they do.

The second use in the Express was doubtless prompted by a Sun spread (“Dun Roma-ing”) the day before. After all, one of the depressing features of anti-migrant stories is that newspapers have a habit of endlessly repeating them.

Anyway, please click now to Liz Gerard’s piece.[http://www.sub-scribe.co.uk/2016/09/the-press-and-immigration-reporting.html]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**German chancellor facing tougher fight for fourth term after her perceived ‘open door’ to **refugees** is blamed for humiliation in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern

Even a month ago, it seemed merely a matter of time before Angela Merkel announced she was running for a fourth term in next year’s election. But after her party’s humiliating defeat in a regional election[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/mecklenburg-vorpommern-german-anti-immigrant-party-strong-regional-election-exit-polls-merkel] in the north east, which was seen by many as a damning indictment of her management of the **refugee** crisis, things are suddenly a lot less clear.

It is important to put Sunday’s result in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern – where Merkel’s Christian Democratic Union (CDU) came third behind the centre-left Social Democrats and rightwing populists Alternative für Deutschland – into perspective. In the power dynamics of German federal politics, “Meck-Pomm” is a sparsely populated, relatively unimportant state, home to only 2% of the overall population.

Related: Angela Merkel's party beaten by rightwing populists in German elections[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/mecklenburg-vorpommern-german-anti-immigrant-party-strong-regional-election-exit-polls-merkel]

A deep-dive into the final result reveals the Social Democrats, who came out top, actually lost a higher share of support than Merkel’s party, as did leftwing Die Linke. The municipalities that tacked overwhelmingly to the right were all on the Polish border, while the western half of the state, where wages are higher due to the proximity of wealthy Hamburg, stuck to the centrist parties.

On top of all this, in a state where voters have historically had less of a problem casting their vote for far-right parties, almost 70% of voters opted for parties that had backed the chancellor during the **refugee** crisis.

Süddeutsche Zeitung called[http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/rechtspopulismus-das-massaker-1.3148495] for the result, which was described as a debacle for Merkel by many, to be considered in light of these factors. “Modern German democracy has survived several supposed nightmares,” it wrote. “The AfD likes to spread fear. We don’t have [to] automatically allow ourselves to be infected”.

Sometimes, however, symbolism can trump psephological nuance. Coming exactly a year after the German government decided to keep open its borders to thousands of **refugees** stranded in Budapest, and taking place in the state of Merkel’s own constituency, the election in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern has several troubling implications for the chancellor.

Merkel’s CDU and its Bavarian sister party, the CSU, had traditionally always ensured there was no room on the right of the political spectrum for any other party. That it has been outflanked by the AfD is seen by many as complacency with potentially historic consequences.

Figures on the right of the CDU, such as the popular outgoing MP Wolfgang Bosbach[http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article157952812/Historisches-Datum-wenn-CDU-hinter-AfD-landet.html] and finance ministry deputy Jens Spahn[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/28/jens-spahn-man-who-could-replace-merkel-interview-germany], maintain that while Merkel made the right call on **refugees** last September, she should have been quicker to clarify that Germany’s open borders were a temporary emergency measure.

Related: 'Either you're pro-**refugee**, or against': Bavarian town split after year of border controls[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/01/freilassing-the-bavarian-community-at-the-sharp-end-of-the-refugee-crisis]

This analysis glosses over the situation on Germany’s southern borders, where by gradually restricting the list of countries[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/29/germany-tightens-borders-as-finland-joins-sweden-in-deporting-refugees] who can apply for asylum, Berlin has quietly shifted some of the burden of unwanted migration to Austria.

Yet Sunday’s election has shown that even in a state like Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, largely insulated from the **refugee** crisis and whose CDU-run interior ministry is known for efficient asylum processing, many voters are unwilling to forget about the temporary loss of political control personified by the chancellor.

That 20.8% of the vote went for the AfD, Die Welt[http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article157952565/Wahldebakel-ist-fuer-Merkel-peinlich-und-eine-Warnung.html] newspaper wrote on Monday, “makes it clear that the ghosts of the past have nowhere near been banished… The attempt to historicise the **refugee** crisis, as many speeches at the start of the election campaign in early July implied, fails to register with the electorate. On the **refugee** question, it is key to answer what lies ahead. But that alone is not enough. It will also be about assessing and engaging with the decisions of the past”.

After more than a decade at the top of German politics, Merkel has successfully weathered crisis after crisis by gently applying the brakes when others would have stepped on the gas, containing conflicts by pragmatic compromise rather than dramatic intervention.

The metaphor frequently employed – as the chancellor did after Britain’s vote to leave the European Union – was of limiting the “centrifugal forces”[http://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/international/brexit-referendum/brexit-news/eu-austritt-der-briten-merkel-warnt-vor-fliehkraeften-in-der-eu/13793742.html] inherent in a crisis. That is precisely why the turbulent weeks of September last year, when the German state seemed to have temporarily lost control of the political situation in Europe, has done such lasting damage to hear appeal.

Related: 'It took on a life of its own': how one rogue tweet led Syrians to Germany[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/25/it-took-on-a-life-of-its-own-how-rogue-tweet-led-syrians-to-germany]

If the immediate aftermath of Sunday’s election is anything to go by, more and more German politicians will try to make the **refugee** issue central to Merkel’s persona – with unknowable consequences for a putative fourth term bid.

The CSU has – unusually – said it would not confirm its backing of the CDU’s candidate (presumably Merkel) until next spring. According to a poll published last Friday, just 44% of the German public believed Merkel would win a fourth term; though tellingly, none of her potential rivals, in her own party or the opposition, scored any better.

Even the broadly liberal news weekly Der Spiegel, often a staunch defender of the chancellor’s course throughout the crisis, is suggesting that Merkel may want to “do a Schweini”. The footballer Bastian Schweinsteiger recently took his bow from a glittering international career in a tearful testimonial match, during which the crowds chanted the Germany captain’s name.

“If he had stayed longer, he would have done neither himself nor his country a favour”. Maybe, the magazine wrote in an editorial, the time had come for the chancellor to learn a lesson from her favourite footballer.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Theresa May promises better way of imposing ‘some control’ over arrivals to UK after being accused of backsliding on issue

Theresa May has ruled out a points-based **immigration** system supported by the official Brexit campaign, while promising a more effective way of bringing “some control” over the number of people coming to the UK.

The prime minister was accused of backsliding on promises made by Vote Leave after she cast doubt on the effectiveness[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/04/theresa-may-refuses-to-guarantee-brexit-pledges-on-immigration-and-nhs] of a system admitting people on the basis of their skills and refused to commit an extra £100m to the NHS.

Speaking at a press conference on Monday at the G20, May insisted that she opposed a points-based system because it did not give the government enough of a say over who comes to Britain. Shaking her head at the claim that she was going soft on controlling **immigration**, the prime minister said: “What the British people voted for on 23 June was to bring some control into the movement of people from the EU to the UK. A points-based system does not give you that control.”

In an attempt to illustrate her point, May said Heathrow staff had told her and David Cameron that **immigrants** were abusing student visa rules through a points-based system.

“But because they met the criteria, they were automatically let in,” she said. “That’s the problem with a points-based system. I want a system where the government is able to decide who comes into the country. I think that’s what the British people want.”

After the former Ukip leader Nigel Farage suggested that the prime minister was betraying leave voters, No 10 issued a statement on Monday saying the government would devise an **immigration** system that gave it more control than a points-based system.

“One of the opportunities of Brexit is that we will be able to control the number of people coming to Britain from the EU. The precise way in which the government will control the movement of EU nationals to Britain after Brexit is yet to be determined. However, as the PM has said many times in the past, a points-based system will not work and is not an option,” a No 10 spokeswoman said.

“When Labour introduced a points-based **immigration** system, the numbers went straight up. In Australia, they have a points-based system and they have higher **immigration** per capita than Britain. A points-based system would give foreign nationals the right to come to Britain if they meet certain criteria. An **immigration**system that works for Britain would ensure that the right to decide who comes to the country resides with the government.”

A points-based system applying to migrants from across the world was first suggested by Ukip and quickly championed by the leave campaign, spearheaded by the foreign secretary, Boris Johnson.

It would have allowed equal access to the UK[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jul/12/uk-immigration-system-not-points-based-minister] based on certain criteria, such as skills and qualifications, without giving any special access to those from the EU.

Farage said: “Theresa May’s track record on **immigration** as home secretary was appalling and her comments rejecting an Australian-style points system really worry me.

“There is already huge anxiety out there in the country regarding Theresa May’s reluctance to trigger article 50. Her rejection of the type of migration system so many went out there and voted leave to see implemented indicates serious backsliding.”

Remain campaigners also seized on May’s comments as a sign that people who voted for Brexit had been misled.

Chuka Umunna, the Labour MP and chair of campaign group Vote Leave Watch, said: “Boris Johnson and his Vote Leave colleagues spent the whole referendum campaign making impossible promises they knew they couldn’t keep. It’s now clear that very few of their pledges were worth the paper they were written on.

“Theresa May cannot be let off the hook either. After barely campaigning for remain, our unelected prime minister now contemptuously dismisses policies such as increasing spending on the NHS which people voted on in good faith and great numbers.”

No 10 sources said May was still intending to honour the essence[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/31/restricting-immigration-will-be-at-heart-of-brexit-deal-theresa-may-says] of what people voted for by bringing in a system that would be more effective at curbing **immigration**[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/09/no-guarantee-points-based-system-reduce-net-migration-experts-warn] than the Vote Leave and Ukip idea. Theoretically, this could include a work permit or visa system, restrictions on entry to those with job offers, a quota system or an emergency brake.

However, the prime minister has given no details about how this might be done and has not answered the crucial question of whether the government could give preferential access to EU citizens over those from the rest of the world.

The dilemma for May is that a number of EU states have indicated that the UK will not get preferential terms for trading without accepting at least a degree of free movement[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/31/after-article-50-the-eu-trade-and-movement-deals-the-uk-could-seek] for EU citizens.

Carlo Calenda, the Italian economic development minister, told Bloomberg: “We cannot waste two years by negotiating with the UK how to maintain them inside without them wanting to be inside. We cannot afford this paradox … The more they are going to regulate and limit the presence of EU citizens in the UK, the more we are going to limit the presence of UK goods into Europe.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**How can the UK better manage migration now that Theresa May has ruled out a points-based system?

The decision by leading leave campaigners such as Boris Johnson to endorse Nigel Farage’s policy of an Australian points-based system for a post-Brexit British approach to **immigration** was one of the bigger surprises of the referendum campaign.

For, as experts such as the Migration Observatory have pointed out[http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/commentaries/uk-immigration-policy-look-like-brexit/], points-based systems have been used by countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand with liberal migration policies looking to admit more people than come under company-sponsored work permits alone.

Related: Theresa May promises only 'some control' over EU migration post-Brexit - Politics live[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2016/sep/05/david-davis-brexit-commons-statement-leaving-uk-since-brexit-vote-poll-suggests-politics-live]

On one calculation, introducing a scaled-up Australian system in Britain could actually double annual **immigration** to the UK to 1.5 million or more.

So it is no wonder that on Monday at her G20 press conference in Hangzhou, the prime minister decisively rejected a points-based **immigration** system.

She argued that the “tick-box” approach of allowing in everyone who meets the criteria was a recipe for abuse, citing the example of “bogus overseas students”. She said that a new **immigration** policy would involve Britain “regaining an element of control” over EU migrants coming into the country.

So what’s wrong with a points-based system? The Australians introduced theirs in 1979 with the aim of attracting skilled migrants from anywhere on the planet. It has certainly helped grow their population to the point where those born overseas now account for 28% of the population – double the British share.

The idea of points-based system – under which migrants who score highest on qualifications, experience, youth, education and language fluency are offered permanent citizenship – sounds fair but even the Australians have moved away from that model.

For it is a system that means the state, rather than employers, must decide whether childcare centre managers, electrical engineers or even ballerinas are in short supply and should be opened to migrants. Companies sometimes don’t share the state’s assessment of an individual’s overseas experience or qualifications, and in 2013 more than 13% of those who arrived under the points system were unemployed.

In fact, the Australians have now introduced an employer-led system of temporary and permanent work visas that have left the points-based system covering only 15% of all migrants entering Australia.

As Alp Mehmet of the anti-migration group Migration Watch UK has put it[http://www.migrationwatchuk.org/press-release/398] : “A points-based system might suit the Australians who are trying to increase their population but, in fact, it is extremely complex and would be a non-starter for the UK. Yet another rehash of such a system would be a disaster.”

But Britain has a points-based system for non-EU migration so why not for EU migration? As the prime minister knows only too well, the points-based system for skilled non-EU jobs in Britain introduced in 2008 is already full of holes and exceptions.

Its cap of 20,700 on tier-two skilled migrants has only recently been reached as exceptions have been repeatedly made in the face of business pressure, notably intra-company transfers and lately to recruit NHS nurses. This was also criticised by the Conservatives as a mechanical “tick-box” **immigration** system that fails to recognise the complexities of migration.

So if not a points-based system to reduce Britain’s near record level of 327,00 net migration a year, then what? The main options being canvassed are:

Work permits: As advocated by Lord Green, the chairman of MigrationWatch UK, who proved highly influential in shaping May’s **immigration** policies as home secretary. He has suggested a Brexit negotiating position that opens with an offer of free movement for European Union tourists, students, pensioners and other self-sufficient people on the basis that it is reciprocated.

But that would be accompanied by a proposal that all entry to the UK to work for both EU and non-EU citizens should be subject to the present points-based system of work permits with the cap expanded as necessary. Cap to be decided not by business but by national need. Green claims this could cut net migration by 100,000. A further deep cut would be achieved by a much tougher regime against non-EU students who fail to leave at the end of their studies. Imposing work permits on EU citizens would, however, breach EU free movement rules and so likely lead to highly restricted access to Europe’s single market for goods and services.

“The issue is confidence in the government’s intention to reduce **immigration** from the EU. This is what the public voted on, not on a particular system. In fact, the prime minister was right to indicate that the Australian points-based system is not appropriate for the UK. The way forward is to expand and adapt our present work permit system. In reality, this will be simpler and more effective,” said Green on Monday.

Restricting free movement from the EU: May herself spelled out a year ago how she thought that Britain could close the door to unskilled labour from within the European Union without losing the UK’s access to the single market.

“Reducing net EU migration need not mean undermining the principle of free movement,” she said in a Sunday Times article.[http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/world\_news/article1600014.ece] “When it was first enshrined, free movement meant the freedom to move to a job, not the freedom to cross borders to look for work or claim benefits. Yet last year, four out of 10 EU migrants – 63,000 people – came here with no definite job offer whatsoever.”

The latest figures show that the proportion of EU migrants to come to work in Britain in a specific job has risen to more than 70%, with 176,000 having a definite job offer in their pocket. The other 127,000 who came in the last 12 months were looking for work in Britain and most of them found one.

An outright ban on the 127,000 who came looking for work is highly likely to breach EU treaties on free movement. But a system in which labour migrants who arrive without a job have to register on a Home Office database, perhaps be issued with an identity card and be obliged to go home if unable to find a job within a few months, might fall within the kind of reform of the EU’s free-movement rules that Britain could put on the table in the Brexit negotiations.

Emergency brake: This option has been backed by both ends of the political spectrum. The Institute of Public Policy Research has argued for Britain to negotiate to be able trigger a temporary halt in EU migration in particular occupations, sectors or locations where wages are being undercut. The Adam Smith Institute has argued for the UK to join the European Economic Area whose members have the power to exercise an emergency brake on any of the four “freedoms” including freedom of movement.

The IPPR’s emergency brake will require constant sectoral and local analysis of labour market wage levels. It also raises questions about who takes the decision to operate the brake and for how long. A decision by Britain alone is likely to produce retaliatory action with countries across the EU closing their doors to British workers. David Cameron raised the question in his pre-Brexit vote tour of the EU and came back with a limited offer of an emergency brake on benefits – no payments for the first four years. But even that faced threats of legal challenges from other EU states.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Opening of fictional case in which Helen faces jail for stabbing husband Rob renews pleas from domestic abuse charities. Tell us your thoughts

The trial of Radio 4 drama The Archers’ [https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/the-archers] character Helen Titchener, who stabbed her abusive husband[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/04/rob-helen-archers-domestic-abuse] in an end to a year long storyline on domestic violence, began on Sunday. The storyline prompted a national debate about domestic abuse[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/mar/11/domestic-abuse-in-the-archers-how-the-radio-show-is-helping-women-spot-the-signs], a huge fundraising campaign and a push for prison reform.

The story’s far-reaching impact was highlighted in May when Titchener’s treatment led the justice secretary, Michael Gove[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/michaelgove], to push for greater prison reform. In February, the prime minister, David Cameron, called for a rethink[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-35515003] of the way the prison system treats pregnant women and mothers with babies. Ministry of Justice figures suggest 100 babies spent time living with their mothers in prisons in 2015.

Rob Titchener claimed that Helen threatened to stop him seeing the child she was carrying and that he tried to restrain her to protect her from herself. But his mask slipped briefly as he responded angrily to questions from the defence about his quick temper.

Helen faces up to 12 years in jail for attempted murder, as well as the certainty of giving birth while in custody.

Public reaction has been mixed. To some, The Archers episode on Sunday was an unnerving wake-up call on the issue of domestic violence, prompting fans of the show to raise more than £90,000 for the shelter **Refuge**[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/mar/31/fans-of-the-archers-raise-more-than-80000-for-domestic-abuse-charity]. But to others it presented an unrealistic and sensational portrayal[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/apr/03/ambridge-a-bit-too-eastenders], with some critics arguing that it is more likely that victims die rather than their abuser. And in real life, escaping an abuser doesn’t end with a cheery soundtrack; victims will carry the memories for ever, with some never fully recovering from the abuse.

If you have an experience you’d like to share you can fill in the form below anonymously. And if you work in domestic violence services we’d like to hear what your job is like, especially in an era of cuts. You can alternatively email: carmen.fishwick@theguardian.com

\* The freephone 24-hour national domestic violence helpline, run in partnership between Women’s Aid and **Refuge**, can be reached on 0808 2000 247.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Arkadiusz Józwik died after an attack in Harlow. The government must not allow xenophobes to set the tone since the Brexit vote

Let me start with a disclaimer. We still do not know what was the motive behind the attack on a group of Polish men in Harlow[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/30/five-teenage-boys-arrested-after-man-dies-following-attack-in-essex] over the bank holiday weekend that resulted in the death of 40-year-old Arkadiusz Józwik. It could be a hate crime, but not necessarily. But to many of the hundreds who gathered on Saturday to take part in a silent, emotional march through Harlow’s streets, one thing is clear: the problem with post-referendum racism is real. Hours after the march there were reports[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/04/assault-on-polish-men-harlow-possible-hate-crime] of another attack on two Polish men in the town which is also being investigated as a hate crime.

I have visited Harlow three times over the past week. Once a New Labour base in Essex, the working-class town is now a Tory seat which had an overwhelming support of 68%[http://www.harlowstar.co.uk/eu-referendum-result-harlow-votes-to-leave-the-eu/story-29439168-detail/story.html] for leaving the European Union. At the same time, it sits in the top 30 local authorities in England and Wales with the greatest proportion of Eastern European nationals.

Related: Harlow death exposes left-behind town where residents live in fear[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/31/harlow-death-arkadiusz-jozwik-exposes-left-behind-town-where-residents-live-in-fear]

These migrants will openly tell you about the verbal abuse they have faced from some individuals who wrongly feel empowered by the Brexit vote to express their racist and xenophobic views as if they were a legitimate position of the majority. “Even if they mean it as a joke,” as one person told me, “how funny is it if your boss asks you at 2am on the referendum night when is your next bus back home and whether you have your bags packed already?”

“They would ask if your passport was valid, or if you were happy to finally go home, to your people,” another said, adding that after the referendum even a stupid quarrel with a neighbour could easily escalate to abuses and being told to “fuck off” to their country.

Police, they said, would rarely ever treat their reports seriously. Overwhelmed by incidents seen as “more serious” and operating with scarce resources, they would push it down the priority list for as long as possible, leaving the victims of such hatred feeling more unwelcome, vulnerable, and scared.

Silent march in #Harlow[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Harlow?src=hash] in memory of Arkadiusz Józwik. United against violence and hate. #PolesinUK[https://twitter.com/hashtag/PolesinUK?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/bFoWghWs9b[https://t.co/bFoWghWs9b] — Polish Embassy UK (@PolishEmbassyUK) September 3, 2016[https://twitter.com/PolishEmbassyUK/status/772098096012595200]

Even one Polish journalist attending the march on Saturday said he had been verbally abused. As he was speaking Polish with his son, he was called an “invader” by an older woman. “I gave you no permission to come here, you lot,” she stressed.

Maybe she personally did not, but it is worth bearing in mind that migrants have not come here against the will of the British people. To the contrary: it was the British government’s decision to support the enlargement of the EU in 2004 – having previously advocated for it for years – and to open the borders for foreign workers immediately, unlike most other countries who waited to limit the push/pull factors for migration at the time.

Since then Britain has benefited enormously from the presence of EU migrants, as all independent statistics show, including an Office for National Statisticsestimation of a £2.5bn net contribution[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/522811/HMRC-Ad\_Hoc\_Stats\_Release-EEA\_Nationals\_net\_contribution\_2013-2014.pdf] to the budget from EU migrants, every single year. Yet despite the hard data, some people are still not happy with the situation and this is partially why they voted to leave the EU. Let me reassure them: for all the migrants I talked to, Brexit indeed does mean Brexit. We need to clarify what it actually means, but there is no way back, and we all respect that decision.

But it also means that all rights of those who chose Britain as their home must be kept, just as they were legally acquired, and their personal dignity must be respected. Future freedom of movement may or may not be up for negotiation, but those who have already invested their future here are not going anywhere. The reported decision of the Harlow victim’s family to bury the Polish man over here, and not back in Poland because they see Britain as their home now, makes this point powerfully.

Related: Latest assault on Polish men in Harlow investigated as possible hate crime[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/04/assault-on-polish-men-harlow-possible-hate-crime]

Hate incidents once in motion are difficult to stop, and may escalate quickly and seriously. Mixed with local troubles – such as youth gangs, general disenchantment, and the negative consequences of cuts undermining public services – it makes for a potentially lethal cocktail.

It is worth asking yourself one question about the Harlow killing. Even if the men were not picked on by the gang solely because of their nationality, can we forcefully rule out that their “foreignness” has not in any way contributed to the brutality of the assault? If we cannot, it should make us all reflect on how we talk about **immigration**. The referendum is over, the decision has been made, scaremongering about “bloody **immigrants**” for political purposes is no longer needed.

The government needs to urgently reassure migrant communities across Britain with unconditional and precise guarantees about their future. Otherwise, people will be making their own visions of what Brexit means – including the minor group of xenophobes, misusing the referendum vote to legitimise their sick views. It is in everyone’s interest to avoid that.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Despite recent campaign resignations, don’t expect a pivot to the center: there will be more fiery rhetoric and impulsive outbursts as election day nears Clinton in the final stretch: winning over anti-Trump voters may be best play

As the presidential election enters the home stretch, Donald Trump’s campaign is in a vulnerable position. In recent weeks, the Republican nominee has changed key aides[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/26/steve-bannon-florida-registered-vote-donald-trump] yet again, flip-flopped on his signature issue of **immigration**[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/04/donald-tump-immigration-mixed-messages-republicans] and stayed well behind Hillary Clinton in fundraising, organization and polling[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/donald-trump-nascar-north-carolina-republicans].

Trump is by no means out of the race, but his path to victory relies as much on Clinton missteps as on his own successes. That means he now has a clear goal. He is not going to try to be a normal candidate. There will be no attempt to pivot to the center. There will not be a softer side.

Trump will be the same fiery demagogue that tore up the Republican primary. The goal will not be to dam his torrent of political incorrectness. It will be to channel it, to produce maximum appeal to voters.

The biggest change in the Trump campaign in recent weeks was the replacement[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/19/paul-manafort-resigns-donald-trump-campaign] of top aide Paul Manafort with a two-headed team, pollster Kellyanne Conway as campaign manager and rightwing publisher Steve Bannon as campaign CEO. The two took over in mid-August, after a series of revelations about Manafort’s ties to allies of Russian president Vladimir Putin[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/16/donald-trump-campaign-paul-manafort-ukraine-yanukovich].

A veteran of Republican campaigns since 1976, Manafort was brought on to help guide the campaign through the arcane process of delegate selection for the Republican convention in Cleveland. He was then able to push out Corey Lewandowski, Trump’s previous campaign manager, who was known for his brash, hard-charging style.

Manafort is known for his charisma, but he was not able to bring it to bear on Trump. Before the billionaire clinched the nomination, Manafort promised top Republicans[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/21/trump-campaign-republican-establishment-election-strategy] his candidate was putting on “an act” for primary voters. Trump was reportedly furious, and therefore did his utmost to demonstrate that he was just being himself.

Trump subsequently meandered from controversy to controversy, a situation not helped by the fact that unlike Lewandowski, Manafort did not travel with him. It is almost unheard for campaign managers to travel with their candidate, but no candidate in American history has been so impulsive as Trump.

The result? To name just two controversies, Trump claimed a federal judge was biased against him because of his Mexican heritage[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/03/donald-trump-judge-curiel-university-case-biased-mexican] and insulted the family[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/31/donald-trump-father-muslim-us-soldier-khizr-khan-soul] of an American soldier who died in Iraq. And so Manafort was pushed out, along with other veteran operatives such as Rick Gates and Mike McSherry.

Related: Trump's new hire David Bossie has decades-long history attacking Clintons[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/03/citizens-united-david-bossie-trump-campaign]

The resulting shakeup also brought in David Bossie[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/03/citizens-united-david-bossie-trump-campaign], a long-time anti-Clinton operative. As a result, the campaign’s brains trust, which also includes Trump’s son-in-law Jared Kushner[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/05/jared-kushner-new-york-observer-jewish-antisemitism], has no experience working a for a presidential candidate in a general election. It is however well-attuned to Trump’s idiosyncratic ways.

One of the biggest changes is that Trump now uses a teleprompter when speaking, even at his raucous campaign rallies. Although he has long disdained the device and boasted of his ability to improvise every night, thanks to the arrival of Conway he has finally been persuaded to stick to something resembling a script.

No one, of course, should mistake Trump for an automaton. He uses his prepared remarks in the same way John Coltrane used the sheet music to My Favorite Things: as the basis for a series of wild riffs. But the presence of the teleprompter means that Trump at least gets back to the basic notes, rather than off on a politically costly solo.

The most glaring sign Trump’s new reliance on technology came at the end of August, at an Iowa fundraiser for Senator Joni Ernst that was held in a barn on the state fairgrounds, where livestock normally compete for blue ribbons. Politician after politician took the stage to cheers from crowd sitting on benches on the dirt floor, wolfing down barbecued pork sandwiches. As Trump’s appearance drew near, technicians suddenly appeared and installed a teleprompter. At such an informal event, it was a jarring site.

In terms of policy, the candidate has returned to the “let Trump be Trump” tactics that defined his campaign in the primary. This was most clear in his **immigration**speech in Phoenix on Wednesday, where Trump definitely took a hardline stance[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-vows-to-deport-millions-during-first-hour-in-office-in-hardline-speech], a doubling down on the inflammatory rhetoric that drove his surge to the nomination.

Proclaiming “there will be no amnesty”, parading family members of Americans killed by illegal **immigrants**, he framed the issue[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/in-arizona-we-saw-the-real-donald-trump-the-one-we-already-knew] not as “a humanitarian crisis”, as he said earlier that day in Mexico, or even an economic one. Instead, it was about public safety and the “wellbeing of the American people”.

In the aftermath of a speech that showed little potential to improve poll numbers among Latino voters, a number of members of Trump’s Hispanic advisory council resigned. A recent poll showed only 19% of Hispanics[http://www.latimes.com/nation/politics/trailguide/la-na-trailguide-updates-1472827916-htmlstory.html] supporting Trump. In 2004, George W Bush won 44%. In one recent poll, Trump’s approval rating among African Americans was zero[http://fusion.net/story/341993/trump-public-policy-polling-0-percent/]. To win, he will have to run the table with white voters.

Trump does appeal to disconnected blue-collar white voters. While diverse states like Colorado and Virginia, swing states in past cycles, have moved off the map, Trump is showing staying power in places such as Iowa[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/28/donald-trump-iowa-republican-red-state] and Nevada, which have recently leaned Democratic. The problem is that those states have comparatively few votes in the electoral college. He is also being significantly out-organized and out-fundraised by the Clinton political juggernaut.

Related: Married couples more politically split this election, thanks to Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/04/donald-trump-support-marriage-ipsos-poll]

His one advantage is Clinton. Trump may be the most unpopular presidential candidate in modern American history, but Clinton is the second-most unpopular. No less than 68% of Americans[https://www-google-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwjVramepfLOAhXL1CYKHXITBhwQFggcMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.washingtonpost.com%2Fnews%2Fthe-fix%2Fwp%2F2016%2F07%2F25%2F4-brutal-poll-numbers-that-greet-hillary-clinton-at-the-democratic-national-convention%2F&usg=AFQjCNF3LYkvtxduzuAbFlrG4LS35sas1g&sig2=avFhpcUS4ooeR2Bcx27UxQ&bvm=bv.131783435,d.eWE] think the Democratic nominee isn’t honest and trustworthy and with her email scandal[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/02/hillary-clinton-emails-laptop-thumb-drive-archive-missing] showing no sign of abating, the Democrat will come under continued scrutiny until election day itself.

Trump’s path to victory is still narrow. But if there is one thing Trump has shown in the past year, it’s that an underfunded, out-organized campaign can throw caution to the wind, and ride a never-ending twister of controversy to beat an establishment opponent. That worked in the Republican primary. Can it work in November?

One thing is clear: Trump is more confident pursuing an outlandish, unconventional approach than he is if he acts like a normal politician.

Key players Kellyanne Conway, campaign manager; Steve Bannon, campaign CEO; Jared Kushner, son-in-law; Roger Ailes, former Fox News chief.

Signature policies Building a wall and having Mexico pay for it; renegotiating free trade agreements; “bombing the hell out of Isis” and “taking their oil”.

Strongest point Able to garner free media with a single tweet.

Weakest point Has hit record lows with minority voters, reaching 0% in one recent poll of African Americans. Is also is being massively outspent and outorganized by Clinton.

Core supporters Blue-collar white males.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With 64 days to the election, the nominee’s attack on the senator from the swing state of Arizona is a risky strategy

Donald Trump has entered a bitter war of words with Republican senator Jeff Flake as the Republican nominee reverted to his behavior in the primary where he constantly attacked GOP elected officials.

Trump used Twitter[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/772571293438840832] Sunday to blast Flake, a first term senator from Arizona who has yet to commit to supporting Trump in November, as “very weak and ineffective” on the issue of **immigration**.

Trump also tweeted[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/772556213313765377] “The Republican Party needs strong and committed leaders, not weak people such as @JeffFlake, if it is going to stop illegal **immigration**,” after Flake criticized the Republican nominee in an interview Sunday with CBS’s John Dickerson.

In the interview, Flake said Trump’s habit of changing his message on **immigration** was confusing for voters.

“It’s kind of a 360-degree pivot at times. That’s not clear at all. Some people said it was hardening, some said softening. I say it was just confusing.”

The result left Flake feeling that it was unlikely that he would be able to support the Republican nominee in November. “It becomes increasingly difficult to see that he’s going to change, so I don’t expect that I’ll be able to support him in November,” said Flake.

Trump had spent the two weeks leading up to his major **immigration** speech on Wednesday hinting at support for a path to legal status for undocumented **immigrants** before reversing course. This culminated when Trump made a surprise visit to Mexico to meet with President Enrique Peña Nieto where he described illegal **immigration** as a “humanitarian crisis.” Only few hours later, while speaking to crowd of supporters in Phoenix, Trump announced[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/in-arizona-we-saw-the-real-donald-trump-the-one-we-already-knew] “there will be no amnesty” and insisted “anyone who enters the United States illegally is subject to deportation, otherwise we don’t have a country.”

The Republican nominee has tangled with Flake before. In July, the Arizona senator confronted[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/07/donald-trump-meeting-congress-republicans-divided-responses] Trump in a closed door meeting with other Republican elected officials in Washington DC. Flake has since called on[https://www.buzzfeed.com/andrewkaczynski/sen-jeff-flake-gop-should-shift-resources-from-trump-to-sena?utm\_term=.vhWzaZP2A#.oc483BgkR] the RNC to shift resources away from Trump and towards downballot races.

Trump’s war of words with Flake comes 64 days before the election and with Flake’s home state of Arizona looking increasing close. Hillary Clinton has recently begun advertising in the once deep red state and recent polls show Arizona to be a toss-up in November[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/az/arizona\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5832.html] as the state’s growing Hispanic population has been **alienated** by Trump’s **immigration** rhetoric.

In addition, the attack on Flake, who is one of the most prominent Mormon politicians in the United States, risks further **alienating** that traditionally conservative demographic. Mormons have long viewed the Republican nominee unfavorably and their discontent has contributed to Trump’s weak poll numbers in states like Arizona as well as Utah.

Flake is not the only Republican senator who is not voting for the party’s nominee. At least half a dozen others are refusing to back Trump’s candidacy, ranging from arch-conservative Ben Sasse[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/29/nebraska-republican-senator-ben-sasse-says-he-wont-vote-for-trump] of Nebraska to moderate Susan Collins of Maine.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The anti-18C campaign is being pushed by the privileged, invoking high principles only to obscure how little skin they have in the game

Last week, the Fair Work Commission forbade unionists from saying mean things about contractors undercutting sacked workers at the Carlton and United Breweries site in Abbotsford, Melbourne.

Specifically, the commission’s order prohibited certain union officials[https://www.fwc.gov.au/documents/awardsandorders/html/pr584404.htm] from “call[ing] out … using offensive or insulting names including ‘scab’, ‘dog’, ‘fuckwit’, ‘cunt’ [or] ‘rat’” to those now labouring at the brewery in place of staff locked out some months ago[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/30/dont-let-the-election-distract-you-from-whats-happening-to-workers].

In recent times, we’ve heard a great deal about the importance of being able to to insult and offend whomsoever we choose, with Cory Bernardi managing to coral almost every Coalition backbench senator[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/30/cory-bernardis-racial-discrimination-revolt-supported-by-up-to-20-senators] behind his crusade to protect that glorious liberty from the Racial Discrimination Act.

Related: Cory Bernardi is more dangerous than One Nation – his party is in power | Jason Wilson[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/02/forget-one-nation-cory-bernardi-is-the-politician-to-watch]

“This sort of taking offence at everything has gone too far within our society,” Eric Abetz told the press, as he signed his name to Bernardi’s motion.

You’d think, then, that the senators would be aghast about the nanny state imposing its delicate sensibilities in, of all places, a brewery, especially through a ban far more direct and immediate than any order yet enforced through the RDA.

Let’s remember, while Andrew Bolt might have been dragged to court under the legislation, the guilty finding against him didn’t result in jail or a fine. His columns weren’t declared illegal, they weren’t withdrawn and Bolt wasn’t even made to apologise.

A few sentences were appended clarifying factually incorrect claims. That was it.

Gallileo, he ain’t.

Everyone knows that, had a judge decreed that Bolt couldn’t write or say particular words, white conservative tears would have flowed into a deluge of Biblical proportions, a great ocean of salty outrage and self-pity.

But that hypocrisy’s typical of the so-called free speech debate in Australia, where there’s almost an inverse proportion between the severity of censorship and the degree of outrage of the so-called libertarians.

You could not find, for instance, a more draconian violation of speech rights than that underpinning the offshore detention of asylum seekers. The **immigration**department flatly refuses to release basic information about its activities; journalists lack access to camps in which staff face two years jail for speaking out about what they see; **refugees** remain detained for years without charge in isolated facilities with little contact with the outside world.

Yet, almost without exception, the senators campaigning for freedom enthusiastically support a **refugee** policy that couldn’t exist without censorship.

There’s an especial irony to the indifference shown by the free speech warriors to the CUB case, since the ban imposed on the word “scab” actually illustrates a genuine problem with the sorts of legislation that our freedom senators hate.

The legal system (almost by definition) simultaneously abstracts and individualises behaviour it seeks to criminalise, stripping it from the context from which it derives meaning. As a result, there’s a long history of measures passed by those seeking to deter racism or sexism and then being hijacked by the privileged to use against the oppressed (much as David Leyonhjelm’s seeking to do with his stunt prosecution of Fairfax[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/15/david-leyonhjelm-racial-discrimination-complaint-angry-white-male-fairfax-18c] ).

We can see something similar taking place in Abbottsford, where the commission’s ruling derives from amendments introduced into the Fair Work Act by the Gillard government in 2013 to combat workplace bullying.

As workplace relations minister Bill Shorten championed the changes[http://www.news.com.au/national/workplace-bullies-face-10000-fine-in-gillard-plan/story-fncynjr2-1226658053191], saying they’d help combat toxic work environments.

Instead, as the Australian Financial Review notes[http://www.afr.com/news/economy/employment/labors-bullying-laws-turned-on-union-pickets-20160823-gqzcav], the laws have given bosses an important new weapon against trade unions. The article cites employment lawyer Stephen Jauncey, who thinks employers could now use the amendments to combat “community protests” – even if strikers aren’t involved and the protests don’t involve obstructions, assault or trespass. Industrial relations barrister Stuart Wood, QC, seems equally bullish.

“There’s a need for quick, effective and cheap remedies [to end pickets] and this is a good example of someone being creative and innovative in achieving that,” he says.

How did measures intended to protect workers become a weapon against them?

Again, the problem’s one of context.

The Fair Work Commission describes “belittling or humiliating comments” as an example of bullying.

Is it belittling to call someone a scab? The novelist Jack London certainly thought so[http://www.iamll1005.org/definition\_of\_a\_scab.htm]. He wrote:

After God had finished the rattlesnake, the toad, the vampire, He had some awful substance left with which He made a scab. A scab is a two-legged animal with a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue. Where others have hearts, he carries a tumor of rotten principles. When a scab comes down the street, men turn their backs and angels weep in heaven, and the Devil shuts the gates of Hell to keep him out. No man has a right to scab so long as there is a pool of water to drown his carcass in, or a rope long enough to hang his body with.

Not exactly a compliment, then.

But in another passage[http://www.theatlantic.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/past/issues/04jan/london.htm], London explained why scabs had earned such opprobrium.

To strike at a man’s food and shelter is to strike at his life, and in a society organized on a tooth-and-nail basis, such an act … [is] menacing and terrible. It is for this reason that a laborer is so fiercely hostile to another laborer who offers to work for less pay or longer hours … To sell his day’s work for two dollars instead of two dollars and a half means that he, his wife, and his children will not have so good a roof over their heads, such warm clothes on their backs, such substantial food in their stomachs.

That’s a pretty good summation of what’s taking place in Abbottsford, where 55 workers have been sacked – and then invited to apply for their old jobs on terms that, in some cases, amount to pay cut of 65%.

In the face of union protests, a contract company called Programmed has engaged temporary employees to keep the brewery operating. Those individuals are behaving precisely as London describes: they’re driving down others’ wages and conditions for their own benefit.

No doubt it’s unpleasant (even humiliating) for the contractors to hear themselves described as “scabs” (or “dogs”, “fuckwits”, etc). But the truth doesn’t change according to how someone feels about it.

The Fair Work Act defines “bullying” as behaviour that’s “unreasonable”. Is it unreasonable to dissuade strikebreakers from destroying hard-won awards? Certainly, CUB management thinks so but one suspects that most of us, if we were confronting the prospect of either unemployment or a massive pay cut, would form a different opinion.

But the legislation doesn’t make such distinctions, enabling a contractor seeking to pulverise working conditions to get an order restraining the union in the name of “health and safety”.

Related: Don't let the election distract you from what's happening to workers | Van Badham[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/30/dont-let-the-election-distract-you-from-whats-happening-to-workers]

There’s one other point worth noting about the CUB case. In comments to the Financial Review, ETU state secretary Troy Gray explains that “this dispute is not going to turn on whether you can call a ‘scab’ a ‘scab’.”

In the real world, censorship cases are almost never solely to do with censorship. It’s far more common that the people being silenced are menaced in a variety of other ways as well.

The detainees in Nauru and Manus Island, for instance, want to have their voices heard. But much more than that, they want to be resettled.

In the same way, the unionists at Abbottsford are being censored. But, as Troy Gray says, that’s only a minor part of what’s at stake.

Again, the comparison with Bernardi and his ilk could not be greater. Could you imagine the yelps of anguish and outrage were the wages of all parliament’s senators were suddenly cut by, oh I don’t know, 65%?

But, of course, that’s not on the agenda. For the campaign against section 18C is being pushed by the most privileged people in the nation, a crew who invoke high principles only to obscure how little skin they have in the game.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With some simple policy changes we could find a humane way forward, we could stop offshore detention and families would not be separated

There are many sides to the **refugee** debate in Australia, but an overarching question is this: how can we create a more sustainable and humane policy that accords with international law?

I was challenged to identify a single intervention that could have this effect. It seemed a formidable task, but the answer is quite simple if we go back to first principles.

We could insert a legislative requirement that Australian law must be interpreted in good faith, in accordance with our responsibilities under international **refugee**law and international human rights law.

In most democratic countries, no one would blink at such a proposal. It simply reflects basic rules of international law. It’s sobering that in Australia, a provision like this would be seen as radical.

Australia is the only country whose law explicitly says it is “irrelevant” whether or not our non-refoulement obligations are engaged when removing an asylum seeker. Indeed, under the Migration Act, an official’s duty to remove such a person “arises irrespective of whether there has been an assessment, according to law, of Australia’s non-refoulement obligations in respect of the non-citizen.”

Related: The Nauru files: cache of 2,000 leaked reports reveal scale of abuse of children in Australian offshore detention[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention]

The principle of non-refoulement is the cornerstone of the international **refugee** regime. If there is one thing on which all states agree – even those that are not parties to the **Refugee** Convention – it is that this principle is sacrosanct. It prohibits the return of people to places where they risk being persecuted, tortured, subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, or arbitrarily deprived of life.

This September, the principle will be reaffirmed unreservedly in the political declaration that world leaders will adopt at the UN secretary general’s summit on **refugees** in New York.

To my knowledge, Australia is also the only country to have deleted all references to the **refugee** convention from its domestic law. Instead, it has replaced them with a “self-contained statutory framework” setting out Australia’s own interpretation of its protection obligations under the **refugee** convention. International law makes clear that states do not have the right to auto-interpret their treaty obligations.

Basic rules of treaty interpretation state that a treaty must be interpreted in good faith, and in accordance with the ordinary meaning to be given to its terms in their context, and in the light of the treaty’s object and purpose. Furthermore, asserting that a treaty obligation is inconsistent with domestic law provides no justification for breaching it.

If Australia did insert a legislative provision requiring a principled, good faith interpretation in accordance with international **refugee** law and international human rights law, our approach to asylum would necessarily change.

For a start, it would flip our focus towards the responsibility to provide protection, as part of a global cooperative effort, rather than deflecting those in need. It would mean that people seeking asylum would live among us in the Australian community, not in closed mandatory detention.

Offshore processing could not continue, and families would not be separated. Children’s best interests would be a primary consideration in every decision affecting them. **Refugees** would be welcomed into Australian society quickly, resulting in greater cultural, economic and social benefits over time. People would not be pushed back at sea without the opportunity to have their protection claim thoroughly examined and reviewed.

Principled, effective and transparent **refugee** status determination in Australia would be reinstated, with well-trained decision-makers, access to legal assistance, and robust independent merits and judicial review.

All this might sound like wishful thinking in today’s political climate. But each element reflects a feasible past practice in Australian asylum policy.

By learning from history and effective practices, we could model “protection in action”. In turn, we could help to grow the capacity for protection and assistance within our region. We would regain our international reputation as a welcoming country that respects human rights and the rule of law … and we would also save a lot of money.

The drafters of the **refugee** convention – including Australia’s representative – were well aware that **refugee** protection was not a way to short-circuit migration controls. In fact, the **refugee** regime requires the most stringent checks of all. But what they also recognised was that never again should the world bear witness to millions of people fleeing for safety and being turned away.

Related: The claim that locking asylum seekers up in Nauru and PNG saves lives is bogus | Philippe Legrain[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/22/the-claim-that-locking-asylum-seekers-up-in-nauru-and-png-saves-lives-is-bogus]

**Refugees** and other vulnerable migrants embark on dangerous land and sea journeys because there are no safe alternatives. Governments could rectify this situation, and save lives, with some simple policy changes – for instance, by creating humanitarian visas allowing travel to places of safety, by increasing resettlement, or by abolishing carrier sanctions that impose hefty fees on airlines that transport people without visas.

Acknowledging that forced migration will continue for as long as war, persecution and human rights violations continue, it is imperative that we adopt a policy that does the least damage to people who have been forced to leave their homes.

Our current approaches are not sustainable, fiscally responsible or protection-sensitive. We must develop and promote durable, legal and humane solutions for people in need of protection. A new Australian approach should not be considered a sign of weakness or a policy backflip, but rather a considered response to the legal and moral imperative to take a leading role in an area of acute global need.

Jane McAdam was one of the speakers at Can we solve the asylum crisis?[http://fodi.sydneyoperahouse.com/home/guardian-workshop-can-we-solve-the-asylum-seeker-crisis/], a Guardian workshop, supported by Maurice Blackburn Lawyers, at the Festival of Dangerous Ideas in Sydney

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Women’s Aid says planned government cuts risk destroying finances of **refuges** for victims of domestic violence in England

Two-thirds of women’s **refuges** in England are facing closure due to a change in the way housing benefit is paid to supported and sheltered housing, according to the national domestic abuse[https://www.theguardian.com/society/domestic-violence] charity Women’s Aid[https://www.womensaid.org.uk/].

Government plans to cap housing benefit in the social sector[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jan/26/benefit-cap-on-social-housing-will-leave-thousands-homeless-landlords-warn] at the same levels paid to private landlords risks destroying the finances of the **refuges**, which take in women and their children who have been victims of violence at the hands of their partners, the charity says.

A survey of Women’s Aid-affiliated **refuges** shows that 67% of those operating in England would be forced to close if they are not exempted from the reform, while 87% would be forced to scale down the support they give to families.

Related: The benefit cap puts housing at risk for more than 400,000 vulnerable people | Sinéad Butters[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jan/26/benefit-cap-supported-housing-risk-vulnerable-people]

Polly Neate, the chief executive of Women’s Aid, said: “**Refuges** provide specialist support to help women and their children truly recover from domestic abuse, and rebuild their lives with a view to long-term independence. These women and children have been through enough, and they deserve better than services which are continually on the brink of closure.”

The warning comes after plans were revealed in former chancellor George Osborne[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/georgeosborne] ’s autumn statement[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/autumn-statement-2015] last November to cap the amount of rent housing benefit would cover in the social sector to the same level offered to private landlords in the same area.

Women’s Aid said in the case of one English **refuge** this would slash its income from about £300 to just £60 per room per week. Some **refuges** cover 90% of their costs from housing benefit, the charity said.

A spokeswoman said it would more than reverse £33m worth of government support for the sector, promised after the closure of 17% of **refuges** since 2010 sparked a major outcry.

Sue Cox, the manager of a women’s **refuge** in Wiltshire, said the money went towards providing security and specialist support to women and their children, who often faced problems that went well beyond domestic violence. She said: “Antisocial behaviour, drinking, making bad choices of friends and relationships: these things all play out in **refuges** and work has to be done to ensure that they are able to hold down a tenancy after the **refuge**.”

Cox said specialists were on hand 24 hours a day in the **refuge** she managed, and had to be in order to ensure the safety of the women staying there. “If we are only there for an hour a day it is very likely that those families will struggle and those issues will still be an issue,” she said.

The Department for Work and Pensions said a deferral to the reforms until 2018[https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/mar/01/social-housing-benefit-cap-deferred-for-a-year] would give women’s **refuges** a period of grace while officials conduct a review into funding for the supported housing sector.

However, sources within the social housing sector have said the uncertainty surrounding the outcome of the review was affecting providers now. Supported housing providers, which also include organisations providing specialised accommodation for elderly and disabled people, were unable to plan for the future without knowing where their money would come from.

According to the National Housing Federation[http://www.housing.org.uk/], which represents social housing providers, building work on an estimated 2,400 new specialist homes has already been cancelled as a result and an additional 9,270 homes would not be able to be built if the housing benefit cap went ahead.

Julie Walters[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/julie-walters], patron of Women’s Aid England, said: “**Refuges** save lives: it is as simple as that. The government must exempt them from these welfare reforms – or live with the consequences of more women being killed and more families traumatised by domestic abuse. Domestic abuse is a human rights[https://www.theguardian.com/law/human-rights] issue, and women and children need the specialist support that **refuges**provide to reclaim their dignity and strength.”

A DWP spokesman said: “We fully support the valuable work carried out by domestic abuse **refuges** and other supported accommodation providers. That is why we deferred this measure for this sector while we conduct a review to ensure it is sustainable in the long term. We will continue working with providers to ensure the right protections are in place and will set out our plans in the autumn.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Mixed messages become Rorschach test for Republicans, who are drifting away from nominee after week that included vitriolic rally in Phoenix and Mexico visit

The ex-mayor of New York saw “a very big opening” to protect **immigrant** families and their American-born children. The governor of Indiana saw “a roadmap” to deportations and a wall, if not any signposts or directions. For a senator from Arizona, the whole thing was “just confusing”.

Related: The Miss USA hopeful sued by Trump: 'There are ways to stand your ground'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/04/sheena-monnin-donald-trump-miss-usa-lawsuit]

Donald Trump’s mixed messages on **immigration**, which this week took in a demur speech[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-meeting-president-pena-nieto-immigration] in Mexico City and a vitriolic rally[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/in-arizona-we-saw-the-real-donald-trump-the-one-we-already-knew] in Phoenix, have become a Rorschach test for Republicans, exacerbating tensions in the party as several of its leaders drift away from their party’s nominee and look toward a Democratic presidency. Disappointed by the harsh tone of Trump’s Phoenix speech, the Republican National Committee reportedly[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/03/us/politics/donald-trump-rnc-reince-priebus.html?\_r=0] withheld planned praise.

“He pivots and then pivots right back,” the Arizona senator Jeff Flake told CBS’s Face the Nation on Sunday. “So it’s kind of a 360-degree pivot at times. That’s not clear at all. Some people said it was hardening, some said softening. I say it was just confusing.”

Flake is one of a handful of Republican senators who have refused to support Trump, though he said on Sunday he would like to escape that “uncomfortable” position and vote for the businessman.

“I’d like to see a firm position that he sticks with for a while,” he said, “and obviously I’d like to see a more realistic position in dealing with those who are here illegally now.”

But Flake also damned Trump with a hint of praise for his rival, Hillary Clinton, who has recently urged Republicans to remember that the businessman’s claims that Mexicans are “ rapists[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/02/donald-trump-racist-claims-mexico-rapes] ” and **refugees** a “ Trojan horse[http://www.cbsnews.com/news/donald-trump-warns-refugees-could-be-trojan-horse-for-u-s/] ” of terrorism do not reflect their party.

“For people to be reminded that this is not what the party stands for I think is a good thing,” Flake said. “I wish more Republicans would say that as well. But if Hillary Clinton wants to say it I’m glad – I’m glad people, voters, are being reminded of it, anyway.”

On Sunday night Trump responded on Twitter[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/772556213313765377] – by bashing Flake. “The Republican Party needs strong and committed leaders, not weak people such as JeffFlake, if it is going to stop illegal **immigration**,” he said.

Trump and Flake had already clashed, exchanging sharp words in July when the Arizona senator confronted Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/07/donald-trump-meeting-congress-republicans-divided-responses] in a meeting with elected Republicans on Capitol Hill.

In the realclearpolitics.com poll average[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/az/arizona\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5832.html] for Arizona, which has been won by a Democratic presidential candidate once in 65 years, Trump leads Clinton by less than three points. However, a rapidly growing Hispanic population means the state’s politics are turning steadily from red to purple, if not yet blue, prompting Clinton to advertise[http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/01/politics/hillary-clinton-arizona-advertising-immigration/]. In attacking Flake, Trump is unlikely to aid his own Arizonan cause.

Senator John McCain, Flake’s fellow Arizona senator and the party’s 2008 presidential nominee, has started running an ad that look toward a hypothetical Clinton presidency.

“My opponent, Representative Ann Kirkpatrick, is a good person,” he says in the ad[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zLAdOwaIQ-E]. “But if Hillary Clinton is elected president, Arizona will need a senator who will act as a check, not a rubber stamp, on the White House.”

Trump is conspicuously absent from the ad: his name unsaid, his image omitted and his ideas implicitly rejected as McCain tells voters: “We need more control over our borders but also smarter **immigration** policies that enforce the law and reflect our values.”

McCain has not explicitly rejected Trump, who last year mocked the Vietnam war veteran for having been captured[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/19/donald-trump-john-mccain-vietnam-prisoner-of-war] by the Vietcong, but he has repeatedly asked the businessman to apologize to other former prisoners of war. Months of such harsh rhetoric from Trump have painted Republicans like McCain in a corner, Flake admitted, by threatening to turn reliably red states like Arizona into swing states.

“It shouldn’t be up for grabs,” he said, “but frankly it is.”

‘When America is safe, we will be open to all of the options’ Even Trump’s most stalwart allies could not seem to agree about his **immigration** message, even though the businessman said in Phoenix: “You can call it whatever the hell you want. They (undocumented **immigrants**) are gone.”

Rudy Giuliani, the former mayor of New York, told CNN’s State of the Union that Trump had left “a very big opening for what will happen with the people that remain here in the United States after the criminals are removed and after the border is secure”.

“When America is safe, we will be open to all of the options,” Giuliani said. According to the former mayor, Trump “would find it very, very difficult to throw out a family that’s been here for 15 years, and they have three children, two of whom are citizens. And that is not the kind of America he wants.”

Trump’s campaign manager, Kellyanne Conway, told ABC’s This Week through crosstalk with the host that it was “correct” the businessman would deport more than just migrants with a criminal record – and then changed her tone.

“But,” she said, “no, but he also said that, once you enforce the law, once you get rid of the criminals, then we’ll see where we are.

“And we don’t know where we’ll be. We don’t know who will be left. We don’t know where they live, who they are. That’s the whole point here, that we’ve actually never tried this.”

The man who would serve Trump as vice-president, Indiana governor Mike Pence, evaded any clear answer about his running mate’s position. In an interview aired Sunday with NBC’s Meet the Press[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/04/mike-pence-will-release-tax-returns-next-week], he said: “What Donald Trump laid out this week in Arizona was really a roadmap to end illegal **immigration** once and for all in this country.”

Pence then rattled off some of Trump’s ideas, including a wall on the southern border, targeting people who have overstayed visas and increasing border patrol staff, but left details for the future.

“We’ll give consideration, working with the Congress, in a new and reformed **immigration** system, to consider it at that time,” he said.

All three said Trump would prioritize deportations of people with criminal records, the same strategy Barack Obama has taken during his two terms, during which record numbers of migrants have been deported[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/21/latino-immigrants-us-war-on-terror-study] and Border Patrol staffing has reached an all-time high. Obama has also deferred deportations for several million migrants who came to the US as children through executive actions that Trump has said he will rescind.

Giuliani also conceded the limits of Trump’s shifting deportation plans, which would eject between 4 and 11 million people[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/aug/27/donald-trump-deport-11-million-migrants-is-that-even-possible] and cost an estimated $50bn[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/09/01/trumps-big-immigration-crackdown-comes-with-a-big-5-year-price-tag-more-than-50-billion/]. But he and Conway insisted that Trump will somehow force Mexico to pay for the proposed border wall, even though Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto told Trump this week[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-meeting-president-pena-nieto-immigration] it would not.

Related: Who will win the presidential election? No usual answers on Labor Day 2016[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/04/who-will-win-presidential-election-2016-labor-day-prediction]

Another ally, Trump transition team member and New Jersey governor Chris Christie, told CBS: “Donald Trump is going to get rid of, very early on, two to three million criminals that are here illegally in this country. That will be priority No1.”

Democrats had their own interpretations of Trump’s positions on **immigration**. Labor Secretary Tom Perez told CNN that Trump was “a loose cannon” and said his week of Janus-faced speeches “was a perfect illustration of why he’s not fit to be president”.

In a taped interview with CNN’s Fareed Zakaria, Obama was more stoic, saying anti-**immigrant** sentiment could be traced to the founding of the US, “but that’s not the majority of America”.

“The next generation of Americans, they utter – completely reject the kinds of positions that he’s taking,” the president said. “So overall, I’m optimistic. But, you know, I think we have to pay close attention to what’s going on.”

Polls suggest that only some voters were swayed by Trump’s winding week. In a new CBS poll[http://www.cbsnews.com/news/poll-hillary-clinton-leads-donald-trump-north-carolina-pennsylvania-email-questions-linger/], 47% of voters in swing states said they saw no change in his policy, and 37% said they thought he had slightly eased is proposals. In an ABC poll[http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/majority-voters-trump-mexico-pay-wall/story?id=41849627&cid=tw\_tco], 78% thought Trump would fail to make Mexico pay for any wall, and 67% had a negative to his speech.

Others felt his Phoenix speech a return to form: former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke tweeted[https://twitter.com/DrDavidDuke/status/771177837072048129] “excellent speech by Donald Trump tonight” while conservative author Ann Coulter compared it[https://twitter.com/AnnCoulter/status/771172220249014272] favorably to the speeches of Winston Churchill.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Opening of fictional case in which Helen faces jail for stabbing husband Rob sees renewed pleas from domestic abuse charities

The trial of Archers [https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/the-archers] character Helen Titchener, whose plight has prompted a national debate about domestic abuse[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/mar/11/domestic-abuse-in-the-archers-how-the-radio-show-is-helping-women-spot-the-signs], a huge fundraising campaign and a push for prison reform, began on Sunday.

The opening of the court case in which Titchener, played by Louiza Patikas, faces jail for stabbing her husband Rob, who subjected her to domestic abuse, has elicited renewed calls from charities for more to be done for real-life victims.

Sandra Horley, chief executive of **Refuge**[http://www.refuge.org.uk/], said: “When Helen stabbed Rob, she clearly felt that her life – and the life of her child – was under threat from an aggressive man. Listeners have heard Rob alternate between charm and abuse, subjecting Helen to years of psychological torture as well as physical violence. Sadly, Helen’s experiences mirror what so many abused women feel and experience every day – she has been manipulated and controlled by a violent and bullying partner.

“If you have been moved by Helen’s story, I would urge you to consider the real-life Helens **Refuge** supports every day.”

A Helen Titchener Fund[https://www.justgiving.com/fundraising/helentitchener], set up by Archers listener and **Refuge** supporter Paul Trueman has already raised more than £130,000 for the charity, and Horley urged people to continue to donate to reach the target of £150,000.

That would be the equivalent of almost 2,900 nights in a **refuge** for a woman and her children “at a time when domestic violence services are experiencing huge cuts”, she said.

As the storyline intensified in February, there was a 17% increase in calls to the national domestic violence helpline[http://www.nationaldomesticviolencehelpline.org.uk/], run by **Refuge** and Women’s Aid.[https://www.womensaid.org.uk/]

As the trial opened, the prosecution tried to portray Helen Titchener as an unstable woman who had left her abusive husband in fear, before stabbing him.

Rob Titchener claimed that she threatened to stop him seeing the child she was carrying and that he tried to restrain her to protect her from herself. But his mask slipped briefly as he responded angrily to questions from the defence about his quick temper.

Ahead of the opening of the trial, which will run over a week’s worth of episodes, listeners expressed their support for Helen on Twitter, as well as for the plight of real-life victims. BBC presenters Jenny Murray and Sara Cox were among those who posted pictures of themselves drinking tea with the hashtags # solidaritea[https://twitter.com/hashtag/solidaritea?src=hash] and # FreeHelen[https://twitter.com/hashtag/FreeHelen?src=hash].

In solidari-tea #FreeHelen[https://twitter.com/hashtag/FreeHelen?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/RiEcQnteJM[https://t.co/RiEcQnteJM] — Jenni Murray (@whjm) August 29, 2016[https://twitter.com/whjm/status/770391607766024192]

Proud to show my solidari-tea against coercive control and domestic abuse #FreeHelen[https://twitter.com/hashtag/FreeHelen?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/3cEd9oZSxn[https://t.co/3cEd9oZSxn] — sara cox (@sarajcox) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/sarajcox/status/771633470900535296]

But the disturbing plot has been criticised by some listeners[https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/mar/25/how-the-archers-abuse-story-helen-rob-titchener-has-divided-fans] accustomed to more genteel happenings in the “everyday story of countryfolk” in the fictional town of Ambridge, while others have debated its realism. Audience figures dipped slightly in the first three months of the year compared with the last three months of 2015[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/may/19/the-archers-audience-domestic-abuse-radio-4-today].

But the story’s far-reaching impact was highlighted in May when the then justice secretary Michael Gove said Helen’s plight had “shone a light on the position of women in our prisons and reinforces the case for reform”.[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/may/17/plight-of-archers-helen-leads-michael-gove-to-push-for-prison-reform]

Helen faces up to 12 years in jail for attempted murder, as well as the certainty of giving birth while in custody.

The soap’s editor, Sean O’Connor, who has been working on the plot with charities and legal advisers, promised “both a shocking and deeply moving trial”.

The number for the national domestic violence freephone helpline is 0808 2000 247.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Plight of tens of thousands of Syrians could undermine Jordan’s role as co-host of major summit on **refugees**, activists warn

Tens of thousands of “ghost” **refugees** who have been trapped in the desert along Jordan’s border with Syria for more than two months face food and water shortages and are at risk of epidemics, aid workers say.

The **refugees**, who have no sanitation or medical facilities, are living in some of the worst conditions experienced by people fleeing Syria’s five-year civil war. Activists say the situation could undermine Jordan’s role as co-host of a major summit on **refugees** in New York this month.

About four in five of the **refugees** scraping an existence in the open desert are women and children, according to the United Nations.

No aid or food deliveries are allowed across the border and irregular water supplies barely cover drinking needs in temperatures reaching 50C (122F) over the summer, with nothing left for sanitation.

Some people have reportedly dug themselves holes in the ground because they have nothing at all to improvise shelter against regular desert sandstorms. One settlement was bombed by Russian planes [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-36781770] in July.

“These are some of the most extreme conditions on earth. Then you add to that not having any access to healthcare or enough water or food, and being under threat of aerial attack,” said Natalie Thurtle, the medical team leader for charity Médicins Sans Frontières (MSF). “This is a critical humanitarian emergency.”

Jordan is co-hosting the major international Leaders’ Summit on **Refugees** on 20 September, on the sidelines of the UN general assembly[https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/summit], a role that sits uneasily with its treatment of the crowds on its own border, now estimated to be more than 80,000 strong.

Related: Syria peace talks between US and Russia stall at G20[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/syria-peace-talks-us-and-russia-stall-g20]

“At a time when Jordan is positioning itself at the forefront of efforts to respond to the Syrian **refugee** crisis, having tens of thousands of people struggling without food, water or medical care at their border undermines their credibility and that of any solutions they are offering,” said Neil Sammonds, Amnesty researcher on Syria, Lebanon and Jordan.

Jordan says it is hosting nearly 1.4 million Syrian **refugees**, of whom 630,000 are registered with the UN. The huge numbers have placed a massive strain on the kingdom’s economy and resources as well as raising security concerns.

The crowds began building up when the border with Syria was tightened last November. This meant that people who might previously have passed into Jordan began collecting instead in a disputed no mans land[http://www.un.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=52760#.V7yP0DYrKhc], sometimes known as “the berm” after the sandy mounds that border the area where **refugees** have settled.

“They are completely out of options, they are not able to move forward, and can’t go back into Syria,” Thurtle said.

On a visit to north Jordan last week, Stephen O’Brien, the UN under-secretary general for humanitarian affairs, described flying over the berm area. “In between two berms are tens of thousands of tents quite sparsely populated compared to a normal organised **refugee** camp,” he said. “You have to imagine [what it is like] completely out in the middle of desert … in very, very hot [conditions], baking in the tents.”

From May, some aid groups were allowed in to offer limited supplies of food, water and medical help. The MSF team spent at least six hours a day driving a mobile clinic to reach a “services area” on the fringe of the camp.

“It was an extremely challenging logistical operation, leaving at 6am from the nearest town where we could be based. We had to drive the entire operation for three to four hours, half of it off-road, then return the same way before evening,” a member of the MSF team said.

However, even that access was cut off in June, on security grounds, after Islamic State militants drove a suicide bomb [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/21/jordanian-soldiers-killed-by-car-bomb-outside-syrian-refugee-camp] into a Jordanian army checkpoint and killed at least six soldiers. But Sammonds said there was no connection between the **refugees** and the attack.

“That suicide vehicle came from some distance to the north and at speed, with no link that I have ever heard of with the would-be **refugees**,” he said. “I would suspect that Jordan is using the security incident politically to ‘justify’ its overall closure policy.”

Since June, authorities have given permission for one severely ill boy to be evacuated, and allowed aid groups worried about starvation to make a single drop of food supplies by crane[http://bigstory.ap.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/c8b032df75ac49daaeff4c15d8b00271/aid-dropped-crane-reaches-75000-syrians-jordan-border]. That was on 4 August. Distribution inside the camp could not be monitored so the most vulnerable may not have received supplies, and since then there has been nothing.

There are credible reports of malnutrition, and water supplies are just five or six litres per person in some areas. That is barely enough to meet drinking needs in the sweltering heat, leaving nothing for sanitation, and disease has already set in.

“There is almost certainly a hepatitis outbreak at the berm,” Thurtle said. “We haven’t witnessed it, but I am pretty confident that is happening.”

Credible sources are reporting 30 cases of severe jaundice each day, Thurtle said, and there have been at least 10 deaths in the last month. Hepatitis B is particularly dangerous for pregnant women, with a mortality rate of 20-25%, and there have already been reports of deaths during childbirth.

Thurtle is part of a team on standby near the border, currently campaigning to be allowed back in, and keep the plight of the **refugees** on the international radar.

“It’s like they don’t exist, they are stuck in purgatory,” she said. “I haven’t seen them, nobody has for eight weeks. It’s really easy for them to disappear from the consciousness of the international community, the Jordanian government, everybody.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Observers say election antics have pushed many of the estimated 50,000-70,000 Bosnian Muslims in what is historically a swing state to register to vote

Mirhada Jasarevic was a child when she and her family became **refugees** during the war in Bosnia in the 1990s. She became a naturalized US citizen earlier this year, in time for her to vote in the 2016 presidential election.

“I think this is probably one of the most important elections to be a part of,” Jasarevic said. “I came here just like those Syrian **refugees** are coming here. The same way. With no intention of hurting anybody. Just to get a chance at life. And that’s what makes America so great, and I feel like Donald Trump doesn’t understand that.”

Bosnian Americans in Missouri are expected to turn out in record numbers this November. With recent polls showing that Hillary Clinton and Trump are virtually tied in Missouri[http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/trump-clinton-in-virtual-tie-in-missouri/article\_ecbca03a-ea36-5bef-bf8c-fcb817cc7c31.html], it could be a voting bloc that swings the election.

Related: Trump supporters in St Louis: how 'midwestern nice' became a sea of rage[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/12/donald-trump-supporters-st-louis-rally-protest-violence]

While never a monolith, Bosnian Americans in St Louis – which is home to an estimated 50,000 to 70,000 Bosnian Muslims – have near-universally been put off by Trump’s anti-Muslim, anti-**refugee** rhetoric and are wary of the Republican candidate’s popularity among Serbian nationalists. If they are mobilized as a bloc to vote against Trump for these reasons, 2016 could mark the national debut of Missouri’s “Bosnian vote”, costing Trump the state’s 10 electoral votes.

“I know for a fact that a lot of people have gone out and registered to vote,” said Nedim Ramic, a Bosnian American attorney in St Louis who has twice met with Clinton during campaign stops in the city. “I think that the Bosnian community could really make a difference.”

Since religion and ethnic background are not recorded as part of the voter registration process, there is no record of how many Bosnian American voters are actually registered in St Louis. Anecdotally, community leaders estimate that voter registration in St Louis’s Bosnian community has surged by the thousands over the past two years.

“Right now I’m expecting to see a higher turnout than before,” said insurance agent Ibro Tucakovic, who came to St Louis from Sarajevo in 1998 and, in 2015, became the first Bosnian American[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2015/04/28/the-unlikely-community-that-drew-inspiration-from-the-ferguson-protests/?utm\_term=.469956a3f58a] to run for elected office in Missouri. “This election is really, really important, but especially for Bosnian Americans because we have seen what hate speech can do in a country. Some of the older ones are scared, because this is a similar thing going on back in Bosnia in the 1990s before the election.”

St Louis is home to one of the largest populations of Bosnian Muslims in the world outside Bosnia-Herzegovina itself. The community has its origins in the Balkan **refugee** crisis in the 1990s, when Yugoslavia was ripped apart at its seams, displacing millions. Bosnian **refugees** were resettled in St Louis by the thousands, and eventually the city became the anchor of the United States’ Bosnian diaspora.

Historically, Missouri has been a swing state, though is often assumed by pundits to be a Republican giveaway. In 2008, Republican John McCain won the state’s electoral votes by a margin of less than 1% – mere thousands of votes. In 2012, Republican Mitt Romney won the state by 10%, but liberal Democrat Claire McCaskill also kept her seat in the US Senate by more than 15%. The state also has a Democrat governor.

I came here just like those Syrian **refugees** are coming here. Just to get a chance at life

Mirhada Jasarevic

In recent years, Bosnian voters in St Louis have asserted themselves as a potent force in local politics, and politicians – mainly Democrats – have taken notice.

During 2014’s high-profile race for St Louis County executive following the unrest in Ferguson, Missouri, Democratic candidate Steve Stenger – who visited Bosnian mosques and distributed Bosnian-language campaign literature while his Republican opponent did not – won, but by fewer than 2,000 votes. Had Bosnian voters stayed home, he probably would have lost.

Shortly after the election, Bosnians in the city of St Louis (a separate entity from St Louis County) took to the streets themselves as protests continued region-wide after the August 2014 police killing of teenager Mike Brown in Ferguson. Following the brutal murder of Zemir Begic – a Bosnian **immigrant** visiting St Louis to meet his future in-laws – in the heart of the city’s Bosnian neighborhood that December, hundreds of protesters shut down a main thoroughfare in the city’s south side over the span of two nights[http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/12/6/st-louis-bosnianspolicing.html], demanding increased police patrols and a voice in local affairs.

The St Louis County election and protests in the city of St Louis were defining moments for the region’s Bosnian American community, which had largely been politically silent during its 20-year history.

Since then, Bosnian Americans have been appointed to positions within the St Louis mayor’s office, and a delegation of St Louis Bosnian civic and religious leaders have twice visited officials in the state’s capital.

Earlier this year, members of the community – including Ramic – formed the Bosnian-American Public Affairs Alliance of Missouri (BAPAAM), an organization meant to organize and represent Bosnian American interests in politics. BAPAAM endorsed Clinton in March.

“We’ve seen the community become more active, in general,” Ramic said.

Serbian nationalists’ support of Trump has also raised red flags. During the Republican national convention, a man wearing a “Make Serbia Great Again”[https://twitter.com/mattdpearce/status/755855782290358272] hat was photographed several times. When Vice-President Joe Biden visited Belgrade earlier in August, hundreds of Serbian nationalists gathered to chant[http://www.reuters.com/article/us-balkans-biden-trump-idUSKCN10R1U0], “Vote for Trump!” The group was led by rightwing Serbian politician Vojislav Seselj, who was accused of helping to orchestrate the ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and other non-Serbs from “greater Serbia” in the 1990s.

Bosnian voters in St Louis, home to a substantial number of Srebrenica widows and survivors[http://www.npr.org/2015/07/13/422490056/bosnians-remember-when-their-city-became-one-big-concentration-camp], took note of Seselj’s endorsement.

“Some people reacted in a silly manner – ‘monkey see, monkey do’,” Tucakovic quipped. “But some people are actually concerned. You see people like [Seselj] that are supporting Trump, and that’s not a really good sign.”

The political clout of the St Louis Bosnian community has only increased as more Bosnian **immigrants** like Jasarevic become naturalized citizens, and as the first generation of children born to Bosnian **immigrants** reaches voting age.

“Just this year, three of the buddies I hang out with have actually become devoted to politics,” said Haris Bihorac, who just turned 18 and plans to vote for the first time in November. “They’re nonstop reading what they can to catch up on the politics. Even myself – before I didn’t really care this much who the president was or anything, but [I do] now that I have a say in it.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**On the eve of the G20 summit in China, world leaders prepare to discuss climate change, Hinkley Point and the war in Syria

block-time published-time 2.06pm BST

We’re closing the live blog now. Thanks for reading, and for your comments.

You can read our report on the news that the US and China have agreed to formally ratify the Paris agreement below.

Related: Breakthrough as US and China agree to ratify Paris climate change deal[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/sep/03/breakthrough-us-china-agree-ratify-paris-climate-change-deal]

block-time published-time 1.51pm BST

Theresa May says UK will be 'global leader' for free trade Theresa May has said the UK will be a “global leader” for free trade following the Brexit vote, ahead of Sunday’s G20 summit.

Theresa May, Cardiff, Wales, July 18 Photograph: WPA Pool/Getty Images The PM, who faces a row with Beijing over the delayed decision on the Hinkley Point power station, maintained that we were in a “golden era” for UK-China relations.

Speaking at Heathrow before boarding an RAF plane to Hangzhou, May said:

The message for the G20 is that Britain is open for business, as a bold, confident, outward-looking country we will be playing a key role on the world stage.

This is a golden era for UK-China relations and one of the things I will be doing at the G20 is obviously talking to president Xi about how we can develop the strategic partnership that we have between the UK and China.

But I will also be talking to other world leaders about how we can develop free trade around the world and Britain wants to seize those opportunities.

My ambition is that Britain will be a global leader in free trade.

block-time published-time 12.58pm BST

Summary The main story of today has been that the US has joined China to formally ratify the Paris agreement to curb climate-warming emissions.

Barack Obama and Xi Jinping submitted their plan to join the agreement to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, who is in China to witness the announcement, ahead of the G20 summit tomorrow.

The joint declaration could help put the pact into force before the end of the year.

Meanwhile, German chancellor Angela Merkel has said she hopes to discuss Ukraine, Syria and **refugee** issues in bilateral talks on the sidelines of the summit.

And former security minister Dame Pauline Neville-Jones has said reassurances are needed from China on security issues surrounding the Hinkley Point project before a decision on its future can be reached.

enltrChina looks forward to fruitful Xi-Obama meeting during #G20[https://twitter.com/hashtag/G20?src=hash], says Zhu Guangyao, China's vice finance minister pic.twitter.com/4bBI49lF5J[https://t.co/4bBI49lF5J]

— G20china (@G20\_China) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/G20\_China/status/771667660476026884]enltrUN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (L) arrives in Hangzhou to attend the G20 Summit Saturday. @UN\_Spokesperson[https://twitter.com/UN\_Spokesperson] @UN[https://twitter.com/UN] pic.twitter.com/KYSEGSH5GE[https://t.co/KYSEGSH5GE]

— G20china (@G20\_China) September 3, 2016[https://twitter.com/G20\_China/status/771908247556980737]enltrPresident Xi met Turkish leader Erdogan on Saturday, pledging deepened counter-terrorism and energy cooperation pic.twitter.com/IGSfWnsXet[https://t.co/IGSfWnsXet]

— G20china (@G20\_China) September 3, 2016[https://twitter.com/G20\_China/status/772001184274010113]block-time published-time 12.54pm BST

Oxfam’s head of food and climate change campaign, Robin Willoughby, has welcomed the news that the world’s two biggest emitters, China and the US, will be ratifying the Paris agreement and bringing this historic deal closer to entry into force.

Willoughby added, however, that “whilst dozens of countries have taken the lead to make the agreement legally binding, the UK is not among them.”

“If the UK is to continue to justify its reputation as a global leader on climate change, the Government must ratify the Paris agreement as soon as possible,” he said. “This deal can offer a lifeline for the world’s poorest people who are already feeling the full force of our changing climate.”

block-time published-time 12.46pm BST

Patricia Espinosa, the UN’s top climate official, has thanked the US and China for ratifying the Paris agreement.

Espinosa said in a statement Saturday that the accord offers an “opportunity for a sustainable future for every nation and every person.”

She added: “The earlier that Paris is ratified and implemented in full, the more secure that future will become.”

block-time published-time 12.26pm BST

Following the earlier climate announcement, Barack Obama has reportedly told his host Xi Jinping the pair now need to have “candid talks” on topics such as human rights and maritime issues.

Reuters is reporting Obama made the comments when the pair met in Hangzhou ahead of tomorrow’s G20. Xi and Obama are due to dine together tonight after a series of bilateral meetings.

Human rights activists and experts are not expecting US to put China under major pressure, however - at least not in public. Confrontation “would fly in the face of either side’s interests at the moment,” says Nick Bisley, an Asia expert at La Trobe University in Australia.

block-time published-time 12.22pm BST

US Secretary of State John Kerry has said the US and China “demonstrated their continued, shared commitment to climate leadership” by formally joining the Paris agreement.

enltrToday, U.S., China joined the #ParisAgreement[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ParisAgreement?src=hash]. Enormously proud to be w/ @POTUS[https://twitter.com/POTUS] in Hangzhou for this historic moment. https://t.co/PWdeL79cAj[https://t.co/PWdeL79cAj]

— John Kerry (@JohnKerry) September 3, 2016[https://twitter.com/JohnKerry/status/772033778256584704]Kerry said in a statement that when the U.S. and China “come together to take action on climate, it moves the needle in a way that no two other nations can accomplish.”

He added that it was essential for the Paris agreement to enter into force as quickly as possible.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.34pm BST

block-time published-time 12.16pm BST

Chinese President Xi Jinping (R) shakes hands with US President Barack Obama (L) before their meeting at the West Lake State Guest House ahead of G20 Summit on September 3, 2016 in Hangzhou, China Photograph: Pool/Getty Images block-time published-time 12.01pm BST

It turns out the American visitor being berated on the tarmac at the airport was not a reporter but Obama’s national security adviser, Susan Rice, who was stopped as she tried to reach the president’s motorcade. It was unclear if the official knew that Rice was a senior official and not a reporter.

The same official shouted at a White House press aide who was instructing foreign reporters on where to stand as they recorded Obama disembarking from the plane. “This is our country. This is our airport,” he said in English.

block-time published-time 11.56am BST

While news surrounds Obama and Xi, German chancellor Angela Merkel has said she hopes to discuss Ukraine, Syria and **refugee** issues in bilateral talks on the sidelines of the G20 summit.

Angela Merkel speaks at a Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party campaign in Bad Doberan, eastern Germany, on September 3, 2016 Photograph: Adam Berry/AFP/Getty Images Merkel said in her weekly video message on Saturday that she expects “a very lively discussion” at the summit but that the meeting can’t resolve Syria’s civil war, “it can only be a contribution to talks on the sidelines helping in this.”

She said she also hopes for discussions on “how things go forward in Ukraine” and “how things go forward on the issue of flight and migration.”

Merkel didn’t specify who she will hold talks with, though she has said that a four-way meeting with the Turkish, French and Italian leaders is planned.

block-time published-time 11.47am BST

Here are some responses to the US and China formally joining the Paris deal.

\* Jennifer Morgan, the executive director of Greenpeace International, said:

The world finally has a global climate agreement with both the US and China as formal Parties. This signals a new era in global efforts to address climate change. Both countries now need to scale and speed up their efforts in charting a future that avoids the worst impacts of climate change.

\* Micheal R. Bloomberg, UN Special Envoy for Cities and Climate Change, said:

By ratifying the Paris climate agreement today, the US and China are demonstrating that the world’s two largest economies will help lead the fight against climate change - but it’s imperative that more nations join them. Cities are united in this effort, but to succeed, nations must be too - and I urge local leaders to continue pushing their national governments to ratify the Paris agreement in the months ahead.

\* Alden Meyer, director of strategy and policy at the Union of Concerned Scientists, said:

Today’s announcement, coupled with other key countries signalling intentions to take similar action, all but assures the Paris agreement will take effect this year. Logistically, negotiations on the agreement’s detailed rules will likely take another year or two to finalise, and all countries will need to raise the ambition of their commitments under the agreement if we’re to avoid the worst impacts of climate change and reach a goal of net zero global warming emissions by mid-century. But this is an important step forward that reinforces the US and China’s continued leadership in building a robust, durable international climate framework.

\* Stephanie Pfeifer, CEO of the Institutional Investors Group on Climate Change (a European network of 125 big investors with over €13 Trn in assets), said:

This announcement provides vital momentum for the pace and scale of action required to address the climate challenge. We now urge all the other G20 members to follow this lead by the world’s two largest economies, and to take the steps required to double investment in clean energy by 2020, phase out fossil fuel subsidies swiftly, embrace carbon pricing, strengthen climate-related financial disclosure and take forward the G20 Green Finance agenda.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.48am BST

block-time published-time 11.43am BST

Xi Jinping has called on other nations gathering at the G20 summit to follow China’s lead and ratify the Paris agreement. He said other G20 members should “take a leading role” and enter the agreement before the end of the year.

block-time published-time 11.32am BST

Security at this year’s G20 is so tight that press officers of some national delegations say they are having a hard time figuring out how to brief reporters about the proceedings, the Wall Street Journal reports.[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/chinarealtime/2016/09/03/why-you-might-not-know-whats-going-on-at-the-g-20-summit-in-hangzhou/]

block-time published-time 11.29am BST

Obama said he believed that history would judge today’s announcement as a “pivotal” moment in the fight against climate change.

The collaboration between the world’s top two economies, showed that it was possible for the US and China to work together, despite disagreements.

“Where there is a will and there is a vision and where countries like China and the United States are prepared to show leadership and to lead by example it is possible for us to create a world that is more secure, more prosperous and more free than the one that was left for us,” he said.

“Despite our differences on other issues we hope that our willingness to work together on this issue will inspire greater ambition and greater action around the world.”

Obama described the Paris agreement as “the single best chance that we have to deal with a problem that could end up transforming this planet in a way that makes it very difficult to deal with all the other challenges that we may face”.

“President Xi and I intend to continue working together in the months ahead to make sure our countries lead on climate,” the outgoing president concluded.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.30am BST

block-time published-time 11.25am BST

Together the US and China account for 38.76% of the world’s emissions, and the countries’ joint action brings the Paris agreement substantially closer to the 55% emissions threshold needed for the agreement to enter into force. At least 55 countries must also formally join the agreement for it to take effect.

Everything you need to know about the Paris agreement is on the Climate Nexus website.[http://climatenexus.org/about-us/paris-agreement/factsheet-entry-force-process-paris-agreement] The key points are as follows:

The Paris Agreement was adopted by all Parties to the UNFCCC in December 2015, but there are several formal steps to go through before the agreement enters into force in international law.

The first step: is for countries to sign the agreement. Signing signals that country’s support for the Paris agreement and its intention to align its domestic policies with the agreement terms and start the process of formally joining the agreement.

The second step: undertake domestic processes to formally join (or accept/approve/ratify) the agreement and ‘consent to be bound’ by its terms and deposit the appropriate paperwork with the UN Secretary-General.

The third step: the next phase starts when a sufficient number of countries (55) covering a certain percentage of emissions (55%) have formally joined the Paris agreement. When these two thresholds are met the agreement will enter into force.

Once the conditions of the third step are met, entry into force will occur 30 days after the dual thresholds are achieved. Upon entry into force, the Agreement will become binding international law and countries that have formally joined will be subject to its provisions. Countries that have joined the agreement can only pull out after a period of three years from the day it enters into force. After three years, a country that has joined the agreement can choose to withdraw one year after submitting official notification of its intention. In effect, any country that has joined the agreement will be unable to legally exit the agreement for a period of four years.

A factsheet on the significance of the US/China agreement is also available here[https://www.climateinteractive.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/8-31-CI-US-China-Ratification-Fact-Sheet-Release.pdf].

block-time published-time 11.17am BST

Obama said cooperation was “the single best chance that we have” to save the planet as he and Xi Jinping formally entered their two nations into the Paris agreement.

“This is not a fight that any one country no matter how powerful can take alone,” Obama said of the pact. “Some day we may see this as the moment that we finally decided to save our planet.”

Xi, speaking through a translator, said he hoped the announcement would spur more countries to take action. “Our response to climate change bears on the future of our people and the wellbeing of mankind,” he said.

Ban Ki-moon said he will hold a high-level event in New York to which he will invite country leaders to formally ratify the agreement.

But it’s worth remembering that Donald Trump has vowed to cancel the agreement.

enltr #Obama[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Obama?src=hash] bypassed Congress after Republican majority refused to ratify landmark pact. #Trump[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Trump?src=hash] says he'd cancel deal. https://t.co/LbE5u7rwYl[https://t.co/LbE5u7rwYl]

— Douglas Herbert (@dougf24) September 3, 2016[https://twitter.com/dougf24/status/772013869732655104]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.29am BST

block-time published-time 10.52am BST

US joins China to formally ratify the Paris agreement The US has joined China to formally ratify the Paris agreement to curb climate-warming emissions, which could help put the pact into force before the end of the year.

Obama and Xi Jinping submitted their plan to join the agreement to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, who is in China to witness the announcement.

enltr"We have a saying in US that you need to put your money where your mouth is" - @POTUS[https://twitter.com/POTUS] says US will also ratify Paris https://t.co/K0u6Q8e8Ee[https://t.co/K0u6Q8e8Ee]

— Tom Phillips (@tomphillipsin) September 3, 2016[https://twitter.com/tomphillipsin/status/772009441407356929]Senior Obama adviser Brian Deese said the joint declaration by the world’s two biggest economies should push other countries to formally join the agreement. “The signal of the two large emitters taking this step together and taking it early, far earlier than people had anticipated a year ago, should give confidence to the global communities and to other countries that are working on their climate change plans, that they too can move quickly and will be part of a global effort,” Deese told reporters on Friday.

Barack Obama waves as he arrives at the Hangzhou Xiaoshan International Airport, Saturday, Sept. 3, 2016, in Hangzhou, China Photograph: Mark Schiefelbein/AP India is also poised to join the agreement this year, Deese said, and Obama is expected to meet Indian prime minister Narendra Modi on the sidelines of the G20 summit. The joint statement could also spur further ratifications by the likes of Brazil and Canada.

Obama and Xi committed to cooperate on two other global environmental agreements this year - an amendment to the Montreal Protocol to phase down air-conditioning refrigerants and on a market-based measure to reduce carbon emissions from aviation.

Nearly 200 countries agreed on a binding global compact to slash greenhouse gases and keep global temperature increases to “well below” 2 degrees Celsius in Paris last year. According to experts the temperature target is already in danger of being breached, with the UN’s weather agency saying 2016 is on course to be the warmest year since records began.

Mattlan Zackhras, minister-in-assistance to the president of the Marshall Islands, said today’s announcement was “the strongest signal yet that what we agreed in Paris will soon be the law of the land. With the two biggest emitters ready to lead, the transition to a low-emissions, climate-resilient global economy is now irreversible.”

Bill Hare, chief executive of Climate Analytics, added: “We expect a surge of ratifications around the UN Climate week later in September.”

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 11.00am BST

block-time published-time 10.31am BST

While it’s all smiles among the world leaders touching down in Hangzhou for the G20 summit, China is currently experiencing what western diplomats and human rights activists describe as the worst crackdown on free speech and civil society in decades.

A report this afternoon by German press agency DPA[http://www.dpa-international.com/topic/urn:newsml:dpa.com:20090101:160903-99-319468] claims leading civil society organisations have been banned from taking part in the G20 summit by Chinese authorities. “Basically, there is no representation by civil society at this G20 summit,” one senior employee of a major humanitarian group is quoted as saying by DPA.

Earlier this week Chinese dissidents urged Barack Obama to raise the human rights crisis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/31/chinese-dissidents-urge-obama-press-xi-jinping-human-rights-g20] with Xi Jinping during his final visit to China, describing it as the worst situation since the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown.

Ahead of the G20 Sophie Richardson, from Human Rights Watch, has put together a list of steps she believes foreign governments can take[http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/01/its-time-to-rethink-the-u-s-approach-to-human-rights-in-china/] to improve the human rights situation in China.

block-time published-time 10.21am BST

May must seek reassurances on Hinkley, former minister says Former security minister Dame Pauline Neville-Jones has said reassurances are needed from China on security issues surrounding Hinkley. Speaking on the Today programme, she said:

Dame Pauline Neville-Jones, CBI Conference 2004 Photograph: Graeme Robertson for the Guardian I think it’s unfortunate the Chinese are left empty handed, but I think it’s fair enough for [May] to want to assure herself that the security side of a very big deal like this does make sense.

The issue is the terms. Clearly Hinkley does have security implications. I think those who assert the Chinese could get into a position of trying to close this down - if that were a serious possibility, relations between the two countries would be so strained that, actually we would have taken the place over anyway. So I don’t think that’s the issue.

The issue, I think, is much more day-to-day security implications of having an investor of that kind who isn’t an ally - not an enemy - but isn’t an ally in the way most investment hitherto in to this country has been from the West.

Neville-Jones said new rules needed to be put in place so China did not feel discriminated against.

My impression is that we do have the notion now that there are strategic investments that we ought to be careful about, but I don’t know that we have a definition of what they are, or indeed, what ground rules should then apply.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.55am BST

block-time published-time 10.15am BST

China and the United States will be hoping to publicly play down frictions over thorny issues such as the South China Sea and cyber espionage during Barack Obama’s final trip to the country as president.

But US-China tensions flared almost as soon as Obama touched down in China - under the wing of Air Force One.

A video posted on Twitter by Roberta Rampton, a Reuters White House correspondent, shows a Chinese official berating a visiting journalist who was standing under the wing of the US president’s plane.

enltrGovernment official was not happy that reporters were under the wing of AF1. WH press aide would not back down. pic.twitter.com/C3JRVIe37K[https://t.co/C3JRVIe37K]

— Roberta Rampton (@robertarampton) September 3, 2016[https://twitter.com/robertarampton/status/771978164776136705]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.15am BST

block-time published-time 10.05am BST

Xi Jinping has just finished delivering a keynote speech to the B20 business summit which is being held in Hangzhou, ahead of the start of the G20 tomorrow.

Xi didn’t reference his country’s decision to formally ratify the Paris climate change agreement earlier today but he did speak about China’s commitment to tackling air and water pollution and to addressing the dangers of global warming.

Here is some of what he said:

We will promote green development to achieve better economic performance. I have said many times that green mountains and clear water are as good as mountains of gold and silver. To protect the environment is to protect productivity and to improve the environment is to boost productivity.

We will unwaveringly pursue sustainable development and stay committed to green, low-carbon and circular development and to China’s fundamental policy of conserving resources and protecting the environment. In promoting green development we also aim to address climate change and overcapacity.

In the next five years China’s water and energy consumption and CO2 emissions per unit of GDP will be cut by 23%, 15% and 18% respectively. We will make China a beautiful country with a blue sky, green vegetation and clear rivers so that our people can enjoy their lives in a liveable environment with the ecological benefits created by economic development.

block-time published-time 9.43am BST

Leaders gather in China ahead of summit World leaders are arriving in the eastern Chinese city of Hangzhou today ahead of the start of the G20 summit on Sunday. Stay with us as we live blog all of the developments that come out of the various meetings and press conferences that take place.

Theresa May’s first major summit This will be Theresa May’s first major global summit as prime minister, and she hopes to show that the UK remains a dependable diplomatic and trading partner post-Brexit. May will hold talks with world leaders including Barack Obama, Vladimir Putin and the Chinese president, Xi Jinping. But the PM is not expected to use the meeting to make an announcement on the Hinkley Point project, which is backed by Beijing’s state-owned nuclear firm – fuelling speculation the plan will be scrapped or significantly altered. A UK government source told the Press Association:

We have set out the government’s approach to Hinkley, we are currently considering all the component parts of that.

We have said we will make a decision this month, that remains the plan. I don’t expect one in the next few days and I don’t expect our Chinese or French partners are expecting one in the next few days.

The French energy giant EDF, with support from China General Nuclear, had expected to build the £18bn plant, but May’s administration signalled a delay in making a final decision on the project amid reports of security concerns about Beijing’s involvement and the high cost of energy from the power station. The final decision is expected to have major diplomatic implications for relations between the UK, France and China.

A climate of change Meanwhile, China has announced it will formally ratify the Paris climate change agreement[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/paris-climate-agreement], paving the way for a hotly anticipated joint US-China statement on the fight against global warming later today. In a brief dispatch[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-09/03/c\_135656275.htm] on Saturday morning, China’s official news agency, Xinhua, said members of the country’s rubber-stamp parliament, the National People’s Congress, had voted “to review and ratify” the historic deal.

Related: China ratifies Paris climate change agreement[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/03/china-ratifies-paris-climate-change-agreement]

Xi and Obama are expected to meet before the start of the summit to make a joint statement on climate change. Activists believe the centrepiece of that statement, which Chinese and American officials have spent weeks negotiating, will be a formal commitment by both countries to ratify the deal.

Obama has also warned Beijing it must avoid flexing its muscles in the South China Sea[https://www.theguardian.com/world/south-china-sea]. In an interview with CNN, set to be broadcast on Sunday, Obama said he had attempted to convince Xi Jinping of the benefits of restraint.

Related: G20: Obama warns Beijing against South China Sea aggression[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/03/g20-obama-warns-beijing-against-south-china-sea-aggression]

Frosty start Putin has described his country’s relationship with the United States as “frozen” during a meeting with the leaders of Japan and South Korea at a forum in Russia today. Russia and the US are both entangled in the Syrian civil war and are negotiating a deal for cooperation, though Russia has backed the Syrian president, Bashar al-Assad, who US officials say should be removed from power. US authorities have also linked cyber-attacks on the Democratic party to Russian-backed hackers, but Putin has denied sanctioning these. While Putin and Obama do not have a meeting scheduled, they are expected to meet on the summit’s sidelines.

The Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has said terrorism is a long-term issue for discussion by members of the G20, in the wake of an attempted coup by military officers against him. China is Turkey’s third-largest trading partner, though the two countries have clashed over China’s handling of Uighur minorities who share cultural ties with Turkey. Erdogan will also meet Obama before the summit begins.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 10.54am BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Study finds working class people are more likely to vote Labour when party contains MPs with backgrounds similar to their own

The sharp decline in the number of working class Labour MPs has caused a slump in support among voters with similar backgrounds, according to research that seeks to explain why support has dwindled in the party’s heartlands.

The study says previous leaders such as Neil Kinnock and Tony Blair made a concerted effort to select “more and more middle class candidates to run for office during the 1980s and 1990s as part of an effort to rebrand”, resulting in success at the ballot box.

But it claims that the “conscious electoral strategy” stored up intractable problems for Labour as working class voters, who initially simply didn’t vote in response, are now seeking an alternative.

“Working class people are much more likely than middle class people to vote Labour when the party contains a substantial number of working class MPs, and variation over time in the number of working class Labour MPs closely tracks the strength of such class voting,” wrote Oliver Heath, an academic at Royal Holloway, University of London, who wrote the paper.

He said the study, which is revealed in a new book, More Sex, Lies and the Ballot Box, showed that even when other factors were controlled the number of MPs from poorer backgrounds had an effect.

The fact that 37% of Labour MPs came from a manual occupational background in 1964 but just 7% did in 2015 had harmed the party’s image among its traditional voters, he added.

“What the research showed is that as Labour candidates became more middle class, many working class people simply stopped voting. For the last 20 or 30 years we have had a picture of gradually growing working class abstention,” he said, arguing that people felt Labour was no longer representing them.

“They became **alienated** from the political process – and that went unnoticed for quite some time. But these **alienated** voters are fertile territory for being remobilised,” he added, saying that is why they were drawn to Ukip and then – more clearly – Brexit.

“It is very difficult for Labour to rebuild the connection in a credible way. The party needs to reassess what its social identity is – who it wants to represent: the disaffected working class voters in the north or the more liberal middle classes.

“I think it was easier when it had a strong identity at the core.”

Heath said the original shift away from poorer candidates was started by Kinnock as part of an effort to break links with the unions, and disassociate with working class radicalism.

His research found that the problem was most acute with wealthy candidates, finding that they tended to “particularly repel” the working classes, because they were not seen as approachable.

“MPs from privileged backgrounds are indeed perceived as less ‘in touch’ by working-class voters, who will regard a pledge to stand up for the underprivileged as more credible coming from someone whose own background is modest than a similar promise coming from the child of millionaires,” he wrote in the report.

Heath called for action, arguing that political parties had rightly tried hard to increase the representation of women, ethnic minorities and young people in Westminster. “But the representation of those groups has been growing over time, while the representation of working class MPs has been falling,” he said.

Jonathan Ashworth, a shadow cabinet member who represents Leicester South, said: “This is a problem for politics across the piste, but the Labour party needs to increase its efforts to find candidates who come from the communities we want to represent. That is more working class, female and more black and ethnic minority candidates.”

But the MP said it was a more complicated issue than was sometimes made out, with MPs like himself or Gloria De Piero, who were brought up in working class families, but ended up in typically “middle class” jobs.

“My mum was a barmaid in Manchester nightclubs, and my dad a croupier in a Salford casino. We were working class but I went to university and beat the socioeconomic indicators and ended up working for Gordon Brown and becoming an MP.

“So where do I fall in these statistics?”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Trump’s biographer said the suit seemed to be ‘more a threat to other reporters, publishers, news organizations’ to shy away from reporting on nominee’s wife

The lawsuit filed by the wife of Donald Trump against the Daily Mail[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/melania-trump-daily-mail-lawsuit] is a message to the media from her husband “to stay away from my family, particularly Melania”, his biographer has said.

Lawyers for Melania Trump on Thursday filed suit for $150m in damages against the newspaper in Maryland state court. The wife of the Republican presidential nominee is also suing a blogger, Webster Tarpley, from the state in question.

Related: Melania Trump sues the Daily Mail for $150m over 'lies' about her past[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/melania-trump-daily-mail-lawsuit]

In a statement, Trump’s lawyer, Charles Harder, said: “These defendants made several statements about Mrs Trump that are 100% false and tremendously damaging to her personal and professional reputation [and] broadcast their lies to millions of people throughout the US and the world – without any justification.

“Their many lies include, among others, that Mrs Trump supposedly was an ‘escort’ in the 1990s before she met her husband. Defendants’ actions are so egregious, malicious and harmful to Mrs Trump that her damages are estimated at $150m.”

The suit was filed in Montgomery County, a suburban area bordering Washington DC, in response to articles published in August by the Daily Mail that reported rumors that Melania Trump worked as an escort in the 1990s.

Last month, announcing[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/22/melania-trump-lawsuit-daily-mail] that she was considering a suit, her lawyer called those rumors “100% false”.

In an interview with the Guardian, biographer Wayne Barrett, who has been threatened with lawsuits by Trump in the past over his reporting, said that the lawsuit seemed to be “more a threat to other reporters, publishers, news organizations” to shy away from reporting about the Republican nominee’s wife.

The author of Trump: The Greatest Show on Earth and Trump: The Deals and the Downfall noted that the candidate had a reputation for litigiousness with reporters and said Trump had bragged to him nearly 40 years ago about “breaking reporters”. Barrett noted that, at the time, “there hadn’t been anything written negative about Donald”.

Trump went on to sue author Tim O’Brien for reporting that the Republican nominee had exaggerated his wealth in what Barrett described as an “attempt to wreck O’Brien”. ( The suit was dismissed[https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/that-time-trump-sued-over-the-size-of-hiswallet/2016/03/08/785dee3e-e4c2-11e5-b0fd-073d5930a7b7\_story.html].) Barrett added that Trump’s approach with the press had always been, “from the very beginning, to threaten, browbeat, seduce them”.

The Daily Mail article also contained allegations that Melania Trump came to New York a year earlier than she has claimed, raising issues about her **immigration**status. Trump denied[https://twitter.com/MELANIATRUMP/status/761212858944421888?lang=en] a story in Politico in which questions about her **immigration**status were first reported.

The lawsuit noted that while the article in question had been removed from the Daily Mail’s website, the newspaper had yet to apologize or formally retract it. The Mail included a retraction of the story in its Friday UK print edition.

“We did not intend to state or suggest that these allegations are true,” the newspaper said, “nor did we intend to state or suggest that Mrs Trump ever worked as an ‘escort’ or in the ‘sex business’.” It added that its article had included denials from a Trump spokesperson and the owner of the modelling agency in question, and said it regretted “any such misinterpretation”.

The retraction was also posted online[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3769798/Melania-Trump-retraction.html]. “The Daily Mail newspaper and MailOnline/DailyMail.com have entirely separate editors and journalistic teams,” it added. “In so far as MailOnline/DailyMail.com published the same article it wholeheartedly also retracts the above and also regrets any such misinterpretation.”

Asked if the retraction would affect the suit, Harder replied: “It does not.”

Tarpley’s blogpost, which has been retracted[http://tarpley.net/formal-retraction-of-factual-assertions-and-innunendos-regarding-melania-trump/], claimed, per the suit, that “it is widely known Melania was not a working model but rather a high-end escort” and that she had a “mental breakdown” after a plagiarism controversy[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/19/melania-trump-plagiarism-scandal-michelle-obama] over her speech to the Republican national convention in Cleveland in July.

Harder is best known for representing Hulk Hogan in the lawsuit that bankrupted Gawker Media[https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jun/10/gawker-media-bankruptcy-auction-hulk-hogan-lawsuit] and forced its sale to Univision last month. That suit was funded by the Silicon Valley billionaire Peter Thiel, a vocal Trump supporter.

Steve Klepper[http://www.kramonandgraham.com/steven-klepper], an appellate lawyer for the Baltimore law firm Kramon & Graham, said the inclusion of a blogger in the suit indicated legal maneuvering.

He told the Guardian: “Any time you have a filing that adds a minor in-state defendant, it’s a flag that they were joined to prevent removal to federal court. And as we know, Donald Trump has not been having been the best luck in federal court recently.”

Klepper pointed to a Maryland defamation statute[http://law.justia.com/codes/maryland/2010/courts-and-judicial-proceedings/title-3/subtitle-5/3-502] that might provide a basis for Melania Trump’s suit. It reads: “A single or married woman whose character or reputation for chastity is defamed by any person may maintain an action against that person.”

He added, however: “Montgomery County has possibly the highest-percentage college education jury pool in the whole country and I cannot see how the jury pool would be good for [Melania Trump].”

News of the lawsuit came 68 days before the election, on the day Donald Trump pledged to promote “ patriotism[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-american-patriotism-schools-immigration] ” in schools and a day after he gave a hardline **immigration**policy[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/in-arizona-we-saw-the-real-donald-trump-the-one-we-already-knew] speech, hours after striking conciliatory notes on the topic in a meeting[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-pena-nieto-immigration-arizona] with the Mexican president, Enrique Peña Nieto.

The Republican nominee, who has consistently trailed Hillary Clinton in the polls, has developed a combative relationship with the media, blacklisting a number of news outlets and pledging to pass stricter libel laws[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/26/trump-pledges-curb-press-freedom-libel-laws-first-amendment] if elected.

A Trump campaign spokesperson told the Guardian: “We do not have anything in addition to the Harder statement.”

The Daily Mail responded to a request for comment by pointing to its online and print retractions.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**For many asylum seekers the housing they receive on arrival in Scotland is the first safe place they have known in years

In May, Amnesty International asked[https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/05/refugees-welcome-survey-results-2016/] more than 27,000 people in 27 countries if they would welcome **refugees** – and found that four out of five people in the survey said yes, they were willing to let **refugees** live in their countries, towns, neighbourhoods and homes.

But what does that actually mean? It seems here in the UK, we are not quite ready to hand over our spare set of keys. Despite coming third on the global **refugees** welcome index (with Germany second and China at the top), when asked whether they would personally accept people fleeing war or persecution into their home, only 29% of UK citizens said yes.

Related: Scotland welcomes 1,000th Syrian **refugee**[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/01/scotland-celebrates-arrival-of-1000th-syrian-refugee]

Scotland, and Glasgow in particular, has a long recent history of resettlement of **refugees** and asylum seekers, although among the many success stories there have been some notable missteps. The infamous idea to demolish five blocks of derelict social housing live[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2014/apr/03/glasgow-2014-red-road-flats-demolished-opening-ceremony-commonwealth-games] as some sort of spectacle during the opening of the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow was met with a public outcry as asylum seekers were housed in the sixth block[https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2014/apr/13/plan-demolish-tower-block-commonwealth-games-opening-ceremony-scrapped].

Not only was this tone-deaf plan abandoned, it also neatly dispelled the myth, fuelled by the tabloid press, that **refugees** were being housed in luxury accommodation. Although, as one former **refugee** told us, it doesn’t matter where you stay when you arrive. “It was a place where we could sleep through the night and not be afraid of being bombed or killed. That was luxury to us.”

There has been a lot of welcoming going on since the end of last year when the first families to arrive under the Syrian vulnerable persons resettlement scheme touched down on a rainy, cold day. Last week, Scotland welcomed its 1,000th **refugee** from Syria[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/01/scotland-celebrates-arrival-of-1000th-syrian-refugee], almost a year after the image of three-year-old Alan Kurdi[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/01/alan-kurdi-death-one-year-on-compassion-towards-refugees-fades] washed up on a Turkish beach galvanised the global response to the humanitarian crisis. It’s to Scotland’s credit that 29 out of 32 local authorities in Scotland have taken Syrian **refugees**.

Many of the positive stories of communities welcoming new families were overshadowed by tabloid headlines claiming **refugees** settled on the Isle of Bute were complaining about being left in an isolated island. That story was quickly debunked[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/30/bute-refugees-dream-sun-syrian-families-resettled] and while there will continue to be issues, the basic right to housing is something that we can see progress on.

Related: How much does it cost UK councils to take in **refugees**?[https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/jul/14/cost-uk-councils-take-in-syrian-refugees]

Last week, the Scottish **Refugee** Council, with support from the Scottish government and the Chartered Institute of Housing Scotland, published a guide for housing professionals[http://www.housingscotlandtoday.com/archivednews/housing-practitioners-guide-to-integrating-asylum-seekers-and-refugees/], with practical advice to ensure that everyone in need of **refugee** protection is treated with dignity and fairness and their right to quality accommodation is upheld.

Jamie Stewart, the Scottish **Refugee** Council’s housing development officer, says that for many people in the asylum system, the accommodation they receive on arrival in Scotland is the first safe place of shelter they have known in years. “A safe, secure home is so fundamentally important for all of us but especially so for people who are new to Scotland and trying to navigate their way through complicated systems and may be recovering from torture, trauma and violent human rights abuses.”

Beyond the political posturing, negative headlines, and well-meaning offers of help, it’s important to remember the simple fact that these are people, many with children, who are leaving their homes and risking their lives so that their family can sleep at night.

Join the Guardian Housing Network[https://register.theguardian.com/housing/register/] to read more pieces like this and follow us on Twitter@GuardianHousing[https://twitter.com/GuardianHousing] to keep up with the latest social housing insight and analysis.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**For five years, he was the brakes on a ‘cynical’ Conservative party, argues the former deputy prime minister. Was the cost, personal and political, worth it?• Scroll down for an exclusive extract from his revealing new book

I’m standing on the edge of a one-horse town in the middle of nowhere, blinded by the mid-morning sun. Nothing to the left of me, nothing to the right. Just heat and dust. Ennio Morricone’s theme tune to The Good, The Bad And The Ugly[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFa1-kciCb4] plays on a loop in my head. Eventually, a man hollers and strides over. He is wearing shorts and shades, and has a salt-and-pepper beard. He could be a reclusive former pop star, who walked away from fame and gave up on the niceties of life.

“I think you’re the first Brit ever to come to Olmedo,” Nick Clegg[http://] says, forgetting he is one himself. “And I hope you’re the last.” Silence. He apologises; he doesn’t mean it like that. It’s just that he values his privacy, and this town 150km from Madrid is where Clegg’s wife, Miriam González Durántez[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/miriam-gonzalez-durantez], grew up, and where they come every summer with their three boys to stay with her mother. A sanctuary.

He takes me on a brief tour. From the bridge, we can see sugar beet fields in the distance; here is the only hotel, there the town hall. Here is the church where he and Miriam got married, there the bust of his father-in-law, the first democratically elected mayor of Olmedo (though he was also in office under Franco). We continue walking. I wonder if we are heading towards the family home, but we end up at a cafe. Clegg orders two milky coffees in Spanish. “You’re not hungry, are you?” he asks. But it’s more a statement than a question.

Few have experienced the extremes of political fortune quite like Nick Clegg. In 2010, there was no politician in the land as popular as the then leader of the Liberal Democrats. He appeared so much fresher than David Cameron and Gordon Brown in the televised election debates[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/apr/15/leaders-debate-nick-clegg-tv]. He answered directly, remembered the names of people who asked questions, and promised change. He represented the radical centre that, given half a chance, would introduce proportional representation, elect the House of Lords, save the planet. The young loved him, not least because of one crucial pledge: the Lib Dems would not increase university tuition fees. Five years before Corbynism, there was Cleggmania, and it was just as giddy.

Perhaps it was easy for Clegg to make his promises: after all, the Lib Dems were never held accountable because they never won general elections. Only, this time, they grabbed 57 seats and formed Britain’s first coalition government[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/liberal-conservative-coalition] since Churchill’s war ministry[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Churchill\_war\_ministry] in the 1940s. Cameron was more than willing to work with the Lib Dems – he was desperate to: Clegg gave him the numbers and provided likability. But six years is an eternity in politics. The deputy prime minister became better known as Calamity Clegg, Cameron’s puppet, the ultimate political Judas.

Clegg has just written a political memoir, baldly called Politics[http://bookshop.theguardian.com/politics-419192.html]. We are spoilt for choice when it comes to personal nadir: there’s the 2014 poll that reveals he is the least popular leader in modern British history[http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/nick-clegg/10867964/Nick-Clegg-voted-least-popular-party-leader-in-modern-British-history.html] ; the occasion when his security guards told him to lie flat in his car to hide from protesters; the 2015 election[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/general-election-2015], when the Lib Dems lost all but eight of their seats; and, my personal favourite, his then nine-year-old son Alberto walking around the supermarket singing the spoof song I’m Sorry, based on the apology his father issued after the coalition tripled tuition fees.

How did Alberto come to be singing it in a supermarket? “I can’t remember! This is… four years ago! It’s a very catchy tune.” Clegg laughs through gritted teeth. Remind me how the song goes, I say. “I’m not going to sing the bloody song. We were in quite a crowded supermarket in Putney, and he just started singing it. I quickly gave him some sweets and he stopped – they weren’t gobstoppers, but they had the same effect.”

Was Alberto the only one of his three boys who sang it? “I don’t quite know what the relevance of this is.” His voice rises. Well, I say, it’s in your book. “Have the other kids ever sung it? Yes, of course.” Has Miriam? Now his voice rises to an incredulous squeak. “I don’t know, Simon!” Well, I say, if ever a song was written taking the piss out of me, I’m sure my whole family would sing it loud and proud. He relaxes. “Exactly! Exaaaactly ! So they all sang it. Whether Miriam sang it as well… I’m sure she hummed along.” He pauses. “I’m bristling because there was a lot of piss-taking, obviously.”

He’s not wrong there. It’s only now, a year on and since Cameron’s resignation[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2016/jun/24/david-camerons-full-resignation-speech-i-will-go-before-the-autumn-video], that Clegg’s legacy is beginning to be reassessed. Perhaps he was a moderating influence on the Tories, after all. Perhaps we didn’t give him the credit he deserved. That’s what he claims in his book, at any rate. An examination of the nature of coalition and liberalism, it is also a rage against the populism of the Brexiteers and Corbyn and, more than anything, a defence of his five years holding Cameron’s hand – and occasionally slapping it.

Why write it? “The turbulence in politics right now is so great, and accelerating at such a pace, that I wanted to have a stab at understanding what’s going on. And, crucially, given that liberalism is on the defensive everywhere, it’s: how can you get back in the ring?”

I just don't understand what this whole Corbyn thing is for, if it doesn't do anything

Clegg’s is a memoir that reveals itself by stealth; a book by a man wounded by his experience. One leitmotif is the lack of credit the Lib Dems, and Clegg in particular, got for the coalition’s successes, from putting a brake on austerity to taxing plastic bags. If the Tories liked a policy, he says, they simply claimed it as their own. Today, it’s the plastic bag tax[http://www.libdems.org.uk/plastic\_bag\_charge\_is\_lib\_dem\_success\_story] that irks him. “What did I see last week? There was a great deal of stuff in the press about the plastic bag tax. I personally insisted on that, and the Conservatives were ferociously opposed. I remember Osborne saying, ‘This is ridiculous – I’m not going to accept it.’ Did you see any mention…?”

Clegg is so worked up, he can’t complete his sentence. You sound really pissed off, I say. He instantly recovers his cool, and insists he’s anything but. “No, it’s not my nature to be angry, but am I a bit frustrated? Yes. I did not cater for the sheer brazen ruthlessness with which the Conservative party would hoover up any good news.”

Why did he want to form a coalition: to soften austerity or because he wanted power? Simple, he says: power. “Fashionable parts of the left now sneer at government, and I’ve never understood that. I can understand it if you’re a philosopher or a religious figure, but if you’re in the secular world of politics, which is a grubby, tough, volatile business, why on earth would you not want to try and do shit? I just don’t understand what this whole Corbyn thing[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/jeremy-corbyn] is for, if it doesn’t do anything.”

The problem is, Clegg says, he didn’t understand the importance of the political symbols, from the Rose Garden press conference[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2010/may/12/coalition-government-general-election-2010] with Cameron (which came across as more bromance than business) to his acceptance of a nothingy office with no front entrance (Cameron refused to allow him to use Downing Street as a backdrop for media interviews).

Clegg was so busy justifying the Lib Dems’ role as a restraining agent that he forgot to tell the public they were in power. “It is something I mistakenly played up to. We portrayed ourselves as a political prophylactic, rather than an agent of change.” Actually, he says, the coalition negotiations were a triumph. The Tories agreed to virtually all the Lib Dems’ demands: fixed-term parliaments, scrapping ID cards, a referendum on electoral reform, measures to tackle climate change. “At the outset, it felt like a genuinely composite government. We got more of our policies into the coalition agreement than they did. And that shows both the strengths and weaknesses of me as a leader, and us as a party, in that we were diligently ticking off the number of policies. But we learned in hindsight that you can get as many of your policies in, but if there’s one policy you don’t, notably tuition fees, that’s the thing people remember.”

But reading the coalition agreement[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/may/20/conservative-liberal-democrat-coalition-agreement-analysis], it looks as if the Lib Dems knew from the start that they would be screwed on tuition fees. The final paragraph, under the heading Education, reads: “If the response of the government to Lord Browne’s report [the review into higher education funding] is one that Liberal Democrats cannot accept, then arrangements will be made to enable Liberal Democrat MPs to abstain in any vote.” In the event, Clegg did not abstain on the vote to increase tuition fees (from £3,290 a year to a maximum of £9,000); six months into government, he voted in favour[http://www.libdemvoice.org/tuition-fees-how-liberal-democrat-mps-voted-22346.html].

In his book, Clegg accuses Cameron, whom he broadly likes, of hypocrisy, claiming to care about climate change and Europe and the poor, then kowtowing to the right wing of his party. Is it true that when Clegg suggested there needed to be more social housing, Cameron told him it only turned people away from the Tories? “It would have been in a Quad meeting [the committee of Cameron, George Osborne, Clegg and Danny Alexander], so either Cameron or Osborne. One of them – I honestly can’t remember whom – looked genuinely nonplussed and said, ‘I don’t understand why you keep going on about the need for more social housing – it just creates Labour voters.’ They genuinely saw housing as a Petri dish for voters. It was unbelievable.”

The more I governed with Gove and his team, the more I realised he was just striking a series of superficial poses

Before long, he says, he was dealing with a very different Tory party from the one with which he went into government. He initially found Osborne bright, funny and empathetic. “One of the gifts he has is the ability to think of politics from someone else’s point of view, which is genuinely unusual, and why he was such a consummate dealmaker.”) But their relationship soured. “What I found offputting was the callousness to his political calculations, particularly around welfare. Welfare for Osborne was just a bottomless pit of savings, and it didn’t really matter what the human consequences were, because focus groups had shown that the voters they wanted to appeal to were very anti-welfare, and therefore there was almost no limit to those anti-welfare prejudices. I found that very unattractive, very cynical.”

He also accuses Theresa May[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/theresamay] of distorting figures to stoke up anti-**immigrant** feeling. “The Home Officeproduced a report called Free Movement[https://www-gov-uk.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/335088/SingleMarketFree\_MovementPersons.pdf]. It was all about giving red meat to their backbenchers on Europe. She kept saying there was this terrible ‘abuse’ of freedom of movement, when simply describing EU citizens exercising their right to come and work in the UK. They tried to insert statistics suggesting the number of UK citizens living and working in other EU countries was half a million lower than any other mainstream estimate.”

Who does he think comes out worst in his book? Clegg looks appalled: “It’s not that kind of book.”

It is, I say.

“No, it’s not,” he says, firmly. “I don’t know. You tell me.”

“M…” I begin.

He grins. “Oh, gosh, yes, Michael Gove[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/michaelgove]. Yep, you’re probably right. Fair enough.”

The stories are endless: from Gove hiding in the toilet when Lib Dem education minister David Laws visits him, to Gove leaking apocryphal stories about González Durántez to the press, and announcing the return of O-levels on a whim. Clegg tells me Gove was cultured and often had him in stitches, but then he goes for him.

“The more I governed with Gove and his team, the more I realised he was just striking a series of superficial poses. You’ve got a generation of politicians very close to the media, people like Boris Johnson and Gove, and the problem is, the skill of tossing off 800 words on one subject and then on another a week later is completely different to governing. With Cameron and Osborne, there was a seriousness about what they were doing – a deadly seriousness I often didn’t like. But with Gove it was just a series of throwaway poses about our kids’ futures. There’s this ersatz intellectual heft that Gove and his people have that I don’t think is merited.

“People such as Gove and Johnson have elevated striking poses into a political art form. Their apogee was the referendum. I wanted Gove to win the party leadership. He won the argument, and he should have been in a position of power to face the music.”

Clegg recently revealed that Gove was responsible for leaking a story about a supposed conversation Clegg had with the Queen (with Gove present), in which she tore a strip off him for being so unquestioningly pro-European, and suggested she was a Brexiteer[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/12/queen-elizabeth-brexit-sun-nick-clegg-eu-referendum] – a conversation Clegg insists never happened[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/09/eurosceptic-rant-by-the-queen-never-happened-says-nick-clegg]. “It was complete rubbish. I was lucky enough to be president of the privy council, so I had the huge honour of meeting the Queen pretty well monthly for five years. I don’t remember every conversation we had, but would I remember if I had received this tongue-lashing? Of course I would. And I don’t.”

How does he know the story came from Gove? “The other source of the Sun’s story[https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1078504/revealed-queen-backs-brexit-as-alleged-eu-bust-up-with-ex-deputy-pm-emerges/] told me.”

Of all our recent British political leaders, Clegg is the most bracingly European. He speaks fluent Spanish, Dutch, French and German. His half-Russian father, a descendant of Tsarist nobility, was a successful banker; his Dutch mother had lived in Indonesia, where she and her family were interned in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp during the second world war. Clegg attended Westminster public school, where he was a keen actor, appearing with Helena Bonham Carter[https://www.theguardian.com/film/helena-bonham-carter] in a production of The Changeling (she accidentally kicked him in the balls). He studied archaeology and anthropology at Cambridge university, where he appeared in a play about Cyrano de Bergerac under the directorship of Sam Mendes[https://www.theguardian.com/culture/sam-mendes]. There is still something actorly about him. At times, when he asserts himself, his voice shifts from urbane political class to a rasping Ray Winstone.

I thought long and hard about quitting. But it would have been the worst of both worlds

Clegg went on to study at the University of Minnesota and then the prestigious College of Europe in Bruges, where he met Miriam, today regarded as a leading expert on European trade law. After working for the European Commission, Clegg became a Lib Dem MEP for the East Midlands, and in 2005 won a seat as MP for Sheffield Hallam. Astonishingly, two years later he was leader of the party. Now 49, he looks both young and old for his age – boyish but jowly, with white chest hair prodding through his T-shirt, and surprisingly hairy ears. He has a bad back, and regularly asks if we can stand up or walk around to ease his discomfort.

Again, he talks of the viciousness of the personal attacks on him. At one point, Labour MP Barry Gardiner stood up in parliament and called him a quisling. ( Vidkun Quisling[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vidkun\_Quisling] was the head of Norway’s government who collaborated with the Nazis.) Did he challenge Gardiner? “No,” Clegg says quietly. “I think I should have. The advice you get in the frontline of politics is, don’t answer back.”

Are you saying that if you had somebody round for dinner and they called you a quisling, you wouldn’t fight back? He smiles apologetically. “I’d probably get up and lamp them,” he says. “With hindsight, I should have been more outspoken. There’s a very British culture in Westminster where people say unspeakably beastly things to each other in the Chamber, then, when they shuffle next to each other for a cup of tea, they talk about the weather. I’m too Dutch for that.” Only he wasn’t: he took it on the chin.

Does he feel a bit sorry for himself? He pulls himself up, straight-backed, and momentarily morphs into the Major from Fawlty Towers[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Major\_Gowen]. “No. Never have done. Wasn’t brought up like that. You get on with things and take the knocks. Look, it was a fantastic privilege to do what I did. I’m very lucky. I’m absolutely besotted with my kids, and I survived more or less with my limbs still attached to my body.”

As if on cue, a procession of mini-Cleggs strolls by the cafe. His gorgeous boys (14-year-old Antonio, 12-year-old Alberto and seven-year-old Miguel), accompanied by Miriam and her mother, stop to chat. Miriam asks how my flight was, Antonio tells me Manchester United will win the league now that they’ve signed Paul Pogba. And then they are on their way. “See you later,” Miriam says. Clegg looks at Miriam adoringly, as if he still can’t quite believe his luck. “I was smitten by her the first day,” he says. “Bowled over. Love at first sight. She didn’t speak a word of English; our early courtship was in French. She kept telling me stories I couldn’t quite follow. I was so bewitched, it made no difference.”

Miriam recently wrote a warts-and-all cookbook, Made In Spain[http://bookshop.theguardian.com/made-in-spain.html], in which she revealed that the Camerons had wanted to be friends, but she wasn’t really up for it; that Samantha Cameron had served the Cleggs roast chicken with a tube of Hellmann’s mayonnaise[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/shortcuts/2016/jul/26/dont-spread-about-sam-cams-hellmanns-mayonnaise-habit], rather than making her own; and that she had refused to be in the house, let alone cook, when Osborne visited (Clegg and the then chancellor had a takeaway). Was it embarrassing when Miriam refused to stay around for Osborne? “Not at all,” Clegg says, his voice rising again. “My embarrassing thing is that I’ve not actually read what Miriam said in her book,” he says by way of a diversion. “I remember her leaving as George came. But she didn’t stalk off. She went out with friends, having put the kids to bed.”

Where does he stand on Hellmannsgate? “To be fair to Miriam, unless you’re very sensitive about your own mayonnaise, I don’t think that counts as score-settling.”

In 2014, Lib Dem peer Matthew Oakeshott suggested the party would do better under a new leader and attempted to orchestrate a coup[https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/social-affairs/politics/news/60575/lord-oakeshott-returns-lords-following-nick-clegg-coup] against Clegg. Others, no more favourably disposed, told the deputy PM that he’d made his bed and had better lie in it. How much did it take out of him? A lot, he says. In the book, he writes that by 2011 he was working long hours, smoking too much and putting on weight. How many cigarettes? Sometimes three to five a night, he says. There’s something touching about the fact that even his excess is so modestly calibrated. How much weight did he put on? “I didn’t weigh myself, Simon! But Paddy Ashdown told me very sternly, ‘You’re too fat.’” Did he have to get bigger trousers? “Yes.”

Did he consider resigning? “I didn’t think, in spring 2011, when I was feeling so shit and was fat and whatever, that I should quit. But there were several times in the last two or three years when I thought long and hard about whether that was the right thing to do. In the end, I thought, it’s the worst of both worlds: you’ve created a government that lots of people heap opprobrium on you for, and then you quit when you’ve got nothing to show for it.”

He felt that leading players Vince Cable[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/vincentcable] and Chris Huhne[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/chrishuhne] failed to give him their full support. (Cable seemed to be preparing to take over the leadership, while Huhne didn’t help matters when he ended up in prison for perverting the course of justice[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/chris-huhne-trial].) “Well, I don’t think Vince and Chris would ever count themselves as great team players,” Clegg says.

If I was skippering the Lib Dems, I say, I’d want team players on my side. “Well, it’s not like that, is it? Vince’s strength, and the reason he’s liked by the public, was precisely because he stood apart. So there was no point in me saying, ‘Oh, Vince, can you put in a shift in the boiler room with the rest of the team?’ What I did was give them both big departmental responsibilities.”

However much Clegg points the finger at a treacherous Tory leadership or the recalcitrant big beasts in his own party, he knows that ultimately there is one person to blame for his failures: himself. The day he agreed to triple tuition fees, he lost credibility. Isn’t it easy to promise to freeze fees when you think you’ll never be in power? “Yes, clearly,” he concedes. “And when we made that commitment, I didn’t think it was very sensible. Nor did Vince.”

You sold yourself as the politician youngsters could trust and you ended up being defined by…

He finishes my sentence: “A lack of trust.”

Clegg argues there will always be something on which the smaller party in a coalition fails to deliver. But this is different, I say. It wasn’t about failing to deliver, it was about doing something you expressly promised not to. “Yes. Right. Yes, I see what you mean. My hunch is, the reason why the tuition fees thing enraged people as much as it did – and for some people still does, because it’s so personal to people – is that it’s their sons, their daughters. Getting your kids into university, seeing them in a gown on the mantelpiece, it’s the distillation of a better life for your children. I have spent a lot of time thinking about the emotional pungency of it. It’s like a politician coming out of the television going ‘Bang!’ [he makes a fist with one hand and delivers a knockout blow to the other] to my face as a parent. That’s my explanation.”

Does he replay the conversation he had with Cameron when he agreed to the increase, and come up with alternative scenarios? “Yeah, of course. One of the many lessons I’ve learned is that you can’t just spring things on people if they don’t see there is a problem in the first place. We just sprung this massive change on how we were going to fund our universities, without explaining there was a crisis in university funding. So often I do wonder what would have happened if we’d just pushed the university sector over the edge and said, we’re not going to help you out, we’re not going to give you a perfectly formed solution.”

So he conceded to Cameron too quickly? “Far too quickly. We should have let the universities talk about it, and yes, there would have been egg on my face, I would have had to swallow my pride. But at least we could have said, ‘Listen, we are responding to an urgent problem.’”

So many of those students who placed that hope in him have since dumped him for Corbyn. They could have been his, I say. “Yes. Yep.” Is that his biggest regret? “Yes, of course it’s a huge regret, but that is not just a phenomenon in Britain. What you’re seeing across the developed world, particularly among university-educated youngsters active on social media, is a movement from one figure of hope who can deliver the next Jerusalem to the next.”

Now he has to look to his own future. “My days of leadership are over. I promise you, having been as battle hardened as I have – do you mind if I stand up? – I’m not hankering for another go in the trenches.” Tim Farron[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/tim-farron], the current Lib Dem leader, has given Clegg the job of scrutinising the government’s Brexit strategy and holding it to account[http://www.libdems.org.uk/farron\_appoints\_clegg\_to\_challenge\_government\_on\_brexit]. He is keen to do that, and says that if there is a snap election, he will defend his seat in Sheffield Hallam. Beyond that, he doesn’t have a clue; he’s too young for a bit-part life and wants a new career.

I ask if the day after the 2015 general election was his lowest point. “Well, you can’t get much lower than that,” Clegg says. But no, it wasn’t. “I felt more wretched after the referendum than after the election. Political parties go up and down. Dare I say it, it’s not the end of the world. I immediately fell on my sword after the election, took responsibility, but we will come back. We already are. But on the 23rd of June we lost something for good as a country, which I feel much more strongly about. You can’t undo a lot of that damage.”

He walks me back to the bus station at the edge of town. I tell him I still think his biggest regret is the fact that all those young voters now feel he betrayed them. No, he says, I’m being sentimental: he’s more ruthless than I want to believe. His real regret is failing to deliver constitutional reform. As for tuition fees, if it hadn’t been that, it would have been another issue that would have killed off Cleggmania. But the people he is interested in are those still convinced that coalition government can work – messy, compromised and occasionally shaming, but always serious politics. And if you believe in governing alongside parties you disagree with, as he does, you can never hope to emerge blemish-free. Actually, he says, the reality, is even less heroic. “There is absolutely no way that you can maintain a steadfast reputation for integrity.”

‘No wonder there was a Nick Clegg Looking Sad website’: an exclusive extract from his revealing new book David Cameron seemed a little on edge. We were alone in his study in Number 10, very shortly after the formation of the coalition, and he wanted to ask me something that had clearly been preying on his mind. “This is terribly awkward,” he admitted. “The thing is… George has for so long had his eye on Dorneywood… He’s very close to me… Would you mind if he used Dorneywood instead of you?” He then proposed that I share the foreign secretary’s traditional grace-and-favour countryside retreat, Chevening, rather than Dorneywood, which was ordinarily used by the number two in government.

I was a bit taken aback. I thought he wanted to ask me something important. It hadn’t really occurred to me that I might get a retreat to use at weekends, still less that there was any great distinction between one or the other. Cameron’s plea suggested that George Osborne had been measuring up the curtains for years.

I accepted the new arrangement and found myself sharing Chevening, a grand mansion in the Kent countryside near Sevenoaks, for the next five years with the foreign secretary, first William Hague and later Philip Hammond. Not at the same time, I hasten to add; that would have been taking coalition a little too far.

Whether or not occupying Dorneywood made any difference to anything, I couldn’t say. But, like Westminster itself, many of the so-called trappings of power – grace-and-favour mansions, grand offices, ministerial Jaguars – can seem completely **alien** to people who have not spent their lives preparing for power. As such, it is easy to underestimate their importance.

When it was suggested that I take an office with no publicly recognisable entrance of its own, I didn’t mind, as I thought I wouldn’t need an equivalent of the Number 10 door at which to receive guests. When it was decided where I would sit in the House of Commons at Prime Minister’s Questions, I thought it made sense to sit supportively next to the PM, to show that the coalition could work smoothly.

Big mistakes. All of them.

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From the outside, the first day of the coalition government looked just about as smooth a transition of power as you could wish for, but behind closed doors it was anything but. With the negotiations wrapped up in just five days, the prime minister and I spent the morning of Wednesday, 12 May 2010 in Downing Street, appointing ministers to our first cabinet, before sharing the stage in the sun-drenched Rose Garden. When Cameron turned to me shortly afterwards and told me that, “We may have overdone it a bit”, he was probably right. It was easy to get a little carried away with the “new dawn” feel of the occasion. But I soon found out that not only was I physically unprepared for government; government was physically unprepared for me.

On that first day in Downing Street, there was no office waiting for me. The in-house team at Number 10 quickly switched into gear for the incoming prime minister, but had little idea how to handle a deputy prime minister sharing power at the top. I was ushered upstairs to one of the first-floor state rooms. There I spent several hours, accompanied by Danny Alexander and a small number of my closest advisers, while the civil service buzzed around the building, supporting the new PM and largely ignoring us. There wasn’t even a phone.

While the 200 or so staff in Downing Street leapt into action to support the new prime minister, I was given just a single civil servant. My mistake, at least at first, was to accept the model presented to me. Having negotiated the coalition agreement without the help of civil servants, and with no experience in government myself, I simply didn’t see the need to surround myself with teams of officials. And having witnessed the infantile Whitehall turf war waged by Gordon Brown’s courtiers against Tony Blair, I thought it best to avoid rival power centres.

The most unforgiving consequence was the tsunami of paperwork that fell directly to me to contend with. I was asked my opinion on things I didn’t have the remotest clue about – dense, technical issues to do with the mechanics of everything from local government finance to energy subsidies. Every evening I would plonk myself on the sofa at home with my box and sit there dutifully wading through it, as family life happened around me. I would stay there virtually every night until the early hours. Then I would grab a few hours’ sleep, which were disturbed most nights by our then one-year-old son Miguel, only to get up early to help get our two older boys fed, changed and packed off to school.

The effect was not only physically draining, it was politically debilitating, too. Very quickly it became obvious that the central nervous system of Whitehall lay in the daily negotiations between me and Cameron. At the same time, the two most senior Liberal Democrats in the cabinet, Vince Cable and Chris Huhne, were, notwithstanding their obvious intellectual strengths, not known as nature’s keenest team players. From the outset, their focus was devoted to their own departments – and their own political reputations. While they did this to great effect (and I encouraged them to do so), it meant I was unable to rely on others to defend in the media what we were doing. I soon became such a focal point for anger that I felt the impulse to defend myself publicly. No wonder Osborne said, somewhat smugly, in an interview in 2011 that, having expected to become British politics’ public enemy number one, he “hadn’t reckoned on Nick Clegg”.

I never contacted newspaper editors in response to negative coverage about myself. My only exception to this rule was when my family was affected. Every few weeks, Miriam and I had to devote a fair amount of time and emotional energy to rebutting ludicrous claims: that Miriam was somehow responsible for human-rights abuses in Western Sahara; that she was guilty of tax irregularities in her law firm several years before she was even employed by it; that our decision to send our Catholic children, who had attended a Catholic primary school, to a Catholic secondary school was a sign of hypocrisy. And so on.

I mistakenly assumed that if I worked hard within government, did my homework and took decisions on their merits, then, one way or another, the truth – that the coalition was acting out of reasonable motives – would become plain to see and political dividends would follow. What I did not anticipate was what actually happened: I did all that – and no one knew about it. This enabled critics from the left to lampoon the Liberal Democrats as spineless, and critics from the right to lambast us as illegitimate irritants who shouldn’t have been in government in the first place. The public readily turned away from us. I failed to realise an interesting paradox of modern politics: in an age of unprecedented transparency, the reality of power can still remain obscure to the public.

By the spring of 2011, I was both drained and physically unfit. I smoked several cigarettes a night. I got virtually no exercise. Since becoming leader of the Liberal Democrats, I had dealt with pneumonia, chest pains, a broken toe, chronic coughs and bronchitis, while trying to look perky in public at all times. And throughout all of this, I would regularly crisscross London in the early evening to help put our three young boys to bed before returning to Westminster. No wonder there was a Nick Clegg Looking Sad website. They could have added Nick Clegg looking fat, pale and unhealthy, too.

Over time, I worked out a better balance. I employed a larger team; I took up weekly kickboxing classes and had a rowing machine installed in a cubbyhole near my office; I cut down on the cigarettes and started to eat better. I handled the vast amount of paperwork more effectively by tackling most of it early in the morning instead of late at night, a switch of technique I later discovered Cameron had adopted, too.

I discovered that one of the best ways to master the dysfunctional worlds of Westminster and Whitehall was simply to work outside them as much as possible. I restarted my pre-election habit of holding public question-and-answer sessions. I even started my own call-in show on LBC Radio with the veteran presenter Nick Ferrari. It was condemned as a foolish risk by many in the Westminster village, yet quickly proved to be sufficiently popular that a number of other politicians followed suit.

Much of what I have described might seem like the footling ephemera of political life. But I believe it lifts the lid on something more serious: politics is already populated by a surfeit of political professionals and apparatchiks; if we want people with an independent turn of mind who have led normal lives to represent our country in the future, there will need to be a shift. If every youthful misdemeanour is recycled on social media for ever, if the dysfunctional operation of Whitehall continues to expect too much of people at the top, and if politicians cannot protect their loved ones, we should not be surprised if in future parliament is populated by robots, monks and nuns.

• This is an edited extract from Politics: Between The Extremes, by Nick Clegg, published on 15 September by Vintage at £20. To order a copy for £16.95, go to bookshop.theguardian.com[https://bookshop.theguardian.com/politics-419212.html] or call 0330 333 6846.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**If James Bumgarner hadn’t changed his name to Garner he might have been slower to succeed

Long before he became famous, James Bumgarner changed his name to Garner[http://gb.imdb.com/name/nm0001258/]. If he hadn’t, he might have been slower to succeed. Smart, literate and incurably honest, Garner was a byword in his profession for authenticity, but he permitted himself that one small bogus moment. With the conspicuous and jaw-breaking exception of Jimmy Carter’s national security adviser Zbigniew Brzesinski[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zbigniew\_Brzezinski], Americans of foreign background have always been sensible about changing their names to something easier for the locals to say. Australian **immigrants**, however, now tend to hang on to their original family moniker, even when it’s an impossible mouthful for anyone without training in phonetics. The politician Tim Soutphommasane[https://www.theguardian.com/profile/timsoutphommasane] is a conspicuous recent example.

For a man whose surname no journalist can spell without medical assistance, Soutphommasane – let’s call him Tim – is often in the news. Lately, he has become famous all over again for complaining that too many people in the Australian political world don’t even try to pronounce his name. Since his name sounds wrong even when you say it right, it’s easy to see why. His name is just very hard to say even when you take it apart, syllable by syllable. But Tim thinks we aren’t trying hard enough.

I salute his respect for the authentic, but I can only say that I never made a smarter move than when I changed my name from Klaus Jamselpanowicz back there in the day. Since it meant something obscene even in Croatian, it would undoubtedly have stunted my career as a television news announcer, if only for the time it took to say, “Here is the news. I’m Klaus Jamselpanowicz. Good night.”

Related: Clive James: I've been reliving my years as a TV critic, though this time with adverts[https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/jul/23/clive-james-television-adverts-john-cleese-harvey-keitel-sylvester-stallone]

Actually, my family on both sides were **immigrants** from England, but I find increasingly that my failing memory is turning into a fantasy. While I sit and dream on my terrace in this recent hot weather, I make plans that there will almost certainly be no time to fulfill. My essay about Bumgarner’s change of name would fit well into a final book of critical prose, but will there be time to write an introduction? And I’d need to write a whole new essay about how, the night before I interviewed Brzezinski in the White House, I sat up for hours practising his name and got too tired to ask him anything. It made no difference, because his accent was too thick for me to understand anyway, but he probably thought the same about mine.

Why do we all bother with English? Swahili, very beautiful and almost impossible to mispronounce, would work far better as a universal language. “Taka kwenda”: I must go. And there is a lovely name for the rain: “Nvua.” Try it.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In a very short trip, the parliamentary delegation did see a rare glimpse of Australia’s detention system – although perhaps not the one they hoped for

“If one thing positive came out of this trip”, Danish MP Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen said in the final hours of her visit to Australia to learn about the country’s **immigration** detention system, “it was that again the world can see that in a country where critical eyes and ears are not allowed, it’s obvious that something is being hidden”.

The carefully worded missive was Schmidt-Nielsen’s parting shot as she and five parliamentary colleagues from across Denmark’s political spectrum ended their fact-finding mission on Australia’s offshore detention regime.[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/danish-delegation-visit-to-nauru-australian-detention-centre-refused-visas]

It didn’t quite end up where the six had hoped. They found themselves in Canberra en route to Nauru via Brisbane when they learned that three of their members – Schmidt-Nielsen, a progressive politician from the red-green alliance (Enhedslisten), Socialist People’s party member Jacob Mark and Syrian-born conservative MP Naser Khader – would not be granted visas for entry by the Nauruan government[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/danish-delegation-visit-to-nauru-australian-detention-centre-refused-visas], despite the long-planned trip.

Nauru has not explained this decision. It has not responded to the Guardian’s request for comment about the reason the politicians were barred. But two of those who were barred told the Guardian that the Nauruan government had made no secret of the reasons they were denied access.

“The government of Nauru actually said directly to the Danish embassy and also to the chairman of the Danish People’s party that we couldn’t go there because we had been saying critical things about what was going on,” Schmidt-Nielson said. “They didn’t want that in Nauru.”

Related: Danish delegation planning visit to Nauru detention centre refused visas[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/danish-delegation-visit-to-nauru-australian-detention-centre-refused-visas]

Mark, who had also been critical of Australia’s policies, told the Guardian: “I thought that it must be a lie. It was crazy.

“It was presented to me as a decision of the Nauru government. They actually said that directly to us that it was because we have been critical before this trip. They said this to our chairman, and the committee.”

Khader told Fairfax Media[http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/nauru-bans-unsympathetic-danish-mps-from-detention-centre-visit-20160830-gr4y8g.html] he believed the decision to bar his entry was made because of his Muslim background and Arab ethnicity.

The awkward diplomatic debacle even drew the Danish foreign minister, Kristian Jensen, into the dispute. The Guardian understands his phone calls to senior ministers on Nauru went unanswered.

Jensen has since been critical of the Nauruan government’s decision to renege on its invitation in the Danish media – although more circumspect about Australia.

The Danes were shocked. Even the three remaining conservative politicians couldn’t believe another country would try to interfere with a parliamentary delegation in this way – even if they didn’t agree with their politics.

In a spirit of parliamentary unity that Australians might find surprising, the far right conservative member of the group and chairman, Danish People’s party member Martin Henriksen, pleaded that his parliamentary colleagues be allowed to continue.

“He tried, even though he is from another party, to convince them that we just wanted to have a look and know how they do things and why they do things,” Mark said.

When they were turned down, they all left. They went together, or not at all.

Related: Turnbull suggests Australia is not responsible for asylum seekers held offshore[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jun/28/turnbull-suggests-australia-is-not-responsible-for-asylum-seekers-held-offshore]

The differences in political cultures was a particularly grating clash between liberal-minded Scandavian democracies and the much harsher politics of Australia and its largely dependent co-agent in the offshore detention regime, the Pacific island nation of Nauru.

Some lawyers describe the arrangement by which the detention centre and the welfare of the asylum seekers there has been outsourced to Nauru as a legal sleight of hand. The arrangement also gives the Australian government a convenient way to shift the responsibility for what occurs there.

“Well, we don’t hold them there,” Australia’s prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, told Australia’s Four Corners program in June 2016[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jun/28/turnbull-suggests-australia-is-not-responsible-for-asylum-seekers-held-offshore]. “We don’t hold them there. That is not correct. We do not hold them there.”

Denmark has developed a particular interest in Australia’s policies for asylum seekers. The last election witnessed the rise to prominence of the Danish People’s party, a hard-right group that is aggressively against **immigration**, particularly Muslims. The conservative government in Denmark doesn’t have a working majority. They’re heavily reliant on the DPP and several smaller parties to retain power.

And the DPP’s views on **immigration** have had them encouraging the government and the public to turn to a place infamous for its hardline policies: Australia.

So in secret, and without the knowledge of the Danish public, the 29-member parliamentary committee that examines **immigration** in Denmark began to discreetly make inquiries about visiting Australia and Nauru to understand how the offshore detention system worked.

This was almost a year ago. Things appeared to be going smoothly, and Australia was incredibly welcoming. It was an opportunity to show the world that its policies were working, and were gathering interest globally.

The Nauruan government had given every indication it was finalised and prepared. They had provided a formal program of their tour. It listed meetings with the secretary for multicultural affairs, Barina Waqa, and the deputy secretary for **refugee** status determination, Shyla Vohra. A formal tour was planned for the Regional Processing Centre, and a bus was organised to take them from site to site.

But when the Guardian reported on the Nauru files[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention], which highlighted devastating trauma and abuse inflicted on children held in offshore detention in the largest cache of leaked documents released from inside its **immigration** regime, there was renewed attention to the criticism of Australia’s detention system. It coincided with the secret trip finally being disclosed last week by the Danish radio station Radio24syv[http://www.radio24syv.dk/udvalgte-nyhedshistorier/danske-politikere-skal-besoege-udskaeldt-australsk-flygtningelejr/]. It generated a wave of controversy over the cost of the visit and the broader secrecy around it. Australians may be used to secrets, but the Danish are not. The trip would no longer be a discreet one.

The increasing attention on Nauru and Australia, and some of the comments from Schmidt-Nielson and Mark, appear to have signalled a turnaround from the Nauruan government. Why they would do so at such a late stage remains a mystery.

“It was unacceptable and anti-democratic and I suppose everyone in the delegation was really surprised,” Schmidt-Nielson said. “If they didn’t want us to go you would assume they would have denied access before we came all the way to Australia.”

Although it was frustrating for them, the trip was far from fruitless for at least some members. The delegation did have the opportunity to speak with a large number of high-profile Australian **immigration** officials. They also met the assistant minister for **immigration**, Alex Hawke, as well as organisations such as Save the Children and the Australian Human Rights Commission.

It gave them the opportunity to try to understand more about the relationship between Australia and Nauru, and how the system worked.

Related: The Nauru files: cache of 2,000 leaked reports reveal scale of abuse of children in Australian offshore detention[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention]

“It’s still completely unclear for me who has actually got the legal responsibility for what is going on in Nauru,” Schmidt-Nielson said. “Is it Australia? Is it the government of Nauru? Is it a shared responsibility, and if so what does that mean?”

It also gave them the opportunity to ask some tougher questions of the Australian officials.

“I asked about the Nauru files, several times. Every time the answer was ‘all of the cases are being looked into and this is just a symptom of us having a really good reporting system’.”

She continued: “I said ‘do you know of any cases where assault and child abuse were actually being investigated, someone being prosecuted?’ And I have been asking that for a lot of time, and nobody has answered. One time when I asked, they said ‘I don’t know’. That was the closest I got to an answer.”

Their responses were of equal surprise to Mark.

“You can sit at one meeting and they will talk all about how much they care about children,” he said. “But then you ask if they know if children have been raped or abused on Nauru, ‘do you know if anything has happened to the people who did it?’

“And then the government in Australia just says ‘oh we don’t know’.”

It is unclear how much the Danish government will take on what the delegation learnt and saw in Australia for its own policies. In any case, while the parliamentary delegation was in Australia the Danish government made a surprise announcement; it would entirely cut the 500-person quota it placed on **refugees** for 2017. None would be resettled in Denmark next year.

In a very short trip, the parliamentary delegation did see a rare glimpse of Australia’s detention system – although perhaps not the one they hoped for.

“For me it is just one big show,” Mark said. “A symbol to the world that says ‘don’t come here’.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Former PM says remain supporters should continue to warn voters about consequences of Brexit

Tony Blair has claimed Britain could remain in the European Union , despite the referendum result in favour of Brexit, if public opinion shifts in the next few years.

The former prime minister told a French radio station that people had the right to change their minds on the result of the June referendum, and said the debate would continue throughout the UK’s exit negotiations.

Theresa May has repeatedly insisted that “Brexit means Brexit”, stressing her determination to respect the result of the referendum by taking the UK out of the EU .

But Blair, who wanted the UK to stay in the EU [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/18/politicians-eu-membership-blair-clegg-brexit-referendum] and as Labour prime minister argued for joining the euro, said remain supporters should continue to warn voters about the costs and consequences of Brexit.

Speaking to the French radio station Europe 1 [http://www.europe1.fr/international/brexit-pour-tony-blair-le-debat-continue-et-un-maintien-dans-lue-reste-possible-2834899], Blair said it was probable that the UK would leave the EU but possible it could stay in.

Negative economic consequences such as a fall in the value of sterling, damage to the financial services industry, weaker car manufacturing or a reduction in foreign investment in the UK could shift the debate, he suggested.

“At the moment, today, it is not probable, but the debate continues and I believe it is possible,” Blair said, adding that there was no reason why remain supporters should simply accept the result of the referendum, in which 52% of people voted to leave and 48% wanted to stay in.

“Who made a rule that we have to stop the debate now?” he said. Asked whether the campaign to stay in the EU could continue and British people could still change their minds, he said: “We have the right.”

Blair said the prime minister, Theresa May , had to stick to her position that “Brexit means Brexit” [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/22/brexit-means-brexit-when-is-big-question] in order to preserve the unity of the Conservative party, but added: “For the rest of us, we are free to have a debate.”

He also pointed out that it was difficult to know what Brexit actually meant before the terms of leaving had been negotiated with the other member states.

“We have done something rather bizarre with Brexit,” he said. “It’s like moving house without having seen the new house. We have made an agreement to exchange, but we don’t yet know the terms of Brexit, we don’t know the costs and the consequences.”

He added: “There will come a moment when we have had the negotiations and we can see the terms we are being offered by the rest of Europe and we will be able to say that it is a good idea or perhaps that it is a bad idea with major consequences.”

It comes as the official remain campaign, Britain Stronger in Europe, relaunches itself on Friday as a new group to fightfor a Brexit deal under which the country remains open to trade and talent.

Open Britain has published a detailed paper on what it believes May should be pushing for during the Brexit negotiations, arguing that the starting point should be an “ambitious” demand to stay in the single market.

The group says the prime minister ought to push for economic protections, including tariff-free trade, alongside a bid to “mend not end” free movement. It claims that policies such as a migration impact fund and banning agencies from advertising solely overseas could be introduced.

And it suggests a Europe-wide discussion about the issue with all countries examining tying free movement of labour to offers of employment.

The Conservative MP Anna Soubry, a key backer of the campaign, said: “The campaign will marry a commitment to Britain’s membership of the single market with making a positive case about the benefits of **immigration**. The present system needs further reform. It’s particularly important people know the facts about **immigration**, we tackle their concerns and ensure the system works fairly for everyone.”

Pat McFadden, a Labour MP, said the electorate backed Brexit but there were still big, open questions about Britain’s relationship with the EU to be answered.

Such terms are unlikely to be acceptable to the pro-Brexit campaigners who pushed hard for the UK to leave and want a more comprehensive exit with a complete end to free movement between other EU countries and Britain. Downing Street has said it wants a bespoke deal for Britain and recognises the need to restrict **immigration**, but May has not set out exactly what she wants from a deal to leave the EU .

Andrew Tyrie, the Conservative chair of the House of Commons treasury committee, put pressure on the government to start explaining its position on Friday in a paper for Open Europe. He called for the government to distance itself from the leave campaign, particularly the promises about budget savings, and a trade deal that gives the UK not just access to the single market but influence over services regulation. He said this means neither World Trade Organisation rules nor membership of the European Economic Area would work.

He also said triggering article 50, starting the process of leaving the EU , should not be rushed, and the government should, if necessary, be willing to wait until after French and German elections next year.

David Davis, the Brexit secretary, gave an indication of how he would like a new deal for Britain to work as he spoke in Northern Ireland on Thursday.

“What we will seek to do is ideally to have a tariff-free access, but this is a matter of negotiation, and we will be negotiating over an issue which I suspect we will find is in the interest of the other members of the EU as well as us, to get a good trading relationship in the long run,” he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Polish foreign minister suggests British education campaign to raise awareness that ‘Brexit will not mean throwing **immigrants** out of UK’

Prosecutors in Poland have launched their own investigation into the killing of a Polish man in the UK last week, saying that – under its laws – the accused are liable to face trial there.

Related: Six teenage boys arrested over death of Polish man in Essex[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/30/five-teenage-boys-arrested-after-man-dies-following-attack-in-essex]

Six teenagers have been arrested by British police on suspicion of the murder of Arkadiusz Józwik[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/30/five-teenage-boys-arrested-after-man-dies-following-attack-in-essex] – also known as Arek – who died of head injuries after he and another Polish man were attacked in Harlow in Essex last Saturday. While police have said the motive is unknown, one line of inquiry is the possibility of it being a hate crime.

“Under Polish law, foreigners who commit crimes against Polish citizens are subject to trial before a Polish court,” Warsaw’s regional prosecutor, Jakub Romelczyk, told Poland’s TVP Info public broadcaster[http://www.tvp.info/26786908/jest-polskie-sledztwo-w-sprawie-zakatowania-polaka-w-wielkiej-brytanii].

“Our investigation is independent from legal action taken in the state where the crime was committed.” According to the Agence France-Presse (AFP) news agency, the Warsaw district prosecutors’ office said on Friday that it planned to ask British authorities for their cooperation.

In a separate development, the Polish foreign ministry said it would raise the issue of attacks on Poles living in the UK with the British foreign secretary, Boris Johnson, when he visits Warsaw on Saturday.

That follows a similar discussion between Johnson and his Polish counterpart, Witold Waszczykowski, at a meeting of foreign ministers in Potsdam this week.

Waszczykowski said that, at that earlier meeting, Johnson “promised to address the issue” and gave assurances that the “UK government does not accept the hate action against migrants and it will do everything to protect Poles and other foreigners against aggression”.

The Polish foreign minister has also suggested that an educational campaign should be introduced in Britain “so as to make people aware that Brexit will not mean throwing **immigrants** out from the UK”.

Speaking at the scene of Jozwik’s killing on Wednesday, Poland’s ambassador to Britain, Arkady Rzegocki, condemned a rise in xenophobic attacks[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/31/mp-horror-over-killing-of-polish-man-in-harlow-robert-halfon] since the Brexit vote. “Unfortunately there is much more after Brexit. We have found about 15 or 16 such situations. It is a very important tragedy and we have to work together on this issue.” He said there would be a march of silence on Saturday, organised by the local Polish community, which he hoped would help.

The local MP, Robert Halfon called the killing an “incredible tragedy … This is not just a tragedy for the family or for Poland, it is a tragedy for Harlow and Britain as well.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Fear of Mexican culture overrunning America runs deep among Trump supporters like Marco Gutierrez. It makes absolutely no sense

The taco, in both its bowl and its corner truck form, is having a political moment.

On Thursday, Marco Gutierrez, a Mexican-born founder of the Latinos for Trump group (yikes), said on MSNBC[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/09/latinos-for-trump-founder-taco-trucks-marco-gutierrez-227667] that if Donald Trump loses in November, there would be “Taco trucks on every corner”.

I must spell out that he meant this as a negative thing and not, as it might seem on the face of it, a great reason to vote for Hillary.

“My culture is a very dominant culture,” he told[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/09/latinos-for-trump-founder-taco-trucks-marco-gutierrez-227667] a horrified Joy Reid, who was filling in for Chris Hayes. “It is imposing and it’s causing problems. If you don’t do something about it, you’re going to have taco trucks on every corner.”

“I don’t even know what that means,” Joy Reid said, speaking for all of us. “And I’m afraid to ask.”

The comments earned Gutierrez rightful mockery on social media. Isn’t an America with a taco truck on every corner is the utopia we deserve? To suggest otherwise gives us insight into the depravity of the average Trump supporter.

Joking aside, Gutierrez is everything the Trump campaign could want in a surrogate. He apparently possesses enough self-loathing enough to deliver the talking points of white supremacy from a nonwhite mouth. He reassures Trump supporters that their racist views couldn’t possibly be racist because, see? He agrees with us!

But Gutierrez, whether he knows it or not, is feeding the dangerous racial anxieties that have plagued America since its inception: the idea that Mexicans and Latinos are lesser, dirty somehow; they are diluting America’s purity, which Trump supporters would call “culture,” but I would call “whiteness.”

In times of economic strife, these anxieties tend to intensify. I’m reminded of the mass deportations of people of Mexican descent in the 30s and 40s when 2 million people, over half of whom were US citizens, were rounded up and forced out of the country[http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/09/08/437579834/mass-deportation-may-sound-unlikely-but-its-happened-before].

Today, we have a demagogue whipping white Americans into a frenzy about Mexican **immigrants** and threatening to send them “home”. The parallels are alarming. It’s sad, because the people who blame their economic struggles on Mexicans really ought to redirect that anger at people like Trump, magnates born with silver spoons in their mouths whose wealth relies on the toil of others.

But it’s also hypocritical. Because the American Dream, if indeed it exists at all, looks very much like that humble corner taco truck. Just ask a Republican.

“My father stood behind a small portable bar in the back of a room for all those years so that I could stand behind this podium in the front of this room,” Marco Rubio said, referencing his Cuban-born father at the kickoff of his presidential campaign. “That journey, from behind that bar to behind this podium, is the essence of the American Dream.”

Rubio isn’t alone in touting his meager beginnings. Ted Cruz, also the son of a Cuban **immigrant**, said his father “came to Austin penniless, seeking freedom.

“The reason I’m running is simple,” Cruz continued. “He fled oppression once. And you have my word that I’ll fight every day to protect freedom here, so that none of us have to flee oppression a second time.”

This rhetoric isn’t unique to politicians with **immigrant** families. During the primaries, John Kasich emphasized that his father was a mailman. Indeed, politicians of all stripes love to tout the adversity their parents overcame so that their children could be successful and live comfortably.

And yet, they shame the **immigrant** parents and families who are trying to do the same for their children today. They actively pursue policies that, had they been applied to their own parents, would have made the privileged lives they live impossible.

Donald Trump is only here because his grandfather emigrated from Germany. It has been frequently pointed out that his wife, Melania, is an **immigrant** from Slovenia (at the time, part of Yugoslavia). None of this matters to many Trump supporters, of course, whose worldview is built on white nationalism, but the fact remains: Unless you’re Native American, you came from somewhere else.

Gutierrez, Trump, and the Republicans who share the view that Mexican **immigrants** are the cause of America’s decline have turned their backs on the one thing that’s supposed to make America special.

So today, go out and celebrate the corner taco truck. In an America where wealth continues to accumulate at the very top, and where cynicism permeates the political landscape, the taco truck remains a pure expression of hope, a humble affirmation of America itself.

Also, the tacos are probably delicious, and undoubtedly more authentic than the hipster joint with the zigzag taco holders and $12 margaritas.

Buen provecho!

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rolling coverage of the opening of the Green party conference in Birmingham, including the election of a new leader (or leaders)

block-time published-time 4.13pm BST

Summary

\* Caroline Lucas and Jonathan Bartley have been elected joint leaders of the Greens at the party’s annual conference, promising to combat the “fear, inequality and hopelessness” that has arisen since the EU referendum campaign.[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/02/caroline-lucas-and-jonathan-bartley-voted-joint-leaders-of-green-party] As Peter Walker reports, Lucas, the Greens’ sole MP, and Bartley, the party’s work and pensions spokesman, won 86% of first-preference votes in a result announced at the start of the conference on Friday in Birmingham. Taking over from Natalie Bennett, who announced in May that she was standing down, it will be the first job-share at the top of a major UK political party. Lucas, who led the party from 2008-12, used her section of a joint acceptance speech to lambast the legacy of Brexit, describing a political landscape where “trust has been shattered and the truth lies buried”. “At what point did it become OK to produce posters so dehumanising, so degrading and so despicable that they are compared to 1930s propaganda – even by a Conservative chancellor of the exchequer?” she said, referring to a Brexit campaign billboard[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/16/nigel-farage-defends-ukip-breaking-point-poster-queue-of-migrants] created by the Nigel Farage-helmed unofficial leave campaign.

That’s all from me for today.

Thanks for the comments.

block-time published-time 3.54pm BST

Neal Lawson says one of the good things about the basic income idea is that it opens up a debate about what is a good society, and how should people be spending their time.

It is important to work out the technical details of this plan, he says.

But the most important thing to do is to build the narrative about this, and speak to people about it as human beings.

He says the basic income scheme should be piloted. He says you could pilot it with just 30 people. The way it would transform people’s lives, by giving them security, would be remarkable, he says.

He says politicians will be the last people who realise why this is such a good idea.

He says he does not believe in silver bullets in politics. But he says this idea is the best equivalent - a policy that could transform people’s lives.

block-time published-time 3.47pm BST

Compass has produced a report on the basis income proposal that you can read here.[https://www.compassonline.org.uk/publications/universal-basic-income-an-idea-whose-time-has-come/]

At the fringe meeting Neal Lawson says it is time to sell this idea to the country. And it has to be sold on the basis of emotion, not just facts, he says.

block-time published-time 3.40pm BST

The Labour pollster James Morris is taking issue with one line in Caroline Lucas’s speech.

enltrNonsense from Lucas - Leave campaign was the one about control; our poll showed their voters most motivated by hope https://t.co/WuHvTf2yjC[https://t.co/WuHvTf2yjC]

— James Morris (@JamesDMorris) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/JamesDMorris/status/771710210389880834]block-time published-time 3.38pm BST

And here is some more Twitter comment on the Lucas/Bartley speech from two Guardian colleagues.

From my Peter Walker

enltrNot the toughest audience, given 86% mandate, but Lucas & Bartley did well. They're fluent & seem able to distinguish message from Labour

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/771706698109161472]From Ben Quinn

enltrIs that @paulmasonnews[https://twitter.com/paulmasonnews] vision of Labour attracting a large chunk of Green voters suddenly a more distant one? https://t.co/0oJuG84No9[https://t.co/0oJuG84No9]

— Ben Quinn (@BenQuinn75) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/BenQuinn75/status/771704348682358784]block-time published-time 3.37pm BST

I didn’t like the Lucas/Bartley speech strategy, but the BBC’s Mark Lobel thought it was a success.

enltrBartley & Lucas both strong speakers - audience appear tolove back and forth speech making - gives them each chance to catch their breath

— Mark Lobel (@marklobel) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/marklobel/status/771701854703091712]block-time published-time 3.34pm BST

I’m sitting in the Green fringe meeting discussing the party’s plans for a universal basic income. The session was headlined “universal basic income: desirable and feasible?” but from the contributions so far there does not seem to be much support for the idea that it is not desirable. The first speaker was Neal Lawson, head of the pluralistic Labour pressure group Compass, and he praised the Greens for pioneering the idea.

enltrReally lovely speech in favour of a citizens income by @Neal\_Compass[https://twitter.com/Neal\_Compass] - it's about believing the best of people #gpconf[https://twitter.com/hashtag/gpconf?src=hash]

— Elisabeth Whitebread (@ElisabethJane) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/ElisabethJane/status/771712253133488130]There was then a speech from Clive Lord, the 81-year-old leadership contender (he came fourth) who has been promoting the idea for years. And we are now listening to another basic income supporter how has been criticising the Guardian’s coverage of the idea last year. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/jan/27/green-party-citizens-income-policy-hits-poor] Bad move. My colleague Zoe Williams, who is speaking on a later panel, is in the room.

enltrNow the Green party man is slagging of Guardian and Observer journalists. Like WE'RE THE ENEMY #greenparty[https://twitter.com/hashtag/greenparty?src=hash]

— (((Zoe Williams))) (@zoesqwilliams) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/zoesqwilliams/status/771715384181420032]enltrYeah, those Telegraph types, who don't believe in climate change. They're actually ok when you get to know them. #greenparty[https://twitter.com/hashtag/greenparty?src=hash]

— (((Zoe Williams))) (@zoesqwilliams) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/zoesqwilliams/status/771715508152459264]enltrBut Guardian journalists who didn't correctly read my research on the Basic Citizens Income, they boil my piss. #greenparty[https://twitter.com/hashtag/greenparty?src=hash]

— (((Zoe Williams))) (@zoesqwilliams) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/zoesqwilliams/status/771715655968096256]block-time published-time 3.21pm BST

Here is the full text of the Caroline Lucas/Jonathan Bartley speech.[https://www.greenparty.org.uk/news/2016/09/02/jonathan-bartley-and-caroline-lucas-first-speech-to-conference/]

block-time published-time 3.20pm BST

Green party leadership election results in full Here are the Green party leadership election results in full.

Caroline Lucas and Jonathan Bartley: 13,570

David Malone: 956

David Williams: 527

Clive Lord: 173

Martie George Warin: 133

Simon Ashley Cross: 108

block-time published-time 3.14pm BST

The Lucas/Bartley speech - Snap verdict The Lucas/Bartley speech - Snap verdict: There may well be a case for a job share leadership, but it will be a long time before job share speeches catch on. Caroline Lucas and her co-leader Jonathan Bartley delivered their first leaders’ speech in tandem - with one delivering one passage, before handing over to the other - and as a result it sounded a bit a school show and tell. The writing was strong, Lucas and Bartley are both confident speakers, but this format meant the speech never really built up any rhetorical momentum.

That aside, and turning to the content, it was fine. It did not say anything particularly surprising, but Lucas and Bartley delivered a robust critique of the conduct of the EU referendum, and of inequality, and they presented a solid, progressive vision. There was relatively little environmentalism in it, but much more on the case for political reform, even if they were vague on what a progressive alliance with Labour might look like. The Greens seem quite serious about collaborating with Labour because, although Lucas and Bartley were damning about the Tories, they said virtually nothing critical of Labour, apart from Bartley’s sharp opening joke - “we stand here, more united as party with two leaders than others are with one” - which may well be the line from the speech most likely to be remembered.

block-time published-time 2.45pm BST

Lucas is now winding up.

Conference, it’s been said that “We write history with our feet and with our presence and our collective voice and vision”.

We write history by resisting the climate crisis. By resisting the cruelty unleashed by the unbridled capitalism of May and Cameron and those who came before them. And by standing up for the majority currently locked out of politics and denied a voice.

In this unprecedented post-truth, post referendum world, our resistance is more important than ever. The distinctive Green Party message matters more than ever.

Our party is forging a new model of 21 st century citizenship. A common purpose, rich with the renewal that’s possible when we have leadership shared with tens of thousands of members.

A shared vision that can – and will - change everything.

Conference, let’s seize this moment.

Let’s be the natural home for all those who want a fair, equal and Green Britain.

Conference, let’s write history by moving forwards together.

Lucas and Bartley are now getting a standing ovation.

block-time published-time 2.43pm BST

Bartley says he and Lucas are committed to exploring potential for progressive alliances. Bartley says he and Lucas are committed to exploring the potential for progressive alliances.

Every vote needs to count. So we are resolute in wanting to explore the potential for progressive alliances with other parties that will deliver fair votes. That will deliver more elected Greens than ever before.

We are the party of ideas and this is a big one. So we need to have a proper conversation. Starting here at conference and continuing in our local parties, and in our communities.

Over a million people voted Green at the last general election. They deserve to have their views represented in parliament.

We owe it to them to be more ambitious than achieving just 1 MP - however formidable she is!

A progressive alliance can mean different things in different constituencies. But it will not be top down and it will be up to you.

This doesn’t mean letting go of what makes us distinct. We remain resolute in our opposition to Trident, to fracking, to airport expansion – at Gatwick, Heathrow or anywhere else. Resolute in our determination to make every home a warm one. Every wage a living one. And everyone’s future more secure.

And our message to others who share a belief in a progressive modern Britain is this. Old tribal loyalties are dying and voters can no longer be taken for granted.

The era of two party politics is over. It’s the voting system that is still stuck in the past.

block-time published-time 2.42pm BST

Bartley is speaking now, and he says Britain needs a new political settlement.

We can do this with a new political settlement that will crack open the system and pave the way for a radical new relationship between the regions and the centre.

Conference, there have been decisive times in our nation’s history when the momentum for major changes in the contract between our government and the governed has been unstoppable. We are at such a moment today.

The cry to ‘take back control’ was a raw and angry one. It was a reaction to the way power and moneyhave drifted to the centre.

Greens value, know and understand the power of the local, the power of place and we can be at the forefront of rebalancing democracy.

block-time published-time 2.40pm BST

Lucas says the Greens are committed to equality, and that they will do more to promote diversity in the party.

We are pleased to pledge our commitment to announce to increasing diversity and equalities within our own party.

And we have asked Tooting member Esther Obiri Darko to advise and help us.

Together we can do much better and build a party that reflects modern Britain, by working with each and every one of you to make that a reality.

block-time published-time 2.39pm BST

Lucas demands “green ownership”.

Green ownership is about having a stake in what matters, because how else are people supposed to care?

It means democratising the economy, with banks to serve the people not the other way round.

Corporate taxation back under control, and financial structures that answer to you, not to the City of London and its shareholders.

We need an economy of, by and for the people.

block-time published-time 2.38pm BST

Bartley accuses Tories of “weaponising” welfare Bartley says the Greens will defend the welfare state.

For those for whom the ground is always shifting, the British welfare state, set up in momentous times, is a lifeline. In these equally momentous times, we want to reclaim our welfare system from the clutches of those using it to attack and threaten those in need.

In just a few generations, instead of being something to be celebrated and cherished, it has become something to be dismantled and destroyed.

But the welfare state is about the kind of world we want to live in. A contract we strike with one another, to stand together when the going gets tough. It’s based on collective agreement and consent.

And conference, as the government weaponises welfare in pursuit of a corrupt and morally bankrupt ideology, we say loudly and clearly, we do not consent.

\* Bartley accuses Tories of “weaponising” welfare.

block-time published-time 2.36pm BST

Bartley says the Green plan for a universal basic income is now being considered by Labour.

They used to laugh when we talked about this idea, but our party – and, to be fair, some members more than others - persisted. And now, as with so many of our policies, and thanks to your work, on councils, in the media, in your communities, the ground has shifted.

block-time published-time 2.35pm BST

Bartley is speaking now, and he turns to inequality.

We need a radical redistribution of both wealth and power.

When I was younger, we were promised that one day everything would change. New technology would mean we would all be richer, and work fewer hours.

But today’s economy has not delivered security or wellbeing.

Baking a bigger pie so a few more crumbs will fall from the table, doesn’t work.

Modern capitalism has delivered excesses that are not just divisive, but morally unacceptable.

Only a great realignment can narrow the inequalities gap that is fracturing Britain.

Inequality is a criminal and cynical loss of human potential.

block-time published-time 2.34pm BST

Lucas proposes 'blue new deal' for people in coastal communities. Lucas proposes a “blue new deal” for people in coastal communities.

Instead, imagine a new plan that will meet our obligations to future generations.

A plan that will create jobs in every part of the country.

Imagine modernising the UK infrastructure so Britain’s future can be energy lean and time rich.

Local communities, empowered to take control of their own energy futures. The security of an affordable – and solar panel clad - roof over everyone’s head.

And imagine not just our ground breaking Green New Deal, but a ‘Blue New Deal’ for the 11 million people who live in coastal communities like my constituency of Brighton Pavilion.

The first Green led council in Britain helped secure one of the country’s biggest off shore wind farms.

Imagine Britain as a world leader in renewable technology, investing in green power.

block-time published-time 2.32pm BST

Lucas says fossil fuels must remain 'firmly and safely in the ground' Lucas calls for a green industrial strategy.

My parents grew up during the Second World War. They were part of a generation that came together to stand up for what they believed in.

We urgently need that unity of purpose and spirit once again, as we rise to face the greatest threat to our security today – the accelerating climate crisis.

And the Greens must tackle climate change, she says.

A year which is now on record as the hottest ever and where half the Arctic Sea ice has disappeared, demands immediate investment in a green and prosperous energy future.

A nd conference that also means a solid commitment to leaving fossil fuels where they belong – firmly and safely in the ground.

This gets the loudest round of applause so far.

\* Lucas says fossil fuels must remain “firmly and safely in the ground”.

block-time published-time 2.30pm BST

Bartley says EU referendum exposed how we live in 'an age of insecurity' Bartley says the EU referendum exposed “an age of insecurity marked by vast inequalities of opportunity and aspiration.”

A world where globalisation, centralisation and new technologies leave so many behind.

Where a shocking one in three working families are just a month’s pay packet away from losing their homes.

Where Sports Direct, Uber and Deliveroo are getting rich off workers who aren’t even guaranteed the minimum wage.

Where turning up for a training session with Byron Burger is a fast track to deportation.

Friends, Britain is crying out for real opposition and the Green Party must be it.

block-time published-time 2.28pm BST

Green policies are about giving people control of their lives, Lucas says.

Green politics is about giving people real control – and that means looking forwards not backwards.

Taking control of our democracy

Taking control of our railways so they are owned by the public.

Taking control of the NHS, and keeping it firmly out of private hands

Taking control of our energy systems, our banking system, our schools, and our communities.

They belong to all of us and the politics of hope will give all of us control.

In Lambeth in South London, where Jonathan comes from, Greens have been battling a Labour council that is ignoring local people. It’s closing libraries and destroying people’s homes and communities.

One older resident, Barbara, came to the Green Party, and told us that the Council planned to bulldoze her sheltered housing.

Well, we Greens helped the residents save their homes. They elected a Green councillor. And Barbara has joined the Green party.

block-time published-time 2.26pm BST

Lucas says the leaders of the Brexit campaign lied.

The leaders of the Brexit campaign lied about money for the NHS. They lied about **immigration**. They lied about a post referendum plan. And they lied about giving people back control.

And then they ran away.

block-time published-time 2.26pm BST

Bartley says the Greens must listen to the concerns of people in places like Stoke, Yorkshire and Humberside and South Wales, where deindustralisation has left “high and dry”.

We must listen to concerns about housing, about health, about crime.

And yes to people’s fears about **immigration** too. A fear stoked up by those using it as a convenient scapegoat or distraction.

And let’s be clear, here and now – it’s the government who are the blame. Free movement is not to blame for low wages. Migrants are not to blame for stretched public services. Our neighbours are not to blame if we cannot get a school place, a job or a home.

block-time published-time 2.24pm BST

Bartley is speaking now. He turns to PR.

One of the reasons people feel disaffected is because our democracy is broken. This country has a completely dysfunctional electoral system where – outside a handful of marginal swing seats – your views, your voice – and your vote – count for nothing.

Conference if we’re to set about healing the deep divisions, which this referendum has laid bare, then we urgently need to build a more representative, inclusive democracy. And Conference, that can only be brought about by reforming our antiquated, outdated, redundant electoral system.

block-time published-time 2.23pm BST

Lucas says Greens want a second referendum on final Brexit deal Lucas says Theresa May may say that Brexit means Brexit, but people do not know what that means.

We cannot accept a deal that doesn’t offer hope and security to both those who voted to Leave and those who voted to Remain.

Whether it’s the environmental protections, workers’ rights, a culture of peace and free movement that the EU has delivered - all these must be at the heart of any future outside Europe.

We have to turn the defeat of the referendum into a gain for real democracy, based on truthful debate.

We stand by our guarantee to give people a voice.

That’s why our Party says, loudly and proudly, we the people should continue to have our say. And once the principles of any new deal have been set out, we want them put to a second referendum.

\* Lucas says Greens want a second referendum on final Brexit deal.

block-time published-time 2.21pm BST

Lucas says she is proud the Greens fought a “uniquely positive and wholehearted” campaign.

But I will never forget the heartbreak in the early hours of the 24 June, when the results of the referendum started to come through.

That sense of utter devastation – it felt to me like the death of something, that whilst flawed, was still infinitely precious.

So much could be lost, but I have one immediate fear about what might happen next.

Lucas says she is particularly concerned about the fate of EU nationals living in the UK.

It’s for the people from other EU nations who have built their lives here in good faith.

People whom the government is now cynically using as bargaining chips as it tries to negotiate its way out of a mess of its own making.

So conference, we give a guarantee today, to the EU nationals who have made their home here: You are as much a part of Britain’s future as we are. You help make our country great and we will continue to fight for your right to stay.

block-time published-time 2.19pm BST

Lucas is speaking now. She turns to the EU referendum.

A divided country scarred in so many places by fear, inequality and hopelessness.

Trust has been shattered and the truth lies buried.

And at what point did it become OK to produce posters so dehumanising, so degrading and so despicable that they are compared to 1930s propaganda – even by a Conservative chancellor of the Exchequer?

Our political class – so gravely out of touch that they are surprised when years of scapegoating migrants for our social and economic ills come home to roost.

block-time published-time 2.18pm BST

Bartley says the Greens did well in the West Midlands in May. They have 27 councillors on 11 councils.

block-time published-time 2.17pm BST

Bartley says he is particularly pleased to be in Birmingham.

The city that was the home of the Cadbury family. Important to me personally, and I am sure for Caroline too. And not just because of our love of chocolate!

The Cadburys were part of a social revolution. A revolution that began with one of my own ancestors, the prison reformer Elizabeth Fry.

Working together, the Quakers brought radical change. They set up the town of Bournville, just a few miles from here. They showed the world how decent housing and a green environment were vital to everyone’s wellbeing.

block-time published-time 2.16pm BST

Lucas and Bartley address conference Caroline Lucas and Jonathan Bartley are addressing the conference.

Bartley starts.

We are incredibly proud to be the first leaders of a political party in this country to be job sharing. Demonstrating both the power of working together and the importance of striking a healthy balance between work and family and other commitments.

We stand here, more united as Party with two leaders than others are with one.

That gets a big round of applause.

block-time published-time 2.12pm BST

Natalie Bennett is speaking now. She says she has had a wonderful four years as leader.

She will give a proper speech tomorrow, she says, so she won’t “hog the microphone now”.

But the party will move on to “much, much more”, she says.

block-time published-time 2.12pm BST

Amelia Womack and Jonathan Bartley thank the members. And Caroline Lucas thanks Natalie Bennett, the outgoing leader. She gets a large round of applause and a standing ovation.

Lucas says, under Bennett, the Green party has “reached more people than ever before”.

block-time published-time 2.09pm BST

Lucas and Bartley elected co-leaders with 86% of first-preference votes Caroline Lucas and Jonathan Bartley have been elected co-leaders with 86% of the first preference votes.

block-time published-time 2.08pm BST

Mallender says Amelia Womack has been re-elected deputy leader.

block-time published-time 2.06pm BST

Richard Mallender, chair of the Green party executive, is announcing the leadership results.

Six times as many people voted as in 2012, he says.

block-time published-time 2.03pm BST

Here is the Green’s Adam Ramsay on Natalie Bennett, who is in her last five minutes or so as party leader.

enltrAs she stands down as @TheGreenParty[https://twitter.com/TheGreenParty] leader, worth remembering @natalieben[https://twitter.com/natalieben] 's mantra: "the future of politics won't be the same as the past".

— Adam Ramsay (@AdamRamsay) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/AdamRamsay/status/771690661137551360]enltr...she's been pretty bloody right so far.

— Adam Ramsay (@AdamRamsay) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/AdamRamsay/status/771690757103255552]block-time published-time 2.01pm BST

This is from the BBC’s Peter Henley.

enltrHaven't ever seen this many people (or cameras) at a Green Party Conference pic.twitter.com/DwVdfSn8IQ[https://t.co/DwVdfSn8IQ]

— Peter Henley (@BBCPeterH) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/BBCPeterH/status/771693752079572992]And this is from my colleague Peter Walker.

enltrScene at the Greens' conference, where we're about to get news of the new party leader (or leaders). pic.twitter.com/883FPGeIyC[https://t.co/883FPGeIyC]

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/771693479357480960]block-time published-time 1.58pm BST

At the conference the doors of the main hall have just been opened and members are filing in. There are seats for about 1,000 people and one of the organisers has just said she expects them all be be filled.

block-time published-time 1.46pm BST

On the subject of progressive alliances, the Green House thinktank has produced this pamphlet (pdf)[http://www.greenhousethinktank.org/uploads/4/8/3/2/48324387/green\_house\_progressive\_alliance\_july\_2016.pdf] looking at how a pact could work.

In an article on the subject today for Left Foot Forward,[https://leftfootforward.org/2016/09/progressive-alliances-could-be-a-game-changer-for-the-greens-and-the-country/] the Green MP Molly Scott Cato and the activist and Green House chair Rupert Read argue that one reason Germany is successful industrially is because it has PR.

Now look across the water. The most striking example of a country that has benefited from Greens in power is Germany, which, of course, has a proportional representation electoral system.

Its industries are successful because Greens in government encouraged them to move into the new era of low carbon energy production before other European countries. Germany has turned its back on the dying nuclear age and is rapidly phasing out fossil fuels. Germany is the economy in Europe that is benefiting most from the energy transition[http://www.yaleclimateconnections.org/2015/09/how-germanys-renewable-energy-revolution-took-off/] that dangerous climate change requires of us all. It is Greens in government who enabled this process.

block-time published-time 1.34pm BST

Natalie Bennett, the outgoing Green leader, has been tweeting from the conference.

enltrCan promise there'll be plenty of support offered for our #NHS[https://twitter.com/hashtag/NHS?src=hash] #juniordoctors[https://twitter.com/hashtag/juniordoctors?src=hash] throughout #gpconf[https://twitter.com/hashtag/gpconf?src=hash]. https://t.co/l69DsPly94[https://t.co/l69DsPly94]

— Natalie Bennett (@natalieben) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/natalieben/status/771656004131954688]enltrPolicy of @TheGreenParty[https://twitter.com/TheGreenParty] - start formal education at least a year later. #gpconf[https://twitter.com/hashtag/gpconf?src=hash] https://t.co/QqnSJf2B0Q[https://t.co/QqnSJf2B0Q]

— Natalie Bennett (@natalieben) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/natalieben/status/771679515504500736]enltrBefore #gpconf[https://twitter.com/hashtag/gpconf?src=hash] I chatted to @ashcowburn[https://twitter.com/ashcowburn] from @Independent[https://twitter.com/Independent] - looking forward and back https://t.co/V92Sqp6Ktr[https://t.co/V92Sqp6Ktr]

— Natalie Bennett (@natalieben) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/natalieben/status/771680726458724352]block-time published-time 1.11pm BST

A Green 'progressive alliance' with Labour ? - 4 options This evening, at 6.30pm, there will be a panel discussion on progressive alliances, with speakers including Neal Lawson from the pluralist Labour group Compass. Like most small parties the Greens are very strong supporters of proportional representation (for obvious reasons - it took more than 1m votes to elect just one Green MP). But there is no prospect of PR for Westminster arriving anytime soon and so currently there is an active debate in the party about how the Greens could cooperate electorally with Labour and other parties on the left. Caroline Lucas and Jonathan Bartley have made this an issue in their leadership campaign (their slogan is “the power of working together”) and Lucas is the joint editor, with the Labour MP Nisa Nandy and the Lib Dem activist Chris Bowers of a new book called The Alternative: Towards a New Progressive Politics[https://www.bitebackpublishing.com/books/the-alternative] which features essays about how progressive politicians from different parties might work together.

There are various ideas floating around about how Labour and the Greens could work together. Here are four options.

1 - A proper pact - or an alliance called Plaform

The new book, The Alternative, does not make any firm proposals for Labour/Green cooperation. But in their conclusion Lucas and her co-authors quote at length a proposal from the Guardian journalist Stephen Moss, who wrote a long feature last summer looking at the possibility of building a new party of the left. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/aug/12/could-you-build-new-part-of-the-left-labour-jeremy-corbyn] He floated the idea of an alliance called Platform, featuring four partners: a socialist Labour, a social democrat Labour, the Lib Dems and the Greens. He suggested they could agree a set of common values and policies, and then in any seat put up the candidate (ie, Socialist Platform) most likely to win. The others could stand aside, or just put up paper candidates.

2 - A progressive kitemark

Lucas, Nandy and Bowers also float another idea in The Alternative - a progressive kitemark. They write:

Another [idea] might be for the progressives to establish a ‘progressive kite mark’ to which candidates at the 2020 election (and even earlier elections) could sign up to demonstrate to their electorate a commitment to a core set of priorities, which would include red lines for all the parties involved. This kind of pre-election identification could also help to prepare the ground for post-election cooperation without any formal agreement needing to happen before the election.

Interestingly Paddy Ashdown, the former Lib Dem leader, is currently promoting a similar idea. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/19/liberals-celebrities-and-eu-supporters-set-up-progressive-movement]

3 - Informal “non-compete” agreement

The most basic form of cooperation involves parties coming to an understanding, privately, they they won’t try very hard in each other’s target seats at an election. Labour and the Lib Dems operated on this basis in 1997.

4 - Formal “non-compete” agreements in certain areas

Adam Ramsay, the Open Democracy co-editor and Green activist, floated this in an article on the case for a progressive alliance earlier this summer.[https://www.opendemocracy.net/uk/adam-ramsay/green-party-should-help-build-progressive-alliance]

On the nature of an electoral pact, there is a spectrum of options... My preference is something in the middle.

Specifically, political activist and electoral statistics geek Elliot Folan conveniently outlined[https://opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/elliot-folan/what-would-labour-green-electoral-pact-actually-look-like] what such a deal might look like a number of months ago. They highlighted a list of seats in which it might be sensible for Labour to stand down for the Greens and vice versa, without going the whole hog and withdrawing candidates en mass. How many each party stood aside in would have to be the result of a tricky negotiation between respective central and national parties, and I think Greens should be willing to ask for quite a lot: after all, it would be Labour who would get to be in government. Ultimately, for Greens, such a deal could offer a serious chance to elect two or three more MPs. Let’s be honest: that’s unlikely otherwise.

There is, though, one rather significant problem with all these proposals, and that is that the Labour leadership has shown very little interest in any form of alliance with the Greens.

Lucas said last month that her office had been told by Jeremy Corbyn’s office that he had “not shut the door” on the idea of talking about a cross-party electoral alliance.[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/26/caroline-lucas-labour-jeremy-corbyn-progressive-alliance-green-party] But Corbyn himself has said during the Labour leadership contest that he does not favour a progressive alliance. At one hustings meeting he said that Labour was “different from any other party” and growing very quickly on its own. He may like Lucas personally (many Labour MPs do) but, with Labour currently hoovering up the Greens’ voters, he has little incentive to form some pact with them.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 1.23pm BST

block-time published-time 12.02pm BST

There has been some controversy about Caroline Lucas’s decision to stand again for the leadership. This is what Matt Townsend, a Green activist, wrote in an article for Open Democracy in June.[https://www.opendemocracy.net/uk/matt-townsend/green-party-leadership-election-stitch-up]

The announcement by Caroline about returning as leader, I believe, has meant that most who were considering running campaigns now won’t put their name forward. I am sure there will be some competition, but the general expectation is of a coronation rather than a real contest. Caroline is the Green Party’s only national household name politician. Unless something amazing happens, there is a risk the contest has already been killed off...

[Bartley] is relatively unknown within the Green Party outside London. By being on a joint ticket with Caroline, he could become a co-leader of the party without any mandate of his own. He could ride in to the role on her coattails instead of earning his place through an open and fair contest which would have enabled him to become better known, test how the party feels about him and build up his profile...

It’s easy to see how the Lucas-Bartley campaign can be justified. Two experienced media-savvy politicians, based in London and the South East, working together, for the good of the party – the end justifies the means. But does it really? Or maybe this kind of top-down decision-making by a party establishment just removes opportunities and ends fairness.

In a Left Foot Forward article in June [http://leftfootforward.org/2016/06/green-party-leadership-race-doesnt-need-to-be-a-coronation/] Josiah Mortimer acknowledged that some members were unhappy about Lucas standing on a joint ticket with Bartley, but he defended their decision to put themselves forward.

The Greens haven’t done co-leadership since scrapping principal speakers around 2008. It’s an exciting democratic model that’s worth drawing the best elements from – and it’s clear that the two candidates’ qualities complement each other: Caroline – high profile, Jon – highly organised.

block-time published-time 11.48am BST

This is from Archie Thomas, the Green party’s press manager.

enltr1,200 due to attend #GPConf[https://twitter.com/hashtag/GPConf?src=hash] in #Birmingham[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Birmingham?src=hash] - approx. 40% are first-timers.

— Archie Thomas (@Archie\_Thomas) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/Archie\_Thomas/status/771635846743101440]block-time published-time 11.46am BST

Peter and I have arrived at the conference. It’s in the University of Birmingham’s Great Hall[http://www.venuebirmingham.com/business-events/conferences-and-meetings/the-great-hall/], and very smart it is too.

enltrMade it to #gpconf[https://twitter.com/hashtag/gpconf?src=hash]

It's not quite as sunny as Bournemouth was last year. pic.twitter.com/8uxDTloUnR[https://t.co/8uxDTloUnR]

— Colin Boyle (@colin\_boyle\_) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/colin\_boyle\_/status/771651315248181248]Peter was taken with the reception at Birmingham University station.

enltrWoman directing people to Greens' conference from the station is standing next to her bike & holding knitting. Wouldn't get that at Ukip

— Peter Walker (@peterwalker99) September 2, 2016[https://twitter.com/peterwalker99/status/771652516266205185]block-time published-time 11.40am BST

Here is my colleague Peter Walker’s preview story about the conference.

Related: Greens to announce leader with return of Caroline Lucas expected[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/02/green-party-announce-leader-caroline-lucass-return-expected-conference]

block-time published-time 10.28am BST

Here is some more Green party conference background reading.

\* A BBC article profiling the leadership election candidates[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37166203]

\* A Bright Green Q&A with the leadership candidates[http://bright-green.org/2016/07/12/bright-green-quizzes-the-candidates-for-green-party-leader/]

\* A Huffington Post guide to the deputy leadership contest[http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/josiah-mortimer/green-party-candidates\_b\_11523488.html]

\* A Bright Green article about how a record number of people voted in the contest[http://bright-green.org/2016/08/23/record-numbers-vote-in-green-leadership-contest/]

block-time published-time 10.21am BST

Green leadership election candidates The Greens have not just been electing a new leader (or leaders). They have been holding a deputy leadership election too, and elections for various other party posts. There is a full list of the party posts and candidates here.[https://www.greenparty.org.uk/internal-elections/candidates.html]

And here are short profiles of the leadership election candidates.

Jonathan Bartley and Caroline Lucas (job share) Caroline Lucas and Jonathan Bartley. Photograph: Sarah Lee for the Guardian For many people Lucas is the Green party. A former MEP, and the only Green MP (she has represented Brighton Pavilion since 2010), she led the party from 2008 until 2012 and, even after she stepped down (she said she wanted others in the party to have a chance to raise their profile), she found it hard not to overshadow her successor, Natalie Bennett. An excellent media performer and accomplished parliamentarian, she is one of the few people in the party one could easily imagine serving in cabinet.

Bartley, from Lambeth in south London, is the party’s work and pensions spokesman. A former researcher for the Conservative party in the 1990s, he is the founder of a Christian thinktank, Ekklesia, and he has been active in the Green party for some years, standing as a candidate in London elections. He has a disabled son (and achieved prominence in the 2010 general election when he challenged David Cameron on camera over Tory policies on inclusive education) and he cites being a parent as one reason why he is applying for the leadership as a job share.

Lucas and Bartely want to form a new “progressive alliance”. Lucas told the Guardian earlier this summer: [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/31/caroline-lucas-stand-green-party-leadership-job-share] “I really think there is an appetite out there now for a less tribal politics... There is a sense, which we felt very strongly with the job share idea itself, that more ideas, the more plural your politics, the more likely they will be effective, and reach more people”.

The Lucas/Bartley website is here.[http://www.bartleylucas.com/]

Clive Lord Clive Lord is virtually a founder member of the Green party, having joined in March 1973, five months after it was set up. Aged 81 (although “remarkably fit for my age”, he says in his election statement), he says he is only standing because his preferred candidate, Andrew Cooper, did not put himself forward. Cooper is standing for the deputy leadership and Lord says that, if elected, he would hope Cooper could do much of the work.

Lord wants the Green party to get back to focusing on how to save the planet. Sustainability requires “de-growth”, he argues. He says he once proposed “a recession can be fun” as a slogan, but that fortunately “wiser (?) counsels prevailed”.

Here is Lord’s website.[https://clivelord.wordpress.com/2016/06/23/my-leadership-bid-latest/]

David Malone Malone is a filmmaker who makes documentaries for the BBC and Channel 4 and who also writes about finance and economics. He published a book about the financial crash, The Debt Generation[https://www.amazon.co.uk/Debt-Generation-David-Malone/dp/0956690203], and his pitch for the leadership is that the party should focus more on economics. “It seems to me that one of the defining facts of our times is that around the world the established political parties have surrendered to the idea that economics and finance no longer need to be under democratic control,” he says. “This is wrong and dangerous.”

Here is Malone’s website.[http://www.golemxiv.co.uk/]

Martie Warin Aged 27, Warin is the youngest candidate. A musician and parish councillor from County Durham, he describes himself as an ecosocialist and says “socialism is the philosophy of caring, capitalism, the philosophy of the greedy, ecosocialism is the philosophy of caring for the future”. A member of the GMB, he also says that “it is about time the Green party tried harder to forge robust alliances with trade unions,[https://thenorwichradical.com/2016/07/30/our-greens-in-the-north/] as the values that we hold dear and the values of the trade unions go hand in hand.”

Simon Cross A Green party campaigner for many years, and a general election candidate in Rochford and Southend East in 2015, Cross has said that he wants the party to “rehabilitate progressive taxation” and that this requires two things: “raising taxes fairly and explaining them honestly”.

David Williams Williams spent 20 years as a Labour councillor and stood for parliament for the party three times. But he left the party in 2003, “not simply because they had launched the Iraq war but because they had adopted the philosophy and policies of Thatcherism”. Since then he has been leader of the Green group on Oxford city council and he is currently leader of the Green group on Oxfordshire county council.

He says that he is a great supporter of Lucas, but that he is standing because he does not want to see the party have a “coronation”. He says the Greens are “a political party not an environmental pressure group” and that, if elected leader, he would tour the country building up the party.

Here is William’s website.[http://www.david-williams-greenleader.co.uk/why-i-m-standing-.html]

block-time published-time 9.43am BST

One of the defining stories in British politics since 2010 has been the rise of insurgency parties. Ukip went from a party attracting under 1m votes (3.1%) in the general election six years ago to one getting 3.9m votes (12.6%) in 2015. The SNP transformed itself from a party that was seen as lucky to form a minority administration in Edinburgh to one that is now the unchallenged party of government in Scotland, with almost all the countries’ MPs. And, in a less dramatic way, the same trended boosted the Greens. In 2010 they got just 286,000 votes (1%). Last year they were up to 1.2m (3.8%.) and their leader, Natalie Bennett, achieved prominence because she was included in the TV debates.

But since then the Green party has collided with an obstacle - called Jeremy Corbyn. Corbyn’s purist, anti-capitalist, green-tinged radicalism overlaps to a considerable degree with the Green party’s policy platform. It is not just that Corbyn has an allotment; at the general election the Greens’ flagship policy proposal was for a citizen’s income [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/jan/18/green-party-citizens-income-natalie-bennett-benefit], and Corbyn and his team are now actively considering whether Labour should adopt the idea. [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/05/john-mcdonnell-labour-universal-basic-income-welfare-benefits-compass-report] As a result the Greens start their autumn conference today in Birmingham facing the challenge of how to compete or coexist with a Corbynite Labour party that seems to be stealing their USP.

They also have to choose a new leader, although in truth they have already done so because the voting is over. The result will be announced at 2pm. Caroline Lucas, the former leader and only Green MP, is standing along with Jonathan Bartley as a job share and, although there are five other candidates, Lucas and Bartley are the overwhelming favourites to be elected. Almost 15,000 members votes in the contest (a turnout of 34%) but it is hard to avoid the suspicion that this is only the second most important leadership election for Green party voters this summer. After last year’s Labour leadership election a YouGov analysis concluded that 40,000 of those voting in the contest were people who had voted Green in 2015. [https://yougov.co.uk/news/2015/09/15/anatomy-corbyns-victory/] Overwhelmingly they were voting for Corbyn. It is likely that this year there are more Green voters from 2015 taking party in Labour’s leadership contest than in the Greens’.

I’m on a Virgin train to Birmingham at the moment (with a seat) and I will be covering the opening of the conference, as well as any other Green-related developments. After the results of the leadership election are announced, the new leaders, or leaders, will address the conference. There will also be a debate about the universal basic income proposal.

If you want to follow me or contact me on Twitter, I’m @AndrewSparrow.[https://twitter.com/AndrewSparrow]

I try to monitor the comments BTL but normally I find it impossible to read them all. If you have a direct question, do include “Andrew” in it somewhere and I’m more likely to find it. I do try to answer direct questions, although sometimes I miss them or don’t have time. Alternatively you could post a question to me on Twitter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A year after Alan Kurdi’s death gave Europe’s **refugee** crisis a new urgency, we speak to volunteers on the frontline

When three-year-old Alan Kurdi[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees] ’s lifeless body washed up on a Turkish beach not far from holidaymakers, Europe’s **refugee** crisis took on a new urgency. For those not already close to the growing disaster, this tragic image propelled people to act. Frustrated by a lack of government action, ordinary people filled cars and transit vans with supplies, tents and second-hand clothes and set out to Europe’s borders, determined to help.

Tina Brocklebank, a 46-year-old student from Yorkshire, spent a week constructing tents in the Calais **refugee** camp with the charity Auberge des Migrants, now part of the umbrella organisation Help **Refugees**, last October. Almost a year later she is still there.

“I remember returning from Calais after that first week feeling utterly scrambled. I stood on the ferry and cried at the ease of crossing that magical 20 miles. My new friends in camp wanted more than anything to cross that stretch of water to begin a safe life and yet it is only accessible to them by risking their lives jumping on to moving trains or sneaking into lorries. I sat in a pub garden that night completely disengaged, feeling like a rabbit caught in headlights,” she says.

Despite being in a relationship and in the middle of studying for a degree, Brocklebank moved out of her rented accommodation, put her belongings in storage and returned to Calais a little over a month later. She now spends her days working with the charity Calais Kitchen distributing oil, tomatoes, onions, lentils, flour, milk, tea, sugar, and firewood to every tent in the camp.

“Everything that people need in the camp involves queueing in the rain, wind or scorching sun as there are no trees for shade in the camp. People queue for hours for a six-minute shower. It is so disrespectful, undignified and humiliating. This is why we distribute packages, to alleviate the queuing,” she says.

The crisis in and around the **refugee** camp near Calais in France is worse than ever[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/uk-and-french-authorities-blind-to-growing-problems-in-calais-jungle]. The number of people is at an all-time high of almost 10,000, months after French authorities dismantled a significant part of the camp[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/29/french-authorities-begin-clearance-of-part-of-calais-jungle-camp]. Calais Kitchen spends £20,000 a month on food, all raised from public donations[https://mydonate.bt.com/donation/start.html?charity=152188]. Charities say they are running out of supplies on a daily basis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/02/calais-refugee-camp-running-out-of-food-as-donor-fatigue-sees-donations-dry-up], with **refugees**reporting they are going hungry.

“There is an awful, desperately uncomfortable position of having to make a judgment on how much food to give people because we simply don’t have enough. I have to challenge people who say that there are eight people sleeping in a tent when we can clearly see there are only five. But we know it’s because our weekly food package only lasts a few days.

“I went to Calais to make a small difference, but in reality it was my world that will be forever different because of what I’ve seen and heard,” she says.

In the year since Alan’s death, the number of public-founded aid charities has soared. Paul Hutchings, 48, from Brighton, volunteered in Calais last September. Devastated by what he saw, he quit his job as a market researcher this year to set up his own **refugee** charity, **Refugee** Support Europe[https://mydonate.bt.com/charities/refugeessupporteurope], based in Greece.

“I watched a premature baby slowly die on the camp over the course of 10 days, because the hospitals couldn’t provide care and the large agencies weren’t able to commit. I was sick of seeing people like you and me who have had to suffer such trauma being treated so badly by Europe. I could just not sit by,” he says.

Asked if there is really a need for smaller grassroots charities, Hutchings is certain there is.

“We were asked by the Greek army to provide a step for the wash basins for the children to wash their hands, because no one else could pay for it. We just paid for it straight away. It cost €200. Our organisation makes sure to buy locally so we support the Greek economy at the same time,” he says.

Like many other newly launched aid organisations, Hutchings’s charity operates in a gap the more established organisations cannot fill. Their flexibility means the changing needs of the camp can be responded to as and when they arise.

“We built benches and tables and a large space where people can gather, discuss, play games, sew, and watch films. For the kids we have pool parties on Sundays and we put in two swings as part of a larger playground. Large organisations or governments aren’t able to move as quickly as us. I can see the difference we’re making.

“Working on a camp can be exhausting and upsetting but to see the human spirit continue to shine through adversity puts many of my trivial concerns into perspective. I feel so privileged to be doing this with awe-inspiring volunteers too; they are the best of humanity,” he says.

Thousands of ordinary people, unable to give up their jobs to travel to the camps, are doing what they can to help from where they live. Julia, 42, from Milton Keynes helps **refugees** relocating to her area through the charities Citizens: MK and the British Red Cross. She helps furnish houses for **refugee** families, and offers help, support and friendship when they first arrive.

“We have had problems with neighbours vandalising **refugee** properties. We had to reject a council house lined up for a family with four children the day before the move as there were live wires hanging out of the walls, and boiler leaks on to electrics. The next three families are coming on 7 September and to date we have only one house.

“But if I am able to help, I must. I can’t change the world but if I can make a difference to one person, one family, I am changing their world,” she says.

Rachel, a 60-year-old teaching assistant, has been hosting **refugees** in Oxford since last year. Her grandmother was a **refugee** from Lithuania, and her mother was six years old when she was forced to flee Germany. These family histories, in part, encourage her to continue volunteering.

“These people have been through so much; they deserve much, much better. Many come as unaccompanied children and once they reach 18 years old they have all support cut off. They are not entitled to housing or education or benefits. Most have no families and they have already spent years here and put down roots. What are they supposed to do? They are just kids who have been terribly traumatised,” she says.

As charities warn of donor fatigue, there is more of a need for volunteers and donations than ever. This week 6,500 **refugees**, many from Eritrea and Somalia, were rescued off the coast of Libya[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/29/dramatic-photos-show-refugees-fleeing-libya-being-rescued-at-sea]. Latest census figures[http://i0.wp.com/www.helprefugees.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/census-edit-kids.jpg] show a 30% increase in **refugees** in the Calais camp’s population in a month. And at least 24,000 people are believed to have made the journey along the Balkans migration trail since the route shut in early March[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/tens-of-thousands-migrate-through-balkans-since-route-declared-shut].

Like many others unable to travel to the camps, 74-year-old Valerie Johnstone knew she had to do something to help. She dedicates her time to volunteering with asylum seekers in her small village in south-west France. Nine months ago, 17 men from Calais were temporarily settled in her village while they waited for their asylum applications to be reviewed.

“We hosted cinema evenings at our house, had meals, raised money so they could all have shoes. Now they are scattered throughout France, with only five so far having gained asylum. They have all been here with us for summer holidays. We call them family now,” says Johnstone.

“We have gained as much as we have given from these young men and now we just want to see them settled with safe lives and then jobs. If everyone would just care for someone the world would be a better place.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Some of the best work is done at the grassroots, yet the power dynamic of philanthropy means this expertise is often ignored

I spent Saturday morning at the public library with my 2.5-year-old daughter. She sat in the centre of a multi-racial, multi-lingual group of toddlers, spread her arms out as wide as they would go, and screamed: “He turned into a beautiful butterfly!” at the end of the consummate classic, The Very Hungry Caterpillar. The parents and grandparents giggled at the collective exuberance of little ones. The kids’ insanely spongy brains soaked up the sea of words surrounding them.

This may sound like a mundane scene, but it’s a surprising triumph for philanthropic equity – one of the few that exists at a meaningful, functional scale in our increasingly unequal country. At a time when early childhood has exploded as a lucrative market opportunity, no money is exchanged at the nation’s public libraries.

Why? Because in the 1850s, a wealthy guy invited a poor, 13-year-old **immigrant** boy to spend Saturday afternoons at his private library in Pittsburgh.

The only philanthropy worth engaging in is the kind that honours the wisdom of relationships and the power of money

That boy grew up to be steel magnate Andrew Carnegie. Carnegie remembered[https://dp.la/exhibitions/exhibits/show/history-us-public-libraries/carnegie-libraries] that, as a child, “I resolved, if wealth ever came to me, that it should be used to establish free libraries.” True to his word, Carnegie’s funding built about half of the 3,500 public libraries that existed by 1920.

Philanthropy has come a long way since the “Patron Saint of Libraries” took a childhood experience and turned it into a national legacy. Too often, it feels like we’ve lost our core wisdom about how change actually happens.

As they say, money can’t buy love. It can’t, ultimately, buy equity either. Both start with the seed of relationship.

There would be no three-year-old black kid in Oakland screaming hungry caterpillar exuberance without Andrew Carnegie. And there would no Andrew Carnegie without that Pittsburgh bibliophile.

So what does this mean for philanthropy? It means that the only philanthropy worth engaging in – both ethically and strategically speaking – is the kind that honours the wisdom of relationships and the power of money.

In what organiser and human rights activist Ella Baker deemed the “foundation complex” in 1963, those with money usually call the shots. Typically, a foundation positions itself as the expert and judges the merits of a nonprofit to solve a particular problem, whether it’s childhood hunger, or deforestation, or homelessness.

I’ve been on the phone myself, scrambling to feel worthy of a foundation officer’s attention and money; nothing has inflicted me with a more toxic form of impostor syndrome. The questions foundation representatives ask, like those little bubbles on a standardised test, seem to pop up one after the other. With each one, I feel my breath get shallow. I’m feverishly tap-dancing when what I want to be doing is have good faith, meaningful conversation.

With individual donors, the hierarchy is often softened with social graces – a cup of coffee, a chat about shared passions, the scent of camaraderie – but ultimately the power dynamic is no different. One of us has the means and therefore is in the position of judging the other’s “good works”. In some ways, these interactions can be even more demoralising because they are deeply confusing; sometimes it can feel like you are performing friendship.

In the midst of particularly demoralising experiences with wealthy philanthropists, I have often reminded myself of my own privilege – a white woman from an upper-middle-class background with an Ivy League degree. If these interactions make me feel this way, imagine how confusing and **alienating** they likely are for people even further afield of the social class of most philanthropists.

Related: Philanthropists can’t eradicate global poverty, but we can make a start[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/may/12/philanthropy-global-poverty-development-finance-sdgs]

A note about philanthropists’ demographics: three-fourths of foundations’ full-time staff are white and nearly 90% are over 30. Women flourish at smaller foundations – about three of four fundraisers are female – but at those with assets of more than $750m, women comprise only 28.9% of CEOs and CGOs [https://nonprofitquarterly.org/2012/03/22/foundation-portrait-demographics-and-compensation/] (chief growth officers).

Board leadership is even more demographically starved. “Fully 85% of foundation board members are white, while just 7% are African American and only 4% are Hispanic,” said Gara LaMarche, president of the Democracy Alliance[http://democracyjournal.org/magazine/34/democracy-and-the-donor-class/]. “Nearly three-quarters of foundations have no written policy on board diversity, and fewer than 10% of board members are under 40.”

This means a lot of people who are not white, male and older are hustling their asses off to understand the sensibility of those who are. They are spending energy being tactical about how they talk about their work and build relationships, however transactional or tokenising. I admire their commitment and acuity, but even if some get good at translating and tap-dancing for dollars, that should not comfort the philanthropic world about its own inclusivity or transparency.

It only means that some people are willing to put in the work to get good at the game, not that the game isn’t profoundly rigged or that it doesn’t distract from getting real work done.

How do we create paradigm-shifting programmes together, not just send LinkedIn requests and push money and paper around?

And the truth is, I imagine it’s a disconcerting experience for most philanthropists, too. On some level, they must know that they’re not the wisest authorities on the issues they’re seeking to effect. Money doesn’t make you an expert on poverty alleviation; in fact, it can make you dumber with distance. And yet, traditional philanthropy is set up to put you – the one with financial wealth – in the position of playing god with something you deeply care about. Even if it strokes your ego to be the decider, it’s got to erode your sense of integrity.

How can we reinvent philanthropy with an eye toward true equity? How can we create new cultures and structures that allow resources – financial, experiential, energetic – to flow in ways that feel dignifying? How do we create paradigm-shifting shit together, not just send LinkedIn requests and push money and paper around?

One obvious thing we can do is work to change the demographics of those giving away money and sitting on boards. But even that isn’t a fix; it’s a good bet to slowly shift culture, but not a promise of radical restructuring. There has been a slight uptick in black executives at foundations, for example, but as soon as they arrive, many are looking for an out, according to the Association of Black Foundation Executives[https://nonprofitquarterly.org/2014/06/09/study-why-has-the-number-of-black-professionals-in-philanthropy-decreased/]. They overwhelmingly cite as their reason for fleeing that they want to be “more directly engaged in creating community change.” Duh.

If we really want to reinvent philanthropy then we are going to have to look at the underlying historic and structural causes of poverty and work to dismantle them and put new systems in their place. It’s also about culture – intentionally creating boundary-bashing friendships, learning to ask better, more generous questions, taking up less space.

It’s about what we are willing to acknowledge about the origins of our own wealth and privilege. It’s about reclaiming values that privilege often robs us of: first and foremost, humility. But also trust in the ingenuity and goodness of other people, particularly those without financial wealth. And a more accurate sense of proportion – where and how are philanthropists really most crucial in the fight for a more just society?

Several groups are working to show us what this kind of giving might look like. An example: a group of trust fund kids, calling themselves the Gulf South Allied Funders[http://resourcegeneration.org/gilmoregulfsouthalliedfunders/], took their own inheritances, raised even more money from their own networks and then donated the sum to the Twenty-First Century Foundation, which has a long-standing presence in New Orleans. In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, they acknowledged their unfamiliarity with the community, and decided to funnel their resources to someone who could make a bigger difference.

Another: poor families in Boston and Detroit and Fresno track data about their own strengths and goals and then come together on a regular basis to talk about what they’re learning and the kinds of support they need. The families provide the moral support, while Family Independence Initiative[http://www.fii.org/our-approach-in-action/] provides the financial support in the form of scholarships, small business grants and other capital, on an as-needed basis.

And another: Self-Help[https://www.self-help.org/what-we-do/we-serve/underserved-communities], a family of nonprofit credit unions in North Carolina, California, and Florida, counter predatory lenders and high-fee check cashers in underserved communities by providing low-interest banking and loan services, financing community development projects and rehabilitating historic buildings with local partners. They celebrate the ways in which their current banking structure is significantly imprinted with the historic intelligence of African-American credit unions so critical during the Jim Crow era.

Philanthropy can no longer grapple simply with what is happening in the world, but also with how and why

Darren Walker

What makes these different than the average “foundation complex” experience? They have authentic, trusting relationships at the centre. They acknowledge history and local context. They walk their talk – moving beyond radical theory to radical practice.

To their credit, many of the world’s most powerful donors have begun to question the ethical underpinnings and best practicesof status quo philanthropy. In 2013, Peter Buffett[https://medium.com/u/3cab31066f79], chairman of the NoVo Foundation, wrote a manifesto[http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/27/opinion/the-charitable-industrial-complex.html?\_r=0] that, at its essence, was a call for more structural consciousness and less cognitive dissonance among wealthy altruists: “Because of who my father is, I’ve been able to occupy some seats I never expected to sit in. Inside any important philanthropy meeting, you witness heads of state meeting with investment managers and corporate leaders. All are searching for answers with their right hand to problems that others in the room have created with their left.”

More recently, Darren Walker[https://medium.com/u/f7208b89e16c], the President of the Ford Foundation, has called for[http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/18/opinion/why-giving-back-isnt-enough.html] a “new ‘gospel of wealth’ for the 21st century” – one that addresses “the underlying causes that perpetuate human suffering. In other words, philanthropy can no longer grapple simply with what is happening in the world, but also with how and why.”

The shift in zeitgeist is promising. A critical mass of people working within philanthropy is hungry to do work with more ethical rigor; more systemic, cultural, and emotional intelligence; less bureaucracy and hubris. There is a growing conversation about these shifts. On paper, the will is there.

Related: The Cincinnati experiment: can 'citizen philanthropy' improve a city?[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/aug/30/cincinnati-experiment-peoples-liberty-citizen-philanthropy-improve-city]

But philanthropists need more than “big ideas” about how their profession could and should change. They need radically new habits or these ideas just become bold in theory.

As Vu Le, the Executive Director of Rainier Valley Corps, points out[http://nonprofitwithballs.com/2015/11/why-equality-is-actively-harmful-to-equity/#more-2948] : “True Equity takes time, energy, and thoughtfulness. It requires us to reexamine everything we know and change systems and practices that we have been using for hundreds of years. This is often painful and uncomfortable.”

In part, this is about scale. Philanthropists must push themselves to give more, and in particular, give more to address American poverty. Only 12% of total giving in 2015 went to “human services,” according to Giving USA[http://givingusa.org/see-the-numbers-giving-usa-2016-infographic/]. Wealthy donors are more likely to support the arts and higher education and less likely to give to social service charities, according to the Chronicle of Philanthropy[http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/10/6/wealthy-charitablegiving.html]. And they’re not as generous as those with less income: “The wealthiest Americans – those who earned $200,000 or more – reduced the share of income they gave to charity by 4.6% from 2006 to 2012. Meanwhile, Americans who earned less than $100,000 chipped in 4.5% more of their income during the same time period.”

But it’s not just about scale. Philanthropists also need to rethink their most basic giving processes:

How and where do you meet potential grantees?

If you don’t have genuine relationships with those outside of your racial or class category, you’re going to have a hell of a time finding out about the most interesting, powerful work going on to tackle poverty.

How do you approach general operating funds or capital campaigns?

Have you ever noticed that foundations feel justified in spending millions on beautifully designed headquarters, but frown on nonprofits using money to spend a fraction of that on dignifying spaces of their own? Poor people, and those that partner with them, deserve fair salaries and beauty, too.

How can grant reporting be redesigned so it doesn’t create such huge frustration and a misuse of time and energy on the part of grantee organisations?

Human-centered design is so often heralded by foundations these days, but too often their own bureaucracies are filled with soul-deadening detail that is anything but humanising.

Do you build relationships for the long, systemic haul?

Funding also shapes and dictates our work by forcing us to conceptualise our communities as victims

Adjoa Florência Jones de Almeida, The Revolution Will Not Be Funded

Gara LaMarche takes his peers to task[http://democracyjournal.org/magazine/34/democracy-and-the-donor-class/] for talking big game about sustainability, but then essentially treating grantees like “the right wing would treat single mothers on welfare, imposing strict time limits and cutoffs – the fact is that most sustainability strategies are aimed at helping grantees move from dependency on one foundation to another.”

This may all seem “in the weeds”, but it has a huge impact of the daily lives of those tackling poverty on the ground. How we treat one another every day, as cliched as it may sound, becomes the nature of our relationships, and the nature of our relationships, becomes the nature of our institutions and, ultimately, systems.

Perhaps the most profound question that philanthropists can ask themselves at this ripe time for reinvention is this: what stories do you want or expect grantees to tell you? What stories do you tell about yourself?

Adjoa Florência Jones de Almeida of the Sista II Sista Collective in Brooklyn, NY, wrote in the groundbreaking anthology, The Revolution will not be Funded[http://www.utne.com/Politics/Revolution-Will-not-be-Funded-Nonprofit-Industrial-Complex.aspx] :

In theory, foundation funding provides us with the ability to do the work – it is supposed to facilitate what we do. But funding also shapes and dictates our work by forcing us to conceptualise our communities as victims. We are forced to talk about our members as being “disadvantaged” and “at risk”, and to highlight what we are doing to prevent them from getting pregnant or taking drugs – even when this is not, in essence, how we see them or the priority for our work.

Six years later, organiser and activist Mia Birdsong, took the TED stage[https://www.ted.com/talks/mia\_birdsong\_the\_story\_we\_tell\_about\_poverty\_isn\_t\_true/transcript?language=en#t-639570] and furthered the paradigm-shifting narrative: “The quarter-truths and limited plot lines have us convinced that poor people are a problem that needs fixing. What if we recognised that what’s working is the people and what’s broken is our approach?”

Related: Homegrown philanthropy: the rise of local giving in the south[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/apr/19/homegrown-philanthropy-local-giving-global-south]

The story we’ve told about the poor in America, the story that we continue to ask them to tell in order to get funding, is that they’re broken. In fact, we are.

The ultimate irony of the way the philanthropic sector is structured is that it is actually the recipients – people of colour, the working class, women – that may be the most masterful at creating and maintaining long-lasting, catalytic relationships. They are disproportionately poor in terms of dollars and cents, but rich with experience of making a way out of no way and persevering in the face of huge, intractable, sometimes downright exploitative systems. This usually involves relying on friends and extended family, nurturing people’s gifts for the betterment of whole communities and having grace through challenge.

We have an ethical imperative to acknowledge and build new systems around that intelligence. Carnegie’s one ask of the public libraries that he funded, to be built in communities across the country, was that they each be engraved with an image of a rising sun and the words: “Let there be light.”

That light, for him, was present in books, but in truth, it was sparked by an unlikely relationship. Long-lasting change so often is.

This piece was originally published on The Development Set[http://medium.com/the-development-set], part of a broader forum on philanthropy[https://medium.com/the-development-set/a-new-gospel-of-philanthropy-31e514139708#.93djofyoc]

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Children fleeing conflict continue to be at risk – Theresa May and Amber Rudd must urgently sort out Britain’s failing and secretive response

Twelve months ago, the limp body of a Syrian child on a Turkish beach shook the conscience of the world. Since Alan Kurdi drowned last year[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees], 400 children whose names we will probably never know have lost their lives in the Mediterranean. Ten thousand child **refugees** have disappeared in Europe. Millions of children have been forced from their homes.

Some in government seem to be hoping that a year on campaigners will give up. That the pressure to act triggered by a child’s photo has gone, and we will conclude that it is too hard to make a difference or maintain public support.

But we won’t. The lesson of the last year should be that however difficult things look, we can still save lives and children’s futures. But we have to keep the pressure up – especially on our own government.

The moral case for action is stronger than ever. The disturbing image last month of five-year-old Omran Daqneesh[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/18/boy-in-the-ambulance-image-emerges-syrian-child-aleppo-rubble], dazed, dusty and bloodied on a plastic ambulance seat, was a searing reminder of what people are fleeing. All countries have a responsibility not just to help those fleeing persecution but to protect children from suffering.

Amber Rudd must speed up the system so that at least 500 child **refugees** can be here before Christmas

Our security interest in tackling the **refugee** crisis remains as powerful too. Criminal trafficking gangs are getting stronger, extremists are able to exploit the crisis, and the disorder of an unmanaged response threatens community cohesion and stability.

We must not be deterred from building support for child **refugees** by far-right campaigns. Most people – including most leave campaigners – were appalled by Nigel Farage’s vile posters[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/16/nigel-farage-defends-ukip-breaking-point-poster-queue-of-migrants] during the referendum campaign. And we built huge cross-party support (against expectations) for the Dubs amendment[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/25/syrian-refugee-children-kindertransport-1939] to help child **refugees** this summer.

Far from being impotent, there are practical things that governments could be doing right now to help child **refugees**. Theresa May and Amber Rudd should go to the global summit on **refugees** led by President Barack Obama later this month to try to reach new commitments on aid and resettlement, as well as resolving conflicts that are forcing people from their homes. Britain must be part of new international partnerships and action, rather than using the Brexit vote as an excuse to turn inwards. We should continue our leading role on aid, not cut back under the new international development secretary Priti Patel.

In our remaining time in the EU we should push for Europe-wide action on child safeguarding[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/01/abandon-refugee-children-politicians-calais-camp], and the restoration of border checks within the Schengen zone to stop child trafficking and increase security. And it is time to end the scandal of the Calais camp where violence is increasing and more than 600 unaccompanied children[http://www.helprefugees.org.uk/2016/07/21/new-calais-census-released-761-children-in-calais-jungle-80-on-their-own/] are at daily risk from trafficking and sexual abuse. We need a proper plan with France like the one Britain negotiated to close Sangatte many years ago – including UNHCR assessments, support for **refugees**, and returning illegal migrants home.

Rudd must take urgent action to sort out the failing and secretive British programme for child **refugees** that she has inherited from Theresa May. It is clear that the Dublin system to reunite children who have families in the UK isn’t working. The Dubs amendment to help lone child **refugees** in Europe isn’t being implemented. The Middle East and north African programme announced by ministers in January to help 3,000 children at risk still isn’t in place. Even the programme for Syrian families announced by David Cameron last October has stalled. Councils stand ready to help, but just over a tenth of the promised 20,000 **refugees** have arrived in Britain.

Related: Are you helping in the **refugee** crisis? Share your experiences[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/31/are-you-helping-in-the-refugee-crisis-share-your-experiences]

Last week in Calais I met a Syrian teenager who was given Home Office approval two months ago to join family in Britain, but still hadn’t been given his paperwork to travel, leaving him alone, scared and tired, in a gang-ridden camp. After our cross-party visit attracted and coverage in the Guardian[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/25/what-am-i-waiting-for-child-refugees-trapped-in-calais-appeal-to-mps], the Home Office finally gave him a date to rejoin his family – in a further fortnight. This kind of delay puts children’s safety and lives at risk.

Rudd must urgently speed up the system so that at least 500 child **refugees** can be here and safe before Christmas. She must also pledge to work with the French to ensure no child spends another winter in the horrors of the Calais camp.

A year ago this week I made a speech calling for action to help **refugees**, just a few days before the picture of Alan Kurdi appeared. I said then that future generations will judge us on our response. We must not let our government’s foot-dragging leave children at risk and put us all to shame.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Toddler’s death opened European hearts and policy towards **refugees**, but 12 months on those changes have proved temporary

Sitting in a **refugee** camp in northern Greece, Mohammad Mohammad, a Syrian taxi driver, holds up a picture of three-year-old Alan Kurdi. It is nearly a year since the same photograph of the dead toddler sparked a wave of outrage across Europe, and heightened calls for the west to do more for **refugees**. Twelve months later, Mohammad uses it to highlight how little has changed.

Related: Shocking images of drowned Syrian boy show tragic plight of **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees]

Alan may have died at sea, he says, “but really there is no difference between him and the thousands of children now dying [metaphorically] here in Greece”.

Tens of thousands have been stranded in squalid conditions in Greece since March, when Balkan leaders shut their borders. “It is,” says Mohammad, “a human disaster.”

A year ago, Alan’s tragic death[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees] seemed to have shifted the political discourse on **refugees**. European leaders appeared to have been shocked into forming more compassionate policies, while previously hostile media outlets took a more conciliatory tone.

Two days after Alan’s death, Germany agreed to admit thousands of **refugees**[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/05/refugees-travelling-from-hungary-can-enter-germany-and-austria] who had been stranded in Hungary. The move encouraged the leaders of central and eastern Europe to create a humanitarian corridor[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/09/balkan-countries-refugee-route-more-pragmatic-tactics] from northern Greece to southern Bavaria, while Canada promised to resettle 25,000 Syrians.

In the UK David Cameron agreed to accept 4,000 **refugees** a year[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/07/uk-will-accept-up-to-20000-syrian-refugees-david-cameron-confirms] until 2020. It was less than the number landing each day on the Greek islands at that point, but far more than Cameron had previously dared to offer. He was cheered on by the Sun, whose opinion pages had previously described migrants as cockroaches[https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/apr/24/katie-hopkins-cockroach-migrants-denounced-united-nations-human-rights-commissioner], but now mounted a front-page campaign[https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/news/36107/for-aylan/] in Kurdi’s name: “For Aylan [sic]”.

More significantly, it was in the aftermath of Alan’s death that most European leaders finally promised to share responsibility for at least some of the **refugees**landing on Greek and Italian shores. In late September 2015, they created a system that would nominally see 120,000 **refugees** relocated from Greece and Italy to other European countries[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/22/eu-governments-divisive-quotas-deal-share-120000-refugees] – a relatively modest number that was nevertheless hailed as a watershed moment for European migration policy.

“The principle is so important and reflects such a change of thinking that in itself this is a very significant development,” an optimistic Peter Sutherland, the UN’s special representative for international migration, told the Guardian[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/22/eu-governments-divisive-quotas-deal-share-120000-refugees] on the night of the decision.

But a year later, these small shifts in policy and discourse have proved to be temporary.

In September 2015, just four countries voted against the relocation deal, and only one of them – Hungary – lay on the path of the Balkans migration trail. When Hungary shut its border on 15 September, Croatia and Slovenia simply picked up the slack[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/17/croatia-overwhelmed-by-volume-of-refugees-crossing-from-serbia], allowing hundreds of thousands of migrants to cross their territory instead. That month, Donald Tusk, the European council president, stood next to Viktor Orbán, the Hungarian prime minister, and said that he fundamentally disagreed with Orbán’s vision of Christianity[http://budapestbeacon.com/politics/tusk-gives-orban-lesson-on-christianity/26746].

But on the anniversary of Alan’s death, Hungary believes it has all but won the argument on European migration policy. “Most of the countries have come to the same conclusions that we came to last year,” says Zoltan Kovacs, the Hungarian government spokesman. “They didn’t see it as we saw it last year, and there are still people in Brussels who don’t. But common sense has prevailed.”

With rightwing populists on the rise across the continent, and a perceived connection between migration and terrorism, Europe has gradually abandoned the humanitarian approach of last winter. Austria, which was once a key German ally on migration policy, now wants an Australian-style approach[https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/austrian-minister-wants-to-replicate-australian-model-for-migrants/] that could see Greece formally used as a giant holding bay for asylum seekers, just as Canberra controversially uses the island state of Nauru to detain people trying to reach Australia. Even Sweden, which previously gave Syrians indefinite asylum, has reined in its generosity[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/sweden-asylum-seekers-refugees-policy-reversal].

The Balkan humanitarian corridor has shut[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/09/balkans-refugee-route-closed-say-european-leaders] : Tusk was the man who declared it closed. The relocation scheme has proved dysfunctional: the rest of Europe has accepted just 5,142 people from Greece[http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/download.php?id=1833], instead of the 66,400 promised. And if the EU had its way, most of the few people still arriving on the Greek islands – the weekly numbers are now in the hundreds, rather than the tens of thousands – would now be deported back to Turkey under the EU-Turkey migration deal[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/18/eu-deal-turkey-migrants-refugees-q-and-a].

But with both deportations and relocations having stalled, 57,000 people are trapped in squalid conditions in Greece with no word on their future, prompting Syrians such as Mohammad to despair.

“In September, Orbán was the bad guy,” summarises Gerald Knaus, head of the European Stability Initiative, the thinktank that first floated the idea of the EU-Turkey deal. “Yet by the end of the year he was the leader of a coalition of states. And with Austria now taking the lead on arguing for an Australian-style system, it’s now Germany that is isolated.”

Even the EU-Turkey deal is not, in practice, what Knaus envisaged when he proposed it in the fortnight that followed Alan’s death[http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document\_ID=168]. As Knaus saw it, the deportation of **refugees** back to Turkey can be justified if their cases are assessed swiftly and efficiently in Greece; if Turkey improves its asylum system; and if Europe creates the legal means of mass-resettlement from Turkey. None of this, however, has happened.

“On paper, the deal is more or less what was recommended,” says Knaus. “But in reality these three key elements have not been made to work.”

For campaigners, last year’s events have nevertheless had one lasting and positive result. In the year since Alan’s death, a wave of grassroots aid groups have been set up to respond to the crisis – founded by the public, and funded by thousands. Many of these groups are working on the ground in Greece, Calais and the Balkans – and many of their volunteers were first inspired to get involved by the events of last August and September[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/12/help-refugees-calais-accidental-activists].

Related: Accidental activists: the British women on the front line of the **refugee** crisis[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/12/help-refugees-calais-accidental-activists]

One of the most prominent is Help **Refugees**[http://www.helprefugees.org.uk/], a London-based group that did not exist last year. Nearly 12 months later, it funds **refugee**-focused projects in 68 sites across Europe. In many of these places, the group answers a humanitarian need that larger and better-established agencies have not been quick enough to meet – building, among other things, infrastructure and water facilities in Greek camps where major NGOs received EU aid to operate[http://europa.eu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/rapid/press-release\_IP-16-1447\_en.htm], but were too slow to arrive.

In the space of a single year, argues Nico Stevens, head of projects at Help **Refugees** and one of just three full-time employees at the group, “the whole model of humanitarian work has been challenged and adapted and improved by a group of individuals who are passionate and care”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**‘No amnesty’: Trump vows to deport millions during ‘first hour in office’Analysis: In Arizona we saw the Donald Trump we already knewUS vice-president Joe Biden to stump for Clinton today in Ohio

block-time published-time 2.00am BST

Trump: 'We're going to sit back' and 'assess' future of undocumented **immigrants** In an interview on Fox News, Donald Trump has given more conditions for the legalization of undocumented **immigrants** currently residing in the United States, an issue around which he has not-so-delicately tiptoed in his alternate hardening and softening and hardening of his **immigration** platform.

“We are going to strengthen the border, make it really, really strong,” Trump told Fox News anchor Eric Bolling. “We are going to build the wall. We are going to get rid of all of the bad players that are here, the gang members, the gang leaders, the drug dealers, all of the cartel people. We are going to get them out of our country because they are causing tremendous damage and crime. And other things. And getting the drugs spread all over the place. They will be gone.”

“After that takes place - which will be a process, and it won’t go that quickly but it’s going to go as quickly as any human being can do it - after that takes place, we’re going to sit back, we’re going to assess the situation,” Trump continued.

“We’re going to see where we are because we’ll have people in the country that, you know, that have come in illegally. We’re going to sit back. We’re going to assess the situation. We’re going to make a decision at that time. I want to see, before we do anything further, I want to see how it shapes up when we have strong, and you know, I use the word ‘impenetrable’ borders but how it shapes up and I think we are getting really tremendous reviews on the plan.”

block-time published-time 1.53am BST

Donald Trump told Fox News host Eric Bolling that a Latino journalist who has been critical of his stance on **immigration** only voices his criticisms because Trump has never appeared on his show.

“I think Jorge is actually a nice guy but I just don’t do his show,” Trump said of Univision anchor Jorge Ramos. “So, you know, if I did his show, I’m sure he would be very happy.”

block-time published-time 1.37am BST

In a conversation with Fox News host Eric Bolling, Donald Trump told the host that his trip to Mexico was more highly covered than any presidential trip, and critiqued Hillary Clinton as being unable to merit nearly as much media attention through her tenure as secretary of state.

“I think we had a great meeting,” Trump said. “It was well-covered by, I guess, as much as anybody has ever been covered in one of those meetings. And, you know, I’m not even a president. I guess it was pretty unusual, because as a president you get this kind of coverage. Although they didn’t get as much.”

Of Clinton’s tweeted remark[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/771156031401521153] that “diplomacy isn’t as easy as it seems,” as Bolling put it, (actually “as easy as it looks”), Trump was dismissive.

“As far as Hillary is concerned, learning, how has she done in Libya? How has she done in Iraq? How has she done with the Iran deal and all of the other things like she started - that horrible Iran deal that’s now blowing up all over the place, one of the worst deals ever negotiated?” Trump asked rhetorically.

“I mean, for her to be saying that and that’s just a sound bite given to her by her handlers. You know, she has got handlers. And that’s just a sound bite. No, we had an amazing day and I have been given great credit by almost everybody that’s fair. You know, I mean, the fair people give credit. The ones that aren’t and I know what’s good and bad. In other words, Eric, I will tell you if something wasn’t good. you know that. You know me.”

block-time published-time 1.15am BST

The Obama administration[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/obama-administration] has denied claims by a Washington thinktank that Iran has secretly been granted exemptions to a multilateral nuclear agreement signed last July in Vienna.

Secretary of State John Kerry meets with Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif. Photograph: Kevin Lamarque/AFP/Getty Images A report[http://file///Downloads/Internet%20Downloads/JCPOA%20Exemptions%20Revealed\_1Sept2016\_Final1.pdf] by the Institute for Science and International Security alleged that a joint commission set up to implement the Vienna deal had allowed Iran to keep more than the agreed maximum of 300 kg of low enriched uranium (LEU) by excluding waste material in Iran’s nuclear facilities. If enriched further, LEU could be used in a nuclear warhead.

The institute’s director and co-author of the report, David Albright, said that this and other exemptions were granted by the commission in secret.

“One of the biggest problems is we are being denied information in these cases,” Albright said. “If the joint commission has so many powers to change this deal, shouldn’t we know what they’re doing?”

The state department denied that the 300 kg LEU limit set down in the agreement, known as the Joint Comprehensive Programme of Action (JCPOA), had been breached.

“There’s been no loosening of the commitments and Iran has not and will not under the JCPOA be allowed to exceed the limits that are spelled out in the JCPOA,” spokesman John Kirby said. He added the only violation of the terms of the deal had been a temporary surplus in Iran’s export of heavy water (which can be used in nuclear reactors to produce plutonium), but that had been corrected. Kirby also said the secrecy of the work of the joint commission, which represents all parties to the deal, was stipulated in last year’s deal, signed by six world powers (the US, UK, France, Germany, Russia and China), the EU and Iran[https://www.theguardian.com/world/iran].

“This is in compliance with the JCPOA which says the commission’s work should be confidential unless all parties agree otherwise,” Kirby said.

Related: Obama administration denies secret exemptions in Iran nuclear agreement[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/01/obama-secret-iran-nuclear-deal]

block-time published-time 1.14am BST

From Joe Biden’s remarks during Hillary Clinton’s rally in Cleveland:

enltr“My friend died,” an Iraq war heckler interrupts Joe Biden at a Clinton rally in Cleveland. “So did my son" shoots back Joe. Instant silence

— Dan Roberts (@RobertsDan) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/RobertsDan/status/771491225211899904]block-time published-time 12.48am BST

Donald Trump’s campaign manager is laying on the age- and health-oriented attacks on Hillary Clinton quite thick:

enltrIn the last 24 hours @realDonaldTrump[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump] has been to Mexico, AZ, OH and NY. Hillary's taking the day off, again. #tiredhillary[https://twitter.com/hashtag/tiredhillary?src=hash]

— Kellyanne Conway (@KellyannePolls) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/KellyannePolls/status/771471655482851328]block-time published-time 11.53pm BST

Donald Trump has hired an old nemesis of the Clinton family as his deputy campaign manager, the Washington Post reports[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/09/01/trump-enlists-veteran-operative-david-bossie-as-deputy-campaign-manager/?postshare=8581472768973983&tid=ss\_tw].

David Bossie, who investigated Bill and Hillary Clinton’s finances in the 1990s as a congressional staffer, was described by Trump to the Washington Post as “a friend of mine for many years. Solid. Smart. Loves politics, knows how to win.”

Trump campaign manager Kellyanne Conway told the Washington Post that Bossie, who until this week served as president of anti-Obama advocacy group Citizens United, is “a battle-tested warrior and a brilliant strategist”.

“He’s a nuts-and-bolts tactician as well, who’s going to help us fully integrate our ground game and data operations, and help with overall strategy as my deputy.”

Bossie investigated the Clintons as part of his work for a special senate committee on the Whitewater controversy, which investigated real estate investments by the Clintons and their associates in the Whitewater Development Corporation, a failed vacation-home development corporation.

block-time published-time 11.47pm BST

The Daily Mail has printed a retraction of its story[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3769798/Melania-Trump-retraction.html] detailing “troubling questions” about Melania Trump’s past.

“To the extent that anything in the Daily Mail’s article was interpreted as stating or suggesting that Mrs. Trump worked as an ‘escort’ or in the ‘sex business,’ that she had a ‘composite or presentation card for the sex business,’ or that either of the modeling agencies referenced in the article were engaged in these businesses, it is hereby retracted, and the Daily Mail newspaper regrets any such misinterpretation,” the retraction states.

Earlier today, lawyers for Trump filed suit against the Daily Mail in Maryland state court for publishing what Trump’s lawyer, Charles Harder, called “lies... that Mrs. Trump supposedly was an ‘escort’ in the 1990s before she met her husband.” Harder said in a statement to reporters that these “actions are so egregious, malicious and harmful to Mrs. Trump that her damages are estimated at $150 million dollars”.

The suit, filed in Montgomery County in suburban Washington DC, was filed in response to articles published in August by the Daily Mail which reported rumors that Melania Trump worked as an escort in the 1990s. In first announcing[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/22/melania-trump-lawsuit-daily-mail] that she was considering a suit, Trump’s lawyer called those rumors “100% false”.

block-time published-time 11.32pm BST

Leaked script: Donald Trump advised to tell African Americans US should 'reduce' issue of race A leaked script of a question-and-answer session with the pastor of a predominantly African American church this weekend, obtained by the New York Times[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/02/us/politics/donald-trump-black-voters-wayne-jackson.html?smid=tw-share&\_r=0], shows that Donald Trump’s campaign is taking little chance on letting the famously unscripted candidate put his foot in his mouth, writing suggested answers to questions on race in America provided to the campaign in advance.

When asked about his vision for black Americans, the script suggests that Mr. Trump stay positive, advising that he use lines such as ‘If we are to make America great again, we must reduce, rather than highlight, issues of race in this country’ and ‘I want to make race disappear as a factor in government and governance.’

To a question submitted by Bishop Jackson about whether his campaign is racist, the script suggests that Mr. Trump avoid repeating the word, and instead speak about improving education and getting people off welfare and back to work. ‘The proof, as they say, will be in the pudding,’ Mr. Trump is advised to say. ‘Coming into a community is meaningless unless we offer an alternative to the horrible progressive agenda that has perpetuated a permanent underclass in America.’

Trump is also directed in the script to tell skeptical African American voters that his support is “up to 8% and climbing.”

block-time published-time 11.10pm BST

Alfonso Aguilar, president of the Latino Partnership for Conservative Principles, has officially un-endorsed Donald Trump’s presidential bid after what he characterized as Trump’s “very scary speech” on **immigration** in Phoenix last night.

“I was critical of Mr Trump throughout the primary,” Aguilar told CNN’s Jake Tapper in an interview[http://www.cnn.com/videos/tv/2016/09/01/aguilar-dropping-support-donald-trump-immigration-lead-tapper-intv.cnn], but moved to support Trump because he felt that, “along with other Latino conservative leaders, that we could help Mr. Trump move towards the center.”

But after last night’s draconian address on **immigration**, in which Trump not only called for a “deportation task force” to hunt down undocumented **immigrants**but called for restrictions on legal **immigration** not seen in more than half a century, Aguilar feels “misled”.

“There’s nothing compassionate or human in his speech,” Aguilar said. “Not only did he double down on his proposals, I think they’re even worse.”

Positing that the speech was drafted by “the main anti-**immigration** groups,” Aguilar called the address “a nationalist, nativist speech, the kind of speech we would hear 100 years ago... it was a very scary speech and, again, we thought that he was gonna move to the center. In a way, we fell that we were a little bit misled.”

block-time published-time 10.54pm BST

Melania Trump sues Daily Mail for $150m Lawyers for Melania Trump have filed suit against the Daily Mail in Maryland state court for publishing what Trump’s lawyer, Charles Harder, called “lies... that Mrs. Trump supposedly was an ‘escort’ in the 1990s before she met her husband.” Harder said in a statement to reporters that these “actions are so egregious, malicious and harmful to Mrs. Trump that her damages are estimated at $150 million dollars”.

Melania Trump Photograph: Kena Betancur/AFP/Getty Images The suit, filed in Montgomery County in suburban Washington DC, was filed in response to articles published in August by the Daily Mail which reported rumors that Melania Trump worked as an escort in the 1990s. In first announcing[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/22/melania-trump-lawsuit-daily-mail] that she was considering a suit, Trump’s lawyer called those rumors “100% false”.

The Daily Mail article also contained allegations that Melania Trump came to New York a year earlier than she has claimed, raising issues about her **immigration**status. The lawsuit notes that while the article in question has been removed from the Daily Mail’s website, the newspaper has yet to apologize or formally retract

The Republican nominee’s wife is also suing blogger Webster Tarpley. Tarpley’s blog post, which has since been retracted[http://tarpley.net/formal-retraction-of-factual-assertions-and-innunendos-regarding-melania-trump/], claimed, per the suit, that “it is widely known Melania was not a working model but rather a high-end escort” and that she had a “mental breakdown” after the plagiarism controversy over her speech to the RNC.

Harder is best known for representing Hulk Hogan in the lawsuit that eventually bankrupted Gawker Media and forced the website to be sold in an auction to Univision last month. That suit was notoriously funded by Silicon Valley billionaire Peter Thiel, a vocal Trump supporter.

Steve Klepper, an appellate lawyer for the highly respected Baltimore law firm Kramon & Graham, saw legal maneuvering in the inclusion of the blogger. He told the Guardian “anytime you have a filing that adds a minor in state defendant, it’s a flag that they were joined to prevent removal to federal court. And as we know, Donald Trump has not been having been the best luck in federal court recently.”

He added: “Montgomery County has possibly the highest percentage college education jury pool in the whole country and I cannot see how the jury pool would be good for her.”

The lawsuit comes 68 days before Election Day and at time when Trump is under increased scrutiny after giving a hardline **immigration**policy[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/in-arizona-we-saw-the-real-donald-trump-the-one-we-already-knew] speech only hours after striking conciliatory notes on the topic in a meeting[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-pena-nieto-immigration-arizona] with Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto. It serves yet another distraction for the Republican nominee’s floundering campaign which has consistently trailed Hillary Clinton in the polls and a reminder of Trump’s combative relationship with the media.

The Republican nominee has blacklisted a number of news outlets and prevented from attending campaign events and has pledged to pass stricter libel laws[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/26/trump-pledges-curb-press-freedom-libel-laws-first-amendment] if elected

A Trump campaign spokesperson told the Guardian “we do not have anything in addition to the Harder statement”.

The Daily Mail did not immediately respond a request for comment

block-time published-time 10.36pm BST

Weakness, and voting for dictators.

enltrToday is the 77th anniversary of Nazi Germany invading Poland and launching World War 2 in Europe. Reminder that weakness is dangerous

— Newt Gingrich (@newtgingrich) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/newtgingrich/status/771261037710422016]block-time published-time 10.20pm BST

John McCain is not betting on a Donald Trump victory: In a video released by his recently victorious campaign for the Republican nomination for US Senate, Arizona senator John McCain tells Grand Canyon State voters that “If Clinton is elected president, Arizona needs a senator who will act as a check.”

“No matter which side of the presidential election you’re on, whether you’re satisfied or dissatisfied with your choices for president, this election is an important one,” McCain intones in the ad. “My opponent, Representative Ann Kirkpatrick, is a good person. But if Hillary Clinton is elected president, Arizona will need a senator who will act as a check - not a rubber stamp.”

The message - echoing a similar stance taken by the Republican party in 1996 in the waning days of the general election that brought Bill Clinton’s landslide victory over Republican nominee Bob Dole - does not speak to much confidence in a Donald Trump victory in the general election.

Trump’s name is not mentioned in the ad.

block-time published-time 9.50pm BST

Pastor Mark Burns is as it again:

enltrIsnt this the TRUTH...!This is what Liberal #MSM[https://twitter.com/hashtag/MSM?src=hash] do for @HillaryClinton[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton]...Great drawing @afbranco[https://twitter.com/afbranco].. #Trump[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Trump?src=hash] #ccot[https://twitter.com/hashtag/ccot?src=hash] pic.twitter.com/JG0hapWRvz[https://t.co/JG0hapWRvz]

— Pastor Mark Burns (@pastormarkburns) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/pastormarkburns/status/771428063670394880]block-time published-time 9.06pm BST

For years, Mexican politicians have said lax US gun laws help to arm the country’s drug cartels.

Donald Trump with President Enrique Peña Nieto. Photograph: Anadolu Agency/Getty Images At a press conference with Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] on Wednesday in Mexico City, President Enrique Peña Nieto said: “Every year, thousands of weapons and millions of US dollars in cash enter illegally into Mexico from the north, strengthening the cartels and other criminal organizations that create violence in Mexico.”

The National Rifle Association (NRA), one of Trump’s key conservative backers, has long rejected such claims, arguing that guns sold by American dealers and smuggled across the border are not a major driver of crime in Mexico[https://www.theguardian.com/world/mexico].

On Wednesday, however, in a largely conciliatory speech in Mexico City that preceded a more aggressive[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-vows-to-deport-millions-during-first-hour-in-office-in-hardline-speech] address on **immigration** at home in Arizona, Trump did not question Peña Nieto’s comment about guns. Instead, the Republican presidential candidate echoed the Mexican president’s longtime talking points.

“No one wins in either country when human smugglers and drug traffickers prey on innocent people, when cartels commit acts of violence, when illegal weapons and cash flow from the United States into Mexico,” Trump said.

The NRA did not immediately comment. The organization has been one of Trump’s most consistent supporters, endorsing him for president[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/20/nra-endorses-donald-trump-convention] in May and investing[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/jul/27/democratic-convention-hillary-clinton-nomination-day-three?page=with:block-579950b0e4b075867609e22e#block-579950b0e4b075867609e22e] in major anti-Hillary Clinton television[http://www.cnn.com/2016/08/09/politics/nra-hillary-clinton-donald-trump-election-2016/] ad campaigns.

Related: Trump echoes Mexican president, says lax US gun laws help arm drug cartels[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-mexico-visit-guns-drug-cartels-nra]

block-time published-time 8.34pm BST

Hillary Clinton raised more than $140m in August Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign has had its best month ever, bringing in more than $143m in August for the campaign, as well as for the Democratic party. The campaign and allied action funds begin September with a more than $152 million war chest, built from donations from more than 2.3m people.

The average donation in August was $50, according to the campaign.

Hillary Clinton Photograph: Josh Edelson/AFP/Getty Images “Thanks to the 2.3 million people who have contributed to our campaign, we are heading into the final two months of the race with the resources we need to organize and mobilize millions of voters across the country,” campaign manager Robby Mook said in a release. “Donald Trump’s divisive rhetoric continues to drive voters away from him and the Republican Party and has created new opportunities for Democrats up and down the ticket. These resources will help us to register and turnout millions of voters to elect progressive candidates across the country.”

Of the $143m pot, a total of $62m was raised for Hillary for America - that is, Clinton’s official campaign - while roughly $81m was raised for the Democratic National Committee, as well as Democratic state parties, through the Hillary Victory Fund and the Hillary Action Fund.

The Clinton campaign starts the month of September with $68m in cash on-hand, with allied victory funds beginning the month with $84m.

Donald Trump’s campaign has not yet reported its August fundraising numbers.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 8.35pm BST

block-time published-time 8.22pm BST

Peña Nieto seeks Twitter fight with Trump I’ll repeat what I told you in person, Mr Trump: Mexico will never pay for a wall.

– Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto, replying to Donald Trump on Twitter

esltrRepito lo que le dije personalmente, Sr. Trump: México jamás pagaría por un muro. https://t.co/IJNVe0XepY[https://t.co/IJNVe0XepY]

— Enrique Peña Nieto (@EPN) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/EPN/status/771423919978913792]enltrMexico will pay for the wall!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/771294347501461504]block-time published-time 8.16pm BST

With a history of pushing legislation[http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/07/donald-trump-mike-pence-vice-president-abortion-gay] hostile to gay rights, abortion access and non-discrimination before the law, Mike Pence is one of the most polarizing running mate picks in... well, Sarah Palin was just eight years ago.

Anyway, Right Wing Watch[http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/mike-pence-lamented-aids-activists-speaking-gop-convention-published-anti-gay-articles-india] has unearthed further odious content tied to Pence, published in the Indiana Policy Review when his name was on the masthead:

In one item titled “The Pinked Newsroom,” published[http://www.pfaw.org/sites/default/files/images/4336\_001.pdf] in the December 1993 issue, the publication lamented that The Wall Street Journal took part in a job fair for gay journalists. The piece claimed that “gaydom” was a “pathological condition” and argued that LGBT editors and reporters should not keep their sexuality a secret because it might slant their coverage. “[T]he more extreme of the gay movement consider themselves members of a sexual determined political party,” the piece explained.

A few months earlier, in August 1993, the journal, with Pence on the masthead, published a piece[http://www.pfaw.org/sites/default/files/images/4335\_001.pdf] objecting to the idea of gay people serving in the military.

Read further[http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/mike-pence-lamented-aids-activists-speaking-gop-convention-published-anti-gay-articles-india].

block-time published-time 7.50pm BST

enltrTim Kaine, apple picking pic.twitter.com/REJwXPgMXW[https://t.co/REJwXPgMXW]

— Ruby Cramer (@rubycramer) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/rubycramer/status/771418152047706112]After Apple-Picking

By Robert Frost

My long two-pointed ladder’s sticking through a tree

Toward heaven still,

And there’s a barrel that I didn’t fill

Beside it, and there may be two or three

Apples I didn’t pick upon some bough.

But I am done with apple-picking now.

Essence of winter sleep is on the night,

The scent of apples: I am drowsing off.

I cannot rub the strangeness from my sight

I got from looking through a pane of glass

I skimmed this morning from the drinking trough

And held against the world of hoary grass.

It melted, and I let it fall and break.

But I was well

Upon my way to sleep before it fell,

And I could tell

What form my dreaming was about to take.

Magnified apples appear and disappear,

Stem end and blossom end,

And every fleck of russet showing clear.

My instep arch not only keeps the ache,

It keeps the pressure of a ladder-round.

I feel the ladder sway as the boughs bend.

And I keep hearing from the cellar bin

The rumbling sound

Of load on load of apples coming in.

For I have had too much

Of apple-picking: I am overtired

Of the great harvest I myself desired.

There were ten thousand thousand fruit to touch,

Cherish in hand, lift down, and not let fall.

For all

That struck the earth,

No matter if not bruised or spiked with stubble,

Went surely to the cider-apple heap

As of no worth.

One can see what will trouble

This sleep of mine, whatever sleep it is.

Were he not gone,

The woodchuck could say whether it’s like his

Long sleep, as I describe its coming on,

Or just some human sleep.

block-time published-time 7.44pm BST

Trump has one field office in Florida. Clinton has 51 The Tampa Bay Times reports[http://www.tampabay.com/news/politics/stateroundup/while-hillary-clinton-touts-51-florida-field-offices-donald-trump-still/2291861] that the Donald Trump campaign still has only one office open in the essential battleground state of Florida, despite a vow on 8 August by the campaign that it would open two dozen additional offices within two weeks:

The Republican nominee only has a Sarasota statewide headquarters open in the state he absolutely must win to be elected president, while the Democratic nominee has 51 offices even though she has multiple paths to winning that don’t require Florida’s 29 electoral votes.

Read further[http://www.tampabay.com/news/politics/stateroundup/while-hillary-clinton-touts-51-florida-field-offices-donald-trump-still/2291861]. A Trump advisor told the paper that those offices are on their way – in the next two weeks:

Karen Giorno, a Florida-based senior adviser to the Trump campaign, noted that they have 67 “county CEOs” helping identify and mobilize Trump supporters, 70,000 active volunteers, and three RVs working as “mobile field offices” criss-crossing the state and stopping at local festivals, gun shows and other functions to help organize Trump voters. Two dozen field offices are poised to open during the week of Sept. 5, she said.

block-time published-time 7.14pm BST

McCain warns of Clinton victory in case for reelection After easily dispatching with his Republican primary challenger, Arizona senator John McCain has turned toward the general election with a five-minute video in which he plays on the expectations of most voters (61%, in the Suffolk poll[http://www.suffolk.edu/documents/SUPRC/9\_1\_2016\_updated\_marginals.pdf] ) that Clinton will win the presidency:

My opponent, Representative Ann Kirkpatrick, is a good person. But if Hillary Clinton is elected president, Arizona will need a senator who will act as a check, not a rubber stamp, for the White House.

McCain also alludes to the deep unpopularity of both presidential candidates:

No matter which side of the presidential election you’re on – whether you’re satisfied or dissatisfied with your choices for president – this election is an important one.

McCain appears to be a few points ahead of Kirkpatrick, in polling averages[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-arizona-senate-mccain-vs-kirkpatrick], but the consensus is that Kirkpatrick is a formidable challenger, especially with Donald Trump at the top of the Republican ticket.

enltrOn Sept. 1! https://t.co/ubeRuW34lk[https://t.co/ubeRuW34lk]

— Eli Stokols (@EliStokols) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/EliStokols/status/771406372588183552]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 7.15pm BST

block-time published-time 6.54pm BST

Here’s some analysis to go with that inert pile of numbers[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/sep/01/trump-immigration-speech-clinton-biden-campaign-live?page=with:block-57c86619e4b06b4ac1748a47#block-57c86619e4b06b4ac1748a47] we threw at you a couple blocks ago.

Has the presidential race tightened? FiveThirtyEight’s Nate Silver thinks so:

The race between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump has tightened. Clinton, whose lead over Trump exceeded 8 percentage points at her peak following the Democratic convention, is ahead by 4 or 5 percentage points today, according to our polls-only forecast[http://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/2016-election-forecast/].

The tighter margins in the polls, which reflect a loss of support for Clinton along with a modest improvement for Trump, have come gradually over the past few weeks. [...]

Silver warns Clinton supporters that the electoral college won’t necessarily protect her if the national race tightens further:

But what if the race continues to tighten? I’ve often heard Democrats express a belief that Clinton’s position in the swing states will protect her in the Electoral College even if the race draws to a dead heat overall. But this is potentially mistaken. Although it’s plausible that Clinton’s superior field operation[http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/trump-campaign-has-ground-game-problem/] will eventually pay dividends, so far her swing state results have ebbed and flowed with her national numbers.

Read further here[http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/election-update-as-the-race-tightens-dont-assume-the-electoral-college-will-save-clinton/?platform=hootsuite].

block-time published-time 6.43pm BST

Sanders to campaign for Clinton Bernie Sanders will hit the campaign trail in New Hampshire on Labor Day for Clinton, according to a highly reliable local:

enltrBREAKING: @BernieSanders[https://twitter.com/BernieSanders] to campaign for @HillaryClinton[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton] at Lebanon High School on Labor Day afternoon #nhpolitics[https://twitter.com/hashtag/nhpolitics?src=hash] #WMUR[https://twitter.com/hashtag/WMUR?src=hash]

— John DiStaso (@jdistaso) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/jdistaso/status/771400019694018561]block-time published-time 6.40pm BST

Clinton holds leads of varying sizes in new national polls HuffPost Pollster has recently added four new polls to its average. Clinton leads them all, but the margins vary. Here they are (note that these margins are all for head-to-head races, excluding the Libertarian and Green candidates):

Suffolk / USA Today:[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/polls/suffolk-usa-today-25319] Clinton +7

Ipsos / Reuters:[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/polls/ipsos-reuters-25305] Clinton +1

UPI / CVOTER:[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/polls/upi-cvoter-25320] Clinton +3

Fox:[http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/polls/fox-25306] Clinton +6

Pollster’s overall average depicts a six-point race:

enltrPollster estimate for 2016 President: Trump vs. Clinton: Clinton 48%, Trump 42% https://t.co/oRPJt9i883[https://t.co/oRPJt9i883]

— Tom McCarthy (@TeeMcSee) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/TeeMcSee/status/771401553467023362]block-time published-time 6.31pm BST

Majority of voters 'alarmed'; 44% think 'Donald Trump is a racist' A new USA Today/ Suffolk University poll[http://www.suffolk.edu/documents/SUPRC/9\_1\_2016\_updated\_marginals.pdf] of likely voters has Clinton up 48-41 in a head-to-head race with Trump and up 42-35 in a four-way race. Those margins are in line with the averages.

The poll probes some interesting opinions apart from presidential preference. For example, asked “Just your own view, do you think Donald Trump is a racist?” 47% said no – but 44% said yes. 83% of African American voters surveyed said yes, while 61% of Hispanic voters said yes.

78% of respondents think Trump ought to release his tax returns. Only 31% think Clinton is “honest and trustworthy,” and as few – 30% – think Trump boasts those qualities.

enltrBig 78-14 majority in Suffolk poll of likely voters think Trump should release tax returns. Clinton honest? 31% yes pic.twitter.com/yIUYSf1TOc[https://t.co/yIUYSf1TOc]

— Tom McCarthy (@TeeMcSee) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/TeeMcSee/status/771394388564017153]How do Americans feel about the election? For 52%, the answer is “alarmed.”

enltrNot sure I've seen a polling question like this, nor this majority response. pic.twitter.com/hEyFrOvNbz[https://t.co/hEyFrOvNbz]

— Austin Barbour (@Austin\_Barbour) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/Austin\_Barbour/status/771390265651175425]If you want to go into the demographic breakdowns, check out these charts[http://www.suffolk.edu/documents/SUPRC/9\_1\_2016\_updated\_tables.pdf]. The National Review’s Liam Donovan points out that Trump appears to be underperforming with white voter s:

enltrBiggest thing that jumps out is Trump not doing nearly well enough among whites (49/41.) At that point AA/Hisp moot. pic.twitter.com/9HincNMRh5[https://t.co/9HincNMRh5]

— Liam Donovan (@LPDonovan) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/LPDonovan/status/771392566604488705]The survey has Clinton at +88 with African American voters and +41 with Hispanic voters, in a head-to-head matchup with Trump. 56% of Hispanics in the poll said they would be “scared” if Donald Trump were to be elected, and an additional 22% said they would be dissatisfied (12% said they would be satisfied; 10% said they would be “enthusiastic”).

block-time published-time 6.01pm BST

That does sound uncomfortable...

enltrBiden: “This is a guy who was born with a silver spoon in his mouth that now he’s choking on because his foot’s in his mouth—with the spoon"

— Matt Viser (@mviser) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/mviser/status/771377987656650754]block-time published-time 5.47pm BST

Trump predicts Ohio win To chants of “USA, USA, USA”, Trump took his nationalist message back to rustbelt later on Thursday at a lunchtime rally in Wilmington, Ohio.

The state has been hit hard by a decline in manufacturing jobs and the campaign seeks to weave together economic uncertainty with the uncompromising message on **immigration**.

“We will treat everyone with compassion but our greatest compassion will be for the American citizen,” Trump told the almost entirely white audience.

“No state has suffered more from bad trade deals,” he claimed. “Ohio has lost nearly one in three of its manufacturing jobs since Nafta and one in four since China entered the WTO [World Trade Organisation].”

National polls have begun to narrow again in recent days and although Clinton is still ahead here on average[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/oh/ohio\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5634.html], the latest survey shows[http://media.wix.com/ugd/3bebb2\_865ec63b1c494be78da4af7d7834766c.pdf] the candidates currently tied in Ohio.

“A new era of American greatness is going to begin a little earlier than scheduled on November 8 th,” boasted Trump to wild cheers. “I think we’re going to win Ohio, big league.”

block-time published-time 5.10pm BST

Annnd... Trump’s done. Was that his shortest speech yet?

Update:

enltrTrump didn't mention Wilmington, Ohio (or its economic woes) by name once

— Jeremy Pelzer (@jpelzer) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/jpelzer/status/771379684521218048]enltrTo be clear, this is the reason politicians typically would go to Wilmington. To talk about this. 8,000 jobs lost. https://t.co/zrLgJ3cRlY[https://t.co/zrLgJ3cRlY]

— Chrissie Thompson (@CThompsonENQ) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/CThompsonENQ/status/771380531665760256]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 5.33pm BST

block-time published-time 5.07pm BST

Donald Trump is delivering remarks in Wilmington, Ohio. He has already begun. Sorry to be a bit slow with supplying the video stream – he began on time!

block-time published-time 4.50pm BST

Biden is onstage in Warren, Ohio, and he’s talking, of course, about kitchen tables. He’s boosting for senate candidate Ted Strickland, who’s behind in the polls to popular Republican incumbent Rob Portman, who so far seems to have shaken the purported Donald Trump Drag.

block-time published-time 4.36pm BST

Roll Call writer and CBS News contributor Leslie Sanchez reports that there may be a wider defection under way from Trump’s Hispanic advisory board. Developing...

enltrHispanic leader who advises Trump camp telling me half of Trump's Hispanic advisory board is ready to resign today (15 of 30)

— Leslie Sanchez (@LeslieSanchez) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/LeslieSanchez/status/771362138011103232]block-time published-time 4.24pm BST

Vice president Joe Biden is scheduled to pop up momentarily in Warren, Ohio, on behalf of Hillary Clinton. Here’s a live video stream:

enltrFun (?) fact: Warren, Ohio - where VP Biden is holding an campaign for Hillary Clinton - is the hometown of Roger Ailes.

— Elyse PG (@elysepg) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/elysepg/status/771359480839802882]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.28pm BST

block-time published-time 4.21pm BST

Trump’s Mexico trip is not playing well for president Enrique Peña Nieto at home. “President Enrique Peña Nieto of Mexico’s decision to meet with possibly his country’s most-disliked man is turning into a public relations disaster for him, with social media posters and politicians calling it a national humiliation likely to lower the president’s already historically low popularity ratings,” runs an AP report:

Not only did Peña Nieto not demand that Donald Trump apologize for calling Mexican migrants rapists and criminals, but he stood silently by in their joint press conference while the Republican candidate repeated his promise to build a border wall[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-meeting-president-pena-nieto-immigration] between the countries.

Related: Trump meeting is public relations disaster for Mexico's Enrique Peña Nieto[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/01/enrique-pena-nieto-donald-trump-public-relations-disaster]

Trump has suffered some internal damage from yesterday’s manic adventures, too, including the loss of two top backers from the Latino community who have hit EJECT:

enltrThis is how I feel: disappointed and misled https://t.co/7wqVBFwEjB[https://t.co/7wqVBFwEjB]

— Alfonso Aguilar (@amigoaguilar) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/amigoaguilar/status/771206610672689152]enltrHere's a Trump Latino advisor Jacob Monty now rebuking Trump: "He must want to lose. He can do that without me." pic.twitter.com/5QznNFfyje[https://t.co/5QznNFfyje]

— Teddy Schleifer (@teddyschleifer) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/teddyschleifer/status/771317766246830081]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.22pm BST

block-time published-time 4.09pm BST

Trump promises Legion crowd 'to help to strengthen respect for our flag' American schoolchildren will be taught greater respect for patriotic values, Donald Trump promised on Thursday, as he followed a key anti-**immigration** speech by stepping up his appeal to “Americanism”, writes Guardian Washington bureau chief Dan Roberts:

“We will stop apologising for America, and we will start celebrating America,” the Republican presidential candidate told an enthusiastic audience at the American Legion convention in Cincinnati.

A Trump administration, he said, would consult with the military veterans group to promote “pride and patriotism” in schools – “teaching respect” for the US flag and pledge of allegiance.

“That flag deserves respect, and I will work with American Legion to help to strengthen respect for our flag,” said Trump. “You see what’s happening. It’s very, very sad. And, by the way, we want young Americans to recite the pledge of allegiance.”

“One country, under one constitution, saluting one American Flag.. always saluting,” he added. “In a Trump administration, I plan to work directly with the American Legion to uphold our common values and to help ensure they are taught to America’s children. We want our kids to learn the incredible achievements of America’s history, its institutions, and its heroes.”

The call to “advance the cause of americanism – not globalism” came as Trump doubled down on the anti-**immigration** message at the heart of his campaign.

Further to come...

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.26pm BST

block-time published-time 4.00pm BST

Kaine tells press Clinton doesn't talk to that Clinton talks to them Hillary Clinton running mate Tim Kaine has told CBS News that “Hillary takes questions from reporters every day,” “she talks to the press everywhere she goes,” and “she did a press conference”:

enltr. @timkaine[https://twitter.com/timkaine], pressed by @NorahODonnell[https://twitter.com/NorahODonnell], says Clinton talks to the press "everywhere she goes" pic.twitter.com/oRSV1j06gh[https://t.co/oRSV1j06gh]

— Betsy Klein (@betsy\_klein) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/betsy\_klein/status/771314905785901056]It’s been 270-plus days since Clinton held a press conference. She appeared at an American Legion convention in Ohio yesterday without taking questions from the press. She has not permitted press access to her fundraisers including multiple events last weekend in the Hamptons. A week ago, after her speech on Trump’s “long history of racial discrimination,” Clinton declined to take questions from reporters, instead offering them chocolate[https://twitter.com/ABCLiz/status/768910474196901889]. The Clinton campaign, in an unusual move, has barred reporters from her plane:

enltrA @jeneps[https://twitter.com/jeneps] tweetstorm on Clinton's press practices https://t.co/zdM8LRLzKv[https://t.co/zdM8LRLzKv] pic.twitter.com/cUBpTe1QnD[https://t.co/cUBpTe1QnD]

— Shane Goldmacher (@ShaneGoldmacher) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/ShaneGoldmacher/status/771349400656502784] What might reporters ask Clinton? She might be asked how her staff handled requests from the Clinton foundation when she was secretary of state. She might be asked about the seemingly continuous discovery of work-related emails she did not turn over to the state department after she said she turned over all her work-related emails. She might be asked about her false assertion that FBI director James Comey had called her statements about her email “truthful,” about her subsequent explanation that she “short-circuited” when she said that and about other possible short-circuits.

It’s plain why Clinton might not prefer to do a news conference. She might be asked, after all, about Anthony Weiner. And maybe her campaign calculates that it would look bad for her to answer questions about potential pay-for-play through the Clinton foundation, even if her answers are perfect. The whole exercise might just stir up whatever thoughts and feelings people have about Clinton that caused 60% of responding registered voters to tell Washington Post pollsters last month that they do not think she is trustworthy[https://www.washingtonpost.com/page/2010-2019/WashingtonPost/2016/08/07/National-Politics/Polling/question\_16679.xml?uuid=xgZ1nlxTEeaLSAyzRCIRMQ].

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 4.13pm BST

block-time published-time 3.26pm BST

Trump: 'there's softening' “I think you’re going to see there’s really quite a bit of softening,” Trump tells conservative radio host Laura Ingraham this morning, vis-à-vis his **immigration** policy platform.

enltrAfter an **immigration** speech last night devoid of softness, Trump maintains still "oh, there's softening." pic.twitter.com/KeRvw5l9XD[https://t.co/KeRvw5l9XD]

— Ali Vitali (@alivitali) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/alivitali/status/771347480709623808]While we do not wish to punt on whether Trump’s current stance represents a “softening” from his previous stance, our evaluation of the question is hampered by having only his words to go on. And what are words? “What can be said at all can be said clearly; and whereof one cannot speak thereof one must be silent.” Here’s a link to the full text of the Tractatus[http://www.gutenberg.org/files/5740/5740-pdf.pdf] with an intro by Bertrand Russell.

enltrWow. This doesn't sound like "softening." GO, TRUMP!!!

— Ann Coulter (@AnnCoulter) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/AnnCoulter/status/771161220267343872]block-time updated-timeUpdated at 3.28pm BST

block-time published-time 1.12pm BST

Hello and welcome to our live-wire coverage of the 2016 race for the White House. Did you catch Donald Trump’s big speech on **immigration** last night? No matter if not; to understand where Trump now stands on **immigration**, you may simply refer in your textbooks to the fall of 2015, when Trump emerged as a scorched-earth, anti-“amnesty”, anti-**immigrant** hardliner.

“There was no pivoting. There was no softening. There was just Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump],” writes[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/in-arizona-we-saw-the-real-donald-trump-the-one-we-already-knew] the Guardian’s Ben Jacobs of the speech:

In a much heralded **immigration** speech in Phoenix, the Republican nominee finally put to rest any pretence that he would moderate his views for a general electorate. “There will be no amnesty,” Trump proclaimed to a cheering crowd on Wednesday.

The Guardian’s Rory Carroll was in the room. “ Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] has vowed anew to deport millions of undocumented people and to build a wall on the border with Mexico, defying expectations that he would soften his stance on **immigration**,” he reports:

The Republican presidential candidate doubled down on his hardline stance in a speech on Wednesday night which delighted core supporters and dismayed his few remaining Latino allies who had expected a tack towards moderation.

The speech struck a contrast with Trump’s remarks earlier in the day as he stood in Mexico next to President Enrique Peña Nieto:

Compare and contrast: Trump’s night of changing rhetoric[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2016/sep/01/compare-and-contrast-trumps-night-of-changing-rhetoric-video]Trump began his Thursday by yelling about Mexico on Twitter:

enltrMexico will pay for the wall!

— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/771294347501461504]Trump did not say that in his appearance with Peña Nieto. Trump claimed the two did not discuss the matter of payment. Peña Nieto did not speak up when the world was watching but later tweeted that he had told Trump flatly that Mexico would not pay for a border wall.

Whatever else it did, the entire exchange elevated the fringe fantasy of a Mexican border wall to the realm of diplomatic debate.

Related: Mexican president contradicts Trump's account of border wall discussion[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-meeting-president-pena-nieto-immigration]

enltrTrump just failed his first foreign test. Diplomacy isn't as easy as it looks. -H

— Hillary Clinton (@HillaryClinton) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/771156031401521153]enltr #Trump[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Trump?src=hash] takes the stage: 'what a crowd.. So many people.' pic.twitter.com/3YzsUNv9X1[https://t.co/3YzsUNv9X1]

— Rory Carroll (@rorycarroll72) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/rorycarroll72/status/771161654868324353] Biden to campaign for Clinton The vice-president is to speak on Clinton’s behalf at two events in Ohio today. Clinton herself has no scheduled public events until Labor Day.

Trump is to speak to the American Legion in Cincinnati this morning and then at a rally in nearby Wilmington.

Thanks for reading and please join us in the comments.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Jasmine Pilbrow, 22, refused to take her seat on a flight carrying a Tamil asylum seeker in February last year

A Melbourne woman who staged a protest on board a Qantas flight to prevent the deportation of a Tamil asylum seeker[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/02/passenger-protest-on-qantas-flight-delays-transfer-tamil-asylum-seeker] to Sri Lanka will plead not guilty when she faces court on Friday morning, her supporters say.

Jasmine Pilbrow, 22, refused to take her seat on a flight in February last year that was headed from Melbourne to Darwin, from where the asylum seeker was expected to be deported to Sri Lanka.

Related: Passenger protest on Qantas flight delays forced transfer of Tamil asylum seeker[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/02/passenger-protest-on-qantas-flight-delays-transfer-tamil-asylum-seeker]

Another passenger also stood in protest once Pilbrow made others on the flight aware of the asylum seeker’s situation. The asylum seeker was eventually escorted off the plane by police and returned to detention in Melbourne.

Pilbrow was charged under the Civil Aviation Act for interference with a crew member of an aircraft and faces up to two years’ imprisonment. The asylum seeker has since been deported back to Sri Lanka, said Kumar Sinna, a Tamil community advocate and friend of Pilbrow’s.

Sinna said that Pilbrow would plead not guilty on Friday. She will be supported in the Broadmeadows magistrates court by human rights advocates and representatives from the Tamil community, who will gather in a nearby park before the court case in a public display of support.

“She is a little bit nervous but she still believes she stood up for justice and compassion,” Sinna told Guardian Australia.

“The Tamil community certainly believes it is a brave thing that she did and that she fought for justice. She has been heavily involved with the Tamil community and in helping asylum seekers in the past few years, so we really wish to support her.”

Last month the Dandenong Journal reported that[http://dandenong.starcommunity.com.au/journal/2016-08-05/nowhere-to-run-to-2/] about 20 Tamil asylum seekers living in the Greater Dandenong-Casey region of Victoria had been detained in recent weeks by Australian Border Force staff who raided their homes in the middle of the night.

Sinna and other human rights advocates say that, despite a change in the Sri Lankan government last year, it remains unsafe for Tamils, who they say are still being detained. Human rights organisations[http://hrlc.org.au/joint-statement-with-human-rights-watch-and-amnesty-international-calling-on-australia-to-stop-forced-returns-without-proper-screening/] have consistently raised concerns over Tamil asylum seekers being persecuted and tortured upon their return to Sri Lanka.

“They are still facing abuse and disappearing,” Sinna said. “Leaving the country to seek asylum is illegal and those returned are dealt with by Sri Lanka’s criminal investigation department, notorious for the rape and torture of Tamil men, women and children.”

Related: Abbott's Sri Lanka comments 'excuse war crimes', Tamil **refugee** advocates say[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/mar/29/abbotts-sri-lanka-comments-excuse-war-crimes-tamil-refugee-advocates-say]

Last month the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton, announced that the government had returned a group of Sri Lankan nationals to Sri Lanka after intercepting a boat with six asylum seekers on board.

“Our Sri Lankan partners provided advice that this vessel might be targeting Australia so we were ready and waiting to locate and detain the boat,” Dutton said at the time.

“We have worked cooperatively with Sri Lanka for several years now and, since Operation Sovereign Borders began in 2013, every Sri Lankan boat that has attempted to come to Australia illegally has failed.

“This return shows that there has not been, and will not be, any change to Australia’s robust border protection policies.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Join us from noon to 2pm to discuss the best deal Britain can get when leaving the European Union . Share your views below the line

block-time published-time 12.11pm BST

I doubt Britain will get a 'have your cake a eat it' deal It is now clear from the announcement after yesterday’s cabinet meeting that the government wants a bespoke Brexit deal with the EU – rather than an existing model such as Norway’s – that will give it control over EU **immigration** while at the same time favouring trade in goods and services (which essentially means single market access, particularly for financial services).

Unfortunately, it is very hard to see what would induce the EU and its 27 remaining member states to agree to such an arrangement. The newer members will not easily surrender on freedom of movement. The older ones, with Eurosceptic parties challenging hard on **immigration** in elections next year, simply cannot afford to give Britain a “have your cake and eat it” deal.

If there is one clear message to have come from every European capital in the past two months, it is that single market membership comes at a price, and part of that price is accepting freedom of movement. This is not a question of “punishing” Britain, but of domestic political imperatives and the future survival of the EU . There can be no cherry-picking, as several leaders have said.

So this will be a difficult circle for the prime minister to square, particularly since Britain does not start from a particularly strong negotiating position: if the UK-EU trade relationship were to revert to standard WTO terms, both the European and the British economies would be damaged – but Britain’s would, undeniably, take the relatively bigger hit.

block-time published-time 12.06pm BST

How to contribute Want to join our debate but lacking in a Guardian commenting account? You can sign up for one here [https://profile.theguardian.com/register?returnUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.theguardian.com%2Fuk]. Prefer to comment via an anonymous form? There’s one at the bottom of the live blog [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/live/2016/sep/01/how-should-theresa-may-deliver-brexit-live-debate?page=with:block-57c7f9b9e4b0f6cb85628c5b#block-57c7f9b9e4b0f6cb85628c5b].

block-time published-time 12.00pm BST

It’s almost as if they knew we were going to be debating this today. A new Twitter account popped up this morning with the handle @DExEUgov, which sounds a bit like a new Playstation game, but is, in fact, the government department for Brexit, headed up by David Davis.

enltrFollow us for updates on the UK's negotiations to leave the European Union and to establish the future relationship between the EU & the UK

— Exiting the EU Dept (@DExEUgov) September 1, 2016 [https://twitter.com/DExEUgov/status/771280241419517952]block-time published-time 11.33am BST

Welcome to our debate British prime minister Theresa May has said that “Brexit means Brexit”, and that the government must push ahead with plans for Britain to leave the European Union (EU ). But, in an ideal world, what would our new relationship with Europe look like?

May held a meeting this week to discuss a Brexit action plan [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/31/restricting-immigration-will-be-at-heart-of-brexit-deal-theresa-may-says] and one of the outcomes was that **immigration** will be a red line in any negotiations. However, experts claim that any limit on this could put our access to the single market under threat [http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/31/restricting-immigration-will-be-at-heart-of-brexit-deal-theresa-may-says].

The foreign secretary, Boris Johnson, has said otherwise: arguing that Britain could retain membership of the EU with restrictions on freedom of movement, something European diplomats called a “pipe dream”.

Charles Grant , director of the Centre for European Reform, said **immigration** controls put the UK on track for a Canada-style agreement, with free trade for manufactured goods but not necessarily for services.

“Whatever system we go for it is going to be unacceptable to our partners if we want access to the single market. We will only have limited access to the single market and have to content ourselves with a free trade agreement, which would not cover many of our key services sectors including financial services,” he said.

Are there any other issues that we may have to compromise on? What worries you most about a Brexit deal? Will we have to chose restricting **immigration** over the single market? What must be included, and is anything currently being overlooked?

May and her team have emphasised that Britain will still be open for business and that we are more outward-looking than ever before”. What Brexit deal can make this a reality?

Discuss with us from 12pm-2pm in the comments section, or by filling out the form below.

block-time updated-timeUpdated at 12.05pm BST

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Adjusting tone to audience can be a way to make sure you’re understood. But the way Donald Trump did it in Mexico and Arizona, it was just lying

Tony Schwartz, author of Donald Trump’s myth-making book, The Art of the Deal, recently told the New Yorker[http://www.newyorker.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/magazine/2016/07/25/donald-trumps-ghostwriter-tells-all] that it took him a while to settle on the right euphemism for Trump’s willingness to ignore truth.

“I play to people’s fantasies…” wrote Schwartz in his channeling of Trump. “People want to believe that something is the biggest and the greatest and the most spectacular. I call it truthful hyperbole. It’s an innocent form of exaggeration – and it’s a very effective form of promotion.”

Related: Tough guy in Arizona, meek in Mexico: Trump's latest reversal | Richard Wolffe[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-tough-arizona-meek-mexico-latest-reversal]

Call it lying, or simply telling people what they want to hear, that was precisely the quality on display[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-tough-arizona-meek-mexico-latest-reversal] this week when Trump gave back-to-back speeches on **immigration** in Mexico and Phoenix, Arizona.

While in Mexico, he told reporters that in his meeting with Mexican President Enrique Pena Nieto, there had been no discussion of who would pay for the wall he’s famously talked about building between the US and Mexico. “We didn’t discuss that… We discussed the wall; we didn’t discuss payment of the wall,” he said.

Back in the states though, he sang a strikingly different tune: “We will build a great wall along the southern border. And Mexico will pay for the wall... They don’t know it yet, but they’re gonna pay for the wall.” This, after Pena Nieto had tweeted that he’d told Trump from the beginning of their conversation his country wouldn’t be paying under any circumstances.

Speaking on “Today” Thursday morning, Hillary Clinton’s veep pick Tim Kaine knocked Trump’s performance as “amateur,” saying[http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/first-read/first-read-trump-makes-support-mass-deportation-clear-n641256], “You can’t say different things to different audiences.” It’s an interesting knock coming from Kaine, who’s known for speaking differently to different audiences, sometimes speaking in English, other times in his dad-like Spanish.

A fundamental difference: Kaine changes how he talks but not the substance of what he promises.

Tweaking how you talk depending on the audience – code-switching – is actually the sign of a good listener, empathetic human being[http://ologists-claim.html/] and, very often, a skilled politician. But it can be difficult for politicians to walk the line between authenticity and connecting with different populations.

Hillary Clinton has been teased for affecting a drawl while speaking to black audiences, and Michael Steele has been mocked for saying things like “off the hook.” Even Obama, a guy Zadie Smith has praised for his mastery[http://www.nybooks.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/22334] of the cultural pivot, gets criticized for it sometimes. After a speech before a mostly black audience in 2007 in which he took on a preacherly tone of voice, for instance, Fox News personality Tucker Carlson pointed to it as evidence of pandering. “This accent is absurd,” he concluded in a segment on Sean Hannity. “This is a put-on.”

It can also be done well, though. Bill Clinton was known as the first black president in part because he knew how to affect a Southern twang. George W Bush was beloved by voters in no small part for being likably folksy – the guy voters wanted to have a beer with[http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/opinion/columnist/benedetto/2004-09-17-benedetto\_x.htm] – if not respected. As African American writer Eric Deggans put it[http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/04/10/176234171/learning-how-to-code-switch-humbling-but-necessary] in a 2013 column for NPR, code switching is an important way to make sure you’re understood across cultures.

It can go wrong when it veers into the territory of pandering, as when Marco Rubio was accused of saying something more pro-**immigration** on Spanish language TV than he was saying elsewhere. Specifically he was accused[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=arTUEdwCw7s] by Ted Cruz of supporting President Barack Obama’s program, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, to allow some young people to remain in the United States by giving temporary legal status to **immigrants** who came to the states illegally as children. Politifact found the claim[http://www.politifact.com/florida/statements/2016/feb/17/ted-cruz/did-marco-rubio-say-spanish-univision-he-would-not/] half true on the grounds that Cruz didn’t include the full context of the discussion, but it still didn’t play well for Rubio.

The sometimes blurry line between form and substance switching are on display now, when we look at the differences between how Trump changes his speeches to reach different audiences, and how Kaine does.

Trump can be a highly skilled code-switcher in ways that are valuable to him as a politician. It’s what allowed him to read the Republican base better than anyone in the party establishment and construct a campaign that would resonate. But in altering the substance of what he says depending on audience, he takes the tactic too far.

With Kaine we don’t have to worry about any such thing. On the contrary, it’s respectful to learn another culture’s language in the melting pot America is increasingly becoming. The way Trump alters his message isn’t code-switching, per se. It’s not “truthful hyperbole”, and it certainly isn’t respectful to his audience. It’s just more lying.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Nearly a year after Tony Abbott announced the additional humanitarian intake, only 2,000 have been taken in

Australia has resettled 2,000 **refugees** fleeing the Syrian conflict in almost a year, in the same time as Canada and the US have taken in 30,000 and 10,000 people respectively.

Nearly a year after the former prime minister Tony Abbott announced an additional humanitarian intake of 12,000 Syrian **refugees**, just 2,000 have been resettled under the program.

A senior department source told the Guardian the figure was “starting to pick up but it’s still only about 2,000”. The vast majority of that figure are understood to have arrived in the past six weeks. The **immigration** minister and his department both refused to answer questions on the program.

Related: Turnbull defends George Christensen's opposition to Syrian **refugees** in Mackay[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/may/12/turnbull-defends-george-christensens-opposition-to-syrian-refugees-in-mackay]

Six-hundred of those Syrians who have come to Australia under the program have been resettled in New South Wales, the NSW coordinator general for **refugee**resettlement, Peter Shergold, told the Guardian[https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/19/jobs-the-key-to-doubling-refugee-intake-says-resettlement-chief].

Abbott announced the Syrian resettlement scheme – in addition to Australia’s annual humanitarian intake – on 9 September 2015.

Since 4 November 2015, Canada has resettled 30,136 people fleeing the Syrian conflict. The Canadian government has a website, tagged #Welcome **Refugees**[http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/welcome/milestones.asp], which updates details of the progress of the resettlement program.

Barack Obama announced that the US would this week receive its 10,000th Syrian **refugee** since October 2015[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/syrian-refugees-admitted-united-states], ahead of the government’s planned resettlement schedule.

“On behalf of the president and his administration, I extend the warmest of welcomes to each and every one of our Syrian arrivals, as well as the many other **refugees** resettled this year from all over the world,” the US national security adviser, Susan Rice, said. The US will resettle about 85,000 **refugees** this year.

Australia has been criticised for moving too slowly to resettle **refugees** fleeing the conflict in Syria and Iraq.

Announcing Australia’s 12,000 additional humanitarian places last September, Abbott said: “Our focus will be on those most in need – the women, children and families of persecuted minorities who have sought **refuge** from the conflict in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey.”

However, he imposed no timeframe for their resettlement.

“We’re not putting a timetable on it because we do have to make all of these important checks – health, security, character – because it is important that we bring in people who are going to be contributors to the Australian community,” he said. “It is important that we don’t bring in anyone from this troubled region who might ultimately be a problem for the Australian community.”

Oxfam has urged Australia to move more swiftly on its resettlement efforts of **refugees** who have escaped Syria’s now five-year-old civil war.

“The government has an obligation to provide details on meeting its commitment to resettle an additional 12,000 Syrian and Iraqi **refugees** in Australia,” Oxfam Australia’s chief executive, Helen Szoke, said. “So far, there has been a lack of transparency as to how many of these **refugees** have arrived in Australia or any firm commitment as to when the promise – made nearly a year ago – will be met in full.”

The acting chief executive of the **Refugee** Council of Australia, Tim O’Connor, told the Guardian his organisation welcomed the recent increase in the speed of arrival of Syrians and Iraqis as part of the September 2015 commitment of 12,000 additional **refugee** resettlement places.

“Australia’s settlement organisations have long been prepared for the scale-up of this **refugee** intake and are now very busy in bringing their expertise to resettle these people into the Australian community. The expectation is that the majority of the 12,000 will arrive within the next 18 months.”

Australia’s humanitarian **refugee** intake was 13,750 last year and will remain at that level for the 2016-17 financial year. It is slated to increase[http://www.minister.border.gov.au/peterdutton/2015/Pages/restoring-integrity-to-refugee-intake.aspx] to 18,750 by 2018-19.

Labor has a policy of lifting Australia’s humanitarian intake to 27,000, while the Greens have proposed 50,000.

On September 19, the UN secretary general, Ban Ki-Moon, will host a summit in New York “addressing large movements of **refugees** and migrants”. But a draft declaration document from the summit has already been widely circulated and widely condemned for its failure to commit countries to concrete actions to make **refugees**’ journeys better or safer. The declaration is also not legally enforceable.

Related: Cory Bernardi’s stance on Syrian **refugees** is flippant fear-mongering. And it's not working | Kristina Keneally[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/24/cory-bernardis-stance-on-syrian-refugees-is-flippant-fear-mongering-and-its-not-working]

The day after Ban’s summit, the US president is hosting his own “leaders’ summit”, also in NY.

But, unlike the UN event, the US summit has been billed as a “pay-to-play” summit, with Obama offering invitations only to countries who indicate in advance that they are prepared to make concrete commitments to accept more **refugees** from the growing global pool of displaced people.

The Guardian understands Australia has been invited but has not yet formally accepted as the government considers what, if any, commitments it is prepared to make. Australia would likely be represented by the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, the foreign affairs minister, Julie Bishop, and the **immigration** minister, Peter Dutton.

The UNHCR says more than 65m people are currently forcibly displaced from their homes[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/statistics/unhcrstats/576408cd7/unhcr-global-trends-2015.html], 24.5m of those outside their own country.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Equalities secretary praises Scottish local authorities for extending welcome, in contrast to other parts of Britain

Scotland has welcomed its 1,000th Syrian **refugee**, almost exactly a year after the image of three-year-old Alan Kurdi’s drowned corpse washed up on a Turkish beach galvanised the global response to the ongoing humanitarian crisis.

The milestone, which was reached after 120 new **refugees** arrived in Scotland in the past week, means that Scotland has taken around one third of the total number of Syrian **refugees** who have arrived in the UK since last October.

The government committed last September to resettle 20,000 people from **refugee** camps on the Syrian border in the next five years, while Scotland’s first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, said at the time that it would should accept 1,000 **refugees** “as a starting point for a meaningful discussion”.

The Scottish government’s equalities secretary, Angela Constance, described the milestone as “significant”, saying: “It is a great credit that 29 out of 32 local authorities in Scotland have now taken Syrian **refugees**, in marked contrast to what is happened south of the border.”

Figures released by the Home Office in May exposed a wide disparity in the acceptance rates of councils across the country, with Scotland welcoming more Syrian **refugees** than any other part of the UK under the official resettlement scheme, accepting more than 600 people, compared with just 33 who were taken in by London local authorities, and none by Greater Manchester[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/27/scotland-welcomes-third-of-uk-syrian-refugees-resettlement].

Asked whether the Scottish government would be setting further limits on numbers, Constance said: “It’s difficult to put a limit on what is our moral duty when responding to a humanitarian crisis. Given that **refugee** and asylum matters remain reserved, what we have always said is that we stand ready to take our fair and proportionate share.”

Constance added: “It’s important that we remember the **refugee** crisis is not over. I am particularly concerned about unaccompanied children, and we will continue to urge the UK government to accept more **refugees**.”

Related: ‘I've tried to find a way to enjoy this life’: Syrian **refugees** one year on[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/30/syrian-refugees-one-year-on-patrick-kingsley]

The minister marked the milestone with a visit to The Welcoming, a drop-in project in Edinburgh that provides English language lessons to **refugees**, as well as assistance with CV writing and form-filling, and a “Scotland for Newcomers” course, which explains issues from Brexit to independence, to people of about 60 different nationalities each year. The director, John Busby, explained that members of the established Syrian community in Edinburgh had volunteered to help with particular cultural and social needs of those who had arrived in the city since the winter. “What we learned is that they need lots of support and security, and routine, having come from the camps in Lebanon,” said Busby.

Kawthor Saloom, 48, who was taking an English lesson based around transport safety, arrived in Edinburgh with her three daughters from Homs, via Lebanon, last December. “People were so welcoming at the airport, but for the first few weeks it was difficult trying to understand the different systems,” she said. Perhaps inevitably, having arrived in Scotland mid-winter, one of her first impressions was of the dreadful weather. “At the very beginning, it was raining and foggy all the time, but then it got better.”

She said that the language barrier had been her greatest obstacle so far, but that she has started to build friendships with local people at her daughters’ school. “One English teacher offered to come to the house to help me.”

Country-wide figures on **refugee** resettlement released by the Home Office last week show that, between the start of October 2015 and the end of June 2016, 2,646 people have been resettled under the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme across 118 different local authorities, including 862 in Scotland and 1,784 across the rest of the UK.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The unaccompanied children at the Calais camp are just a fraction of the people fleeing violence worldwide. The UK must do more to help them

I’m off to the Calais **refugee** camp[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/31/dismantle-calais-camp-modern-slave-trade-traffickers] this weekend as part of a group from my constituency, delivering cars full of clothes and following others who have taken food to the camps. But all of us know that however well-intentioned such actions are, they are like shouting at the wind to stop blowing.

We hope to find a woman I met earlier in the summer to check on her welfare. Living in a caravan donated by the people of Walthamstow, she was eight months pregnant and jumping lorries to try to get to the UK. Her story isn’t unique or by far the worst. She’s stuck in this hell because there is a crisis of political will to act. What these people need is not just charity, but bureaucracy. And as politicians that’s our job.

Every day pressure is mounting. A makeshift set-up supposed to help 500 people now bursts with more than 10,000[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/uk-and-french-authorities-blind-to-growing-problems-in-calais-jungle]. They have fled conflicts in Sudan, the Taliban in Afghanistan, or the repressive regime in Eritrea. They are the Oromo of Ethiopia or the Kurds and Christians of Iraq. Men, women and children who have crossed mountains, oceans and multiple countries in pursuit of freedom. Now they are stuck in the nightmare that is the Calais “Jungle”[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/01/french-riot-police-teargas-jungle-calais-camp-evictions].

By night, most are in the hands of smugglers, who chase down drivers to force them to take people across the Channel. By day, they dodge tear gas and rubber bullets – the crowd control of choice deployed by exasperated French authorities. Volunteers on the ground fear reprisals from the far right, who now dominate a town struggling to cope[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/calais-asylum-hotspot-proposal-main-questions-answered-uk-refugees]. Theresa May is talking tough on development spending cuts and border control, at the very time aid agencies are struggling to feed people here once a day.

Calais houses only a tiny fraction of the number of **refugees** in Europe

Calais houses only a tiny fraction of the number of **refugees** in Europe. Internationally, 65.3 million people are fleeing persecution[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/uk/news/latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html]. The vast majority are not in the wealthy nations panicking about being flooded, but in poorer, mainly Middle Eastern, African and south Asian countries. Jordan, a country of less than 7 million people, has taken in 656,000 Syrian **refugees**[http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=107]. Lebanon is protecting more than 1 million[http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122]. Britain has welcomed just 2,800[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-37234429].

**Refugee** camps are not a long-term solution. But demolishing them[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/31/dismantle-calais-camp-modern-slave-trade-traffickers] or hoping other countries will deal with the problem because it isn’t happening on our soil isn’t a sustainable or honourable response. As signatories to the 1951 **refugee** convention[http://www.unhcr.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/uk/1951-refugee-convention.html], Britain should share responsibility for helping more people, not just in camps in poorer nations but across Europe too. That means providing more legal safe routes to sanctuary and funding the administrative mechanisms for people to access them.

With French presidential elections and Brexit on the horizon, the chances for working together to make this happen are disappearing fast. Those who say such schemes “pull” people to Europe seem blind to the evidence that without them they come anyway. Not everyone can or should come to the UK – some have family in other countries, others are not eligible for asylum – but all deserve a response to their request. At present many live in limbo and despair through a lack of any process to track them and help reunite them with their relatives, or resettle them in a new home nation. The programmes that do exist are piecemeal, or designed to justify pushing them back to places from which many will run again because they are still in danger. The only ones profiting from political intransigence to provide safe passage and resettlement are the smugglers, casually abandoning people to the seas or using threats of violence to double their price in their captive market.

Related: Let’s dismantle the Calais camp – and smash this modern slave trade | Charlie Elphicke[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/31/dismantle-calais-camp-modern-slave-trade-traffickers]

Worse, children are at risk of trafficking. 10,000 **refugee** children have disappeared[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/30/fears-for-missing-child-refugees], and that was Europol’s best estimate in January. There is no uniform system of registration or protection, so they fall through the cracks. And while diplomats squabble, autumn approaches. The Calais camp census shows there are 608 unaccompanied children[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/18/conditions-for-unaccompanied-children-in-calais-camp-worsening-says-report], sharing tents with strangers as there is no dedicated area for them. When the French authorities evicted part of the camp previously, 129 went missing[http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/calais-jungle-unaccompanied-children-refugee-camp-demolition-minors-a6965216.html].

When parliament passed the Alf Dubs amendment[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-36146116] to help child **refugees** in April this year we trusted the government to put it into practice. But not a single child has yet come here[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-36756693] under its auspices. When parliament returns on Monday we will table further new legislation to make good on our pledges and try to get these kids out of the camps by Christmas. Because all of us can do more to help those running from terror in their home nations than just shout at the sky – and that includes us, the politicians.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The movies have made a fortune out of religion over the years – and avoided the subject of atheism. But in Seth Rogen’s sweary CGI comedy Sausage Party, the idea of God is challenged. Will it cash in on America’s surge in non-belief?

It’s not every day we see a movie whose main characters declare violent war on their own gods, and then triumphantly destroy them. It sounds like something out of mid-period Ingmar Bergman or late Tarkovsky; po-faced, grim, unbearably pessimistic. But with hotdogs.

Seth Rogen and Evan Goldberg’s Sausage Party[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/aug/10/sausage-party-review-seth-rogen], with its frathouse title and leering phallic poster tagline (“A Hero Will Rise...”) has been marketed as the first truly adult, stoner-friendly, sex-filled, scatological and foul-mouthed CGI-cartoon comedy, nominally about a frankfurter (voiced by Rogen) who wants to get it on with his hot hotdog-bun girlfriend (Kristen Wiig).

Related: Sausage Party review – Seth Rogen's surprisingly tasty supermarket sweep[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/aug/10/sausage-party-review-seth-rogen]

Well, it’s all that, certainly. But it also comes with a surprisingly sophisticated side-order of philosophising about the nature of religion and why we believe – or, in this case, why we don’t. To all the sex and profanity and other outrages, add atheism, something Hollywood has avoided embracing, or even discussing, for nearly a century.

It wouldn’t be quite true to say that the dam has finally and irrevocably broken, that old-time American religious practice is about to be engulfed by a tsunami of unbelief. But in the wider culture, the spectre of atheism has been haunting us since the internet showed the wider world to the backwoods and the boondocks. And even more so since the publication about a decade ago of a trio of tracts on non-belief – The End of Faith[https://www.theguardian.com/theobserver/2005/feb/06/society], Sam Harris, 2004; The God Delusion, Richard Dawkins, 2006; and God is Not Great, [https://www.theguardian.com/books/2007/jun/03/society] Christopher Hitchens, 2007, all of which drew massive audiences on promo-tours and ignited widespread debate – and the release of Bill Maher’s anti-religious comedy-doc Religulous[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2009/apr/02/religulous-film-review].

At the same time, religious adherence has plummeted, especially among the young and millennials, only 48% of whom, according to a survey by the Banda Group last year, are inclined to believe in any god at all. The 2008 American Religious Identification Survey found that 15% of Americans had “no religious belief”, which isn’t quite militant atheism, but almost double what it was – 8% – in 1990. The figures suggested not that atheism was growing exponentially, but that people felt less community peer-pressure, and were emboldened to admit they had no god. Atheism was on the map and up for discussion in a way it had never been before in the US – and now comes the belated cultural trickle-down.

In Sausage Party, the denizens of a giant supermarket long for the day when they will be purchased by “the gods” – customers – and taken out into “the Great Beyond” to begin a wonderful life that none of them knows anything about. The movie opens with a musical number extolling the virtues of the purchasing gods and the glorious life after check-out (which suddenly sounds terribly ominous). One day a pot of Honey-Mustard (Danny McBride) is returned to the store with a terrible tale to impart: there is no Great Beyond. Instead, all the products in the store are doomed to be eaten, after every imaginable kind of sadistic “preparation” – skinned alive, sliced and diced, boiled, baked or simply flung down the gullet of some sharp-toothed human. The gods are evil and monstrous, and must be stopped, he says, to widespread scepticism.

When Frank the hotdog prowls the closed store at night for answers, he bumps into the Imperishables – a bottle of Firewater and a Twinkie – a kind of unofficial clergy of the foodstuffs. Firewater (Bill Hader) admits – spoiler alert – that the whole framework of gods and great outdoors was something he made up to ameliorate the despair that would assail the products if given full knowledge of their coming fate. Their religion has been a lie all along – a consoling, comforting lie, to be sure, but a lie nonetheless. It’s as if they’re in the Matrix. Or are like Aztecs, groomed unknowingly for human sacrifice – at the moment they find out what horror awaits them at the top of those steep stone stairs.

Here, there are comparisons with Ricky Gervais’s less successful The Invention of Lying[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2009/oct/02/the-invention-of-lying-review] (2009), in which Gervais tells one lie, the first ever told in his society’s history, to comfort a woman whose mother is dying, and to his own great dismay accidentally invents God. And also with Paul[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2011/feb/13/paul-review-simon-pegg-nick-frost] (2011), which Rogen stars in but didn’t write, in which his **alien** character is able to transmit the entirety of human knowledge into another’s mind with the merest prod of his ET-ish index finger. After that, religion is just not an option. Kristen Wiig plays a one-eyed backwoods evangelical true believer, and her loss of faith – and acquisition of full-sightedness – on finger-contact is instant and total. If there’s no god, why is she not swearing like a sailor, huffing spliffs and having loads of irresponsible sex? Fear not, she soon will be. Atheism will do that to an upright gal.

When you look at American churches, in particular the more fire-breathing, Old Testament types on the religious right, you have to wonder why atheism isn’t skyrocketing nationwide. Every day, another homophobic preacher is found diddling boys (see also: Catholicism), basking in motel sleaze with hookers and meth, or abusing little girls. When they appear on cable news, the religious right talks only of hell, never of heaven, and preaches a religion full of hatred and bigotry. It cries the blues about how bone-deep prejudice is among godless liberals against people of faith. It’s nonsense, of course, with a huge side-order of projection, but the net effect is to make us ask why anyone would want to affirm a religion of such negativity and loathing. The atheism figures cited above start to become clearer.

And what of Hollywood itself? Religion made the studios a tonne of money for most of the 20th century, with things easing up a bit after the tumult of the iconoclastic 1960s. It also made a good cover story when the studios instituted the Hays Code[http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/592022/]. In one of the odder religious moments in movie history, the nervous, half-assimilated **immigrant** Jews who built the studios handed over the moral invigilation of their product to Catholics – Joseph Breen, et al, at the Hays Code Office – before releasing them to an overwhelmingly Protestant audience. The Hays Code retarded the development of American movies for 40 years, but in the meantime, the age of the religious epic got under way: Quo Vadis, Ben-Hur, King of Kings, The Greatest Story Ever Told, some of the most expensive and (mostly) successful movies ever made. The Catholic audience was also vast enough to support a whole subculture of vaguely religious movies: ones in which Loretta Young or Ingrid Bergman played nuns, or Bing Crosby and Pat O’Brien played lovable Irish priests – a genre that seems entirely foreign now, after Vatican II, the abortion wars, clerical child abuse and everything else.

Religious adherence has been on the wane for a century in the west, but the process has been slower in the US, despite upticks such as the born again movement of the 60s and 70s, which is now slowly playing itself out after pushing its luck too far for too long. Hollywood does occasionally reach out to this demographic – most recently with Miracles from Heaven[https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/mar/18/miracles-from-heaven-review-jennifer-garner], for instance – but that market isn’t going to grow any larger, while the atheist demographic has increased hugely in a single decade. It’s a younger, smarter, probably wealthier market, too, not a moribund one.

Ah, you say, so Sausage Party and Paul are atheist in temper? What about This is the End[https://www.theguardian.com/film/this-is-the-end], made by and starring exactly the same people? That movie ends with the breaking of the Seventh Seal and all the appurtenances of Armageddon and Apocalypse – with the Book of Revelation as handy guidebook to the Last Days. How is that not religious, or Christian? Well, think of Christianity as just another genre, with rules and tropes and iron laws, like sci-fi or film noir. If you can ascend into heaven thanks to being good-hearted, and the saints in heaven will magic up a Backstreet Boys reunion for you on arrival, does that actually make your movie religious?

Not at all. It’s no different from obeying the pre-existing laws of gravity or time-travel in science-fiction. It’s all grist to the Rogen-Goldberg mill – and they don’t give a sausage.

• Sausage Party is released in the UK on 9 September.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Republican candidate said he would work with veterans’ group to ‘teach respect’ for the flag and pledge of allegiance during anti-**immigration** speech

American schoolchildren will be taught greater respect for patriotic values, Donald Trump promised on Thursday, as he followed up his surprise trip to Mexico and key anti-**immigration** speech by stepping up his appeal to “Americanism”.

The Republican presidential candidate defied expectations that he would soften his stance on the issue on Wednesday night when he returned to the US from an unusually conciliatory joint press conference with the Mexican president only to give a fiery speech vowing to deport millions of undocumented **immigrants** to a crowd in Arizona.

On Thursday morning he kept up this populist tone, telling an enthusiastic audience at the American Legion convention in Cincinnati: “We will stop apologising for America, and we will start celebrating America.”

A Trump administration, he said, would consult with the military veterans’ group to promote “pride and patriotism” in schools – “teaching respect” for the US flag and pledge of allegiance.

“That flag deserves respect, and I will work with American Legion to help to strengthen respect for our flag,” said Trump. “You see what’s happening. It’s very, very sad. And, by the way, we want young Americans to recite the pledge of allegiance.

One country, under one constitution, saluting one American flag... always saluting

Donald Trump

“One country, under one constitution, saluting one American flag... always saluting,” he added. “In a Trump administration, I plan to work directly with the American Legion to uphold our common values and to help ensure they are taught to America’s children. We want our kids to learn the incredible achievements of America’s history, its institutions and its heroes.”

The call to “advance the cause of Americanism – not globalism” came as Trump reiterated the anti-**immigration** message at the heart of his campaign, which delighted core supporters and dismayed his few remaining Latino allies, who had expected a tack towards moderation.

Despite a whirlwind visit to Mexico on Wednesday and suggestions of a softening in his approach to the issue, the campaign increasingly seems to be emphasizing nationalism as a tactic to defeat Hillary Clinton in November.

“We will be united by our common culture, values and principles – becoming one American nation,” said Trump in Cincinnati, spending half an hour touring the convention floor before heading to another nearby rally in the key swing state of Ohio.

Trump vowed anew to deport millions of undocumented people and to build a wall on the border with Mexico.

Speaking hours after a lightning visit to Mexico[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-meeting-president-pena-nieto-immigration] , Trump told a rally in Phoenix, Arizona, he was sticking with his plan for a “deportation force” to intercept those crossing the border illegally and hunt down criminal “illegal **aliens**” already in the US.

“We are going to take our country back,” he said, repeating a mantra from the primary campaign.

Speaking largely from a teleprompter, he also repeated his vow to make Mexico pay for a 2,000-mile wall which, he said, would bristle with sensors, towers and guards. “We will build a great wall along the southern border – and Mexico[https://www.theguardian.com/world/mexico] will pay for the wall, 100%. They don’t know it yet, but they’re going to pay for it.”

Trailing Clinton in the polls with just 69 days to the election, Trump and campaign aides had recently fuelled expectations of a “softening” of **immigration** policy, prompting speculation about a flip-flop.

Instead the speech, which his campaign billed as a major policy address, represented an abrupt reversion to an aggressive tone just hours after an unfamiliar conciliatory timbre in Mexico City, where Trump met President Enrique Peña Nieto.

The GOP nominee roused the crowd in Phoenix with grisly details about murders committed by undocumented **immigrants**. He brought on stage “angel moms” whose children were killed.

He spoke of cancelling an Obama administration programme that gives work permits to about 800,000 young **immigrants** who came to the US as children – a stance likely to slam shut any chance of Latino outreach.

Anybody who entered the US illegally would be subject to deportation and there should be detainers for **immigrants** who committed any crime, not just felonies, he said. “There will be no amnesty.”

Trump also promised ideological tests for would-be visa applicants, a “sunset” on visa laws requiring Congress to rewrite them every few years and a ban on taxpayer funding for cities that don’t deport undocumented **immigrants**.

Asked by conservative radio host Laura Ingraham on Thursday morning whether this represented a “softening”, Trump replied: “Oh, there’s softening. Look, we do it in a very humane way... Obviously I want to get the gang members out, the drug peddlers out, I want to get the drug dealers out... And then we’re going to make a decision at a later date once everything is stabilised. I think you’re going to see there’s really quiet a bit of softening.”

He added: “I feel strongly that we have to stabilise the border... We have to have a strong border, otherwise we don’t have a country.”

Wednesday’s rhetoric trampled over the hopes of Trump’s dwindling band of conservative Latino supporters. “This is how I feel: disappointed and misled,” tweeted Alfonso Aguilar, head of Latino Partnership for Conservative Principles. Jacob Monty, a member of Trump’s National Hispanic advisory council, resigned, Politico reported[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/09/donald-trump-hispanic-leaders-arizona-immigration-227615].

The rightwing columnist Ann Coulter, in contrast, exulted. “Wow. This doesn’t sound like ‘softening’. GO, TRUMP!!!” she tweeted.

Trump did however imply most of the estimated 11 million undocumented **immigrants** would remain untouched while his putative administration focused on deporting two million with alleged criminal records. “We will begin moving them out, day one. My first hour in office, those people are gone.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Our decision to leave the European Union has resulted in a rise in hate crimes, with eastern Europeans targeted. We want to hear your stories

**Immigration** was a central issue in the debate over Britain’s membership of the European Union, and the Uk’s decision to leave was met with a surge in hate crimes. In the week following, London, for example, was averaging three racial attacks an hour[http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/brexit-race-hate-crime-eu-referendum-met-police-a7121401.html].

Much of this negativity has been aimed at eastern Europeans, and after Brexit suspected racist graffiti was found on the front entrance of the Polish Social and Cultural Association[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/26/racist-incidents-feared-to-be-linked-to-brexit-result-reported-in-england-and-wales] (POSK) in Hammersmith, west London[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/london].

More recently, in Harlow, a 40-year-old Polish man, Arkadiusz Józwik[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/30/five-teenage-boys-arrested-after-man-dies-following-attack-in-essex], was beaten to death in the street. One line of inquiry followed by the police is that it may have been a hate crime, although the motive has not been confirmed.

Related: ‘Eggs thrown, windows smashed, a family attacked in a park’: how ?Brexit impacted east Europeans[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/31/after-the-brexit-vote-it-has-got-worse-the-rise-in-racism-against-east-europeans]

But as well as hostility, there’s also been positive efforts to bring communities together. In Bristol, the Playfull toyshop offered a rose and an apology[http://www.itv.com/news/west/update/2016-06-27/touching-message-of-support-to-immigrants-goes-viral/] to all **immigrants** – a gesture that made the news around the world. What’s more, Friends of Arkadiusz Józwik organised a unity march through Harlow on Thursday[http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/31/after-the-brexit-vote-it-has-got-worse-the-rise-in-racism-against-east-europeans].

So, how do eastern Europeans feel after the referendum? Have there been tensions where you live or have you felt supported by your community? Do you still want to remain in the UK? Share your experiences, anonymously if you wish in the form below.

\* As this is a sensitive topic, please be reassured that we will not share or publish any personal details without obtaining contributors’ permission first.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Barry Nuttall was a housing protester like no other. Dressed as a second world war US general, he formed a small army to resist Hull council’s demolition plans. When his home was destroyed, he lived in a camp amid the rubble. Thirty years on, Stephen Walsh goes in search of Nuttall’s legacy

Thirty years ago next month, down a back street in Hull, the war finally came to an end.

The victors didn’t waste any time. No sooner had the defending army – the self-proclaimed Northern Allied Axis Society – vacated its camp on 21 October 1986, than a bulldozer moved in to clear up. A snapper from the local paper captured the moment a small girl, crying, was comforted by the defeated general, who happened to be her dad. And that was that.

Homes had been destroyed and a whole neighbourhood gutted; babies born and at least one person died. But now ‘Major General’ Nuttall was just plain old Barry again: a barrel-chested 38-year-old family man with a wife and seven kids to support. It was as though the previous seven years – the battle of Melbourne Grove, the siege of Wyndham Street – had simply never happened.

Three decades later, on an overcast summer afternoon, I am wheeling my bike down Argyle Street looking for traces of this infamous (in Hull, at least) conflict.

I must have been down here hundreds of times before – not least when trudging back on foot after another desperate 90 minutes of football at the KCOM stadium[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hull\_City\_A.F.C.]. But besides idly wondering how the burger van on the corner keeps going when it’s not match day, or whose job it is to clear up the rubbish, it’s not an area of Hull I’d ever thought about much.

That changed when I heard about Barry Nuttall. If this man hadn’t existed, you couldn’t make him up. Other protesters may have staged sit-ins[https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/dec/19/dale-farm-travellers-face-eviction-again] to try to stop local authorities from demolishing their homes. But dressed up as a second world war US major general, backed by a contingent of military re-enactment enthusiasts? Not so much.

Nuttall was a jack of all trades; he’d worked in a wood yard, on barges, as a DJ and a bouncer. He had also done a stint as a garage mechanic, which is how he learned the knack of restoring his growing collection of old military vehicles. He drove these jeeps and troop carriers to re-enactment events throughout the north, along with his band of brothers in the Northern Allied-Axis Society.

So when the council announced its plans to demolish all the two-up, two-downs in the area without offering what Nuttall considered adequate compensation, he and his army were ready. In 1983, the national press were there to witness their showdown with police and bailiffs on the terraced streets off Spring Bank in central Hull. The battle dragged on and it took a compulsory purchase order for the demolition to go ahead – but even then, the matter was far from settled.

Nuttall retreated, but only as far as nearby Wyndham Street, where he built a fortress in the wreckage of his own home and dug in with his army – for three more years.

Urban legend It is said that Nuttall only left his makeshift camp twice: to present a petition to the House of Commons, and to marry his second wife, Alyson. This was not just another planning dispute; it’s the stuff of urban legend.

Nuttall’s stand-off had deep roots in Hull’s post-war housing policy – itself a reaction to the squalor of the city’s 19th-century slums and the devastation of second world war bombing. But the events of 30 years ago also have echoes right down to the present day, through Hull’s patchy post-war architecture and even in the city’s recent, overwhelming vote to leave the European Union.

I know next to nothing about how Nuttall survived under canvas for so long, other than that his wife kept him supplied with homemade rock buns. I’d ask the man himself but he died five years ago, and his nearest and dearest won’t talk to me. I’ve been poring through the local newspaper archives at Hull History Centre[http://www.hullhistorycentre.org.uk/] but since they’re mostly on microfilm, it’s an arduous process. My trek down Argyle Street is an excuse to get out, as much as anything.

One thing I have gleaned from the archives is just how radically this part of Hull has changed over the last half century. A fascinating series of Ordnance Survey maps, drafted at 10-year intervals, shows the dense Victorian streets being swept away to create the open-plan estate of today. But the road names – the larger ones at least – remain the same, and the sign for Wyndham Street soon appears on the right. What was I expecting: a blue plaque? There’d be nowhere to put it.

This was where it all happened then. To be fair to the council, the demolition probably made sense in the early 1980s. Hull’s economy was in dire straits: job losses following the collapse of the fishing industry in the late 70s had been compounded by swingeing cutbacks as Thatcherite economic policies started to bite. You can imagine the panic setting in among councils, desperate to stop the rot. Encouraging small business was one solution.

You could say the stand-off on Melbourne Grove pitched one economic hero of the 80s (the home owner) against another (the entrepreneur). For a while afterwards, Nuttall claimed he still held the deeds to the plot of land on which his house had stood. But if he ever tried to make good on the claim, Bob Harding, owner and managing director of Quality Fixing Supplies, knows nothing about it.

Harding sells screws and fixings, mainly to manufacturers of portable buildings and garden furniture. He’s been here for 12 years, has five employees, and says the location is handy for the motorway. Next door, Brad Lake at the Leather Repair Company[http://www.leatherrepaircompany.com/] has just got back from fixing car upholstery over the Humber Bridge in Lincolnshire. He hasn’t heard of Nuttall either.

I ask Harding whether his company has much to do with the local community. “Not really,” he says, “although some of the lads buy their lunch from the burger van on Wyndham Street.”

English eccentric If I can’t find any direct evidence of Nuttall’s protest, I can at least talk to someone who was there. The media loved him – it probably made a welcome change from covering all those factory closures and job losses. Barry and his men offered some light relief and a chance for reporters to dust down their military metaphors.

I turned up and these two guys dressed as American GIs stopped me with mock rifles

Brian Lavery

Brian Lavery encountered the major general not long after the siege on Wyndham Street. Nuttall had moved back in with his wife Alyson and their children, and Lavery, now a successful non-fiction author[http://www.barbicanpress.com/Books/?wpsc-product=the-headscarf-revolutionaries] but then a humble freelance writer, knew a good, saleable story when he saw one.

“It was like meeting a Bedouin chief,” Lavery recalls. “I turned up and these two guys dressed as American GIs stopped me with mock rifles. ‘Identify yourself,’ they said. I told them I’d come to see their major general, and they led me round to the tent at the back where Barry and his wife were sitting behind a trestle table. These two stood to attention either side of me. Then one of them spoke in a mock American accent: ‘Gentleman of the press to see you, sir!’

“It was easy to laugh at but a lot of people in Hull admired him,” Lavery says. “He was seen as an English eccentric standing up to ‘the man’. In Hull, we’re drawn to people who stand up for themselves – it goes back to the time we turned King Charles I away[http://bcw-project.org/military/english-civil-war/northern-england/yorkshire-1642]. Barry wasn’t daft though. He provided for himself and his family, and he raised money for charity. He won the war of public opinion.”

Nuttall certainly kept the papers on side during the siege, with a ready grin for any passing press photographer. There’s the one of him in Yorkshire Telly Savalas[http://www.biography.com/people/telly-savalas-9542523] mode, relaxing in his “castle”, tin mug raised aloft; or on his wedding day in best dress uniform, after he’d borrowed a Cadillac from local crooner Joe Longthorne to get to the church on time. Then there’s him kissing Alyson under the mistletoe before returning to a lonely Christmas vigil on Wyndham Street. He must have missed the attention when it was over.

But the best image didn’t make it into the papers. Jim Holmes’s colour photo, taken just after the demolition on Melbourne Grove, has more raw power than any of the staged newspapers snaps. Nuttall, cradling a canteen of rum, is surrounded by the mess that was once his home. He looks angry, and a bit lost.

Holmes’s photographs capture this weird war in a cul-de-sac perfectly. Uniformed men hoist Union flags, Iwo Jima-style over the mountain of rubble, while children sit around chatting. But for once, Nuttall is not his usual happy-go-lucky self.

Holmes explains: “I was cycling [past] and saw the flags coming over the bricks. I thought: this is never going to happen again, so I went back home to get my camera. It was just them and the site and the bricks and the chimney pots. They’d put the sofas back, and rearranged the bricks so you could see where the rooms had been. There was a chair there and Barry was drinking a bottle of rum. It was great.”

It was Holmes who first told me Nuttall’s story one night in a pub, so he’s got a lot to answer for. He retells it one afternoon, sitting out in my back garden. It turns out he had deeper connections to the Battle of Melbourne Grove than I’d realised.

In the early 1980s, Holmes was a student at Hull School of Architecture and had bought a house not far from Nuttall’s, on Kimberley Street. He often saw the major general and his men “bombing round on army trucks”, and in the local pub, the Polar Bear. They were, says Holmes, part of a rich street scene that also featured Mrs Allen, who thought herself a “cut above” but wasn’t above dispensing scurrilous gossip; and an “old boy” with rheumy eyes who used to knock on Holmes’s door if he needed an eyelash removing.

“It was a nice place to live at the time; always interesting,” Holmes says. “Down the road was the depot for the railways. There were still shops: a bakery, a toy shop, a club called the Flamingo which I think was a ‘cat house’. There was a small Italian barber with a nifty moustache who had a salon on Argyle Street and there was a little supermarket. We were there when there were all the power cuts at the end of the Callaghan period – the winter of discontent. One night in the kitchen, I realised Thatcher was going to get in. I remember thinking: the world’s going to change.”

Bad feeling Change came quicker than anyone expected. In 1979, the council announced its intention to demolish the area. Holmes seemed the obvious choice to lead the “Retain the Houses” campaign: not only was he local but, as an architecture student, he was aware of the pioneering work by future Riba[https://www.architecture.com/Explore/Home.aspx] president Rod Hackney to fight slum clearances in Macclesfield.

“There’d been lots of successful schemes for refurbishing Victorian houses, so there was plenty of that stuff going on. [Our houses] were just standard two-up two-downs, so there were perfectly easy ways of making them habitable.”

But the campaign, Holmes says, was doomed from the start. “Hull’s always been a bit behind the times, in its own little bubble. The last high-rise wasn’t built here until 1979. It was the last public high-rise in England.”

With a council seemingly wedded to the idea of “demolish and rebuild”, the residents’ conservation campaign was further weakened by dissent from within.

“A lot of people had moved in [to the area] to get on the council list. People who owned their houses were in favour of keeping them, but those who were in landlord accommodation wanted the houses to come down. So there was a bit of bad feeling.”

The campaign was shot down. The houses were judged to be not compatible with human existence

Jim Holmes

At a public inquiry held at Hull Guildhall, the conflict reached its climax. Holmes sat near the Italian barber: “He got up to object, saying, ‘I’ve got a business here’ – but was shouted down. He sat down next to me, then dropped dead on the floor. He’d had a heart attack.

“I was pretty green,” Holmes admits. “I had no experience at all in that kind of stuff, and the campaign was shot down. The houses were judged to be not compatible with human existence.”

These days, Holmes works for an architectural practice that specialises in making 1960s and 70s council homes compliant with today’s much more rigorous energy conservation rules.

“The houses built following the demolitions were thermally inefficient and difficult to bring up to modern standards. Their electric underfloor heating was a disaster. Terraced houses work better from an ecological point of view, because they’re squashed together and they’ve got a limited external area.”

Squashed together; it could apply equally to the lives lived on those old Victorian streets where everyone knew everyone else and, more often than not, shared a surname. It’s the world Barry Nuttall would have known and which Jim Holmes saw the end of; that sense of togetherness, swept away in the great race for urban modernisation after the second world war.

Listening to Holmes’s stories about Mrs Allen and the old man with the rheumy eyes reminds me of Douglas Dunn[https://www.theguardian.com/books/2003/jan/18/featuresreviews.guardianreview24] ’s Terry Street poems. Written in the late 1960s, they document the comings and goings of life on another old Hull terrace, now demolished.

The best known is probably A Removal From Terry Street[http://www.poetryarchive.org/poem/removal-terry-street]. As the narrator watches his neighbour clearing out to a new estate on the edge of town, he notices him pushing a lawnmower down the street – an implement he could have had no use for in Terry Street’s grassless, cramped back yards. The poem ends: That man, I wish him well. I wish him grass.

It’s an optimistic thought but, for some, relocation to an edge-of-town estate meant dislocation from everything familiar. Was it this fear that drove Nuttall to dig in for so long?

Legacy of war Hull certainly had to do something about its crumbling Victorian housing stock. At a talk at the History Centre on the origins of the city’s council housing, the speaker, local historian Carol Kerry-Green[http://www.ckg-genealogy.co.uk/], tells a packed audience how massive population growth in the 19th century (from 22,000 in 1801 to 239,000 in 1901) created terrible housing conditions for Hull’s poor.

Back then, deaths from building collapses were common and crime was rife, as exploitative landlords squeezed as many families into their unsanitary, unsafe properties as they could. With no running water or toilets, disease was commonplace. In 1849, Hull’s great cholera epidemic killed 1,863 people – one in 43 of the population.

In the first decades of the 20th century, Hull Corporation tried to get a grip on its housing crisis. But many of the new homes remained unaffordable to those who needed them most – and relocation was often traumatic. It was left up to the landlord to inform tenants of a demolition order – something they frequently failed to do. “The first many residents knew about it was when the council wrecking crew turned up on their doorsteps,” Kerry-Green explains.

But the slum clearances were nothing compared with the devastation wreaked by the Luftwaffe. With 1,200 people killed, 95% of houses damaged and 152,000 made homeless, Hull – the anonymous “north-east coast town” of the newsreels – was one of the most heavily bombed cities in Britain[http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-humber-36212234] between 1941 and 1945. Kerry-Green says the housing shortage was acute, and the fact the communities were so tight knit was both a strength and a weakness.

“When people got bombed out, a lot of them moved into relatives’ houses. But when an area’s that tightly packed, you’re looking at maybe three or four families who are connected through kinship all bombed out at the same time. It makes it much more difficult for them to find somewhere to live.”

It’s easy to forget this. In a story about one man’s “war” with the council in the 1980s, those same streets had been an actual battleground 40 years earlier. The Hull People’s Memorial[http://www.hull-peoples-memorial.co.uk/] is a temporary museum in the city centre set up to raise funds for a permanent commemoration of civilians killed in the war. It has a comprehensive archive relating to Hull’s Blitz, with a detailed breakdown of bombing raids by date and street. I find Kimberley Street, Jim Holmes’s old stomping ground (direct hit: 8 May, 1941) and Argyle Street, targeted throughout the war.

I make a further discovery when a casual inquiry about Nuttall prompts a bizarre exchange between two volunteers.

“You knew him, didn’t you?”

“No.”

“I thought he was your dad.”

“Get away!”

“But you knew of him?”

“Might’ve done.”

Every time one of them left the camp to try and get something, the police would stop them getting back in

Once the issue of paternity is cleared up, I get an account of the siege I’ve not heard before.

“They’d set up the barricade on Wyndham Street pretty well and managed to keep the police out. Trouble was, they couldn’t get out either. They had no water supply, no electricity. Every time one of them left the camp to try and get something, the police would stop them getting back in. In the end, the ones who were left must’ve thought: ‘Sod this.’ And that’s how it ended.”

I’m astounded. I had always assumed Nuttall had surrendered because he’d run out of money, or his family had persuaded him to give up. But if this version of the story is true, the siege was all too real – and the authorities didn’t pull their punches.

The city’s bones Truth might be the first casualty of war, but nostalgia plays tricks on the memory too. Right now in Hull it’s especially prevalent, which might have something to do with next year’s City of Culture celebrations. Residents are being encouraged to “ tell their stories[https://untoldhull.org/] ”, and tales of Blitz survival and post-war optimism provide respite from the modern news cycle of crime and social breakdown[https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/apr/24/police-launch-inquiry-after-bodies-of-two-men-found-in-hull].

Meanwhile, Hull city centre is being prettified[http://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/hull-city-centre-works-blamed-for-closure-of-holmes-comforts-cafe-in-carr-lane/story-29552640-detail/story.html] in preparation for the TV cameras. Some of the city’s derelict “eye sores” – the ones in strategic locations such as the New York Hotel, where Barry and Alyson had their wedding reception in 1983 – have been demolished. Exposing the city’s bones – sometimes literally[http://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/hundreds-of-skeletons-discovered-during-4-5m-church-upgrade-1-7842400] – to daylight has brought a yearning for what might have been. If the Luftwaffe had picked on somewhere else and left the great buildings and thoroughfares of our Victorian city intact, or the city council hadn’t tried its damnedest to sweep away what was left.

As in so many other things, Hull came late to building preservation, and even now concentrates its efforts around particular conservation areas and landmark buildings. Much of our architectural legacy exists only in “fossil” form – as the old walls around car parks or as burial grounds whose churches are long gone.

Often only pictures remain, and it’s little wonder that every fragment now seems worthy of preservation[http://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/13-crumbling-hull-buildings-saved/story-29268558-detail/story.html]. A series of books, Hull – Then & Now[http://www.paul-gibson.com/about-me/books.php], sums up this mood. Juxtaposing black and white photos of old Hull against modern shots of the same scenes, the message seems clear: we’ll never get back what we’ve lost.

I’m susceptible to some of this nostalgia myself. When I started researching Nuttall’s story, part of my motivation was to conjure up the vibrant neighbourhood he knew. I didn’t know much about Spring Bank South – the area that had replaced it. But it had always seemed an anonymous place, built without regard to the character of the surrounding streets.

It’s the layout that confuses me. The houses are in rows, arranged on one side around driveways and on the other, landscaped grassy areas. It’s not exactly clear where the front doors are, or how the streets link together.

This is the Radburn System[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radburn\_design\_housing] – an urban pattern beloved of council estate planners of the 1960s and 70s, and hated by postmen ever since. The idea was that by arranging houses in low density, semi-pedestrianised precincts, residents would be spared the noise and inconvenience of through traffic, and children could play safely away from the cars.

Radburn is certainly doing its job: the noise of traffic on Londesborough and Argyle Streets has been reduced to a background rumble. I’ve arranged to meet Frank McConnaghy at the community centre, a resident of the area for 40 years and treasurer of the local Spring Bank Community Association[http://www.sbca.org.uk/].

When I speak to McConnaghy on the phone before our meeting, one thing crops up again and again: how much more “cosmopolitan” the area has become. By this he means racially diverse, and it is striking how many people out and about are of African, Asian, Middle Eastern and Eastern European origin.

The people who live in this area – one of the poorest in the country – just think: it can’t get any worse for us

Frank McConnaghy

Such an influx would have been unthinkable only 20 years ago, let alone when Nuttall lived here. Back then Spring Bank, like the rest of Hull, was predominantly white British. The wars in the Balkans and Middle East changed all that, bringing **refugees** “dispersed” from Manchester and London. In the 2000s, the freeing up of labour movement for new EU accession countries brought many more **immigrants**.

“All the **refugees** just seem to have been dumped on this estate,” McConnaghy says. “Our neighbours are Poles, Indians and Turks. When the Home Office decided to take so many, there were families already here who were on the waiting list for houses.

“The facilities are overloaded and the people who make the decisions aren’t directly affected. That’s why I voted Brexit.”

McConnaghy wasn’t alone. Hull voted two-to-one in favour of leaving the EU[http://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/eu-referendum-result-in-hull-overwhelmingly-backs-brexit/story-29439076-detail/story.html] in the June referendum, a shock that many didn’t see coming in this Labour heartland.

McConnaghy adds: “The people that live in this area – one of the poorest areas in the country, in terms of earnings – they just think: it can’t get any worse for us. It’s alright saying jobs’ll go, but we haven’t got any jobs in the first place. It’s a massive protest vote.”

I see a connection between McConnaghy’s opting for Brexit and Nuttall’s protest. Both seem rooted in the impotence that comes from being ignored and pushed around for too long. But while he’s clearly angry, McConnaghy – an affable 70 something – doesn’t sound like a stereotypical Brexiteer. He has the utmost respect for Mohammed Younus, one of the centre’s two managers. “He speaks seven languages,” McConnaghy tells me – useful when trying to juggle the 23 different community groups of all nationalities and religious denominations that regularly use the centre.

The event that brings everyone together is the annual international carnival. I ask McConnaghy what he thinks the Brexit vote will do for this carefully fostered community cohesion. **Immigrants** were subject to attacks and intimidation when they first turned up in large numbers in Hull in the 1990s. A recent report in the Hull Daily Mail[http://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/patients-are-abusing-black-and-ethnic-minority-hull-hospital-staff/story-29565818-detail/story.html] suggests it might be happening again.

McConnaghy shakes his head. “When people say there have been racial tensions on Spring Bank, I’ve got photos from the family fun day that’ll show you Bosnians, Iraqi Kurds, local policemen... The Kurds have got the bobbies’ helmets on and they’re all dancing round in a circle.”

I hope he’s right. Seeing how McConnaghy and the other volunteers are solving the problems of life on the estate in all its messy, modern complexity might even cure me of my nostalgia. But I still want to have one last go at tracking down Barry Nuttall.

While I was at the People’s Memorial, someone suggested I go along to the Veterans’ Weekend[http://www.hullcc.gov.uk/portal/page?\_pageid=221,695573&\_dad=portal&\_schema=PORTAL] taking place at East Park a couple of days later. The event flier promises living history displays and re-enactments from the two world wars, as well as British, German and American army camps. There’s bound to be someone who knew Nuttall. If I’m lucky I might even bump into one of his comrades from the Northern Allied Axis Society.

Unfortunately, I didn’t realise the scale of this event, or how popular it would be. East Park is Hull’s biggest green space, and at least a third of it has been given over to displays, exhibits, stalls, fair rides and catering concessions for this annual event. I’m immediately discombobulated by the confusion of sights and sounds. There’s a bunch of Vikings setting up camp under some trees while “ Hang out the Washing on the Siegfried Line[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o3WPted\_ihs] ” floats out from a distant PA.

I’ve been told the living history displays would be a good place to start, so I wander around asking if anyone has heard of Nuttall. No one has, but I do find out something of what makes re-enactors tick. A Wild West dude, cooling his spurs, drawls about the ability to pose being “a pre-requisite”, and I think of Nuttall and his army, and all the press calls they did while they were in the media spotlight. But the Northern Allied Axis Society were about more than that. They were sticklers for rank and order.

Is this common? “Only so far as you need it to put on an effective display,” says David Robinson, of the 16th Lancers First World War Cavalry Display team. “If someone told me to get my hair cut because it looked wrong for the era, I’d do it. You do it because you don’t want to look crap.”

Oil and water The 30 years since the siege on Wyndham Street haven’t been kind to Hull. As with other left-behind cities in the post-industrial north, the legacy of economic decline isn’t only written in statistics for high unemployment or drug misuse, but also in the poor retention of its everyday architecture.

But this isn’t all the city council’s fault. These days, it’s far more likely to be developers who fail to maintain the old music halls or Methodist chapels in their possession, allowing arsonists and vandals to do their worst until demolition is the only option[http://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/bulldozers-bring-final-curtain-down-on-hull-s-albert-hall/story-29651897-detail/story.html].

When I ask Brian Lavery whether he thinks the city has suffered from losing so much of its pre-war infrastructure, he says: “Hull’s like oil and water: it always finds its level eventually.”

Related: London 0, Hull plenty: how is life in England's only 'affordable city'?[https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/oct/30/hull-the-city-that-gentrification-forgot]

Cycling home from East Park, I take a detour through an estate of well maintained brown brick council houses from the 1930s. The road opens out into a broad village green, crowned with a giant beech tree. The effect in the ultra-vivid sunlight of a late summer afternoon is an amazing sense of space.

These were new houses once, I think, but planned well, with an eye to the future. The trouble is, for too many modern developments here, short-term gain appears to be the only consideration. New houses are thrown up wherever developers can find a postage stamp of land to build them on; and they do it with scant regard for neighbourhoods’ wider needs.

Hull might always find its level but, without greater respect for the vital assets that make city life bearable, it won’t be rising any higher. People need parks, shops, pubs, arts venues, safe roads and cycle paths to thrive – and, yes, a few old buildings to remind us where we’ve come from. There is still plenty left in Hull worth protecting – even if we no longer have a made-up major general to man the barricades.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Home Office testing new fast-track online system to simplify current process

The Home Office is quietly trialling a new fast-track online system to handle an expected surge in permanent residency applications from EU migrants in the UK concerned about their British **immigration** status in the run-up to Brexit.

The Home Office has confirmed that it is testing the system which simplifies the current process that includes and completing, printing out and posting by special delivery an 85-page form ahead of a public launch later this year.

The 3.5 million EU nationals currently living in Britain do not need to apply for a £65 residency card to prove their right to live and work in Britain and there are only about 25,500 applications a year mainly from non-EU spouses or children of an EU national in Britain.

But the continuing uncertainty of the legal status of EU citizens in Britain after Brexit means that there is now likely to be a huge increase in demand for residence applications from those who anticipate restrictions being placed on their freedom of movement within Europe.

The Oxford University-based Migration Observatory has said that depending on the progress of the Brexit negotiations there may also be a need to quickly register all EU citizens already living in the UK.

Migration Observatory director, Madeleine Sumption, has estimated that the complexities of the existing paper-based system means it could take 140 years to register all 3.5m EU citizens in Britain at current rates of processing if they all apply.

The Financial Times quotes one person who was helping to operate the two-week trial admitting that the trial was also “part of a stocktaking exercise” to assess the numbers of EU nationals living and working in Britain.

Jurga McClusky head of **immigration** at law firm, Deloitte, told the FT: “If we have EU workers with [secure residence] status there could be provisions within government policy to protect them in the long-term, meaning that free movement laws will continue to influence UK **immigration** policy for a period of time post-Brexit.”

McClusky added that questions, however, may arise over the status of EU nationals who were not able to register and had difficulty proving their residency in Britain before a cut-off date because they were, for example, students or self-employed.

A government spokesman said: “As part of the ongoing Home Office programme to digitise applications, we have launched a number of online options. We are currently testing an online service which simplifies the process by allowing some EEA nationals to submit electronic applications.”

The move was disclosed as the Polish deputy prime minister, Mateusz Morawiecki, said during a visit to London that he expected many Poles to return to Poland after Britain leaves the European Union.

“I believe there well be many people coming back – a couple of hundreds of thousands may come back over the next five years,” he told the BBC adding that the killing of Arkadiusz Józwik in Harlow on Saturday would “pose a question mark for many families in Great Britain.”.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A killing spree targeting secularists forced Abir and his family to escape to Canada and has resulted in ‘losing the brightest minds of Bangladesh one by one’Inside Bangladesh’s killing fields: bloggers and outsiders targeted by fanatics

Raihan Abir glances at the book in his hands, his eyes focused on the religious symbols that dot its reddish brown cover. When Philosophy of Disbelief was published in 2011, it shocked many in Bangladesh – not so much for its promotion of atheism but for its quick climb to the top of the country’s bestseller lists.

Some four years later, the book has become a potent symbol of the wave of murderous violence targeting secularists in Bangladesh[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/11/bangladesh-murders-bloggers-foreigners-religion]. Abir is one of the few people connected to the book who is still alive.

Related: Atheist blogger Avijit Roy 'was not just a person … he was a movement'[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/07/atheist-blogger-avijit-roy-returning-bangladesh-risky]

His co-author, Avijit Roy, was hacked to death in 2015[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/27/american-atheist-blogger-hacked-to-death-in-bangladesh] on a street in Dhaka as horrified onlookers watched. The book’s two publishers were both attacked[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/31/faisal-abedin-deepan-bangladesh-secular-publisher-hacked-to-death] ; one managed to survive while the other was killed in his office. Abir and his wife were forced to flee Bangladesh, ending up in Toronto.

The attacks are part of a killing spree that has targeted activists, bloggers and professors in Bangladesh[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/11/bangladesh-murders-bloggers-foreigners-religion]. Since 2013, extremists – many of them wielding machetes – have killed more than 50 bloggers, secularists, LGBT activists and religious minorities, according to Human Rights Watch. Scores of others have been seriously injured.

Many of those killed had publicly expressed opinions on religion, science, sexuality or music. Both Isis and Ansar al-Islam, a militant group linked to al-Qaida, have claimed responsibility for the killings.

The common thread linking the lives of many of the victims is Mukto-mona[https://mukto-mona.com/en], meaning Free Thinker, a Bengali-English website dedicated to the discussion of topics that range from atheism to science. Abir became involved with the site in 2007, drawn to what he describes as a window on to a world long hidden in conservative Bangladesh.

“I was living in a bubble with lots of propaganda fed to me by society,” he says. “It was really easy to reach the age of 22 in Bangladesh and never hear about the science of evolution rather than intelligent design propaganda.”

When he and Roy released Philosophy of Disbelief, the book became an instant hit, feeding into the fledgling conversation ignited by websites such as Mukto-mona.

But it also caught the attention of Islamist extremists who were determined to make Bangladesh reflect their own conservative beliefs. Abir points to the 2013 murder of secularist blogger Ahmed Rajib Ahider[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/31/two-sentenced-death-bangladesh-blogger-ahmed-rajib-haider], hacked to death in front of his home, as the first of what would become a terrifying pattern of murders in the country.

Two years later – as Abir was becoming accustomed to regularly receiving death threats by email and text – the number of attacks began to spike. “It got out of control,” he says.

The death of his co-author left him racked with grief. Apprehension set in months later, after another blogger, Washiqur Rahman, was hacked to death outside his home[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/30/blogger-hacked-death-bangladesh-dhaka].

“I knew it was my turn,” Abir says with a wry smile. The idea began to permeate every moment of his life. Each morning his wife, Samia Hossain, would emerge first from their home to check for attackers. “Once she said it was clear, we would hit the road on our motorbike,” he says. Hossain kept constant watch behind them as he drove.

Despite the sweltering heat, he would keep his motorbike helmet on as walked through the university campus where he was completing his PhD in biomedical engineering. “My physician friends said you have to keep your helmet on to keep your head intact.”

When his PhD supervisor decided to attend a medical conference in Toronto, he urged Abir to join him and seek **refuge** in Canada. Abir hesitated, torn by the idea of leaving behind his research on the use of telemedicine in rural areas and still tied to the challenge of carving out a school of secular thought in the increasingly polarised country.

The final push came with the death of Ananta Bijoy Das[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/12/third-atheist-blogger-killed-in-bangladesh-after-knife-attack], an editor of Philosophy of Disbelief. The two had been in constant contact as Das – worried about the death threats he was receiving – attempted to secure a visa to Sweden. Soon after his application was rejected by Swedish authorities, he was attacked by several masked men wielding machetes in broad daylight.

In June of last year Abir travelled to Toronto, leaving behind Hossain who was six months pregnant at the time. Neither had any idea when they would see each other again. “I knew that I might not be able to see her for three or four years,” he says.

Still, she was ecstatic to see him go. “When the plane left and was in the air, I knew he would be alive. I was so happy,” says Hossain. An architect by training, she followed in her husband’s footsteps, applying for a visa to attend a conference in her field in Toronto. Two months later, a very pregnant Hossain was on a plane to Toronto.

“I thought it would be the happiest day of my life,” says Abir. But while Hossain was in the air, news came of another death among their tight-knit circle of friends. Atheist blogger Niloy Neel had been hacked to death in his home. “It was a really stressful time,” he says. “We were losing the brightest minds of Bangladesh one by one.”

Things soon began to fall into place for the young couple. Days after they found a place to call home in Toronto, their daughter Sophie was born. Their application for **refugee** status was accepted a few months later.

Slowly the pair allowed themselves to shake off the fear that had coloured their lives in Dhaka. “In Bangladesh I literally would take one step and look behind my back. I wasn’t supposed to be alive,” says Abir as he sits at a table in the couple’s sparsely decorated apartment. His wife nods sombrely in agreement as she sits next to him. “Yeah, he wasn’t.”

Related: Inside Bangladesh’s killing fields: bloggers and outsiders targeted by fanatics[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/11/bangladesh-murders-bloggers-foreigners-religion]

Toronto’s sizable Bangladeshi community, however, has meant the couple hasn’t been able to let their guard down entirely. Last year Abir’s name and the fact that he was now living in Canada were included on a global hit list published by an Islamist group[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/23/militant-group-publishes-hit-list-of-bloggers-activists-and-writers]. The group vowed to “hunt them down in whatever part of God’s world we find them in and kill them right there”.

After a bungled response that included recommending that bloggers self-censor themselves and avoid offending religious sentiments, recent months have seen Bangladeshi authorities vow to crackdown on the violence. So far, according to Human Rights Watch, this has largely translated into the detention of some 15,000 suspects with scant evidence.

Thousands of miles away from Dhaka and its climate of fear, Abir’s hope for the country continues to run deep. “Now, yes we are being attacked, our atheist writers, our bloggers are **refugees** in the world. But things will change, Bangladesh is not like that.” He continues to work with Mukto-mona, his passion for its ideas now accompanied by a deep sense of responsibility as one of the few who made it out alive.

His focus is now on the dozens of Bangladeshi writers still under threat in the country, many of them in hiding and fearing for their lives. “We’re trying to make connections with the outer world and get them to safe places. We don’t have any resources, we’re just trying to do what we can,” he says. “But it is really difficult to fight off machetes with a pen.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**After tip-toeing around details of the wall with President Peña Nieto he came home to deliver a hardline anti-**immigrant** speech promising mass deportations

Related: 'No amnesty': Donald Trump vows to deport millions during 'first hour in office'[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/donald-trump-vows-to-deport-millions-during-first-hour-in-office-in-hardline-speech]

Donald Trump went on his first non-golfing foreign travel of the 2016 election and returned a changed man. Gone was the candidate who talked about all those good-hearted illegal **immigrants** who have lived honestly in the US for decades. Gone was all the talk of them paying back taxes to get legal status. Gone was the kinder, gentler Trump.

Instead, the Republican nominee delivered an **immigration** speech on Wednesday night with all the sweetness of the Sex Pistols, the brevity of Fidel Castro and the brains of Archie Bunker.

This was, in the nominee’s words, “a detailed policy address” on **immigration**. Not to be confused with his declarations on the subject in a billion primary debates, TV interviews and midnight tweets.

So in place of “a deportation force” to forcibly remove 11 million undocumented **immigrants**, Trump described a “deportation task force” to merely eject 2 million “criminal **aliens**.”

This feat will take place with remarkable speed on his inauguration day next January. “We will begin moving them out as soon as I take office,” he explained from his teleprompter. “Day one. My first hour in office. Those people are gone … The crime will stop. They will be gone. It will be over.”

Related: In Arizona we saw the real Donald Trump: the one we already knew[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/in-arizona-we-saw-the-real-donald-trump-the-one-we-already-knew]

You may scoff at such promises, but this was no hyperbolic overstatement for the sake of a few votes. Trump assured us this speech would be different. “Today, on a very complicated and difficult subject, you will get the truth,” he said.

Now unlike lots of other policy stuff – like whether Russia has invaded Ukraine or whether you can really win a trade war with China – it’s fair to say that Trump knows a thing or two about **immigration**.

His first wife was born in the Czech Republic, and his second wife was born in Slovenia. His own family (original name: Drumpf) came from Germany, settling in the US a little more than a decade before World War One.

And yet, Candidate Trump proposed what he called “ideological certification” of **immigrants** to check their real intent. That was the only way to weed out criminals and terrorists, who somehow blended into one giant **alien** blob in his combed-over cranium.

Trump painted a portrait of a nation overrun by hordes of unassimilated **aliens** stampeding across the southern border, determined to butcher innocent Americans.

Never mind that most undocumented **immigrants** enter the country by plane and overstay their visas. Never mind that President Obama has deported[http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/obamas-deportation-policy-numbers/story?id=41715661] more people than any other president, and more than every president in the 20 th century combined.

The US government apparently knows about all these criminal **aliens**, often detains them, but just keeps on releasing them back into society to wreak their havoc. “We’re like the big bully that keeps getting beat up,” Trump lamented. “Didya ever see that? The big bully that keeps getting beat up.”

No, we’ve never seen that – except in one presidential candidate’s recent trip to Mexico.

Trump thinks of himself as a tough negotiator who knows the art of the deal. So when he travels to Mexico to confront the leader of a country that he thinks is ripping us off with bad trade deals, and sending its bad guys over the non-existent border, we know exactly what to expect.

A polite and friendly conversation that doesn’t discuss his plan to force the Mexicans to pay for the wall he wants to build.

This is clearly a cunning negotiation tactic. He has already confused Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto, who told the world that Mexico would not pay for the Great Wall of Trump. “I made it clear that Mexico will not pay for the wall,” the president said bluntly.

Trump himself had a different take. “We did discuss the wall,” he said. “We didn’t discuss payment of the wall. That will be for a later date. This was a very preliminary meeting. I think it was an excellent meeting.”

Other people hear ‘no’ and think it means ‘no.’ Other people negotiate by trying to move the other side closer to their own price. Other people speak up in a discussion.

Not Trump. He negotiates by saying the discussion never happened. That’s what “very preliminary” means. An “excellent meeting” is one where you lull the opposition into a false sense of victory.

“Today was the first part of the discussion, and a relationship builder between Mr Trump and President Peña Nieto,” said Jason Miller, a senior communications advisor to the nominee. “It was not a negotiation, and that would have been inappropriate.”

More appropriate was what came out of Trump’s mouth when he returned to the land of the free. “We will build a great wall along the southern border,” Trump told his cheering supporters in Phoenix, Arizona. At this point, he walked across the stage and applauded himself.

“And Mexico will pay for the wall. 100%. They don’t know it yet, but they’re going to pay for it.”

No, they clearly don’t know it. But there were some clues left by some Trump staffers. As the candidate finished his speech, the loudspeakers played one track from his carefully curated campaign playlist. The classic Rolling Stones number: You Can’t Always Get What You Want.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In a rotten year, when public language has been poisoned by politics and prejudice, the personal integrity of poetry can keep us going• Why we’re writing about books to give you hope this summer

“Hope springs eternal”, declared Alexander Pope in 1733. More than ever this year have I needed hope – and I found it, nestled in the pages of poetry.

Earlier this summer, a word was hurled at me on the street by a stranger: “Leave.” Only one syllable and a second long, but it stayed with me. It was the day after the EU referendum results and in the two months since, racist incidents have been rising across the UK. Language itself seems to have been hijacked by toxic political discourse: small words such as “leave”, “**immigrant**”, “democracy”, “decent”, “human”, and “real” have taken on sinister meanings.

The word “real” was hijacked by Ukip, with Nigel Farage declaring Brexit a victory for “real people”. The title of a book on my shelf leapt out at me: Staying Alive: Real Poems for Unreal Times[http://www.bloodaxebooks.com/ecs/product/staying-alive-709] (one of a trilogy of Bloodaxe poetry anthologies, alongside Being Alive and Being Human). Dehumanising language is designed to cause despair. But reading cast off the accumulated layers of false meaning around the words, and gave language back to me. Who and what is real, and who and what is unreal? Poets have long been grappling with these ideas, as in TS Eliot’s haunting evocation of an “ Unreal City[https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems-and-poets/poems/detail/47311] ”.

“If we look to poets for anything at a time when abuse of power goes hand in hand with abuse of language,” writes Neil Astley in the Staying Alive introduction, it’s for “their vigilance in defending and continually revitalising the language”. Here there are voices from across history and around the world, translated from languages as various as Persian and Polish, speaking of love and loss, of finding hope in the midst of despair. There is Rumi (reminding us to “Walk out like someone suddenly born into colour”). There is Yeats (“ I, being poor, have only dreams[http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/he-wishes-for-the-cloths-of-heaven/] ”). There is Langston Hughes (encouraging us to “ hold fast to dreams[https://www.poets.org/poetsorg/poem/dreams] ”). Some of the most poignant poems speak of the search for a home, and are a timely reminder of the crisis of **refugees** throughout history, such as WH Auden’s hugely powerful 1939 poem **Refugee**Blues[http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/refugee-blues/] :

“Say this city has ten million souls,

Some are living in mansions, some are living in holes:

Yet there’s no place for us, my dear, yet there’s no place for us.

[…]

The consul banged the table and said,

‘If you’ve got no passport you’re officially dead’:

But we are still alive, my dear, but we are still alive.”

Flowing through the lines of even the bleakest of poems is that assertion of life.

The title resonates in a year where death has taken some of our finest. How to stay hopeful when we lose those whom we love? I recently experienced the loss of a loved one, and I turned to poetry as a life raft. Poetry buoyed me up from sinking into despair; I memorise short poems so I can hold the whole of them in my head, so I can conjure them to mind when walking down a dark, lonely street.

As with all anthologies, it’s a book that makes us turn to other books. So from these pages, I discovered other poems I loved, and many were filled with hope:

“ Hope is the thing with feathers[https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems-and-poets/poems/detail/42889]

That perches in the soul —

And sings the tune without the words —

And never stops — at all — ”, wrote Emily Dickinson in 1891.

Astley writes: “In politics, television, newspapers and advertising, language is often negative, reductive, stripped of full expression to put across a message – it’s spun or twisted out of recognition … Instead of being used to communicate, it is used to control thinking, as a tool of power.” Poetry is the antidote to such abuse of words.

As the first leaves of autumn fall, I won’t leave these streets I call home. I won’t give in to fear and despair, I’ll stay, and stay alive.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Republican candidate tells Phoenix audience there will be no amnesty and lays out vision of a Mexico border wall and mass expulsion of criminal ‘illegal **aliens**’

Donald Trump[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/donaldtrump] has vowed anew to deport millions of undocumented people and to build a wall on the border with Mexico, defying expectations that he would soften his stance on **immigration**.

The Republican presidential candidate doubled down on his hardline stance in a speech on Wednesday night which delighted core supporters and dismayed his few remaining Latino allies who had expected a tack towards moderation.

Speaking hours after a lightning visit to Mexico[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-meeting-president-pena-nieto-immigration], Trump told a rally in Phoenix, Arizona, he was sticking with his plan for a “deportation force” to intercept illegal border crossers and hunt down criminal “illegal **aliens**” already in the US.

Related: In Arizona we saw the real Donald Trump: the one we already knew[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/01/in-arizona-we-saw-the-real-donald-trump-the-one-we-already-knew]

“We are going to take our country back,” he said, repeating a mantra from the primary campaign.

Speaking largely from a teleprompter, he also reiterated his vow to make Mexico pay for a 2,000-mile wall which, he said, would bristle with sensors, towers and guards. “We will build a great wall along the southern border. And Mexico will pay for the wall, 100%. They don’t know it yet, but they’re going to pay for it.”

Trailing Hillary Clinton in the polls with just 69 days to the election, Trump and campaign aides had recently fuelled expectations of a “softening” of **immigration**policy, prompting speculation about a flip-flop.

Instead the speech, which his campaign billed as a major policy address, represented an abrupt reversion to an aggressive tone just hours after an unfamiliar conciliatory timbre in Mexico City, where Trump met President Enrique Peña Nieto.

The GOP nominee roused the crowd in Phoenix with grisly details about murders committed by undocumented **immigrants**. He brought on stage “angel moms” whose children were killed.

He spoke of cancelling an Obama administration programme that gives work permits to about 800,000 young **immigrants** who came to the US as children – a stance likely to slam shut any chance of Latino outreach.

Anybody who entered the US illegally would be subject to deportation and there should be detainers for **immigrants** who committed any crime, not just felonies, he said. “There will be no amnesty.”

Trump also promised ideological tests for would-be visa applicants, a “sunset” on visa laws requiring Congress to rewrite them every few years and a ban on taxpayer funding for cities that don’t deport undocumented **immigrants**.

The rhetoric trampled over the hopes of Trump’s dwindling band of conservative Latino supporters. “This is how I feel: disappointed and misled,” tweeted Alfonso Aguilar, head of Latino Partnership for Conservative Principles. Jacob Monty, a member of Trump’s National Hispanic advisory council, resigned, Politico reported[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/09/donald-trump-hispanic-leaders-arizona-immigration-227615].

The rightwing columnist Ann Coulter, in contrast, exulted. “Wow. This doesn’t sound like “softening.” GO, TRUMP!!!” she tweeted.

Trump did however imply most of the estimated 11 million undocumented **immigrants** would remain untouched while his putative administration focused on deporting 2 million with alleged criminal records. “We will begin moving them out, day one. My first hour in office, those people are gone.”

The ambiguity over the fate of non-criminal undocumented **immigrants** marked a tacit retreat from Trump’s earlier vows to swiftly deport all 11 million people. The lack of clarity allowed supporters and critics to fill in the blanks with their own wishes and anxieties.

Trump’s policy could in theory yet resemble that of Obama, who has deported millions, and GOP rivals such as Marco Rubio and Jeb Bush, whom Trump accused of supporting de facto amnesty.

The speech capped a whirlwind day of political theatre in which Trump, after a year of denigrating Mexican **immigrants**[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jun/16/donald-trump-mexico-presidential-speech-latino-hispanic] as rapists, murderers and drug dealers, met President Peña Nieto in Mexico City, triggering a backlash [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-memes-cartoons-pena-nieto] from Mexicans who denounced the New York businessman as a tyrant, and worse.

Trump emerged from the private meeting at Los Pinos, the presidential residence, heaping praise on Mexican **immigrants**. “They are amazing people, amazing people... Mexicans are just beyond reproach. Spectacular, spectacular and hardworking people.”

He said the hour-long meeting with Peña Nieto was “substantive” and “excellent” but did not touch on his pledge to force Mexico to pay for the wall. “We’re saving that discussion for a later date.”

Mexico’s president however said he did broach the topic[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-meeting-president-pena-nieto-immigration] and told Trump Mexico would not pay. In a late evening television interview, an angry-looking Peña Nieto said: “His policy stances could represent a huge threat to Mexico, and I am not prepared to keep my arms crossed and do nothing.

“That risk, that threat, must be confronted. I told him that is not the way to build a mutually beneficial relationship for both nations.”

Hillary Clinton’s campaign, sidelined by another day of Trump drama, seized on the discrepancy: “It turns out Trump didn’t just choke, he got beat in the room and lied about it.”

The unexpected visit – Trump’s first meeting with a head of state since he became a candidate – yielded presidential optics in the form of a podium and marble backdrop in an international setting. Speaking beneath a Mexican flag the casino owner-turned reality TV star sounded restrained and diplomatic.

That evaporated when he bounded onto the podium in Phoenix, 200 miles north of the border, and seemed energised by the crowd, even though the cavernous convention centre was half-empty.

#Trump[https://twitter.com/hashtag/Trump?src=hash] takes the stage: 'what a crowd.. So many people.' pic.twitter.com/3YzsUNv9X1[https://t.co/3YzsUNv9X1] — Rory Carroll (@rorycarroll72) September 1, 2016[https://twitter.com/rorycarroll72/status/771161654868324353]

“There is only one core issue in the **immigration** debate and that is the wellbeing of the American people. Nothing even comes a close second. Our greatest compassion must be for our American citizens.” The audience cheered and chanted “USA”.

Maricopa county sheriff Joe Arpaio, a controversial hunter of suspected undocumented people, New York’s former mayor Rudy Giuliani and Trump’s running mate, Indiana governor Mike Pence, warmed up the crowd before Trump arrived.

Supporters hailed his cross-border foray as evidence he could negotiate with foreign leaders and secure US interests. George Buchanan, 71, a retired flooring installer, said it also showed courage. “It’s dangerous. You’ve got those Mexican people over there, drug lords. The drug lords don’t want him to build the wall.”

Some in the crowd sensed that behind the brash reiteration of mass deportations Trump was in fact edging towards a more moderate, viable, policy. “I think he’s loosening up, becoming more realistic,” said Nancy Lewis, 56, a retired law enforcer. “And I’m OK with that. I have Hispanic friends.”

Michelle Des Marais, 78, appeared willing to forgive Trump if he did end up retreating. “It’s a hard fight but at least he’s trying.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Border controls on a bridge linking the German town of Freilassing and Austria were brought in a year ago, yet migrants who did get across have been met with hospitality as well as hostility

Two centuries ago, after the Napoleonic wars had laid waste to large parts of central Europe, the continent’s rulers decided to redraw the border between Austria and Germany[https://www.theguardian.com/world/germany] along the Saalach river, right between Salzburg and one of its suburbs, now a Bavarian town called Freilassing. When Austria[https://www.theguardian.com/world/austria] joined the Schengen area in 1995, the border in effect became obsolete: only a short white line in the middle of the motorway bridge still marks the division between the two countries.

But a year ago this month, the Freilassing bridge once again become a symbol of the barriers between nations and cultures. At lunchtime on Saturday 5 September 2015 – a day after Germany’s Angela Merkel[https://www.theguardian.com/world/angela-merkel] and the then Austrian chancellor, Werner Faymann, had decided to accept thousands of **refugees** stranded at Budapest central station – it was here that about 400 **refugees** on board a train got their first glimpse of Germany.

And it was on Freilassing bridge that a week later thousands of **refugees** found themselves stranded once again after Germany’s interior minister, Thomas de Maizière, reintroduced border checks that continue sporadically to this day, leading to tumultuous scenes that have left the border town divided in more ways than one.

Rainer Borchers, 38, remembers returning from his night shift as a hospital nurse in the early hours to find hundreds of people camped outside his home on the Bavarian bank of the Saalach.

“These people were in a lot of need: they were exhausted, thirsty and hungry. As a nurse, I want to help people, so I let them use my car park, my toilet and gave pregnant women a chance to rest in my camper van.”

Borchers continued to help for a week, after which he grew critical of the situation on his doorstep. He claimed he was spat at and threatened with a knife when handing out bottles of water, and one night heard shots on the bridge – police insist the banging sound was created by a van running over a traffic cone.

“Generators were running 24 hours a day and made my bedroom vibrate. I bought this house with my own money, and as a carer it’s not like I earn €5,000 a month.”

Borchers said he remembered “positive moments” from his week of volunteering, but in the coming weeks he became more and more disillusioned.

“I’ve never had anything to do with politics, but I called the Social Democrats to complain, I called the mayor of Freilassing, and I called the district office, but none of them would listen to me.” Then, he said, he called a nearby branch of Germany’s new rightwing anti-**immigration** party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), “and they took the time to listen”. He has since joined the party.

On 24 October, the AfD held a demonstration with more than 1,000 protesters and several hundred counter-demonstrators against Merkel’s “illegal” management of the crisis.

A year on, Borchers said, his town feels “scarred”. “My neighbourhood is divided between left and right – there’s nothing in between. You are either pro-**refugee** or against.”

Others in the town disagree. Mayor Josef Flatscher said descriptions of Freilassing as a town divided were “completely over the top”. Last September the politician, a member of the conservative Bavarian Christian Social Union party, was driving back from a family holiday in Italy when he heard the news of the resumption of border checks between Austria and Germany on the radio. But when he drove across the bridge into his hometown an hour later, there were no border guards to be seen.

The next morning, local police set up makeshift patrols in the middle of the bridge. By the afternoon, they were replaced with members of the national police force, who still carry out sporadic border checks.

Twelve months on, Flatscher said: “I feel reassured about the situation in Freilassing, but of course we are keeping an eye on the broader macroclimate,” pointing to news of 6,500 migrants being rescued off the Libyan coast in a single day this week. “This isn’t going to stop completely. But next time we’ll know how to deal with the situation.”

The experience of the renewed traffic jams at the bridge, the mayor said, “made us realise how great it is to live in a Europe without borders. We should talk about that more often.” While he would not put his name to Angela Merkel’s credo throughout the crisis – Wir schaffen das, or “we will manage” – he didn’t disagree with her either. “We are a strong country, and we can manage a lot.”

Khaled Misho might agree. Having arrived in Germany in November 2014, the 21-year-old Syrian shares a room with three other young men, on the ground floor of a spacious three-storey house with a little garden and several large trees in the front, home to 60 **refugees** who have been located here while their asylum applications are being processed. The ground floor is reserved for men, one side for Arabic speakers, mainly from Syria, the other side for **refugees** who speak other languages, most of them from African countries.

Last September and October, when about 1,500 **refugees** arrived on the bridge from Salzburg every day, Misho had already been in Germany for almost a year and spoke basic German. “So I went to the bridge to support volunteers who distributed food and clothes and to help with translations. Both German officials and **refugees** seemed grateful when I helped, but a few times it turned out that the presumed Syrians didn’t speak any Arabic at all. I have no idea where they were from, but certainly not from Syria as they had claimed.”

Since then, the number of arrivals has dropped considerably. According to Germany’s federal **refugee** agency, no more than 40 **refugees** and migrants a day arrive at Freilassing’s reception centre. The shelter, in a former furniture factory, was working at an “operative minimum”.

“We are lucky here in our house with the **refugees**, as there is some green space in front and we all get along well with each other. I am still really grateful to Germany that I can be here and there are a lot of people in town who are happy to help us.”

Some people in Freilassing, Misho said, “maybe one in five”, seemed less happy about their presence. “A few times people have even told me that I shouldn’t be here. But then I always just answer them in German and then they are intimidated and confused by the fact that I speak German. That is my best way to defend myself.”

At the start of September, Misho is starting a new job in a restaurant at Chiemsee, a nearby lake and tourist destination. He would mainly be preparing salads, he said, but hoped he could work his way up.

Yet not every **refugee** who made it across the Freilassing bridge has reason to be hopeful. Alhough police on the bridge currently only carry out sporadic spot checks, border control has in effect been moved inland to the reception centres where **refugees** and migrants first arrive.

Those who cannot show a passport or show an intention to apply for political asylum are sent back across the border to Austria – in August, German police returned 300 migrants from Freilassing to Salzburg. With the Balkan route now closed, many of them are either forced to stay in Austria against their will or have to try to make their way back across the Saalach river at another crossing.

“In Freilassing it may feel like the **refugee** crisis has stopped – in Salzburg it is now starting,” said Karl-Heinz Müller, a 77-year-old pensioner based in nearby Fridolfing, who played a key role during the tumultuous weeks of September last year.

As the weather turned at the end of the month, Müller recalled seeing mothers with their babies waiting on the bridge for days on end, unwilling to move for fear of losing their place in the queue. “I was so immensely sad about our collective inertia.”

On 18 September Müller, who used to run an analytical science company that specialised in inventing new techniques to separate chemicals, decided that “since you couldn’t rely on the police, you had to use your brain”. With a marker pen, he drew a fat A on the wrists of the first 10 people in the queue, then set up a dividing line on the ground. The next 10 got a B, the next 10 a C, and so on. Soon, Müller was on to decimal places.

After a few days, one of the local papers likened Müller’s system to the Nazis marking up Jewish prisoners in a concentration camp, which made the pensioner very cross. “All we were trying to do was to create a just, fair system,” he said. The deputy mayor of Salzburg eventually donated boxes full of colourful wristbands normally used at political rallies, which Müller used instead.

After months of volunteering, during which he often slept for little more than two to three hours a night in a makeshift bed in one of the camps, Müller is ambivalent about the future, drawn between sympathy for anyone trying to make their way into Germany and understanding for those who are worried about the long-term effects of **immigration**. “You have to respect everyone who doesn’t want more **refugees**. We can manage this, but only if the population at large is involved in the process.”

With his vast archive of documents, wristbands and children’s drawings, he plans to set up a museum in his home. “Someone has to keep the story of what happened here last year alive.”

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Enrique Peña Nieto says he made clear Mexico would not pay for a border wall despite Trump’s statement after the meeting that the two did not discuss it

Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto has insisted that he told Donald Trump that Mexico would not pay for a border wall when the two held a surprise meeting on Wednesday.

Trump had told reporters after the meeting that while the pair had discussed a border wall, the topic of who would pay for it did not come up. “We didn’t discuss payment of the wall. That’ll be for a later date,” Trump said.

Peña Nieto had faced a wave of domestic criticism for inviting Trump to see him at Los Pinos, the residence of the Mexican president. The controversy came just hours after Trump left Mexico City for Arizona, where he was due to hold a major policy speech on **immigration** that same evening.

The two met for an hour and then appeared before reporters to make separate statements about their unusual summit.

Speaking at a podium next to Peña Nieto, Trump did his utmost to appear presidential on his second-ever trip abroad and first meeting with a head of state as a candidate. However, in doing so, Trump seemed to continue the “softening” of his rhetoric[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/31/donald-trump-mexico-pena-nieto-immigration-arizona] on **immigration** in advance of his policy speech on the topic, which he will deliver later on Wednesday night.

Speaking at the podium in restrained and almost subdued tones, Trump described undocumented **immigrants** as those entering the United States “without legal authorization”, praised first-, second- and third-generation Mexican Americans as “beyond reproach” and talked about keeping jobs “in our hemisphere”. This was in addition to Trump’s concession to reporters afterwards that while he had discussed building a border wall with Peña Nieto, he did not even bring up his signature proposal that Mexico would pay for such a wall[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/05/donald-trump-mexico-border-wall-plan-remittances].

This served as a major contrast to Trump’s fiery and often bombastic tone on the campaign trail.

He launched his candidacy in June 2015 by accusing Mexico of deliberately sending criminals and “rapists” to the US and has since claimed that a federal judge, Gustavo Curiel, could not do his job impartially because of his Mexican heritage[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/03/donald-trump-judge-curiel-university-case-biased-mexican]. At almost every campaign rally since then, Trump has held a call and response with his rambunctious crowds, asking: “Who is going to pay for the wall?” The shouted answer has invariably been: “Mexico.”

The Republican nominee has also repeatedly bashed free trade agreements, like Nafta, which he has said allows US workers to lose their jobs to Mexicans; as well as attacking specific companies for shifting their operations to Mexico.

While it was speculated that Peña Nieto, who has a 23% approval rating in his own country, might berate Trump for political gain, the Mexican president took a rather restrained stance speaking before his guest.

He praised Trump for the “open and constructive” conversation they had. The Mexican president also did not directly criticize any of the controversial and racially charged remarks Trump has made since launching his campaign last year. Rather, Peña Nieto rebutted them indirectly by praising Mexican Americans.

“They are honest people, working people – they are people that respect family, they respect the life in the community and they are respective of the law. As such, Mexicans deserve everybody’s respect.” Although Peña Nieto pointedly defended Nafta, a longstanding target of ire for Trump, he concede the free trade agreement “could be improved”.

Mexicans reacted with outrage to Peña Nieto’s perceived deference and refusal to be tough with Trump.

“I can’t recall a time in the last 50 years when a Mexican president was so thoroughly humiliated in his own home,” said Esteban Illades, editor of the intellectual and current affairs magazine Nexos.

“Peña Nieto managed to make Trump look presidential while making himself look incredibly small. He ended up accepting an apology from Trump, even though Trump never even offered a half-hearted one.”

“@EPN reinforced in the US the stereotype of the docile Mexican, who you can insult and mock without consequences. The damage is done,” tweeted[https://twitter.com/jorgesuarezv/status/771090300102184961] author Jorge Suarez-Velez.

Peña Nieto entered the meeting as Mexico’s most unpopular president since polling on presidential approval started in the mid 1990s. Analysts expect the encounter to diminish Peña Nieto’s popularity even further, especially since many Mexicans were expecting a robust response to a presidential candidate whose protectionist policies could cost Mexico economically.

“Peña Nieto claims he is just trying to protect Mexicans. How, by welcoming to Mexico the candidate who has portrayed them as the enemy?” said Carlos Bravo Regidor, a journalism professor at the Centre for Research and Teaching in Economics. “This is more than a diplomatic blunder. This is a mistake of global proportions.”

The event was held just hours before Trump’s scheduled speech on **immigration** in Phoenix, Arizona, and came as the Republican nominee is trying to pivot to appeal to moderate suburban voters that he **alienated** during his primary campaign.

In recent days, Trump has shifted away from his calls for “a deportation force”[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/27/donald-trump-immigration-policy-deportation] and deporting all 11 million illegal **immigrants**[https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/21/donald-trump-deportation-immigration-plan-meeting-latino-leaders] in the US within two years of taking office.

Instead, he has flip-flopped in the past week about a potential path to legal status for undocumented **immigrants** and attacked the media for even focusing on the issue.

“In recent days, the media – as it usually does – has missed the whole point on **immigration**. All the media wants to talk about is the 11 million or more people here illegally,” Trump told voters in Iowa on Saturday.

The campaign heralded Trump’s trip, where he was accompanied by Alabama senator Jeff Sessions and former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani as a sign of Trump’s statesmanship.

In a statement, Republican vice-presidential nominee Mike Pence said: “What the American people are seeing today is the kind of decisive president Donald J Trump will be. This meeting begins a relationship where we can talk about the issues we’ve got to resolve between the United States and Mexico, as well as the issues we have in common.”

John Podesta, the chair of the Clinton campaign, mocked Trump for not pressing for Mexico to pay for the border wall in his meeting with Peña Nieto.

“Donald Trump has made his outlandish policy of forcing Mexico to pay for his giant wall the centerpiece of his campaign,” said Podesta. “But at the first opportunity to make good on his offensive campaign promises, Trump choked. What we saw today from a man who claims to be the ultimate ‘deal maker’ is that he doesn’t have the courage to advocate for his campaign promises when he’s not in front of a friendly crowd.”

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